

**DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGING LIVELIHOOD
SYSTEMS AMONG THE TRIBAL COMMUNITIES**

IN SOUTH GOA

*certified that the corrections suggested
have been incorporated.*

by

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DECLARATION

I, Arvind N. Haldankar, hereby declare that this thesis entitled 'Development and Changing Livelihood Systems among the Tribal Communities in South Goa' is the outcome of my own study undertaken under the guidance of Dr. Ganesha Somayaji, Professor and Head Department of Sociology, Goa University, Goa. It has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma, or certificate of this or any other university. I have duly acknowledged all the sources used by me in the preparation of this thesis.



Place: Goa University

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Date: 04.02.2016

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled 'Development and Changing Livelihood Systems among the Tribal Communities in South Goa' is the record of the original work done by Shri Arvind N. Haldankar under my guidance and supervision. The results of the research presented in this thesis have not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma, or certificate of this or any other university.

Place: Goa University

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Teaching in a college located in a Scheduled Tribe (ST) dominated area for almost one and a half decade; I have been witnessing transformations in the lives of the tribal people. Some of these transformations have become more pronounced after the recognition given to these tribal groups as STs. My visits to the tribal hamlets during students' field visits have brought to my notice some sociological issues relating to the livelihood systems, which stimulated my research interest in the area of sociology of tribes.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Social change is a ubiquitous feature of all societies and it is not a strange fact that tribal societies in various parts of the world and in India too are dynamic. They have not remained altogether 'primitive', but are at diverse stages of socio economic development. Some tribal communities have remained utterly backward, while there are others who have embraced modernity. Dev Nathan (as cited in Sharma, 2008) mentions that the condition of indigenous people in India and across Asia and Latin American countries show that the incidence of poverty among indigenous people is much higher than among the rest of the population. It is also true however, on the other hand that recent studies indicate that some tribes have become modern. Thus, according to Sharma (2008), the Mina tribe of Rajasthan have ceased to be anti-modern, and is difficult to distinguish between a Mina and a non-tribal person. The processes of development, globalisation and modernisation are bringing transformations in tribal societies. Given the fact that some tribes have utterly remained backward and some have gained good economic indices they have managed to preserve their positive identity and their values of kinship, institutional reciprocity, shared history, and territorial occupancy (Pathy, 2005). The present research attempted to study the transitions taking place in the livelihood systems of the Velips, one of the Scheduled Tribes in the villages of Gaondongrem and Cotigao in the taluka of Canacona in south Goa.

Tribal societies live in varied geographical conditions. By and large, these societies live in isolation for a very long time. Ethnographers such as Singh (1994) maintain that the basic differentiation between the caste society and tribal society is the feature of isolation (as cited in Sharma, 2008, p. 14). They took shelter into the

deep interior forests and the remote hills. The characteristic of isolation forced them to remain undeveloped, backward and primitive in lifestyle and behaviour for a very long time as they remained away from modernity. Having remained away from the mainstream society for a very long time, they cultivated a system of livelihood, which was principally an independent one. Bose (2002, p. 1) points to the fact that howsoever isolated and meagre the life of a community may be, they try to make the most effective use of their natural resources in accordance with their technological equipment and social resources. They also try to protect themselves, both mentally and spiritually, by building up a world of their own, whether it is by means of art or belief. They constructed a livelihood system that was totally dependent on the natural resources, mainly the forest around them. Forests provided them with ample scope to venture into primitive appearing livelihood activities such as hunting, shifting cultivation and food gathering. These livelihood activities were regulated by deep-rooted customs, beliefs, rituals and traditions and until now continue to operate in the same spirit. Having undergone transformation, most elements of tribal society continue to operate. Thus, according to Xaxa (1999, p. 1519), though tribes have transformed themselves into peasants and socially differentiated groups, they have not lost their distinctive identities.

The influx of the modern processes of change, especially in the post-independence period, has brought about a major transformation in the livelihood system of the tribal populations. They are now becoming more open ended and are readily welcoming change in the name of 'development'. The once isolated tribal habitats are getting transformed and the concomitant primitive appearing traditional standards of tribal life are thereby weakening. No doubt, the way of life and livelihood activities of tribes in Goa has been altered to a great extent. This is equally

true of the Velips living in the distant and forested areas in the villages of Gaondongrem and Cotigao in the taluka of Canacona.

The concept of 'Tribe' and 'Scheduled Tribe'

Scholars who have written on the tribal people have found it difficult to arrive at a clear-cut meaning of the word 'tribe'. Dube (1977) observes that at no stage of Indian history did we have a set of clear indicators of tribalness to define the concept of tribe. Many Indian anthropologists depict tribes as small, self contained, self sufficient, isolated, homogenous and autonomous communities, not amenable to class analysis and essentially static and a historical (Das, 1994, p. 84). In fact, there is no any consensus definition of the concept 'tribe', in India. This is primarily because the social reality of tribe in the Indian situation differs largely when understood with tribal societies outside India. Tribal society did not have any common identity in the past and even today its identity is not significantly strong (*ibid*: 5). In India, tribe and civilization coexisted for centuries and were closely implicated in each other from ancient to modern times (Beteille, 1992, p. 58). Due to lack of appropriate definition of the concept many scholars now resort to call them as 'tribes in transition' (*ibid*: 59). The concept 'tribe' was formulated by the British colonisers to refer to the indigenous population of India. The Britishers wrote about tribes as a group of people claiming descent from a common ancestor and also to people or communities living in primitive or barbarous conditions (Xaxa, 2003, p. 375). However, the basic idea behind defining the term 'tribe' was to integrate them into the national mainstream as they have suffered from social injustice and economical constraints for a long period (Mehta, 2004). Names that have been generally used to refer to tribes in Indian context include *adivasi* (first settlers), *vanyajati* (forest community), *pahari* (hill dwellers), *adimjati* (original community), *vanvasi* (inhabitants of forest), *jana*

(agglomeration of individuals) and the like. Risley (1903), Elwin (1944), Dalton (1960), Thakkar (1941) prefer to use the term aborigines. Other terms used were 'so-called aborigines' or the Backward Hindus (Ghurye 1963), ethnic minorities (Pathy 1988), fourth world (Sengupta 1982), tribes in transition (Desai 1960), etc. Ambedkar opted to use the term Scheduled Tribe, while some scholars and social reformers also use the term *adivasis*, or autochthonous people of the land (*ibid*: 377-78). The expression 'tribe' first appeared in the 1881 Census report which was applied to the semi-civilised inhabitants of mountains and forests who were shown as a special group of agriculturists (Srinivas, Rao & Shah, 1974). On the administrative front, the colonisers in the year 1891 used the term "forest tribes" and subsequently in the year 1931 the "primitive tribes". Later, these groups were redesignated as "backward tribes" and finally as "Scheduled Tribes" in the Constitution of India.

According to Oxford Dictionary, "tribe is a group of people in primitive or barbarous stage of development acknowledging the authority of a chief and usually regarding them as having a common ancestor". In the Constitution of India, the term 'Tribe' has not been defined clearly anywhere. Only the term 'Scheduled Tribe' is explained as "the tribe or the tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities" which the President specifies by public notification (Article 342 of the Constitution of India).

There are about 200 million tribal people in the entire globe who constitute about four per cent of the total population of the world. According to the Census of India 2011, the Scheduled Tribes constitute 8.6 per cent of India's population, recording a growth rate of 23.7 per cent during 2001 to 2011. In absolute figures 10,42,81,034 persons belonging to the category Scheduled Tribes live in India. The number of main Scheduled Tribes has increased from 664 to 705 during the last

decade. In addition, 194 sub entries as sub groups from nine states are added to the 2011 ST population. Though, they constitute only 8.6 per cent of India's population, they are playing a vital role in shaping the destiny of the country.

There is a very high concentration of tribal people in central India. Over 85 per cent of the total tribal population inhabits the eight states that constitute this region. Of the remaining, over 11 per cent inhabits the eight states of the northeastern region, and only a little over 3 per cent lives in the remaining nine states and Union Territories of north and south India. There are communities like Gonds, Bhils, Santhals, Oraon, Minas, Bodos and Mundas who have a population that ranges from one million to a little over seven million people. As against this, there are communities like Tangas, Bondo, Jambo, Karka, Kongho, and some Andamanese groups who number less than even 100 persons each. States and union territories having a share of less than one per cent include Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Sikkim, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Goa, Lakshadweep, Daman and Diu, Andaman and Nicobar Islands. We also know that the State of Punjab and the union territories of Chandigarh, Delhi, Haryana and Puducherry do not have any Scheduled Tribe population (Census of India, 2011).

The present study is broadly located within the disciplines of social anthropology and the sociology of tribes. In fact, the study of the autochthons has attracted the attention of anthropologists and sociologists for a very long time. However, the literature on the tribes has been contributed by the anthropologists than the sociologists. The anthropologists, largely due to their field work training procedures, qualified to become the pioneers of the study on tribes, and still continue to dominate the field. In fact, the first efforts to study tribes in India were undertaken by the British colonisers to meet their administrative ends. Administrators such as G.

H. Hutton, J. P. Mills, E. T. Dalton, John Butler and others were appointed on the task to collect information of tribal lives. These initial efforts culminated in a number of profiles on the tribes. The administrative works laid the foundations for further studies on tribes by Indian and western scholars.

Writings on tribes during the post colonial period brought in overwhelming interests among the Indian scholars. Vidyarthi (as cited in Xaxa, 2003, pp. 373-74) describes the post Independence phase as the analytical phase. Research on tribes during this phase came from the Anthropological Survey of India, university departments of sociology, anthropology, and tribal research institutes. The focus of these writings was to undertake problem-oriented research for the effective formulation and implementation of development programmes in the tribal areas.

Classification of tribes

Singh (1994) mentions that the tribal people in India inhabit all climatic zones. Many scholars have classified the tribal population on the basis of religion, language, mode of occupation, race, etc. Bose prepared an index of classifying tribes on the basis of mode of livelihood i.e. hunters and gatherers, animal herders, shifting cultivators and settled agriculturists (Beteille, 1992). However, there is no any standard model of classification, which has been accepted by all. Vidyarthi (as cited in Ahuja, 1999, p. 275) presents one of the popular classifications of tribes. He has divided the tribal people into four zones: (a) The Himalayan region, comprising Jammu and Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh (Bhot, Gujjar, Gaddi), Terai area of Uttar Pradesh (Tharus), Assam (Mizo, Garo, Khasi), Meghalaya, Nagaland (Nagas), Manipur (Mao) and Tripura (Tripuri); (b) Middle India, comprising West Bengal, Bihar (Santhal, Munda, Oraon and Ho), Orissa (Konds, Gond); (c) Western India, comprising Rajasthan (Bhil, Meena, Garasia), Madhya Pradesh (Bhil and others), Gujrat (Bhil, Dubla, Dhodia),

and Maharashtra (Bhil, Koli, Mahadeo, Kokna); and (d) Southern India, comprising Andhra Pradesh (Gond, Koya, Konda, Dova), Karnataka (Naikada, Marati), Tamilnadu (Irula, Toda), Kerala (Pulayan, Paniyan) and Andaman Nicobar Islands (Andamanese, Nicobari). Many small tribes are ignored under this classification; it only considers some major Scheduled Tribes of the country. The numerically less Scheduled Tribe population of Goa may well be considered as a part of southern Indian zone.

Tribes and the Goan society

For demographic purposes, the regions of India have been classified into political, social and administrative categories such as 'village', 'municipal council' and 'census towns'. While the pan Indian population is more rural (68.8 per cent) than urban (31.2 per cent), Goa has more urban (68 per cent) population than rural (32 per cent) (Census of India, 2011). Populations seen as 'rural' sociologically speaking, explain a type of society wherein the trends of modern social change are not pervasive enough. However, as stated earlier one has to accept the fact that there is an inevitable change taking place in all societies. The village in India is a benchmark of Indian rural society, the more distinctive part of which is the rural character of its lives. According to Beteille (2001, p. 34), the distinctiveness of the Indian village has become almost proverbial. He adds, it does provide a common way of living and a common outlook on life to the rural people of India as a whole.

Not much is known or written on the tribes in Goa. The Goan tribal society being smaller in magnitude has yet to make an impression on the pan Indian tribal scene. Singh (1994) observes, the tribe is a local community and therefore it perceives its ethnic identity at the local level, at the most at the regional level and only a marginal percentage exercises its identity at the national level. Tribes constitute an

important social component of the State of Goa. There is an uneven dispersal of tribal population across the villages and towns in the State of Goa.

In many talukas and in the different villages we come across tribal people living amidst the non tribal population. However, in a very few cases such as the villages in the taluka of Canacona, Quepem and Sanguem one finds hamlets exclusively inhabited by the tribes. Scholars such as Agarwal (1977, p. 122) maintain that the interaction between tribes and the non-tribes have initiated socio cultural processes such as acculturation, assimilation and integration. This is also true of the tribes of Goa. Their way of life to a great extent is modified due to these processes. At the same time when we try to understand the tribal communities, we observe that, despite the fact that the Scheduled Tribe communities of the Gawda, Velip and the Kunbi have their distinct identities, they tend to reflect homogeneity in terms of their physical appearance and socio cultural practices. In other words, they share a common ethnic background. Therefore, it is not only that the interaction between tribals and non tribals give rise to a kind of synthesis, but even the interaction between the tribal communities themselves lead to such an amalgamation. Scheduled Tribes of Goa do not belong to a common religion: there are Hindu as well as Catholic Scheduled Tribes. During the pre Portuguese period, these communities were "Backward Hindus". However, during the Portuguese colonial rule in Goa, some sections of the tribal population in the old conquests belonging to the Gawda community were converted to Christianity and hence a sub group called as Catholic Gawda came into existence. A section of these catholic Gawda reverted to Hindus in the year 1928, thus forming a third group referred as Nav-Hindu Gawda. The Gawdas mainly prevail in the old conquests, i.e. in the talukas of Bardez, Tiswadi, Salcete and Mormugao. The Velips reside in the taluka of Quepem, Sanguem and Canacona. Shirodkar (1987)

points out to the fact that prior to conversions and reconversions the Gawda was one single community. Conversion led to the division of the community into four groups. He further mentions that despite religious divisions existing among the communities the pre conversion kinship relations are acknowledged. They do not visit each other directly but do still meet secretly. Notwithstanding, the opinion expressed by Shirodkar, the present study also considers views expressed by other scholars about the communities in chapter three.

Demographic aspects of Tribes in Goa

In the erstwhile Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu five communities namely Dhodia, Dubla, Nayaka, Siddi and Varli were notified as Scheduled Tribes in the year 1968. Presently, the people of these communities are found in Daman and Diu. In January 2003, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Second Amendment) Bill 2002 was passed and notified in the Gazette of India as Act No. 10 of the year 2003. The Government of Goa in the year 2003 declared Gawda, Kunbi, and Velip as Scheduled Tribes in the State.

The share of Scheduled Tribe population of Goa to the total Scheduled Tribe population of India is less than one per cent. As per the 2011 Census, of the total population of 14,58,545 of the State of Goa there are 1,49,275 persons belonging to the Scheduled Tribes which constitute 10.23 per cent of the total population of the State.

Table 1.1**District wise Scheduled Tribe population distribution**

State/District	ST Population	Percentage
Goa	149275	100
North	56606	37.92
South	92669	62.07

Source: Census of India-2011

Table 1.1 shows a preponderance of Scheduled Tribe population in the district of South Goa. This is evident from the fact that, as per the 2011 Census figures 37.92 per cent of Scheduled Tribe population is found in the district of North Goa, and 62.07 per cent is found in the district of South Goa.

The rural urban population distribution trend for the Scheduled Tribes in Goa does show a variation. It is observed that 58.70 per cent of Scheduled Tribe population is rural, while 41.29 per cent is urban.

Table 1.2**Sex ratio among Scheduled tribes in India and Selected States**

India/ State/ UT	2011
India	990
Goa	1046
Kerala	1035
Arunachal Pradesh	1032

Source: Census of India-2011

As indicated in table 1.2 the sex ratio among the Scheduled Tribes in Goa indicates a healthy trend. As per the Census of 2011, the overall sex ratio of the State of Goa is 973 per thousand males. The State of Goa tops the list of showing the

highest sex ratio in the country for the Scheduled Tribes i.e., 1,046 that is considerably higher than the national average of 990 for the total tribal population.

Table 1.3

Scheduled Tribe Population in Goa by Sex and Residence

Males			Females		
Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
72,948	43,263	29,685	76,327	44,376	31,951

Source: Census of India- 2011

Census of India 2011 has recorded a literacy rate of 71.23 per cent among the Scheduled Tribes in Goa. Of the total Scheduled Tribe population in the State, 10,6334 persons are literate of which 56,982 are male literates and 49,352 are female literates.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In India, there is a phenomenal rise in the writings on the theme of social change especially, during the post independence period. In fact, the Indian sociological formulations of the concept of social change find a beginning in the writings of the British and Indian scholars following the last quarter of the 19th century and onwards (Singh, 1974). One should not discount the fact that the non-tribal society is an exception to the concept of 'social change'. However, in the Indian situation change is clearly demonstrated among the tribes more clearly than others (non-tribals) mainly due to their socio economic backwardness. The theme of 'tribal social change' or 'tribal transition' hence became the main agenda of discussion in anthropological and sociological writings. The present study too analyses changes occurring in the livelihood system of the Velips in South Goa. Before discussing the aspects of tribal

social change and its interrelated themes, a brief overview of the history of tribes and tribal literature in general is attempted.

Vidyarthi (1982) describes three phases of tribal literature; the formative period from 1874 to 1919, the constructive period from 1920 to 1949 and the analytical phase from 1950 onwards. It is crucial to begin with the understanding of the concept of 'tribe' in India. The concept of tribe first flashed to the attention of the British administrators. Beteille (1995) believes that the category of 'tribe' more than the 'caste' was a colonial construct. He justifies this argument by saying that the category caste existed in India even before the arrival of British. As there was no literature on the tribes in the pre colonial period Xaxa (2003, p. 374) looks at the category of tribe as a part of modern consciousness brought into being by the colonial state and confirmed by its successor after independence.

The concept of tribe has been referred with different names, and defined and explained in multiple ways by Indian as well as western scholars. Ghurye named them 'Backward Hindus'. Names generally referred by scholars to tribes in the Indian context are primitive tribes, *adivasi*, *vanyajati*, *vanbasi*, *adimjati*, *pahari*, *jana* etc. In the ancient literature of India such as the Vedas, the Puranas, the Ramayana, and the Mahabharata the names of the tribals appeared as *nishad*, *sabarars*, *kiratas* and *dasyus*.

Some historical descriptions of Indian tribes

Ghurye (1963) provides a general description of some important Indian tribes like Santhals, Mundas, Kols, Bhumij, Bhils, Oraons, Khonds, Malers and others. In this work, he elaborately explains some of the prominent attributes prevailing among them in a distinct manner. He emphasises the nature of these tribal groups and unique practices prevalent among them. Haimendorf (1990) in his autobiography presents a

detailed ethnographic profile of some of the primitive hunting and gathering as well as some advanced farming tribal groups in India. The autobiography spells out a rich experience of studying the Indian tribes for over a period of fifty years. Haimendorf's pioneering long term interactions with the Konyak Nagas, Chenchus, Konda Reddis, Bondos, Gadabas, Muria Gonds, Koyas, Kolams, Apa Tani, Dangs, Bhils, Warlies, Maddans, Mutuvans and Sherpas give a precise example of a holistic approach in understanding some of the prominent indigenous populations of the Indian society. Haimendorf's return to some of these tribes after nearly a span of forty years revealed some continuity as well as changing conditions. In many cases, the tribal homelands were transformed for industrial purposes such as industries and mines. One of the most promising works is that of Singh (1994) who has at length described the tribals of central India. In his project 'People of India' (PoI), he has identified 4,635 tribal communities inhabiting the country. The Anthropological Survey of India (ASI) has brought it out in eleven volumes in the national series and more than forty-two volumes on the states of India. In the People of India Project Singh mentioned that there are 91 cultural areas in the country. It is only the state of Goa where there is no sub-culture area.

Literature on the Tribes of Goa

Studies on the tribes of Goa are at an infant stage. Very few works have been undertaken from an anthropological and sociological standpoint on the Velips of Goa. Non-academic writings too are in the nascent stage of development. The folklorists such as Khedekar (2004), Velip Kankar (2006), and others understand the Velip tribe as belonging to the Kunbi tribal community. According to them, the Kunbi is a wider social category which envelopes groups such as the Velip and also the Gawda. There

are also others who consider the Gawda community as offering a wider social framework and thereby considering the Velips as a part of it.

Whilst explaining the ecological and cultural dimension of Gomantak (former name given to Goa) Satoskar (2009, p. 223) describes the concept of 'Kunbi' and the 'Velip'. He refers to the Kunbis as 'Kokni Kunbis' who are found in the entire Konkan region and are also referred as *Kulawadi* in south Konkan region and in Goa. Satoskar considers the Velips as the sub classification of the Kunbi nomenclature. He further adds a rationale supporting the priestly (non sanskritic) tradition prevailing among them. According to a legend, a Kunbi man while grazing his cattle in the deep forest came across a *linga* (object of worship) and hence was entrusted with carrying on religious duties in the temple of lord Mallikarjun at Canacona. This priestly role was further extended by the community in also worshiping their clan gods (*ibid*: 228).

A lucid account describing the Gawdas, Kunbis, Velips and the Dhangars is offered by Bhandari (1999). This concise explanation highlights the basic traits of social and religious organisation, economy, physical features, historical conversion and culture of the communities. Khedekar (2004) while presenting a profile of Kunbi (also referred as Kulambi or Kulmi) describes aspects such as life style, religion, festivals, music and environment friendly social organisation. He observes that the Kunbis reside in the hilly regions in the taluka of Canacona, Quepem and Sanguem which are in the district of south Goa. With the passage of time, some families belonging to the community gradually descended to the foothills and opted to settle in the low-lying areas. They established a village, took up settled agriculture, started coconut plantation and owned some private lands. Since they established the village they came to be called as 'Gawda'. The name 'Gawda' is derived from the word

'gaanv', meaning village, and hence, the name Gawda amply suggests referring to those who initiated in establishing the village. They were the first settlers.

A concise description on the Kunbi food, religion, agriculture, *comunidade*, wiseman tradition and folklore is offered by Marco (1969). On the basis of the entry of the groups and physical features of the aboriginals, Marco justifies the Kunbis as belonging to the Dravidain stock. He believes that the Kunbis have descended into Goa from the south while the Gawdas from the north.

Velip Kankar (2006) opines that some members feel shy to recognise as Kunbis and is largely the result of misguidance by some anti Kunbi authors. He further mentions that those who know the real history, customs and heritage are publicly using Kunbi as their caste name. In memory of their ancestors' journeys, the community is locally referred as *Gaud Marathas*. They believe that the Kunbis came down through eastern India through Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal, Orissa, Andhra and Karnataka and hence called themselves as *Gaud Marathas*.

The survey report on the Scheduled Tribes of Goa refers to the Velips as belonging to the Proto-Australoid race. In fact, the Proto-Australoid group or race is considered to be the second oldest inhabitants of the Indian society (Government of Goa, 2004). Gomes (2010, p. 3) too identifies the Kunbis as belonging to the Proto-Australoid race, who normally worshipped a standing granite-stone called *Khuntti* and had a festival called *Maga porob* that was turned into *Malini porob*. He goes on to mention the type of their religious belief. He says, their deities reside in trees, stones, springs, brooks, streams of water, plants, twigs and bushes mostly on hills or in meadows, and they worshipped these and other natural forces like the sun and the moon, and had their totemic gods in some animals.

The Gazetteer of India, Goa Daman and Diu (1979, p. 233-34) includes all the three categories, viz. the Kunbi, Gawda and the Velip community into one broad category of the Gawda community. It further states that they are supposed to have migrated from South East Asia into Assam, Orissa, Bengal, Kerala, Malabar and Goa. It is definite that they were the first to settle in Goa even before Aryans and Dravidians and it is a traditional belief that it is only this community that brought crops such as rice, coconut, areca nut, plantains, black pepper, etc. The Gazetteer reports of the taluka of Canacona having 371 Gawda families with at least 2500 persons.

The Gazetteer of the Bombay presidency (1883, p. 216) while discussing the tribal community of North Karnataka refers the tribal community of Goa as the Konkan or Kale Kunbis. It says that the Kunbis prevailing in south west Goa is supported by the relations, which they maintain with the Konkan Kunbis of Karwar, Ankola and Haliyal in northern Karnataka.

Academic writings on the tribes of Goa are just making a beginning. The researcher has come across two doctoral thesis which speak on the tribes in Goa. Gomes (1993) study documents health practices of the Kunbi community in the Baradi village in the taluka of Salcete. The study looks at the changing perceptions of illness in the wake of changes taking place in the Kunbi community. This has led to a synthesis in the medical practices. The study calls for a need to integrate and collaborate traditional medicines with modern medicines as an alternative medical system that can serve mankind. A study conducted by D'Souza (1975) examines the social and economic conditions of the Gawda community in Carambolim (Karmali) village of Tiswadi taluka in Goa. Recognised as one of the backward communities, the Gawdas are catching up with the process of development but at a much slower

pace than the other strata of the society. The study specifically looks at the extent of backwardness prevailing among them and analyse them in the context of pre liberation period.

None of the three Scheduled Tribes mentioned have found an independent existence in the tribal literature. While some scholars have explained them in broad categories such as Kunbi, there are others who have explained them as Gawda. The absence of distinct categorisation of the three communities is accounted with some reasons. According to the researcher, the possible reason for the lack of distinct line between the communities arises as a result of similar physical traits prevailing among the members and a uniformity of the cultural practices spread between the three communities. The official categorisation of these communities as Scheduled Tribes in the year 2003 has however, erased the greater part of the confusion between them. Nevertheless, the researcher has attempted to define and explain the etymology with more clarity of the category 'Velip' in greater detail in chapter three.

The existing literature on the Goan tribes though very limited, has benefitted the present study primarily in understanding the history, social organisation, lifestyle, religion, festivals, and cultural aspects of the pan tribal community in Goa and Velip community in particular.

The concept of Livelihood and livelihood system

The concept of 'livelihood' is utmost central to the present study and needs some deliberation. Ellis (as cited in Mishra, 2007) defines a livelihood as an 'encompass[ing] the assets (natural, physical, human, financial and social capital), the activities, and the access to these (mediated by institutions and social relations) that together determine the living gained by the individual or household'. What is indeed noteworthy is the concept of 'livelihood system', which amply makes clear a holistic

way of approaching the life of any community or social group. Hogger (as cited in Hiremath, 2007) tries to understand livelihood systems as made up of very diverse elements which taken together constitute the physical, economic, social and cultural universe wherein the families live. Thus, the livelihood system is more than just a set of physic economic preconditions for continued existence. It also encompasses psychosocial dimensions of experience of living.

Traditional knowledge systems and the tribals

Traditional tribal livelihood systems exhibit a continuum of indigenous knowledge systems. This is equally true of the Velips wherein every single livelihood activity takes recourse to its knowledge systems. Berkes, Colding, and Folke (2000) provides an international survey of literature of traditional ecological knowledge in monitoring, responding to, and managing ecosystem processes and functions, with special attention to ecological resilience. The discussion offers a conceptual clarity on terms such as “Indigenous Knowledge” and “Traditional Ecological Knowledge”. Of late, scholarly debates increasingly prefer using term “Traditional Ecological Knowledge”. By and large, these traditional knowledge systems prevail among the primitive or tribal or backward groups in the world. These societies culturally internalise their traditional ecological knowledge through mechanisms such as rituals, ceremonies, and other traditions. Rituals in particular help people remember the rules and appropriately interpret signals from ecosystem change.

Traditional Ecological Knowledge is understood as a cumulative body of knowledge, practice, and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment. The study offers

interesting examples of how traditional knowledge systems are used in livelihood activities such as farming, agroforestry, hunting, fishing from different countries.

Gadgil *et al.*, (as cited in Berkes *et al.*, 2000) observe that there is a growing interest in Traditional Ecological Knowledge in recent years, partly due to a recognition that such knowledge can contribute to the conservation of biodiversity. Speaking on parallel lines, Berkes and Folke (as cited in Berkes *et al.*, 2000) while exploring a diversity of traditional knowledge systems opine that the Traditional Ecological Knowledge prove useful in providing an understanding and information complementary to scientific ecology. Speaking in similar terms Roy Burman (2005) writes that the tribal way of life symbolically may appear primitive to us but the actual condition of its community life, including its ecological adjustment, may be quite advanced. Such advancement of their knowledge systems cannot be matched or compared with modern scientific knowledge. As these tribals societies are at the crossroads they are bound to experience diversification in their livelihoods.

Livelihood diversification

The concept of 'livelihood diversification' in reality speaks about the transitional nature of strategies adapted by people in making their living. Mishra (2007) provides an account of livelihood diversification taking place in the North East Region. In doing so he focuses on the discussions of the concept of livelihood diversification. Ellis (as cited in Mishra, 2007, p. 68) defines livelihood diversification as 'the process by which households construct an increasingly diverse portfolio of activity and assets in order to survive and to improve their standard of living'. Livelihood diversification among women is very minimal as domestic work restricts their livelihood choices, mobility and participation in public activities (*ibid*: 70). Though agriculture is a major source of livelihood in the region, having nearly fifty-five percent of agriculture

workers of the total workers, the productivity level is very low which is attributed to several factors.

Elmqvist and Olsson (2006) in a study conducted among the poor rural households in the African Sahel provide an account of livelihood diversification in the dry lands. They illustrate the production of gum arabic, the gum from the *Acacia senegal tree* which is declining especially among the small holders due to drought situation, proving detrimental if people have no alternative incomes. Kakhrieseno (as cited in Mishra, 2007) highlights the fast growing trend of tribals producing for the market. Those staying in places having better connectivity of roads market products from their shifting cultivation sites. The Velips too until very recently have begun producing for the market. Produce from the shifting cultivation sites as well as from vegetable gardens are either sold directly in the local market or by roadside selling. All these studies mentioned herewith suggest the basic fact of the inevitability of the process of development leading to the aforementioned livelihood diversification. We will now elucidate the process and the debate on development and tribal development.

Understanding the concept of 'Development' and 'Tribal Development'

In fact, the foundation of social sciences and for that matter sociology is grounded in modern capitalism, which summarises the concept of development. There are multiple perspectives, approaches, models, theories available in the social sciences literature. For the purpose of present study, let us briefly look at the elementary notion of the concept of development and further develop a critical understanding of the tribal development debate in India.

The common sense notion of development stands for a directed change aiming for social progress. Many a times the terms such as change, evolution, progress, systematic growth, modernisation have been used synonymously or interchangeably

to understand the concept of development. Singh (2010) states that development is a composite and inclusive concept as it covers dimensions such as economic development, social development, political development, human development and sustainable development. Dalton has vividly analysed these different dimensions of development. According to him the economists call it as development, political scientists call modernization, sociologists, role differentiation; and anthropologists “culture change” (as cited in Mehta, 2004).

According to Ghosh (1979) development is social change—both as a condition and as a positive outcome. The process of development according to him can be more meaningful if there is a scope for greater involvement and more participation of the masses. The process of development rather than speaking about technological progress should be aiming for the welfare and happiness of the population as a whole—without bypassing the poor and the underprivileged.

Ghosh (2012, p. 2) points out to the difficulty to attempting for a universal definition of the term development, as development is often viewed as an ‘ideology’ to promulgate class rule hegemony. He therefore says that development is to be viewed as a ‘discourse’ – a way or framework of thinking and actions about things having consequences for power. The idea of development initially meant systematic growth, evolution, advancement and progress. It was understood to be a process for changing economic and social capacities, priorities and choices. In common parlance, it means well-being and better life for people at large to (*ibid*: 27).

He presents a detailed account of illustrious scholars on the theme, ‘development’. He mentions that the discourse on development is not new, but has gained a wide currency in the academic discussions in the last twenty years or so primarily because the different models of development adapted have resulted in

multiple shortcomings. Rather than achieving progress to safeguard and protect the environment, the developing and the developed countries are facing contrary realities of the problems of development.

Ghosh observes that the process of development undertaken in the post independence period has brought in disparity and discontent. As a result of which there is a need to sharpen our understanding about the process and challenges of contemporary development and analyse its possibilities as well as consequences. With the use of a systematic and comprehensive analysis, we would be able to suggest and develop alternative paradigm(s) that are humane in nature, timely in dimension and hold good for a large part of our socially and economically backward/ deprived sections of population (*ibid*: 3). The foregoing discussion on development serves as an important departure to debate and discuss the process of tribal development in the contemporary Indian society and at the same time offer a critique.

The process of development as formulated by Nongbri (2003) is revolving around triple axes of industrialism, universalism and democratisation, and is aimed to change the world into a homogenous social order. He further says that this process instead of helping fight backwardness of the tribals has risked tribal cultures and traditions and given rise to discontent among them.

Yet another concept developed in the 1980s is the concept of sustainable development. The limitations of the western model of development experimented in the developing countries resulted in the debate of sustainable development throughout the world. Dhanagare (as cited in Salunkhe, 1996) observes that the process of sustainable development spoke of additional criteria such as distributive justice or equity, and improvement in the overall quality of the masses. The World Commission on Environment set up by the United Nations in 1983 published a report entitled, our

common future in the year 1987. According to the report, 'sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs'. In other words, development involves a progressive transformation of the economy and society (*ibid*: 71).

Historical discourse on tribal development

The discourse on tribal development is quite old and is engaged with different perspectives coming from sociologists, anthropologists and others. It is important to take a look at the historical debate on tribal development very shortly after Indian independence. Rath (2006) presents contrasting historical perspectives between Nehru and Elwin on tribal development. Elwin, one of the senior most and an authority on Indian tribes was an isolationist in approach, and believed that the tribes suffered economic and cultural losses as a result of the caste society. The isolationist stand taken by Elwin and other British administrators was attacked by Nehru as well Ghurye. Nehru felt that the colonisers always tried to draw a division between tribals and the non-tribals as they failed to understand and recognise the inflows between them. Elwin's writings were severely attacked by Ghurye, who considered the tribals as 'Backward Hindus'. Ghurye contested Elwin position in his essay, *The Aborigines So-called and Their Future* and said that, while a large section of the tribal society were loosely integrated in Hinduism, a very few of them remained untouched as in the case of Assam. The differences between the cultures of these tribal groups are very marginal and therefore there is an assimilation of cultural traits between them (Singh, 1996). Elwin at a later stage reformed his earlier views and spoke about integration rather than isolation or assimilation of tribes into the mainstream society. Nehru conceptualised the constitutional provisions for tribal development as Panchsheel

policy. He saw the Indian tribes having their own distinct identities and therefore emphasised upon development of tribes by protecting their cultural genius.

Studies on tribal social change: A critical evaluation

Having understood the debate of tribal development in the historical context, let us have a glance at a few tribal studies focussing on tribal development with reference to different aspects in different parts of the country in general. Sharma (2008) has worked on the Mina tribe of eastern Rajasthan and is a developmental study. He argues that every tribal community should be identified and distinguished from the other on the basis of its stratification. The type of progress or development achieved by any tribe can only be explained on the basis of stratification. The Minas lived in isolation for a long period of history. Their isolation continued to give them survival in terms of tribal identity. The constitutional safeties and securities guaranteed to the Minas have brought about certain social and cultural changes among them. This has also changed the image of the Minas in particular and the other tribal groups in general. This new image has created problems of their social and cultural identity. They also have attained some of the characteristics of modernity.

Raju, Sudhakar and Umamohan (2009) present a changing socio economic profile of Chenchus, a primitive tribal group in Andhra Pradesh. The study examines the impact of development programmes, in particular the Integrated Tribal Development Programme (ITDP) on variables such as education, child labour, and age at marriage, employment generation, and cultural transformation.

Tribal social change is explained as change in the nature of social systems. Mandelbaum (1972) looks at the transition of tribal people into the *jati* society by presenting the cases of a few tribes such as the Konds of Baderi village in Orissa, Kotas of the Nilgiri hills in Tamil Nadu, Bhumij of Barabhum in West Bengal,

Bhotias of Johar valley in Uttar Pradesh, and Santals of the Jamshedur vicinity in Bihar.

Sahai, Kunwar and Srivastava (2006) examine the governmental and nongovernmental programmes aimed at the development of the Tolchha Bhotia tribes showing a mixed response. They further note some of the traits of transhumance and migratory mode of living present among the Bhotias deprive them from the programmes of development. Natural factors such as isolated geographical location and adverse climatic conditions affect their settled life. While educational scholarships, provision of hostels has sustained formal education, many young men and women aspire to get government jobs. This changing situation is bringing a decline to their traditional and primary activity of manufacturing and trading of woollen articles.

Pandey and Bhatia (2006) posit an interesting ethnographic explanation of transition taking place among the Car Nicobarese. The Nicobarese are fast seen accepting developmental means through education, health and cooperative movements. The achievement of education has sharpened their political consciousness. Moreover, a continuous interaction with Christian missionaries and outsiders (people from Tamilnadu, Chennai and Karnataka) has led to an occupational change from horticulture to modern economic pursuits and socio cultural change particularly noticed in their dress patterns. However, with given the pro acceptance of development by the Nicobarese, there is a rising concern of quite unlikely gender inequality taking place with reference to female education and employment. While the process of modern development has devalued tradition and brought inequality, the study stresses the need for decentralisation of opportunities with egalitarian access to opportunities.

A study by Das (2005) assesses the nature and extent of change taking place among the tribals in Chhota Nagpur. It is observed that agriculture, which is traditional in character of the tribes, is getting affected due to accessibility to non-agricultural jobs. At the same time, there is an incredible interest among the communities to pursue education and consequent employment in the government sector. Unlike the past marriageable age among the girls is considerably increasing; some even not getting married beyond 25 or 30. Rail and road networking in the tribal areas have invaded their fertile resources giving way to industrialization. At the same time, the access to towns and weekly markets has forced that to absorb the cultural traits of the non-tribals. The tribals are becoming more conscious than they were never before. A new tribal image is thus being formed.

A study by Sahoo and Das (2006) on elementary education of tribes highlights some significant educational indicators in the country and in the state of Orissa. Elementary education received a good boost during the ninth five-year plan wherein the government of India targeted for universalisation of primary education. Rural India showed healthy signs of educational infrastructures at the primary and upper primary level. Bhargava *et al.* observe that a large number of children in the age group 6-14 years not attending school, high dropout rate, a low level of learning achievement, and low participation of girls, tribes and other disadvantaged groups (as cited in Sahoo & Das, 2006).

Yet another study on education by Shah (2005) explains the outlook of the tribes on education. It is observed that the tribal way of looking at education is very different from the people not belonging to the tribes. Naik (as cited in Shah, 2005) says that it is the vocational rather than the academic interests that appeal them more. Yet another problem occurring among them is the high dropout rate at the high school

and middle level and readiness to accept any nature of jobs that may come appear before them (Desai and Pandor, as cited in Shah, 2005).

Aerthayil's (2008) study assesses the impact of the process of globalisation on the tribal life in the three districts of Wayanad, Idukki and Palakkad in the State of Kerala. The study examines the phenomenon of globalisation, which started in the 1990s on the livelihood, employment, socio cultural and religious life, health, education and women. It is observed that the marginalised and deprived sections of the society have not much benefitted from the constitutional safeguards; on the contrary the situation among them is deteriorating and needs an immediate redressal.

A study by Kalgi (2008) explains the contrasting trends between the old and new life among the Gondkurubs. The Gondkurubs, once associated with hunting and rearing sheep have entered into agricultural operations and have emerged as peasants. Apart from the regular changes in housing, family, clothing, education and food the Gondkurubs are fast accepting religious traits of other communities by participating in religious festivals, ceremonies and fairs. Their close contact with the other the non-tribals have brought about dynamic influences in their life. All these factors have sanskritised the Gondkurub community.

Brower and rose (2007) offers a description of how the once isolated indigenous people and cultural minorities in different parts of the world and especially in south and central Asia are becoming part of the global mainstream. The study looks into the historical and current conditions of the communities in the wake of global changes that are creeping into and indeed tries to see the manner in which they respond to them.

Shah and Sisodia (2004) in their volume presents important tribal issues of marginalisation, commercial exploitation, livelihood and land alienation,

empowerment, education and health, development and displacement, economic change and deprivation, partnership ethics and environment politics in different parts of the country.

Singh (2008) throws light on important dimensions of tribal development and social change in India in the context of new policy regime and environment. A few papers highlight the important issues pertaining to tribal and backward communities in India. The papers mainly deal with the issues of refugees, aging, religious and cultural identity, ethno-medicine and traditional health seeking behaviour, migration, land alienation, demographic change, women health, socio-cultural adaptation, tribal development programmes, ethnicity, etc.

Bhowmik (1988) summarises the discussions held in the workshop on the theme entitled, 'Alternative Tribal Development Perspectives' organised by the Centre for Studies of Economic Appraisal. The discussions in the workshop critically evaluate the various official measures taken for development of the tribals and examine the social and economic structures of tribal societies so as to understand the nature of change especially in the State of Bihar, Tripura and west Bengal. The resolved to achieve the following points: first, tribal areas must be self managed to ensure social and economic development; second, the planning process should consider the grass root problems; third, reduction in administrative costs, and lastly, strengthening the indigenous languages.

While the post independent era lays emphasis on the assimilation of tribal society into the mainstream, there seems to be a fear of dissolution of the tribal ethnic identity. Ethnic identity or ethnicity is a sense of identification with a group that is perceived by its members and external observers as culturally different from the larger group within which it exists (Segal, 2005). Doshi (1997) clearly demonstrates the

constitutional measures leading structural and cultural changes in tribal society. This situation warrants an urgent need to reinterpret and reconstitute their ethnic identities as they are getting transformed. Doshi further critically interrogates the relevance of tribal development undertaken in the recent past. He argues that despite the constitutional obligations designed to improve the quality of the tribal lives, the results shown are dissatisfactory and disheartening.

Noted Indian anthropologist Xaxa (2012, p. 316) maintains that the developmental programmes have failed to achieve the required results mainly due to factors inherent in the traditional socio-economic structure and cultural system of the people. Hence, development is expected to be more effective if the programmes and schemes are evolved in consonance with the ecology, social organisation and cultural values of the tribal people. Xaxa further mentions that the development measures undertaken by the State since independence until the present day have integrated the tribal populations with the general masses but by and large did not bring effective development among the tribals. This has happened primarily because the process of integration was based on the principles of discrimination, exploitation and subjugation of the tribes. The development projects started in the tribal areas well depict the discriminatory and exploitative standards meted upon the tribals. These projects have led to the lessening of forest resources, created ecological disharmony and eventually led to the disintegration of the cultural heritage and communitarian life (*ibid*: 320-321).

Xaxa (*ibid*: 321) however observes that there is change in the dimension of tribal studies taking place in the recent past. The focus of these studies is not so much to integrate and promote development but to help in conserving and maintaining

ecological balance. Today, the need of the tribal society is to welcome development but with a proviso that their environment is well protected.

Munshi (2012) offers a compilation of contributions by sociologists, historians and environmental activists covering several tribal issues. Many of the articles are in the form of case studies and offer explanations to specific issues. One of the issues discussed is the continuation of the colonial forest policies by the state in the postcolonial period depriving the control of the tribals on land and forest. Another range of articles included in the book discusses the widespread problem of land alienation making the tribals the most vulnerable and disadvantaged sections of the society. The next series of articles focus on the dependence of the tribal communities on alternative livelihood resources due to disintegration of forest resources and increasing restrictions imposed on them to forest resources. Displacement and rehabilitation are phenomenal tribal concerns in India. The subsequent writings in the text highlight the adaptability of tribal groups with new habitats and efforts in protecting and maintaining their identities. The debate over Forest Rights Act (FRA) and its implementation is examined especially in the State of Andhra Pradesh and Kerala. The articles clearly demonstrate the lack of coordination and transparency between the departments in delaying its implementation. The concluding articles in the series document change leading to the transformation of old type of production to a market system which is profit oriented.

Traditional tribal livelihood activities and struggle

In addition to the review presented so far the study has also reviewed specific tribal livelihood activities of shifting cultivation, hunting undertaken in the forests and wild life sanctuaries. The peasantisation of the tribal communities, struggle between

agriculture and water resource management, and emerging issues of tribal discontent and Forest Right Act (FRA) also forms the part of the literature review.

Activities such as hunting and shifting cultivation continue to characterise the tribes with wildness. Skaria (2007) explains the wildness of the Dangs with traditional livelihood activities such as shifting cultivation and game hunting. He explains the time schedule followed by the Dangs in selecting sites for cultivation and further elucidates how the practice was ecologically a sound one. The feature of wildness was also observed in women also contributing to the activity of hunting. Women were involved in beating the forests and flushing animals out; occasionally they were also part of the group that killed the animals (*ibid*: 228). Sabar's (2012) study of the Chutkia Bhunjia tribe of Orissa examines the importance of traditional knowledge in agriculture and shifting cultivation. He calls for an urgent need to integrate traditional knowledge with modern knowledge in a sustainable manner.

Vidyarthi (1962) comments on the Conklin's paper entitled, "The Study of Shifting Cultivation," and draws attention to the fact that his views on shifting cultivation is to a large extent similar to that expressed by Conklin. Vidyarthi's discussion on the slash and burn type of cultivation of the Maler tribe of Raj Mahal hills is based on a series of stages, namely, selection and cutting of forest, burning and removing of wood, sowing, weeding, watching, harvesting, worshipping, and merry making. According to Vidyarthi there is an absence of holistic approach in Conklin's study, which hardly explains the cultural dimension of a community of shifting cultivators. The emphasis on culture is however, noticed among the Malers. Vidyarthi explores nature-man-relationship, the man-to-man relationship, and ultimately, the nature-man-spirit relationship in his study.

Mishra (2007) underscores the vitality of forests as an additional and dependable source of livelihood, particularly for smoothening consumption. He specially emphasises on the concept of environmental entitlements, wherein forest serve to provide livelihood security to the tribals at the household level in the North East region (Jodha as cited in Mishra, 2007).

Hiremath (2007) while examining the changing rural livelihood systems explains the changing trends in agriculture. Factors such diminishing land resources, decline in productivity, threatened loss of bio-diversity, natural resource degradation, widening economic inequality, and pressure from market liberalisation and globalisation are posing new challenges in rural agricultural sector.

Sarangai (1999) deliberates on the proposed wild life sanctuaries, which will displace thousands of tribals in the State of Orissa. The tribals in Orissa, after experiencing massive displacements for projects such as industries and dams have come under the fear of displacement for the proposed sanctuaries. The State devised a strategy to forcefully displace the tribal communities by imposing ban on livelihood activities such as shifting cultivation, cattle grazing, firewood collection, and collection of forest produce. The situation led to the worsening of their livelihood conditions to the extent that some tribals had to rely on tubers and roots from the deep forest. With the declaration of nine to ten sanctuaries in the State, the indigenous population have formed unions to protect their interests. The tribal people resented against the government in the form of stay away from voting, opposing developmental works, non-cooperating with government agencies, gheraoing government officers, opposing entry of the local representatives, etc. The state is encountering a formidable challenge from the tribal people in the form of protest alliances.

Sen and Lalhrietpui (2006) while discussing the use value of forests for the tribals vis-a-vis the new Scheduled Tribes (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill, highlights important geographical, ecological and cultural linkages of the tribes with the forests, which are to be duly considered for the contextualisation of the bill. The paper emphasises the significance of hunting, gathering, shifting cultivation and sacred groves in providing sustainability and conservation to forest resources. Another important facet discussed in the paper is the role of indigenous knowledge used as a strategy in conservation.

An alarming situation taking place among the tribals is that they have lost their traditional rights, and as a result have lost control over their own resources. Dogra (1990) comments on the 28th Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes. The report draws attention to the confrontation between the people of the middle Indian tribal belt and the State, bringing an awakening of the deteriorating situation of the tribals. The report speaks of issues like land alienation, indebtedness and erosion of forest rights.

Phansalkar and Verma (2004) provide a synthesis of a Central India Initiative (CInI), a collaborative research programme by researchers and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs). The study suggests for improved water control strategies having the potential in resolving livelihood issues of the tribals in middle India. Such strategies would transform tribal homelands by enhancing their incomes and employment thereby reducing hunger, food insecurity and forced migration. It will help in boosting food security of the nation and invoke a spirit of community participation among the tribals.

Reflections on methodology

The present study is guided by ethnographic field research orientation, and has therefore sought methodological inputs from the writings of various scholars. Kasi and Malik (2009) unfold a series of writings by several authors on the theoretical and practical dimension of ethnography. In the words of Hammersely (*ibid*: 1), ethnography means writing about people, or writing an account of the ways of life of a particular people. For Firth and Hymes (*ibid*: 1) ethnography is the study of people's behaviour in naturally ongoing setting, with a focus on the cultural interpretation of behaviour. The contributions in the book also discuss the dual function of ethnography as a process as well as product. (Fabian & Rooij, 2008) deliberates on the role of ethnographic practice within anthropology. After attempting for a brief history of the term, they look at the popularity of the method in other disciplines. According to them, the critical examination of ethnography as a genre of writing and as set of methods and practices of doing fieldwork made ethnography more visible to researchers in other disciplines. Brewer (2010) considers ethnography as one of the principle methods of qualitative research. He defines ethnography as follows:

It is the study of people in naturally occurring settings or 'fields' by methods of data collection which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally.

Angrosino (2007) outlines the importance of ethnographic qualitative research as a respected research approach in diversified disciplines of knowledge. It involves not studying individuals but people in a collective sense as communities or societies. Moreover, he mentions the significance of the element of culture of such communities, which can be learnt in the context of sharing their behaviours, customs and beliefs.

A number of significant reflections on fieldwork by distinguished fieldworkers like Veena Das, T. N. Madan, Madhu Kishwar and others are presented by Thapan (1998). The discussion by the different authors acquaints the researcher in applying it in the domain of study. Complex issues such as subject/object dichotomy, the need to conceptualise indigenous theories and method, unlearning of socially conditioned habits and practices, fieldwork as a personal adventure, subjectivity in fieldwork, use of formal anthropological tools, anthropology as study of mutual interpretations of culture, the 'hybrid' nature of ethnographic writing, notion of identity, culture and location in conducting fieldwork, and the importance of the element of gender in ethnography.

The review of literature considered for the present study throws important light on the major themes and issues concerning the tribes in India. Until now, the literature on Goan tribes has come to focus largely on its organisational framework. However, studies on transitional aspects in the tribal society are yet to make a beginning. Taking cognizance of the fact, the researcher noticed that the tribal situation demands an explanation on the trends of change occurring in their social world. Goa, geographically a tiny State has a heterogeneous tribal population spread throughout. The Velip tribe in the taluka of Canacona in the south district of the State having peculiar features of geography, customs, traditions and above all their unique livelihood system is the focus of the present study.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The whole of tribal India is at the present moment going through a stage of transition. This dynamism has led none of the tribal groups today to correspond to the ideal type of a primitive society of the previous eras. Anthropologists primarily attribute change experienced by tribal communities due to the relative opening of hill and forest area

and also due to the process of sanskritisation (Singh, 2008). As part of the Indian union, Goa too has been experiencing development since liberation, i.e. from the year 1961 onwards. The process of development has brought in substantial changes among the masses of the Goan society. Undoubtedly, it can be said that the tribes of Goa too are not an exception to the above dynamics as their livelihood systems are undergoing changes. One has to accept that the pace of change is rather slower among the tribes as compared to the non-tribal world. However, many aspects of tribal life have undergone changes during the last five decades of planned development in the state of Goa. The study of tribal dynamics therefore, deserves special consideration as the tribal social worlds are being transformed due to the process of development.

The State of Goa does not have any declared Scheduled Tribe areas. The model of “Scheduled Areas” was developed to raise the socio-economic status of the tribal population. Mann (1980) mentions that the emphasis given to Scheduled Areas eventually took away the interest of the bureaucracy in meeting the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes. In the People of India Project, Singh (as cited in Sharma, 2008) mentioned that there are 91 cultural areas in the country. It is only the State of Goa where there is no sub cultural area. By and large the Goan tribes live amidst a mixed population (non tribal). They are seen scattered in the different villages and towns of Goa. A very few villages and hamlets have exclusive tribal populations. This is true of the Velips found in a very few hamlets of Gaondongrem and Cotigao. Tribal issues of livelihood became the central focus of the government until very recently, i.e. since the last decade. The official recognition to the tribes as ‘Scheduled Tribes’ given in the year 2003 is considered as an important landmark for tribal development in the State. However, development of the tribes was spelt with more clarity, when in year 2010 the Department of Tribal Welfare came to be established in the State.

The Indian society adopted the process of planned development soon after Independence. The post independent era is largely known for the efforts undertaken towards tribal welfare. The developmental means were generally aimed at improving the quality of tribal lives. However, it is evident that the project 'development' has differential impact for different categories of people; as a result there are variations in the levels of development. Being capitalistic, it is argued that the programmes of development positively impact mainly the haves and not the have-nots; people of the mainstream and not the excluded and the people in the periphery. Even after six decades of country's independence, the situation seems to be rather unsatisfactory, as the tribal societies continue to face exploitation of all sorts. According to Munshi (2012, p. 3) a very small section has benefitted from the protective measures of the government, the system of reservation in educational institutions, employment and political reservation, but the majority have been marginalised by the process of so-called development of the last six decades since Independence.

This study looks into the initiatives undertaken by the State towards tribal welfare with special reference to the schemes and programmes under the Tribal Sub Plan (TSP)

As the process of tribal development has assumed greater significance in the country, the State of Goa too is gearing up with the process. While the last two decades of developmental intervention has ushered in perceptible and appreciable social transformation and change of life style among the tribals in certain areas, the situation seems to be paradoxical to some extent. There are also inhabitants where the developmental intervention has not been of a progressive nature. The social condition of the Velip Scheduled Tribe while examined from the perspective of social transformation is rather pathetic on the one hand, while on the other hand is in a

process of quick change. The manifestation of differences is depicted in terms of the persisting dependence of the community on the traditional rudimentary resources. Thus, according to Modi (2008) the process of social transformation through the medium of development demands a multidimensional and accelerated social change, in the mindsets, lifestyles, ways of thinking and doing, and creating a desire to achieve an egalitarian social order with improved quality of life and happiness.

The constitutional commitment of India to ameliorate the conditions of the tribal communities and the response of the tribal communities to the influence of modernity raise questions to be answered. At this particular juncture, it is vital to understand the nature of this transformation taking place in their livelihood system. Hence, questions such as, what is the character of traditional tribal livelihood system, what are changes taking place in their livelihoods, how do the tribal communities perceive and respond to these transformations, what are the persisting hardships they encounter today of different kinds, and what is the interventionist role of the government in addressing tribal welfare in the State acquire sociological salience.

In trying to understand the livelihood changes taking place among the tribes, the study critically evaluates the paradigm of tribal development in the State of Goa. While attempting to unravel the nature of livelihood systems, the study helps to bridge the understanding of the present and the past tribal society. The researcher has noticed that the available literature on tribal situation in Goa is scarce, impressionistic, journalistic and activist in character. Therefore, the researcher proposes to address this issue from sociological and social anthropological vantage point.

OBJECTIVES

The specific objectives of the study are:

1. to build a social and demographic profile of selected tribal villages;
2. to find out the nature of traditional livelihood systems of the tribal communities;
3. to know the transitions taking place in the livelihood systems of the tribal communities; and
4. to understand the development initiatives undertaken by the State towards tribal welfare.

Relevance of the study

While presenting a systematic profile of the changing way of life of the Velips, the study offers a thorough understanding of livelihood change from a historical as well as empirical point of view. This will help the administrators to understand the nature of the livelihood systems prevailing overtime and thereby assist in overcoming the ambiguities of understanding the transitions across a time frame. The explanations on the historical or traditional livelihood systems presented in the study are of importance for any further research taking place in the area. It may perhaps become difficult to arrive at authentic interpretations of traditional practices with a disjuncture taking place in the oral transition of belief systems and conventions.

The information pertaining to the transitory character of institutions and the fast diminishing traditional livelihood activities of tribal life will be of immense help for administrative and non-administrative purposes. Tribal societies living in the remote hamlets face utter constraints of livelihood. Some problems are specific to certain hamlets. The study discusses a multiplicity of such problems relating to housing, nature of settlement and the natural livelihood resources such as water,

problems in the agricultural domain, family dynamics, education, cashew plantation, transportation, forest related activities etc. All these explanations will be of help in representing to local governing bodies and policymaking.

Chapterisation scheme

After introducing sociological issue addressed in the first chapter, the second chapter describes the methodological considerations and research setting. In the chapter three, the territories of the hamlets have been systematically mapped with an explanation on the demographic features of the selected hamlets in the villages of Gaondongrem and Cotigao. The chapter offers an ethnographic profile of community covering several aspects of social dimension.

Although the Velip society is undergoing rapid transformation, some aspects of long established traditional life continue even to this day. The fourth chapter on traditional livelihood system explores social, economic and cultural dimension of tribal life. The chapter begins with a discussion on the early ancestral settlements, which are not presently inhabited by the tribes. It explores the ways in which these settlements become central to tribal faith and livelihood. Economically speaking, the traditional character and the concomitant dynamism of livelihood activities such as hunting, food gathering, shifting cultivation, cattle rearing and *saavod*, have been discussed at length. Tribal life cannot be separated from forests; the chapter looks into the continued reliance on the forests and also explores the traditional medicinal practices of the community.

Transitions in livelihood system is one of the core chapters of the study. The discussions in the next chapter on transitions in livelihood systems bring to the forefront the emergence of new livelihood activities and changes taking place in the existing ones. Activities such as cashew cultivation, the *porsu* vegetation and the

eventual rise of the Self Help Groups (SHGs) and Agricultural Cooperative Societies in the villages rooted through the corporate social responsibility undertaken by Goa Shipyard Limited (GSL) have been discussed in detail. It also explores the changing nature of agricultural practices from tradition to the modern day. Crucial changes taking place in the present settlement areas affect the livelihood of the tribes.

The chapter on state, development and tribes provides a running commentary on the nature of tribal discontent that has taken place in the recent past vis-a-vis the state. It also provides an account of the efforts of the community leaders in forming tribal associations culminating in the birth of a tribal movement. Furthermore, a more elaborate discussion is presented on the development initiatives undertaken by the state towards tribal welfare. It discusses the formation of the Department of Tribal Welfare and the objectives and schemes outlined. In doing so, it also focuses on the achievements of the tribal welfare department. The implementation of the Tribal Sub Plan in the State, though very recent, is presented from the time of its inception. The chapter concludes with the type of resistance mounted by the tribal society against anti mining activities and critical wildlife habitats.

The concluding chapter presents findings of the study. It also puts forth limitations and suggestions for effective implementation of policies.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND RESEARCH SETTING

Genesis of the study

Before discussing methodology and data analysis, the genesis of the present study is narrated. Anthropologically speaking, the selection of the field of investigation requires from the fieldworker some acquaintance with the people who he would study in their geographical and cultural context. The existing inclination culminated in a series of visits (individual and in groups) undertaken in the tribal dominated regions of the villages of Gaondongrem and Cotigao in the Canacona taluka. Some visits were initiated in the form of field visits for undergraduate students during the past five to six years to the remote hamlets of Nadkem and Kerim in Cotigao. There were also instances wherein the researcher participated in the cultural occasions, festivals and activities of tribal communities.

The preliminary visits helped the researcher to overcome a couple of difficulties which otherwise could have surfaced in the commencement and also during the actual course of research work. The visits facilitated in establishing social contacts with prominent persons and representatives from the local self-governing bodies. In the case of the present study, the former acquaintance of the territories of the villages immensely helped in deciding the universe of study. Furthermore, the interactions with people from the tribal communities were indeed suggestive and helpful in overcoming a major drawback of the scarcity of literature in the tribal field.

The actual beginnings that shaped the study were with the inputs available from the Census of India. The figures released by the Census of India, 2011 have to a great extent helped in contextualising the present study. In fact, the beginnings of the

study coincided with the declaration of the Primary Census Abstract (PCA) data of the Census of India, 2011. Until the year 2003, the Kunbi, Velip and Gawda tribes in the State were included in the list of the Other Backward Classes. The declaration of the 2011 census figures brought in fresh population updates of the newly declared STs. During this period, the researcher was invited to deliver two lectures in the data dissemination workshop organised by the Directorate of Census Operations, Government of Goa.

The two presentations were focussed on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of Goa. The first lecture was delivered on the topic, "A Comparative Social Demography of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Population in Goa". The presentation covered demographic aspects of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe communities. The present study has gathered important inputs from the lecture pertaining to the proportion of ST population to the total population of the state, ST population and decadal change, district wise distribution of ST population, rural urban distribution of ST population, taluka wise distribution of ST population, trends in proportion of ST population from 2001 to 2011, Scheduled Tribe Population by sex and residence-2011 (Goa State), sex ratio among Scheduled Tribes in India and selected states and union territories- 2001 and 2011, and a comparison of sex ratio for Goa SC/ST- 2001-2011.

The second lecture was delivered on the topic, "Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Workers in Goa: A demographic description". Keeping in view the central theme of livelihood and the engagement of the tribes in traditional livelihood activities, the resource material of the lecture benefitted the study.

Both these lectures were based on the analysis of Primary Census Abstract Data of India, 2011. The lectures helped the researcher in acquainting to the different

trends of Scheduled Tribe population in the country in general and the State of Goa in particular, and also in deciding to locate the field of this study.

The Scheduled Tribe population in the State of Goa according to the Census of India, 2011 is presented in table 2.1.

Table 2.1

Taluka wise distribution of Scheduled Tribe population in Goa

Taluka	Total population	ST population	% of population
Pernem	75747	46	0.06
Bardez	237440	1654	0.69
Mormugao	154561	6870	4.44
Bicholim	97955	4492	4.58
Sattari	63817	4030	6.31
Tiswadi	177219	18785	10.59
Salcete	294464	32562	11.05
Ponda	165830	27599	16.64
Sanguem	65147	14290	21.93
Canacona	45172	13657	30.23
Quepem	81193	25290	31.14

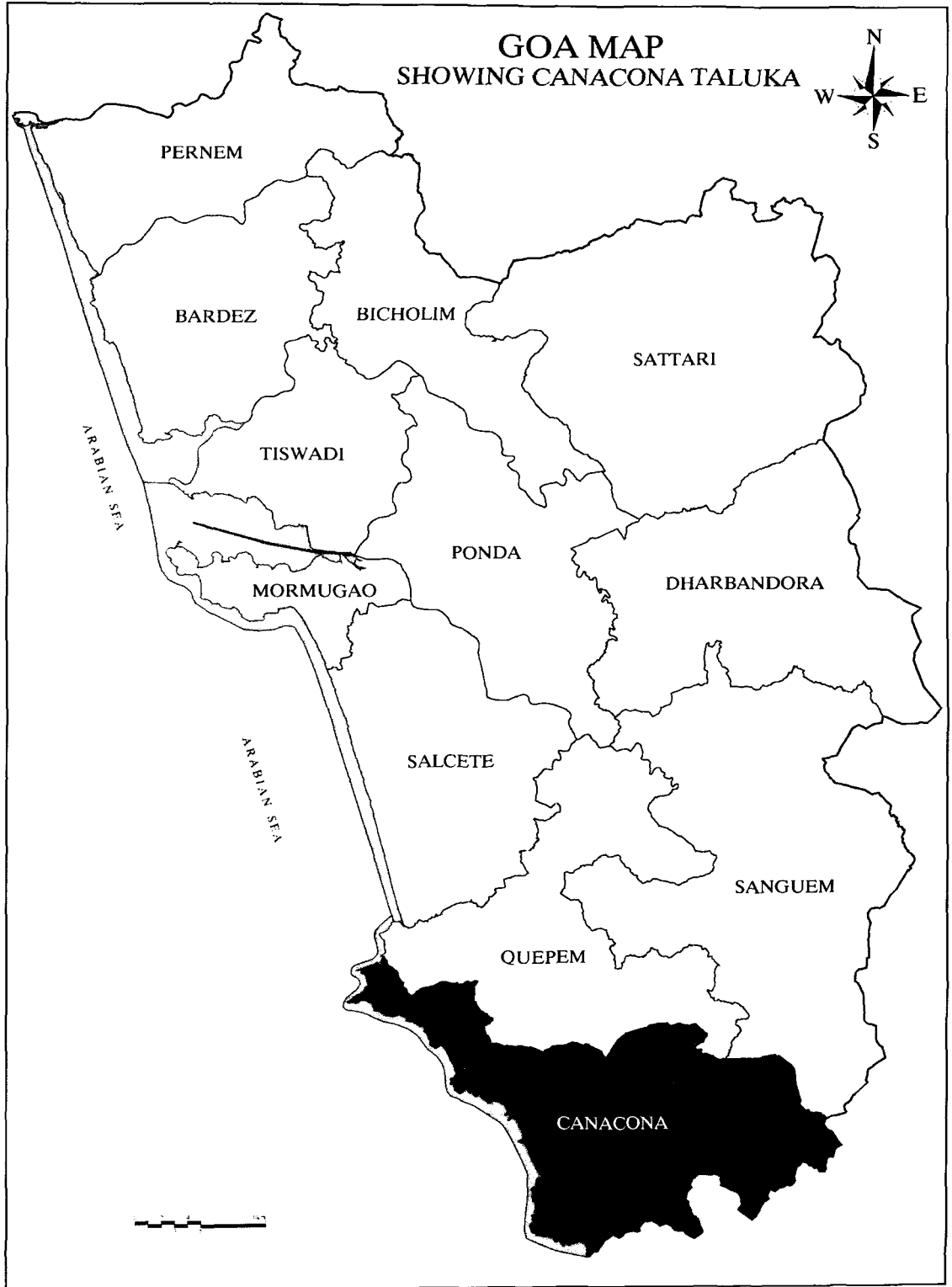
Source: Census of India 2011

As indicated in table 2.1, the Scheduled Tribe population in absolute figures is highest in the taluka of Salcete followed by Ponda and others. The proportion of Scheduled Tribe population to the total population is higher in the taluka of Quepem followed by Canacona. The present study was finally decided to contextualise in the taluka of Canacona. Besides the demographic indicator of Canacona showing a higher tribal proportion, there were several other parameters for selecting the taluka of

Canacona. Geographically, Canacona is the southernmost taluka in the State of Goa having tribal communities living in remote areas. Some of these tribal settlements are in the Cotigao Wild Life Sanctuary. Many of the tribal settlements in Canacona also bear typical tribal geographical features such as isolation, hilly topography and forest.

MAP 2.1

GOA SHOWING CANACONA



After deciding to base the study in the taluka of Canacona, the subsequent step was to define the universe of study. The table 2.2 explains the population distribution in different villages and town of Canacona.

Table 2.2

Village wise percentage of ST population in Canacona

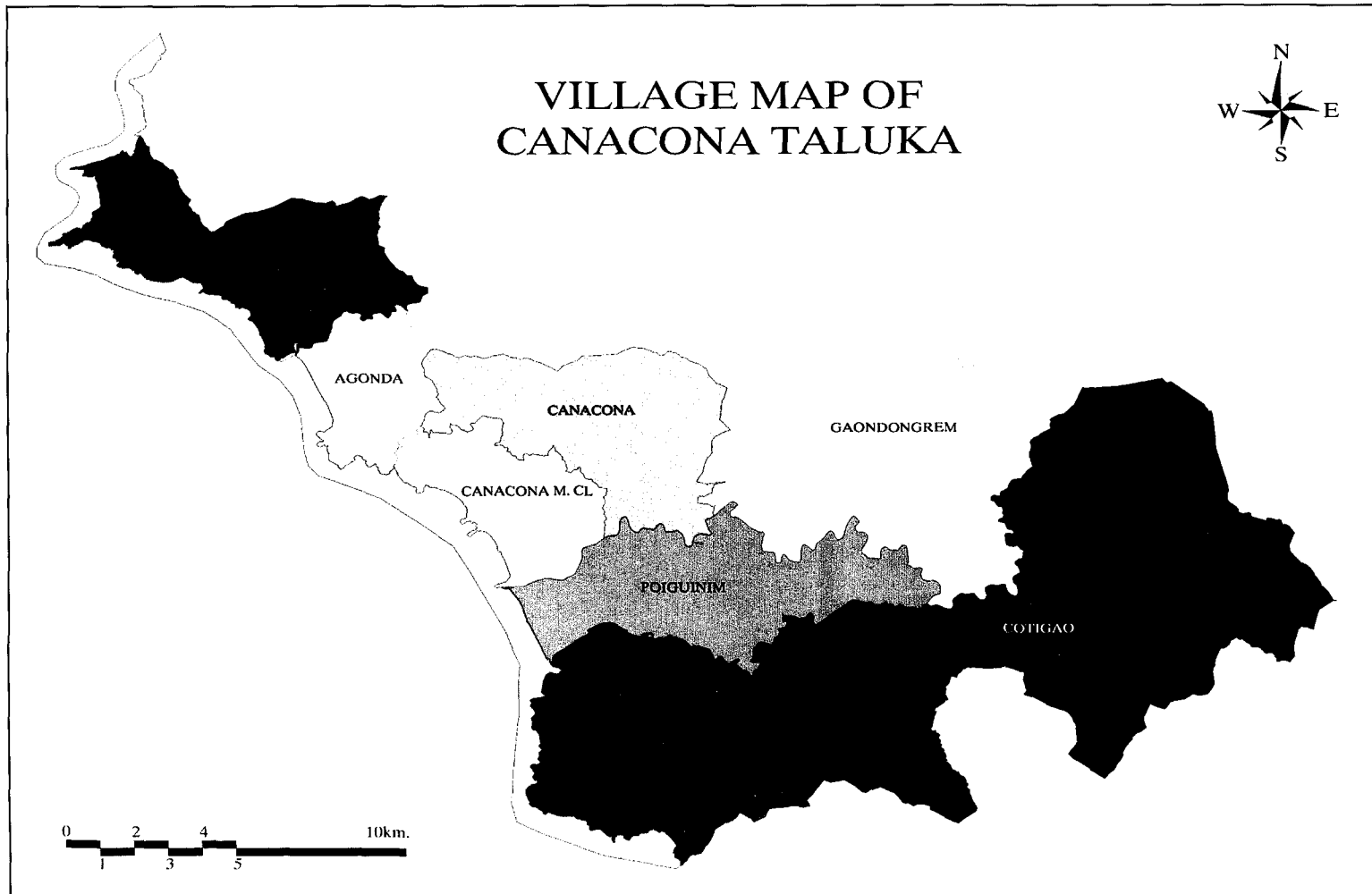
Sr. No.	Village/town	Total population	ST population	% of ST population
1	Cola	5382	2977	55.31
2	Agonda	3801	371	9.76
3	Canacona	4547	2013	44.27
4	Gaodongrem	4946	4321	87.86
5	Poiguinim	6625	1197	18.06
6	Loliem	4797	154	3.21
7	Cotigao	2640	2418	91.59
8	Canacona (M cl)	12434	206	1.65
Total		45172	13657	30.23

Source: Census of India 2011 (Goa State)

Ranging from a less than 2 per cent to more than 90 per cent, the Scheduled Tribe population is spread in different proportions throughout all the seven villages and the town of Canacona. It is observed from table no. 2 that the municipal town of Canacona has a small ST population of 1.65 per cent, while the villages of Cotigao and Gaodongrem reveal a high proportion of ST population of 91.59 per cent and 87.86 per cent respectively.

MAP 2.2

VILLAGES IN CANACONA TALUKA



Rationale for selection of the research setting

Keeping in view the methodological orientation of comparative ethnography, it was decided to consider the villages of Gaondongrem and Cotigao as the universe. The villages of Gaondongrem and Cotigao have a predominant Scheduled Tribe population. Every tribal settlement or for that matter a hamlet has its unique social rules, customs, beliefs, and a way of life binding on all the members of the tribal society. The organisational and cultural aspects of the community too are very distinct to some hamlets and hence tend to vary. Keeping in view the distinct nature of each settlement the researcher decided to study the tribal hamlets in the two villages.

MAP 2.3

CANACONA TALUKA STUDY AREA



The task of selecting the hamlets from the two villages was challenging and consumed a considerable time. The researcher had to arrive upon some yardsticks to decide the selection of the hamlets. The researcher undertook numerous visits and engaged in discussions with the Velips from the villages of Cotigao and Gaondongrem. The insights gathered from the locals, the underlying theme of 'livelihood' and the objectives framed for the study were given due attention in deciding upon the yardsticks in the selection of settlements for the study. The following yardsticks are considered:

1. new settlements;
2. old settlements;
3. type of topography of settlements (hillocks, forests, lowlands);
4. settlements totally governed by wild life rules; and
5. un-inhabited ancestral tribal settlements or early settlements.

An important yardstick considered for the selection was the age of the settlement. It was noticed that the settlements in the villages of Gaondongrem and Cotigao do not belong to one common age. There are settlements which have found their existence in the last fifty to hundred years or so (considered as new settlements in the study) while there are others which are old by more than two hundred years (considered as old settlements in the study). The old and the new tribal settlements to a large extent facilitate in explaining the traditional livelihood systems and the transitions taking place within them.

The second yardstick chosen for the selection of settlements was type of territory of the tribal settlement. Tribal settlements bearing typical topographic features such as hillocks, forests and of late the low lands were chosen for the study. By and large the older tribal settlements in Cotigao and Gaondongrem bear such

typical features such as the hillocks and forests, while the new settlements are located in the lowlands.

Preliminary visits to the villages helped the researcher to also consider a third type of settlement coming under the purview of the Cotigao Wild Life Sanctuary in the village of Cotigao. Three hamlets namely, Bhutpal, Endrem and Morfondamol located in the remote locations of the sanctuary are considered in the study. These three hamlets are located in the ward of Pansulemol in Cotigao, and are away from each other. The tribals living in remote areas of the wild life sanctuary experience a situation very different from those living outside the wild life zone. They are basically governed by the forest rules, and pose an explanation of a livelihood system completely dependent on the forest.

In addition to the three types of settlements, a fourth type of settlement is also considered for the study. The fourth type is the earlier ancestral tribal settlements which are currently not inhabited. These earlier settlements are located in the deep forests very far away from the present settlements and are visited only for religious purposes. These settlements are sacred to the tribals as they are an abode for their gods and goddesses. The clan God, family God and other Gods and Goddesses are located in these ancestral settlements. The present study thus looks at the livelihood system of four different types of tribal settlements in the two villages of Gaondongrem and Cotigao.

It is evident from the preceding discussion that the criteria adopted for the purpose of selection of settlements does not subscribe to the administrative method of distribution of wards as laid down by the village panchayats of Gaondongrem and Cotigao. Such distributions of population are merely done to facilitate the administrative needs of the panchayat and perhaps are also altered over time. The

administrative division overlooks the distinct nature of social and cultural ethos of the hamlets. Hence, the yardsticks considered for the selection of hamlets are purely for the study purposes.

The table 2.3 presents the hamlets chosen from the villages of Gaondongrem and Cotigao with the distribution of households and their population:

The field selection

Table 2.3

Tribal hamlets/wards in Cotigao and Gaondongrem

Village	Ward/Hamlet	No. of Houses	No. of Persons
Cotigao	Baddem	44	276
	Pansulemol	47	312
Gaondongrem	Bharsa	48	289
	Kinalkatta	26	180
Total		165	1057

Thus, for the purpose of the present study two settlements are selected from each village. The hamlets of Baddem and Pansulemol are chosen from the village of Cotigao, whereas, from the village Gaondongrem the hamlets of Kinalkatta and Bharsa have been selected. Of the two settlements selected from each village, one tribal habitat demonstrates a much older existence while the other a recent one. The settlement at Bharsa is an older settlement compared to the settlement of Kinalkatta in Gaondongrem. While in Cotigao the hamlet of Baddem is an older tribal settlement in contrast to the Pansulemol ward. However, the ward of Pansulemol has some few exceptions of having some older settlements too located in the Wild Life Sanctuary of Cotigao. The Pansulemol ward offers a mixed character of some old settlements in the

Cotigao Wild Life Sanctuary as well new settlements. The social and demographic aspects of the different hamlets are detailed at length in the next chapter.

The selection of the tribal settlement determined on the basis of above mentioned criteria enable a fruitful ethnographic comparison between the two villages. In addition, the yardsticks also facilitate to undertake a comparison between the hamlets within each village. Such comparative ethnographic accounts will help in understanding the nature of the livelihood systems and the developmental indices accomplished by the community in the different hamlets.

Methodological framework

On the whole, as the fundamental objective of the study is to lay emphasis on the present and past livelihood systems prevailing among the Velips in the selected hamlets in the villages of Gaondongrem and Cotigao, it is imperative to showcase the livelihood activities, practices, rituals, customs and belief system by making use of ‘ethnography’ as a major methodological framework. The ethnographic dimension which is commonly used in anthropological studies serves to build an epistemological understanding of actual livelihood experiences of the community in the field of study. Johnson (as cited in Misra, 2009) aptly defines ethnography as “... a descriptive account of social life and culture in a particular social system based on detailed observations of what people actually do.”

A comparative ethnographic orientation is employed to explore and explain the traditional and the modern livelihood systems prevailing in the two villages.

Ethnographic field research facilitates a thorough long term face to face interactions of everyday tribal life. Kasi and Malik (2009) observe that a typical ethnographic exercise is carried for at least a period of one year or more. Such an

intervention helps the researcher to comprehend crucial social and cultural events of the community under study.

It develops a qualitative understanding of their daily life from the perspective of the people studied in natural social settings. The comparative ethnographic research orientation used in the study has helped to understand the structure and the underlying processes associated with livelihood activities. It is the study of both explicit and tacit cultural knowledge. As the study entails the knowing of present and past livelihood systems, the ethnographic methodology helped in understanding the dynamics of the situation with an appropriate inside view of the society.

Scholars such as Srinivas, Haimendorf and others did make use of long term field research in their studies, particularly proving very useful to study smaller societies. Making use of the broad ethnographic orientation, the researcher has also used the method of participant observation. Tribal cultural knowledge forms (both explicit and implicit) can be better explored by using participant observation method. The method of direct participant observation is widely emphasized to solicit information pertaining to livelihood activities such as shifting cultivation, cashew and sugarcane production, agriculture, homestead farming etc. Moreover, participant observation in the field helped the researcher to join the community in their celebrations of festivals such as the *Shigmo* at the sacred *Daando*, the earliest settlement. Periodically, the study also demanded participation in comprehending unique rituals supporting major livelihood activities such as agriculture, shifting cultivation and allied activities. Participant observation was stretched beyond the contours of the hamlets selected. The researcher visited a Velip and Dhangar tribal hamlet called Kalla in the Sanguem taluka. This visit was undertaken to ascertain the

nature of shifting cultivation and agriculture practiced by the community. The researcher also tried to find the persistent use of traditional seeds by the community.

Keeping in view the underlying theme of livelihood and the broad objectives of the study an appropriate interview schedule was designed to elicit qualitative as well as quantitative information from the field. At this juncture, it was decided to do a pre testing of the interview schedule in the areas not belonging to the universe of study. Accordingly, the hamlet of Nadkem and Kuskem in Cotigao were chosen for pre testing of the interview schedule. The pre test of the interview schedule was in a sense an eye opener for the researcher, as the first hand practical lessons of field work had actually begun. A few shortcomings of the interview schedule have been noticed and rectified.

The interview schedule was designed exclusively for the households. The hamlets selected are studied as census units, wherein a total of 165 Velip households from four settlements were considered for the study. Of these, forty-four from Baddem hamlet, forty-seven from Pansulemol, forty-eight from Bharsa, and twenty-six from Kinalkatta are included. The structure of the interview schedule include several units of observation relevant to the study such as, general profile of household, household resources, identity and settlement, family and gender, religion, education, occupation, cultivation, shifting cultivation, forest and health. Each of these units of observation was designed to elicit objective as well as descriptive responses. The interview schedule was administered in the field area for over a period of three months. It was first executed in the Cotigao village in the hamlet of Baddem followed by Pansulemol, and in the later period in the hamlet of Kinalkatta and Bharsa in the village of Gaondongrem.

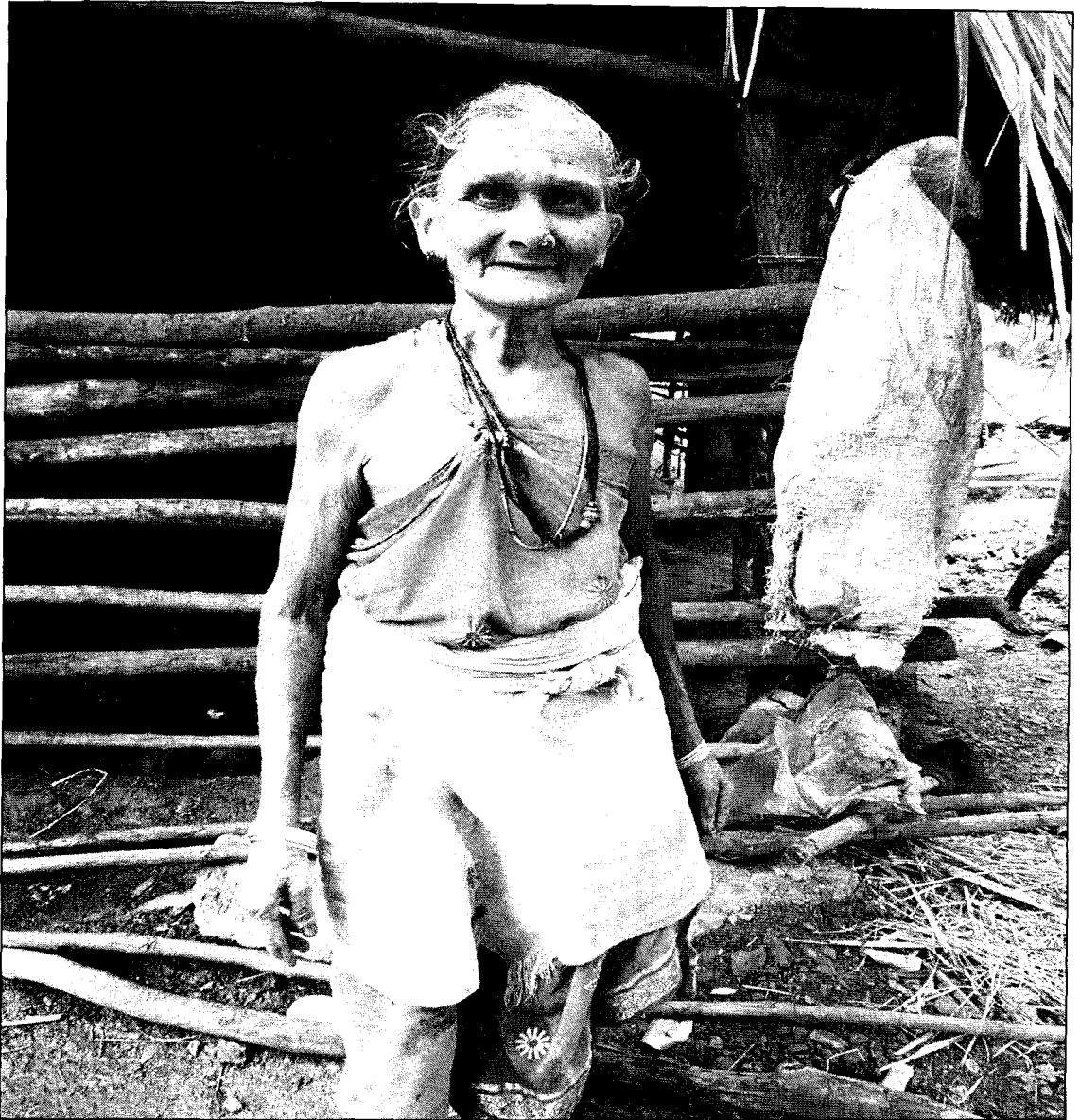


Photo 2.4: The most elderly Velip woman

To substantiate the arguments a few ethnographic guides were designed for specific groups of people. Ethnographic guides were prepared for the elderly as well as for religious and social heads of the Velip community. Despite the forces of modernisation entering more swiftly into the tribal society, the elders as strong custodians of tribal culture and identity have protected and continued with their unwritten folk culture and tradition. The elderly experience has immensely enriched the present study with more interpretative understanding of the codified beliefs and practices associated with the tribal livelihood systems along the time scale from the

recent past to the modern times. In other words, interviews with the elderly tribal persons gave valuable insights in knowing the overall transitory nature of the tribal society. Alongside the elderly experience, the qualitative narratives of the social and religious heads of the community revealed the traditional premises of social and religious organisation of the community.



Photo 2.5: The most elderly Velip man

To familiarise the administrative aspects of different hamlets, a series of focussed interviews with the officials of the village panchayats of Gaondongrem and Cotigao have been conducted. These include interviews with the present and former sarpanchs, secretaries, talatis and gram sevaks of the two panchayats. Interactions

with the talatis benefitted largely. The talatis extended valuable inputs on jurisdictional matters of the villages and settlement areas, and also on village resources. The short term focussed interviews conducted with the sarpanchs of Cotigao and Gaondongrem panchayats helped in knowing some of the current development projects and prospective tentative projects as well. The Department of Tribal Welfare is an apex official body looking into the overall tribal matters in the State of Goa. To enhance a better understanding on the State policy towards tribal welfare and to know the nature of its intervention, a couple of focussed interviews were held with the Director of Tribal Welfare Department and the Minister for Tribal Welfare, Government of Goa. Issues regarding forests, wildlife and tribals were discussed through interviews with the forest officials. Interviews were conducted with the Range Forest Officer (RFO) of Cotigao Wild Life Sanctuary and the Assistant Conservator of Forests, Government of Goa. Focussed interviews were conducted with grass root level agricultural labourers, cultivators, women from the self-help groups, officers from the collective farming societies of Cotigao and Gaondongrem.

Writers and scholars in the field of tribal studies in Goa are not too many. The researcher was able to identify a few of them and held discussions. These case discussions were held with folk writers, folklore artists hailing from the taluka of Canacona as well as from other talukas.

Tools such as camera (still and video photography) and voice recorder were brought in use to record activities, religious events, discussions as well as a few interviews.

The research design

The period spanning more or less a year, i.e. from March 2014 to March 2015 was designed systematically for conducting ethnographic field research and field survey.

The duration of one year was judiciously utilised for recording multiple activities related to the livelihood of the tribals. During the start of the summer season, the researcher actively participated and observed the celebration of the festival of *Shigmo*. The *Shigmo* and other festivals are held at *Daando*, a place away from the present settlement some six to seven kilometres away, and located in deep forest. The tribals consider the *Daando* as their home. It is a place of early settlement where their ancestors lived.

The villagers from Baddem assisted in trekking the way to *Daando*. The journey to the *Daando* for any newcomer or an outsider is to some extent a kind of challenge and equally interesting. Any new comer walking to the *Daando* perhaps needs at least two hours to walk across three hills from the present settlement of Baddem. The landscape is highly uneven and some stretches having an inclined steep of seventy to eighty degrees. Almost eighty per cent of the steep is inclined in nature with a very few flat walking surfaces. Walking the steep down is more tedious than walking it up. The frequent movement of the tribals to the *Daando* has made a raw path ready for the pedestrians to meet a readymade direction for walking. The visits of the tribals to the *Daando* during the monsoon is comparatively less as compared to the winter and summer season. Engagement of the tribal community in agricultural pursuits, less number of religious activities and fear of leaches bring down the frequency of their visits during the monsoon.

During the *Shigmo* the researcher conducted interviews and had informal discussions with the community members of different age groups. The residential stay of two day during the *Shigmo* enriched the experience of the researcher in knowing the importance given by the people to the sacred *Daando*, the type of religious practices undertaken during the festival and the nature of the livelihood system that

existed among their ancestors. The social setting at the *Daando* was unique and equally interesting in gaining firsthand knowledge.

The researcher participated in the life activities of the tribals and spent considerable time in observing and recording tribal events and livelihood activities throughout the year. These livelihood activities include shifting cultivation, cattle rearing, food gathering, hunting, agriculture, self-help group activities, cooperative and collective farming, cashew and sugarcane cultivation.

An important and interesting fact witnessed among the tribes is the undertaking of certain peculiar rituals supporting their livelihood and day-to-day activities. Rituals constitute a driving force of tribal life and continue in practice even to this day. Field research focussed on the rituals undertaken by the community in connection with their livelihood activities. In fact, rituals are in a way understood as sanctions for undertaking livelihood activities. Information pertaining to the rituals was first obtained from the people, and then witnessed directly into the field. Since most of the rituals are held across seasons, the research work needed an extended time frame for observing and recording. Participant observation, especially in the rituals supporting the livelihood activities, added a unique value to the study.

During his stay in the field, researcher participated in the *gramsabha* (village meeting) of Gaondongrem panchayat. The discussions held during the general body meeting made the researcher realise the nature and type of issues confronted by the community today. Interaction with the Minister for Tribal Welfare, Director of Tribal Welfare, officials from the Department for Water Resources and the Department of Irrigation substantially helped the research activity.

CHAPTER III

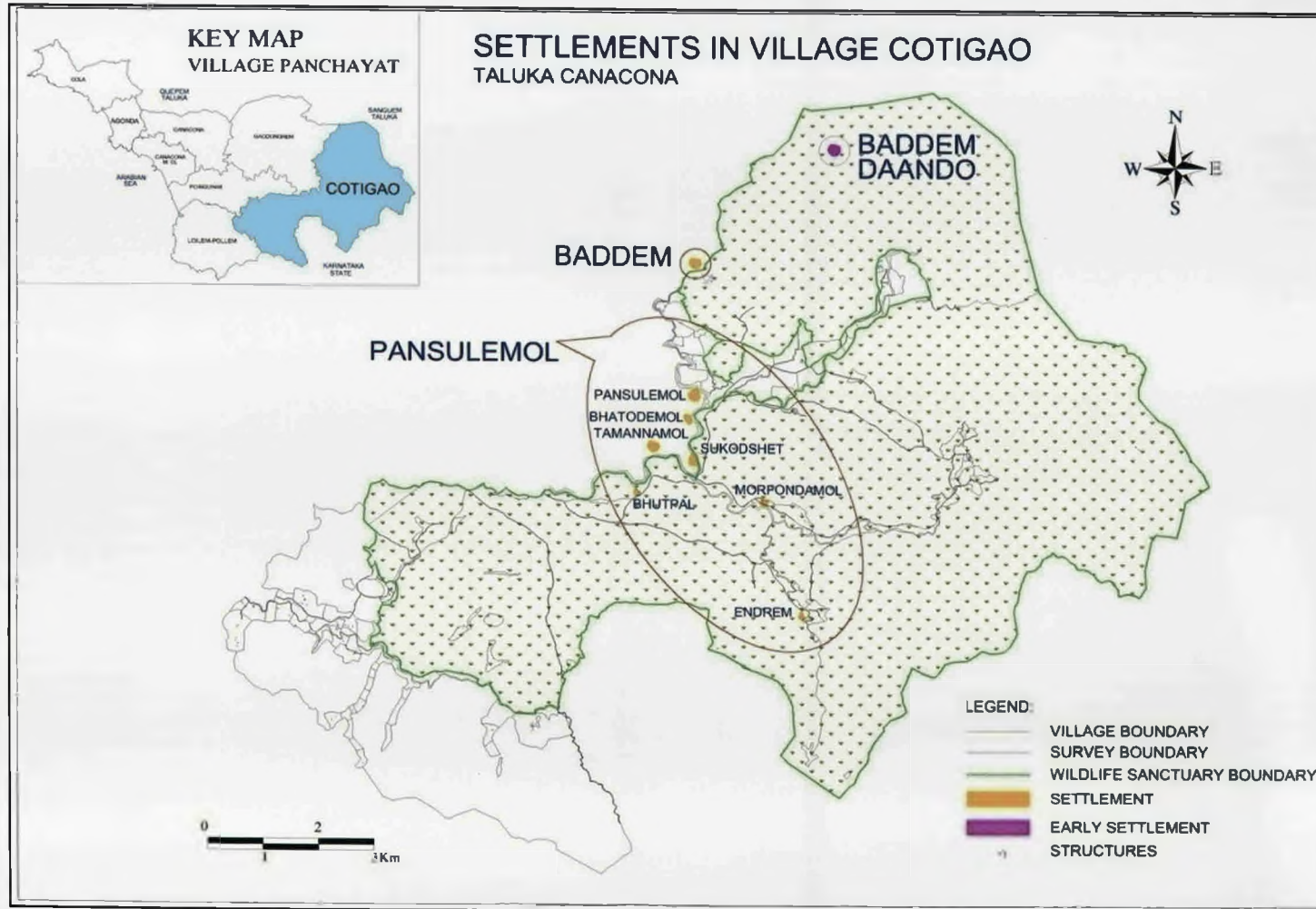
SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

Generally, the tribal communities in most parts of the country have come to occupy settlements in high altitudinal ranges. The People of India Project mentions that 63.4 per cent of the Indian tribal population live in hilly terrains (Singh, 1994). These aboriginal societies with the help of their knowledge systems have aptly made use of the natural resources existing in the terrain regions to support their livelihood. Xaxa (2012, p. 321) points out that the tribes are seen as representing a storehouse of worldviews, systems of knowledge and way of life, which stands separate and opposed to the one governing the modern, industrial world. In addition to the things mentioned by Xaxa, Chacko (2005) gives prominence to traits such as gender equality, notion of wealth, principle of non-interference that can be learnt and absorbed by the mainstream society. Gaondongrem and Cotigao are typical examples of villages where tribal habitats live in isolated mountain ranges. The villages of Gaondongrem and Cotigao are primarily known for their rich bio diverse resources and the predominance of tribal population. 'Gaondongrem', literally means a village with hills, or a village located amidst hills and mountains. The word 'Cotigao' (also spelt as 'Khotigao') is believed to have been derived from the word '*Khoti*'. *Khoti* means contracting for a standing crop or wood of a jungle (Shirodkar, 1993, p. 236). Tribal hamlets are dispersed away from each other into different hills. Virtually, every hillside is inhabited by the Velip community. The village of Cotigao does not differ much in terms of its topography from that of Gaondongrem. The hilly nature is present in both the villages, but exists in greater degrees in Gaondongrem than in Cotigao. Virtually, all hillsides are inhabited by tribal groups, depending on the access to water resources such as natural springs. The hillside settlements generally appear

below the sloppy gaps formed by two adjoining hills or mountains. Such strategic locations are naturally rich in terms of water resources such as springs. This perennial water resources flowing through the mountains are lifelines for the communities living for centuries. The Velips nowadays are seen inhabiting the plains adding more feasibility of communication to meet their modern needs.

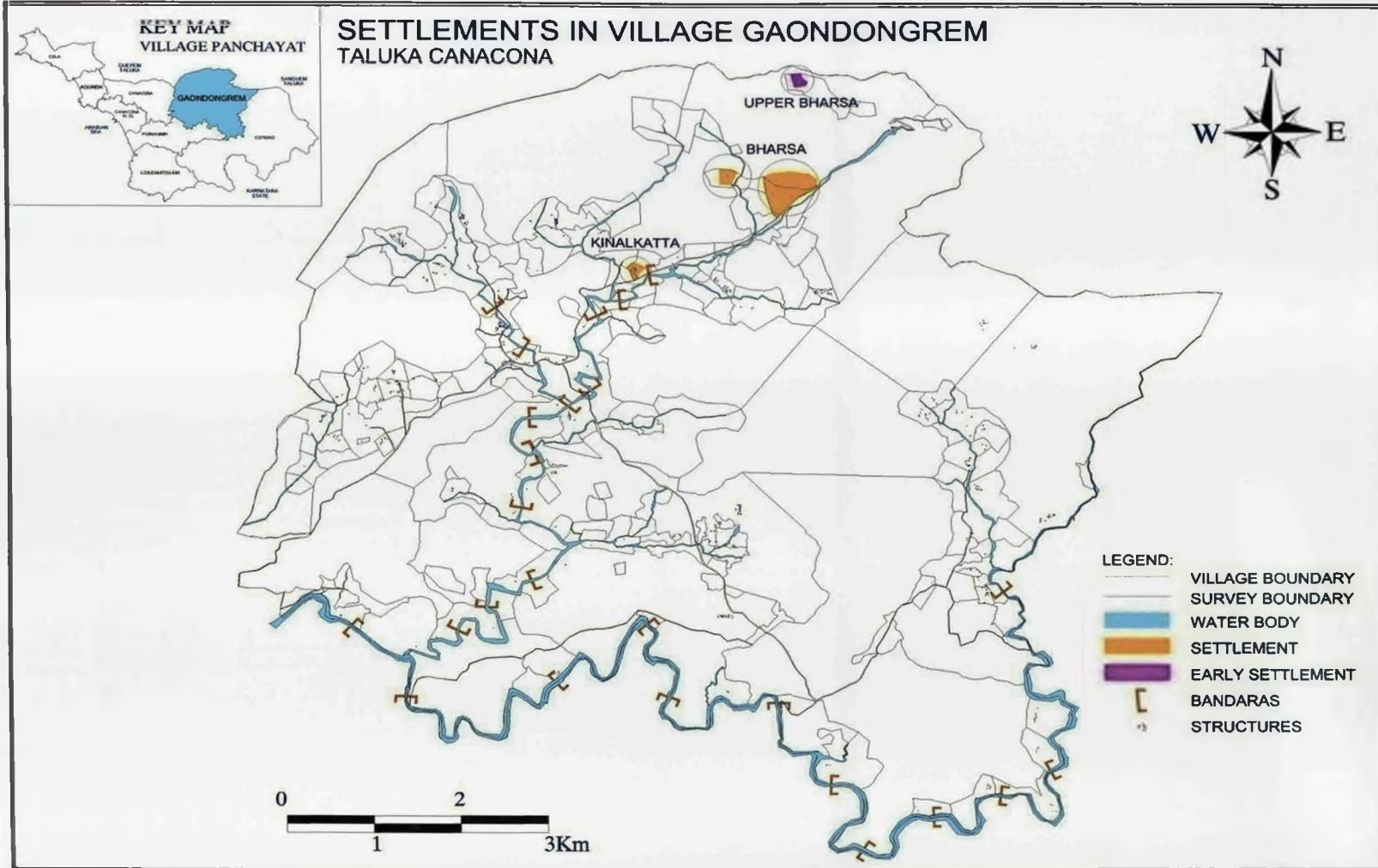
MAP 3.1

SETTLEMENTS IN VILLAGE COTIGAO



MAP 3.2

SETTLEMENTS IN VILLAGE GAONDONGREM



The areas of Gaondongrem have less forest areas compared to Cotigao. The Cotigao Wild Life Sanctuary in Cotigao is widely known for its rich biodiversity. It was declared as a wild life sanctuary in the year 1968. Prior to this, a larger chunk of the area in Cotigao existed as game sanctuary. The wild life sanctuary initially covered an area of 107 square kilometres; however, with the exclusion of certain areas the sanctuary now has a total area of 85.65 square kilometres. This sanctuary is the southernmost wildlife protected area in Goa. The sanctuary has hill ranges all along the north and eastern side and slopes towards western side with tribal settlements. The forest is predominantly moist deciduous type with patches of semi evergreen and evergreen forest at many places (Porob, Kulkarni & Giri, 2014).

The village of Gaondongrem and Cotigao have a predominant tribal populace, in absolute figures there are only 635 and 222 non-tribal persons respectively. The taluka market popularly called as Chaudi is in the municipal town area and is not far away for the people of Gaondongrem.

Table 3.1

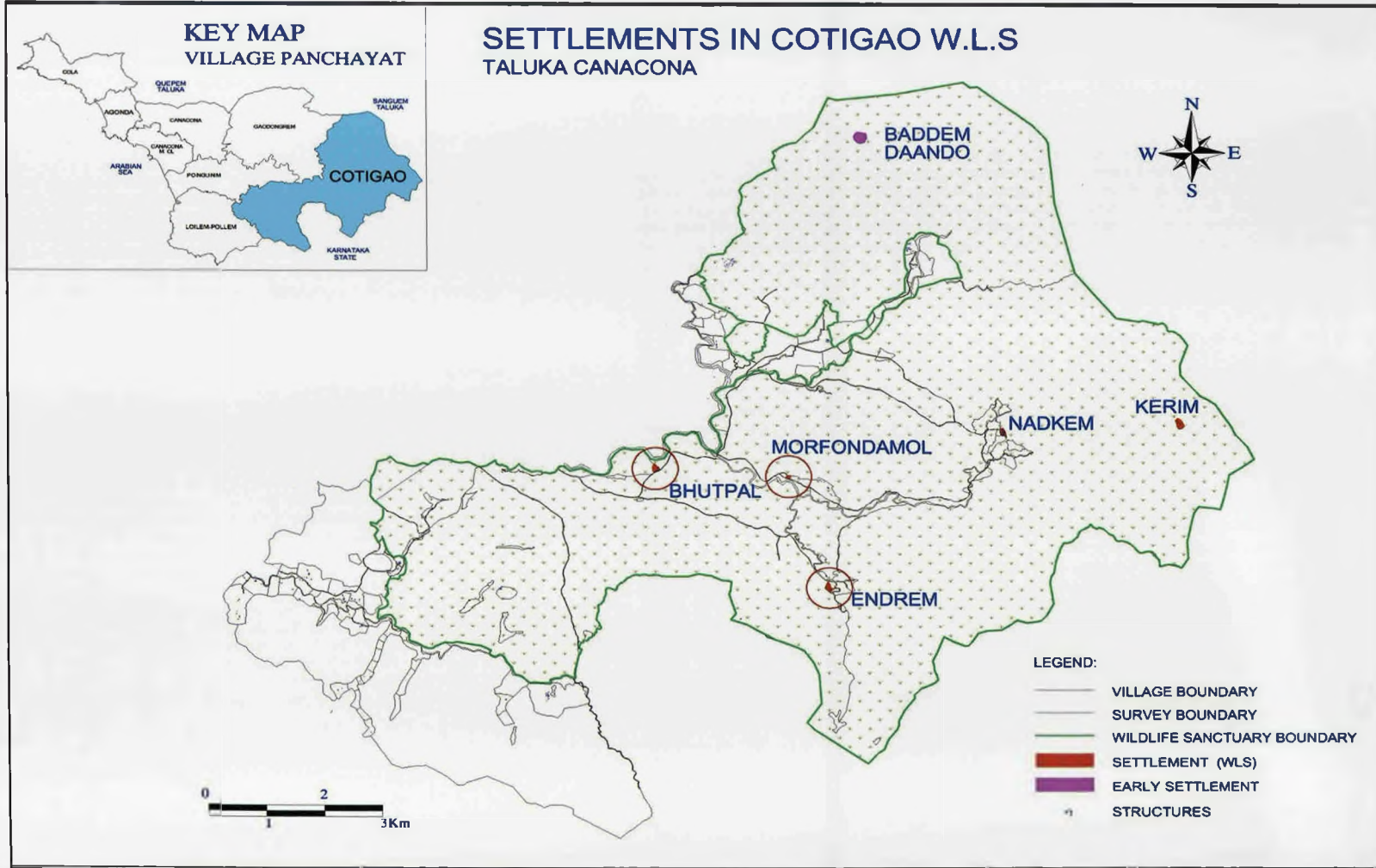
Pansulemol ward

Hamlet	No. of houses	No. of persons
Pansulemol	15	86
Bhatodemol	12	85
Sukodshet	09	57
Tamannamol	03	10
Bhutpal (Wild Life Sanctuary)	03	31
Morfondamol (Wild Life Sanctuary)	03	32
Endrem (Wild Life Sanctuary)	02	11
Total	47	312

There are forty-seven houses with a population of 312 persons living in altogether seven hamlets of Pansulemol ward. The names of seven hamlets in Pansulemol are Pansulemol, Bhatodemol, Sukodshet, Tamannamol, Bhutpal, Morfondamol and Endrem. Unlike the settlements of Baddem and Bharsa having a hilly topography, all seven hamlets in the Pansulemol ward bear by and large an evenly balanced flat topography. The sizes of the hamlets are small, ranging from a few houses of two to fifteen houses. The hamlets of Pansulemol, Bhatodemol and Sukodshet lie in close proximity, while Tamannamol, Bhutpal, Morfondamol and Endrem are more segregated from one another. The Endrem, Morfondamol and Bhutpal hamlets come under the purview of the Cotigao Wild Life Sanctuary. While, the hamlets of Endrem and Bhutpal are the only older settlements in the Pansulemol ward, the other hamlets are roughly forty to fifty years old.

MAP 3.3

SETTLEMENTS IN COTIGAO WILDLIFE SANCTUARY



Endrem is the smallest of all the hamlets having only two houses in the ward of Pansulemol, and also in the village of Cotigao. The nearest approachable metal road is at a distance of six kilometres. As the hamlet is located in the territorial jurisdiction of the Cotigao Wild Life Sanctuary, it can be approached only by walking. The road to the hamlet is non-motorable as it is *katchha* (made of mud) in nature and has two small rivulets, which keeps the hamlet detached with full-length road connectivity. The hamlet therefore remains in complete isolation from the rest of hamlets in Cotigao. The two houses belong to brothers and have a total of ten members with five members residing in each house. This small hamlet is strategically located on the banks of the Talpona rivulet. The houses are surrounded by a few fields and banana plantations. A natural spring originating six hundred metres away from the settlement is a source of water for drinking as well as for vegetation.

Located in the Wild Life Sanctuary of Cotigao on one of the tributaries of river Talpona is the hamlet of Bhutpal in Pansulemol ward. Bhutpal, consisting of only three houses belonging to the Gaonkar family is at a distance of three kilometres from the main road. The hamlet has a population of thirty-two members, all belonging to a common clan, i.e. they have a common *gharvai* (sacred totem of a group of families or clan). Despite the wildlife restrictions governing the hamlets in the sanctuary, the residents of Bhutpal are fortunate to see their ward electrified in the year 2007. The river canal is the main source of water for drinking and agriculture. To resolve the problems of water, *bandharas* (Small dams constructed across the river canal or tributary that holds water for longer periods) are constructed across the river canal or tributary that holds water for longer periods, but they seem to rarely sustain the livelihood requirements of the community. The people of Bhutpal worship the clan God Bhumipurush. The peripherals of the entire settlement are fenced with the

help of wooden twigs to protect the settlement from wild animals entering (see photo 3.4).



Photo 3.4: Fencing done to protect entry of wild animals

Morfondamol, comparatively a new tribal settlement has come into existence since the 1960s and 70s. The hamlet consists of three houses belonging to one Velip and two Gaonkar families having altogether thirty members. It is located deep interior in the wild life sanctuary at a distance of eight kilometres from the main road. The hamlet can be approached by a *katchha* (mud) road. The residents of Morfondamol were earlier the residents of Avali, a nearby ward in Cotigao. Livelihood struggle encountered by the community in the settlement at Avali resulted in the movement of a large number of families to Morfondamol.



Photo 3.5: Only pathway to Morfondamol

The hamlet of Pansulemol, Bhatodemol, Sukodshet and Tamannamol are almost on the borderlines of the Cotigao Wild Life Sanctuary. The Pansulemol, Bhatodemol and Sukodshet hamlets are closely aligned to each other, while Tamannamol is left apart from them. Pansulemol hamlet has fifteen, Bhatodemol twelve, Sukodshet nine and Tamannamol has three houses. All these hamlets are new tribal settlements having residents largely from the ward Avali, as in the case of Morfondamol. The topography of all these seven hamlets in Pansulemol is more or less flat and largely conducive for cultivation. The plots have been made use for residential purposes as well as for cashew plantation. Some families have made a combined use of the plots by raising cashew trees along with coconut plantation. The plots are surrounded by forests on one side while on the other side are the agricultural lands with a river canal running sideways.

The hamlet of Baddem strongly justifies the existence of a quite older tribal settlement. It is difficult to ascertain the definite age of the present day settlement of Baddem. Nevertheless, the tribals living at Baddem believe that their ancestors resided at *Daando* located in the mountains far away from the present settlement. The tribal society in Baddem is by and large dependent for its livelihood on the age old ecological system. The hamlet consists of forty-four houses constructed on one phase of the hillside having a population of 271 persons. The tribals have terraced the hillside for the purpose of house construction, the land almost reaching a point of saturation. The arrangements of houses are in very close proximity to each other. Adjoining the houses are the cowsheds and small dumping sites for the dung used as manure. The terrain appearing settlement is thickly covered with livelihood supporting small and big trees such as jackfruit, mango, betel nut, coconut and pineapple. Land beyond and above the settlement is occupied with cashew tree plantation. Over the hilltop are sites voluntarily chosen by some families for undertaking shifting cultivation. Lower down the settlement are the agricultural fields alongside a river tributary. The placement of the houses on the hillside allows the tribals to have a closer look on their fields.

The hamlet of Kinalkatta is located on the fertile plains. The settlement at Kinalkatta perhaps may be eighty year old according to the eldest living member of the community. The eldest member who is in his nineties recalls to have not been born at Kinalkatta but at Upper Bharsa. The residents of Kinalkatta were earlier living in Upper Bharsa, a place five kilometres away from the present settlement. Livelihood challenges in Upper Bharsa region propelled the primitive tribesmen to move to low-lying area at Kinalkatta. All families living at Kinalkatta possess their ancestral houses at Upper Bharsa. Initially, a settlement of merely three to six houses,

Kinalkatta has today grown into a hamlet of twenty-six houses. The population at Kinalkatta exclusively belong to the Velips. The hamlet is surrounded by fields on all sides, while the hillside has cashew plantations.

The settlement of Bharsa is much older than that of Kinalkatta. It is the last approachable hamlet, almost lying on the peripherals in the village of Gaondongrem and the taluka of Canacona. The tribals staying at Bharsa too consider Upper Bharsa as their early settlement, but they do not have any ancestral house at Upper Bharsa. The entire hamlet of Bharsa belongs to the Velip families. Formerly, a small settlement of three houses at Kajuwaado or Chaaktaa and two houses at Karmagaal, today the hamlet has grown in size. The place Kajuwaado (land having cashew plantation) is also referred Chaaktaa (small spheres of cultivable lands) by the locals. The hamlet at Kajuwaado is situated 1.2 kilometres away from the main road.



Photo 3.6: An aerial view of Velip settlement at Bharsa

The Velips believe that the name 'Bharsa' is supported by a legend. As narrated by the villagers, a man (uncle) from the village of Barcem (now in Quepem

taluka) stole and escaped with his God. After a big long walk, the tired man with the cumbersome weight of the idol resorted to a place (present Bharsa) handing over the idol in the hands of his nephew. The nephew after holding the idol for some time placed it on the floor, and left to a nearby place for drinking water. On his return, he decided to lift the God, but to his disappointment could not lift it. The villagers thus believe that the word 'Bharsa' perhaps has evolved from the word '*bhaar*', meaning 'over load or overweight' of the God and hence the word Bharsa.

Some demographic aspects

It is pertinent to provide information pertaining to some elementary population traits of the Velips in the selected hamlets. For this purpose, population traits such as sex composition and the marital status of members were found crucial. The figures 3.1 and 3.2 illustrate the sex composition of members in the different hamlets.

Figure 3.1

Population distribution

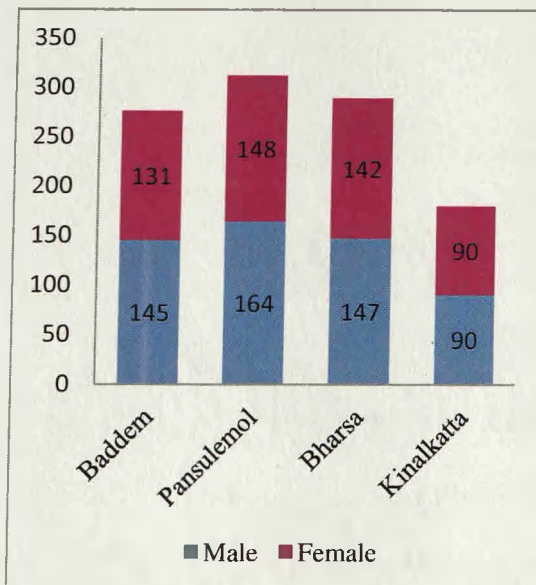
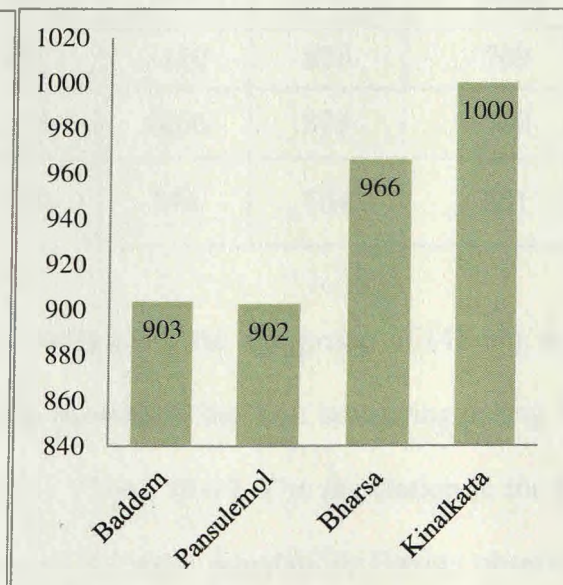


Figure 3.2

Sex ratio



As indicated in figure 3.2 the sex ratio seems to appear more or less a balanced one, keeping in mind the sex ratio of the country or the sex ratio of the tribes in India.

As mentioned earlier, the sex ratio of tribes in Goa are far better than the national figures. Despite the fact that males outnumber the females, the differences between them are minimal. The hamlet of Kinalkatta interestingly was perfectly balanced. Though the study area is limited, only to two villages and a few selected hamlets within them the sex ratio trends reveal favourable figures. The existing population scenario proves that the tribal society is free from social problems such as dislike of girl child manifested in particular through practices such as female infanticide. The table 3.2 informs the age wise sex composition of the tribal population in the different hamlets.

Table 3.2

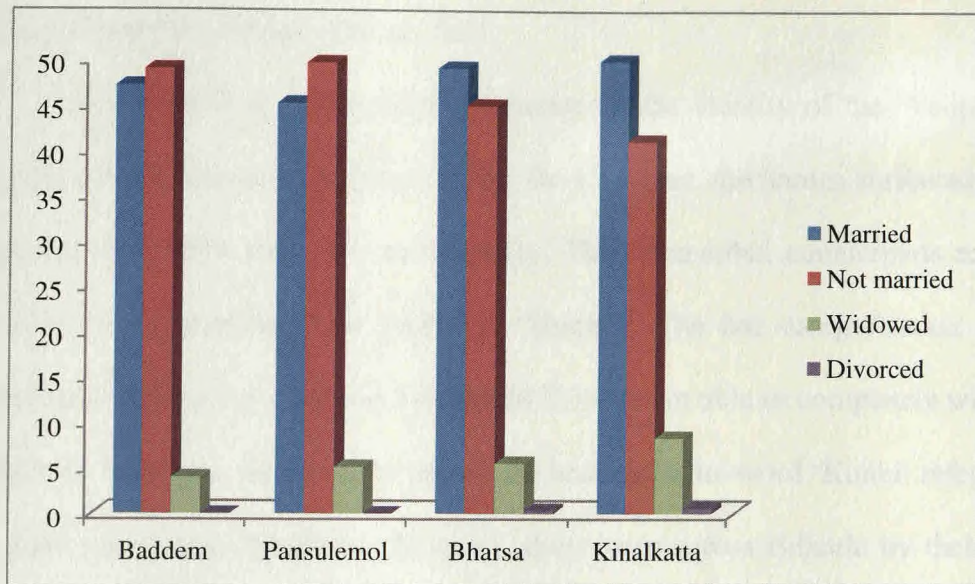
Age wise sex composition

Village	Ward/hamlet	1-17	18-40	41-60	61& above
Cotigao	Baddem	1044	968	667	700
	Pansulemol	978	831	735	2000
Gaondongrem	Bharsa	978	1170	828	769
	Kinalkatta	1143	1000	875	500
Total		1024	974	764	881

Despite the fall in the sex ratio as noticed in the age group of (41-60), it is interesting to note that the sex ratio (female favouring) has kept advancing during the last forty years, i.e., for the age groups of 1-17 and 18-40. The population in the (1-17) age group indicate female outnumbering the male population. Having observed the distribution of population based on determinants of age and sex, let us also take a glance at the marital composition of the members.

Figure 3.3

Marital composition



As the tribal society in Goa bears a good sex ratio, the marital status of members also explain a balanced scenario in the selected tribal hamlets. The number of unmarried persons exceeds the married in the hamlets of Baddem and Pansulemol with a smaller variation. Nevertheless, the case is exactly opposite for the hamlets of Kinalkatta and Bharsa wherein the married persons exceed the unmarried. The number of widowed and divorced persons in the villages is very negligible. However, it is observed that the number of female widowed persons is more than the male ones.

UNDERSTANDING THE 'VELIP' COMMUNITY

Before examining the issues of livelihood, it is significant to understand the socio-cultural features of the Velips. The 'Velip' community came to be recognised as 'Scheduled Tribe' in the year 2003. The 'Gawda' and the 'Kunbi' are the other two communities, which were also declared as Scheduled Tribes in the same year. The Scheduled Tribe population in the village of Cotigao and Gaondongrem belongs to the Velip community. This aboriginal community of the Velips is said to belong to the Proto-Australoid race. In fact, the Proto-Australoid race is considered to be the second

oldest inhabitants of the Indian society (Directorate of Social Welfare, 2004). They originally belonged to the Kunbi/Kulambi community from which they separated several centuries ago (Singh 1993, p. 201).

In this context, it is crucial to deliberate on the identity of the 'Velip' tribe especially with reference to its name. Down the time lane, the names attributed to the community have been transitory in character. Their non-tribal counterparts referred the Velips in the pre-liberation period as 'Kunbis'. The late categorisation of the community as 'Velip' as a distinct Scheduled Tribe is not able to completely wipe off old terms of reference. Many of the tribals are hearing to the word 'Kunbi' referred to them right from their childhood. At times, they came across ridicule by their non-tribal counterparts. The non-tribal community referred them as 'Kunbi' or sometimes '*Kudwaali*' or '*Kulwaadi*', terms, which did not find a wholehearted acceptance from the tribal community, wrongly presupposing it to refer to low profile groups. These references most likely could be because the tribal groups remained socially and economically backward. Doshi (1997, p. 5) too argues along similar lines that tribal masses were looked as sub human beings by the anthropologists and the non tribals who were literally deprived of the attributes of a civilized life. Some even refer to them as 'Konkan Kunbi'. The chief Velip of Kinalkatta strongly disregards the acceptance of the concept of Kulwaadi, Kunbi or Haathkunbi. According to him, a chunk of the tribal population after being converted to Christianity left to some places in north Karnataka such as Yallapur. These Haathkunbis continue to visit their family god i.e. Lord Mallikarjun, but do not visit their *gharvai*.

In fact, the category 'Kunbi' in the Goan tribal literature is understood as an umbrella concept, which includes other categories such as the 'Gawda' and the 'Velip'. Hence, some regard the Velip as a sub category of the Kunbi tribe. Some

Velip men regard the Kunbi nomenclature as a pejorative, sub standard and an underprivileged one undermining their status. There are others, who strongly affiliate with the category of 'Kunbi' and take pride of being referred by the name.

Pratapsinh Velip Kankar, a writer on Goan tribes says that categories such as Gavde, Gaude, Gaonkar and the Velip are mere titles or surnames and not caste names. In fact, he points out to the fact that, "surnames cannot be used as the name of the caste because the name of the caste cannot be changed. It remains in the original form for long period. However, some of them who know the real history, customs and heritage are publicly using Kunbi as their caste name" (Velip Kankar: 2006: p 48). Mascarenhas (1982) opines that the Goan society, which has a rich gamut of castes, regards the Kunbis as not a caste, but an ethnic group, a race. Setting aside the ideological differences between the members, the present study makes use of the category 'Velip'.

Towards a definition of the term 'Velip'

It was difficult to arrive at the meaning of the word 'Velip'. The researcher involved in focussed discussions and made concerted efforts to unfold the meaning of the word, 'Velip'. The elders seem to be less aware of the genesis of the word. Literary works too do not provide any substantial meaning of the word. In practice, the community generally refers the term 'Velip' to a person undertaking priestly duties of the community. Etymologically speaking, the word Velip is derived from the word '*vel*', meaning 'time' in Marathi and Konkani language. The Velips are Konkani speaking, and refer to the concept of 'time' as '*yel*' instead of '*vel*' in their regional linguistic tone. This also tells us that the community had a firm and distinct linguistic base of its own in the yester years. Many of the words spoken by the youngsters today can be contradicted with that of their ancestors or the elderly members. According to Minz

(1993) the closer contacts of the tribals with the non-tribals seem to weaken the resistance, especially when want to accept language and other elements of the dominant community as a status symbol. The person authorised to perform religious acts of the community during auspicious times is hence called as 'Velip'. The researcher is of the view that the word 'Velip' is most likely the corrupted version of the word 'Yelip'. In fact, in their day-to-day conversations majority of the tribals continue to make use of the word 'Yelip' and not 'Velip'. The '*devaspon*' or religious duties are considered as obligations of the chief religious leader named as 'Velip' of the community.

The Velip community consists of two groups namely, the Velips and the Gaonkars. Thus, one finds families belonging to the Gaonkars and families belonging to the Velips in the tribal hamlets. However, there are a few exceptions wherein some hamlets may have either the Velips or the Gaonkars as exclusive social categories. The hamlets of Kinalkatta, Bharsa and Pansulemol have only the Velips.

The traditional social structure

In the olden days, every small tribal hamlet was an independent unit of administration. Right from olden times to the modern day, each tribal hamlet of the Velips continues a practice of entrusting certain individuals with traditional powers to undertake religious and administrative roles. The community socially approves these positions. Thus, one comes across the chief Gaonkar, also called as '*Budavant*' (the wise man) who looked into the administrative aspects of the village commune. There was also a chief Velip taking care of religious duties. The community in the olden days did not hire any type of services from the Brahmin priests. However, in modern times one notices a form of sanskritized change taking place among them.

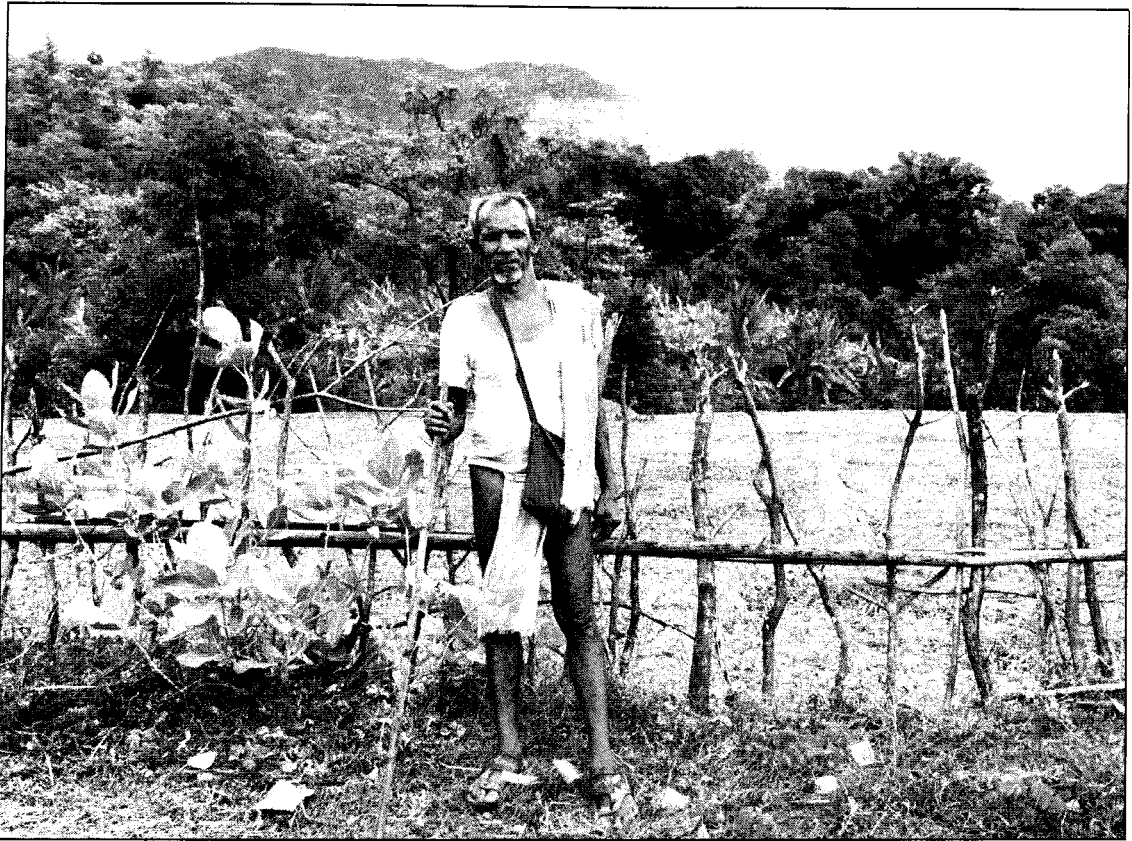


Photo 3.7: A Velip nearby his field

The masses accepted the words of the Gaonkar as supreme orders and sought his timely intervention into matters of concern. The word of the Gaonkar was treated equivalent to the word of Gods, and the villagers accepted it as a verdict. The villages were hence referred as '*utrache ganv*' or '*utravele ganv*', meaning, villages governed by words of person or persons. Hamlets where the Gaonkars and Velips coexist will have a chief Velip and the *Budavant*. However, in the absence of any one social group, the priestly and administrative roles of the community are shouldered by members of the same group. The hamlet of Bharsa, Kinalkatta and Pansulemol does not have Gaonkars in its population. The traditional administrative and religious roles of Kinalkatta and the Bharsa hamlets are commonly monitored by one *Budavant* and one Velip. In fact, it is learnt that at some point of time, there existed Gaonkar

residents in the hamlet of Bharsa, but they moved to neighbouring hamlets such as Satorlim in Gaondongrem and Kuskem in Cotigao for some unaccounted reasons. They no longer own any type of share in Bharsa and Kinalkatta.

The norms governing the position of the Velip and the Gaonkar vary from one tribal hamlet to another. For example, in the hamlet of Baddem the Gaonkar and the Velip enjoys a term of three years, while in the hamlets of Kinalkatta and Bharsa the position is hereditary. Despite its hereditary nature as observed in some hamlets, the *Budavant* or *Budvontpon* (duties of the wiseman) may be taken over by a person belonging to other family in consultation with all village men, however, the position of the Velip or *Velippon* (duties of Velip) remains with the Velip family per se. As a matter of occupying this position, the Gaonkar and the Velip were provided with some village share of land for cultivation. They enjoyed the right of owning the agricultural land also for a period of three years.

The Velip community does not essentially follow or believe in auspicious or inauspicious days or timings, though lately some changes are being observed. As such, they do not strictly refer to the Hindu mythological calendar for undertaking any rituals or acts. Their acts are primarily governed by the words of their patriarch or by the traditional orders given by the social or religious heads of the community. In fact, even acts such as a marriage are decided upon the consent given by their social leaders. However, there is strong belief of the community in the soothsayer or Shaman, locally called as the '*Ghaadi*'. Livelihood activities and some day-to-day acts are consented and sanctioned largely by the *Ghaadi*.

'Budavant' and 'Velip': Continuity of a tradition

The Gaonkar and the Velip played significant roles in smooth functioning of the tribal society. In the past, all major activities of the society were solely handled by the

Gaonkar and not by the Velip. The Gaonkar literally exercised his rights in every aspect of the society. As such, the administrative, religious and other duties concerning livelihood activities were altogether regulated only by the Gaonkar. Due to over engagement in the various activities, they eventually disbursed some duties to the Velip members. The priestly roles were then assigned to one of the Velip members. The word 'Gaonkar' is derived from the word '*gaon*', meaning village. The person taking care of *gaoponn* or *gaothan* (village matters) was called as the Gaonkar. The villagers also refer the Gaonkar as the '*Budavant*' (the wise man) as he played a pivotal role in the various day-to-day affairs of the village. The family or the house of the *Budavant* in the village is identified as the *Budavantache ghar* (wiseman's house). According to some elderly tribals, the term 'Budavant' does not find origin in the tribal society, but seems to have been constructed and used by the non-tribal world to refer to the Gaonkar. They formerly used the term *Chougulo/Chougule*, meaning 'leader' to refer the Gaonkar. His position was privileged and earned a great respect in the village. The Gaonkar was the representative of the village. The role of a Gaonkar was similar to the present day Sarpanch. In fact, all the present day roles of the Panch and the Sarpanch were formerly taken care by the *Budavant*. On many occasions, he acted as an important spokesperson, correspondent and was a chief intermediary with the government. At the instance of forest officials intervening in activities such as shifting cultivation of any individual family, the *Budavant* would play an important role. In olden times, the villagers collectively participated in the activity of shifting cultivation. The *Budavant* assigned different tasks to the members and parted the share of the produce between the villagers. Works such as the collection of taxes, registration of deaths and births, land matters were formerly undertaken only by the Gaonkar of the village. The tax

collected from each house was called as '*foro*'. He also shared some produce cashewnuts, kokum, red chillies, and toor dal with the government officials. This practice however, is abandoned during last forty years or so. The *Budavant* played an important role in settling disputes in the village. Disputes of varied nature in the village were first referred to the *Budavant*, before referring it to the panchayat. He would hear to the grievances from the parties and propose some amicable resolution. In fact, there are a very few number of court cases arising out of disputes from tribal hamlets.

In some rare cases, the *Budavant* from one village also had to seek help from the *Budavant* of other village in matters pertaining especially to domestic problems such as dowry or any other related problems. Such matters were amicably settled between the two families by the respective *Budavants* of two different villages. In addition to the social responsibilities, the *Budavant* also commissioned important livelihood and religious activities. Livelihood activities such as *mer fodpachi or mer marop*, *kokud sodap*, *jogon ghalop*, *moot karop* and *fudlik* were begun by him. In some cases, for instance the headman in the tribal societies in Kerala apart from commissioning rituals also provided traditional medicines to the villagers (Aerthayil, 2008). The *Budavant* played a significant role also on the religious front. He took the initiative of starting the celebration of the festival called *Shigmo* with the act of *toni marop* and *mel kadop*. While *toni marop* refers to an act of biting of small wooden sticks in a particular folk dance forms known as *toneamel*, *mel kadop* refers to the act of mobilising men to form dancing troupes to participate in the *Shigmo*. The festival of *Shigmo* includes enactment of folk dances such as *toneamel* played by men. In the village of Bharsa the *Budavant* enjoys the privilege of welcoming the women after the delivery of the child into the house after a period of seven days. The tribals first seek

the services of the Brahmin priest for sanctifying the household premises and the holy or worshiping room. The *Budavant* is then empowered to welcome the woman inside the house.

The Gaonkar and Velip are mutually dependent on each other for the performance of their duties. The *Budavant* entrusted the Velip an important role of communicating his directions with the villagers. He also convened meetings pertaining to general issues of the village. The elders generally assembled and discussed matters of the village at a place called as '*ghatan*'. The *ghatan* is a circular arrangement of sitting stones erected under the *kasam* (*Schleichera oleosa*) tree.

By and large all religious duties of the hamlet of the village were undertaken by the Velip. The Velip undertook his duties as directed by the Gaonkar. The Velip enjoyed the traditional right of performing '*vaadi*' to the Gods and Goddesses. '*Vaadi*' is the holy food offered to Gods during religious occasions. The Velip offers *vaadi* to *Kulgati*, and to the clan God Shivapurush or Niraakar. The *gharvai* is offered *vaadi* during occasions such as *Asadi punav*, *Naye* and *Usthan*. In addition to the performance of *vaadi* the Velip is also authorised to offer coconut for the clan god on behalf of every individual family. He is also solely authorised to undertake rituals pertaining to cremation or burial of the villagers. The Velips follow the custom of burying the deceased since antiquity, however lately some tribesmen have absorbed the practice of cremating, which seems to be an emulation of the non-tribal society. The Velip was allowed to take part in additional responsibilities of the village soon after the burial of the deceased member. However, with the acceptance of the practice of cremating, the Velip cannot officiate into any other activities for a period of twelve days until the pollution period is lifted. The villagers keep the Velip informed of day-to-day developments in the village. The tribals follow a custom of offering *paan* and

supari (betel leaf and betel nut) to the Velip for all good moments taking place in their families such as announcement of marriage, birth of new born child, etc.

In addition to the Velip, every Velip hamlet possesses a Khute Velip. The Khute Velip too enjoys a recognised position. The role of the Khute Velip is similar to that of the Velip, as he too is supposed to perform the *vaadi*. The name Khute Velip is derived from the word '*khuti*', meaning a wooden stick or a stone marker planted into the ground. The *khuti* indicates the settlement place of each tribal group and is worshipped only by the elder member (Correia, 2006). The *khuti* is central for the establishment of any tribal village, as the decision of selecting a settlement was done when the Khute Velip planted the *khuti* at a given place. The *khuti* and the *Saath purva* is always worshipped and remembered during every occasion with the performance of *vaadi* by the Khute Velip. The lamp is not lit at the *khuti*.

'Budavant' and 'Velip': Upcoming challenges

Every single hamlet or a village functioned as a family unit under the leadership of the *Budavant* and the Velip. However, of late, the tribal society of the Velips is confronting a sort of a challenge to its long established institutions of traditional governance. The traditional roles of the Gaonkar have shrunk to a great extent. A more or less similar arrangement of tribal leadership among the tribals in the state of Kerala is fast changing primarily due to external influences (Aerthayil, 2008, p. 31). He seems to be commanding less respect from the villagers due to the economic well being of many members. Despite the fact that the *Budavant* occupies a position of pride, in modern times the functional powers of the *Budavant* literally do not seem exist in the same spirit, as they have largely weakened. This is true from the fact that in recent times consultation of the villagers with the *Budavant* on collective as well as individual matters has diminished to a great extent. Mutual settlements of village and

family disputes at the level of the *Budavant* have been taken over by modern democratic rules. Disputes are increasingly referred to official bodies such as the police and the courts, without consenting the *Budavant*. Thus, with the segregation of interests, it is apparent that the community is drifting away from collectivism to a kind of individualism. However, in a very few cases the assistance of the *Budavant* is taken, especially in those issues which cannot be resolved at the level of formal bodies or those which require to be settled for a price.

Very rarely one comes across a cordial relationship prevailing between the Velip and the *Budavant* in many hamlets, which otherwise was well coordinated and much healthier than the present times. The tribal ancestors too illustrated a great amount of unity and harmony between the members.

A form of hierarchical society

The researcher has observed that a form of distinct stratification exists between the Velip and the Gaonkar families. Sharma (2008) mentions that every tribal society has a distinct mode of stratification and thus can be well differentiated from any other tribal group. Every ethnographic profile of a tribe is its pattern of stratification. The Gaonkars seems to claim a position above the Velips. This claim is supported with some reasons. The power of owning and controlling the administration was in the hands of the Gaonkars. Secondly, the right to appoint the Velip i.e. the chief religious leader was the prerogative of the Gaonkar. Also, the performances of religious acts to be executed by the Velip were to be directed solely by the Gaonkar. The virtue of claiming such power gives the Gaonkar a superior position and in turn also to the Gaonkar community. Since the Velip is supposed to act at the advice given by the Gaonkar he is at times considered as *chaakar* (servant) of the Gaonkar. The Velip duly considered and acknowledged the position of the Gaonkar as superior to him.

Table 3.3**Velip/Gaonkar family dichotomy**

Village	Ward/ hamlet	No. of households	Family type			
			Velip	%	Gaonkar	%
Cotigao	Baddem	44	06	13.64	38	86.36
	Pansulemol	47	39	82.98	08	17.02
Gaondongrem	Bharsa	48	48	100	--	0
	Kinalkatta	26	26	100	--	0
Total		165	119	72.1	46	27.9

As shown in the table 3.3, the hamlets of Bharsa and Kinalkatta have families exclusively belonging to the Velips families. The hamlets of Baddem and Pansulemol have Velips as well as the Gaonkars in its population. In addition to the classification of members on the basis of broad categories such as Velips and Gaonkars, the tribal society is also classified on the basis of clan structure.

The researcher has also come across segmentation of the tribal society at the level of families of clan (see table 3.4). In the hamlet of Pansulemol one comes across nine to ten types of families. Examples of which are: *Ekoteale*, *Avemkar*, *Savariponache*, *Ghadeli*, *Khaileale*, *Bhajeale*, *Madisheale*, *Endrekar*, *Bhutpalkar*, and the *Beliutkakade*. While in Baddem the families are identified with names such as *Ghatnakar*, *Borshileale*, and the *Avalkar*. The names given to these families have been attributed by their fore fathers and ancestors during the early evolution of the community. Some names refer to the names of places such as *Avalkar* from Avali, *Bhutpalkar* from Bhutpal, *Avemkar* from Avem, *Endrekar* from the hamlet of Endrem. There are others whose names are derived on the type of location of the

house or houses. Thus, for instance in Pansulemol, the *Madeshe*, (centre) house was located in the middle or at the central place of the hamlet. *Eteleale* referred to some ancestor who tied a cloth around his or her waist by putting a knot, the *Madakar* clan is the one whose name is derived from the location of the house nearby the coconut plantation, the *Borshileale* refer to those members who are supposed to extend goodwill amongst all setting aside their personal differences.

Each family type or a clan consists of a number of families. In the hamlet of Baddem from the sum total of forty-four houses, there are thirty four houses belonging to the *Ghatnakar*, six houses to the *Avalkars* and four of them to the *Borshileale*. Each family type (group of families) achieves a more distinct identity when they unite at the *gharvai* for the performance of common religious acts. The concept of *gharvai* is detailed at a later stage in the thesis. The above-mentioned criterion of distinguishing members on the basis of family type and their respective *gharvai* is used only for local purposes.

Table 3.4**Name of the family/clan**

Village	Ward/ hamlet	Name of family	No. of households	Total
Cotigao	Baddem	<i>Ghatnakar</i>	34	44
		<i>Borshileale</i>	04	
		<i>Avalkar</i>	06	
	Pansulemol	<i>Yeteleale</i>	05	47
		<i>Avemkar</i>	02	
		<i>Savriponache</i>	03	
		<i>Ghadeli</i>	08	
		<i>Khaileale</i>	04	
		<i>Bhaajeale</i>	05	
		<i>Velipache</i>	01	
		<i>Ekoteale</i>	06	
		<i>karmaleale</i>	01	
		<i>Madishe</i>	05	
		<i>Beliutkakade</i>	02	
<i>Endrekar</i>	02			
<i>Bhutpalkar</i>	03			
Gaondongrem	Kinalkatta	<i>Velip</i>	26	26
	Bharsa	<i>Chadele</i>	26	48
		<i>Fannikar</i>	05	
		<i>Falakar</i>	05	
		<i>Madakar</i>	04	
		<i>Karmagaalkar</i>	08	

As indicated in the table 3.4, families are united into clans in the different hamlets. The clan classification appears simple in some hamlets, while it is also complex in others. There are altogether thirteen types of families or clans in the hamlet of Pansulemol, five types in Bharsa, three in Baddem and one in the hamlet of

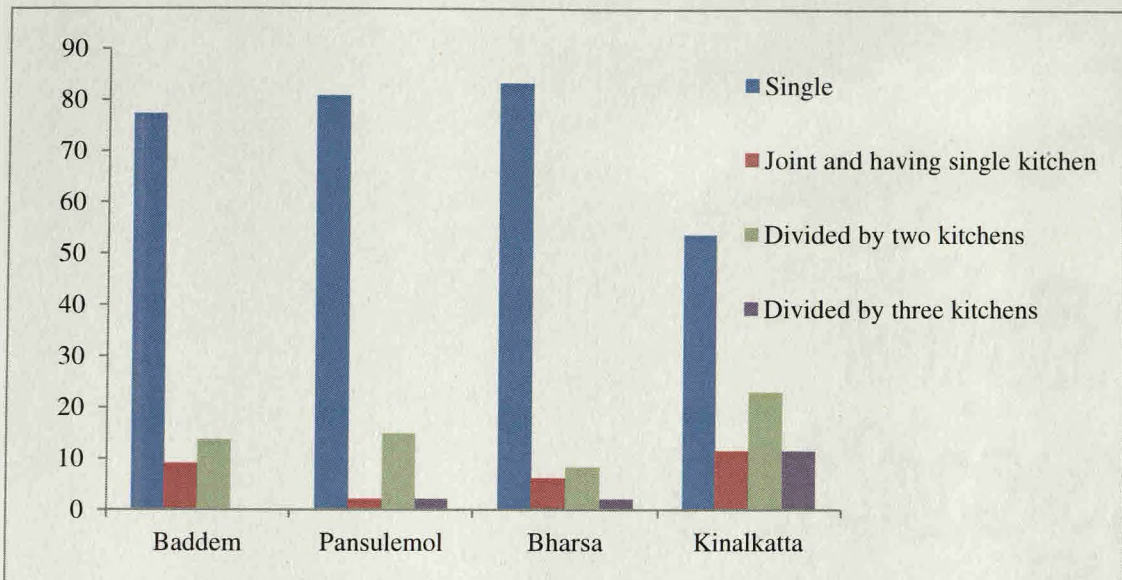
Kinalkatta. Examples of clans in Pansulemol are: *Yeteleale*, *Avemkar*, *Savariponache*, *Ghadeli*, *Khaileale*, *Bhajeale*, *Velipache*, *Ekoteale*, *Karmaleale*, *Madisheale*, *Beliutkakade*, *Endrekar* and *Bhutpalkar*. In Baddem the families are identified with names such as *Ghatnakar*, *Borshileale*, and the *Avalkar*. The families in the hamlet of Bharsa consists names such as *Chadele*, *Fannikar*, *Falakar*, *Madakar* and *Karmagaalkar*. However, the hamlet of Kinalkatta possesses only one clan, belonging to the Velip.

Family: Some early experiences and a transitional reality

A man of seventy-two years from the hamlet Baddem recollects memories during his childhood. He says, as a boy of nine there was only one house in the hamlet occupied by seventy persons. Today, there are only ten members still alive from the original house of seventy people. The entire family was called as the *Ghatnakar* family, the Gaonkar family of the hamlet. The village has grown today with as many as forty-four houses. Today, there are three types of families in the hamlet of Baddem, namely, *Ghatnakar*, *Avalkar* and the *Borshileale*. The family of *Avalkar* and the *Borshileale* settled from the neighbouring hamlets at some stage (not known). The tribals refer to people settling from other places as *rayts*.

Figure 3.4

Family and no. of kitchens



The institution of family has undergone radical changes over a period of time. Only seven per cent of the families in the figure indicate the presence of joint families. Seventy six per cent of them are nuclear or single families, while almost seventeen per cent of them are families living under one common roof, but are divided internally by separate kitchens. While twenty-three houses from the different hamlets have an internal arrangement of two separate kitchens, there are five households with three kitchens.

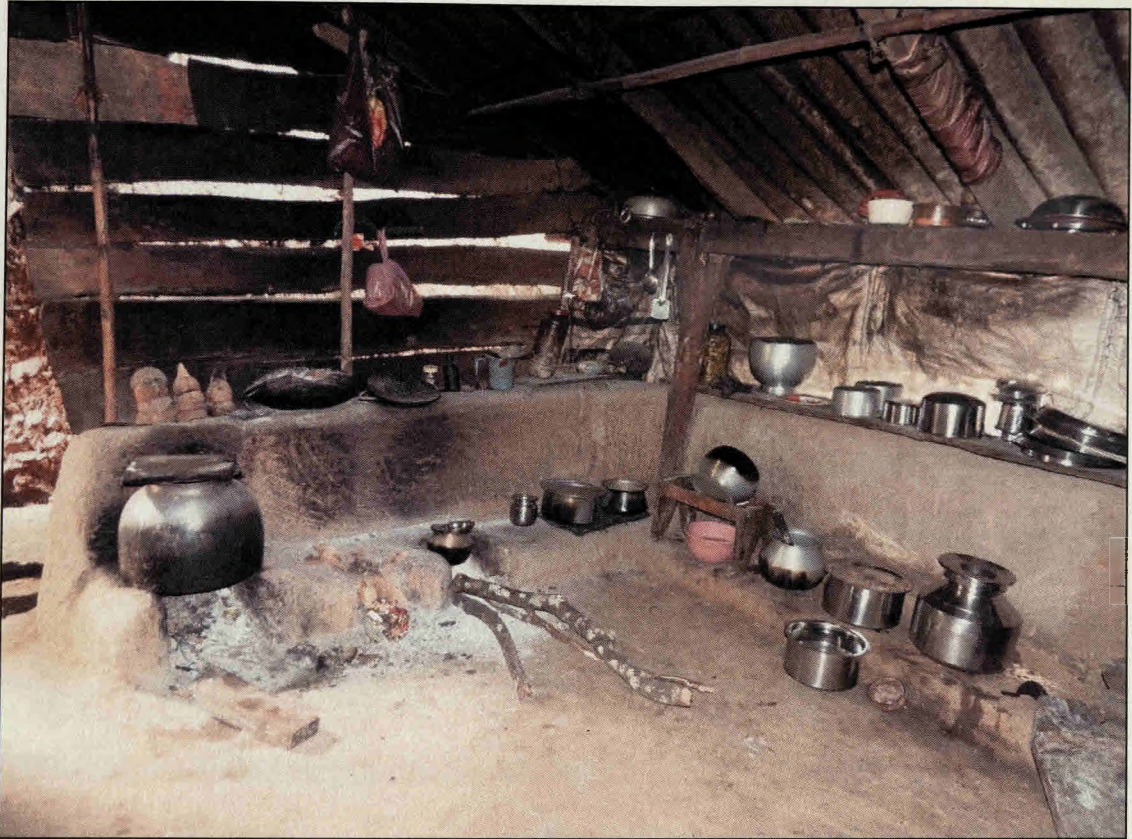


Photo 3.8: A typical kitchen

MARRIAGE DYNAMICS

Customs and rituals of Marriage among the Velips

Until recently, the tribals strictly followed the rule of endogamy. In fact, Habib (as cited in Beteille, 1992) mentions that rigid endogamy was the feature of tribal society, and that the caste system is the outcome of the fusion into the tribal society. The rule of endogamy has shrunk in a big way in the Hindu caste society, but has largely endured in the tribal society. A few instances of inter caste marriages are not uncommon among the tribes in recent times. It was observed that there were two individuals who got married with other caste members. A marriage among the tribals is a moment of great joy in the entire village. At times, the villagers refer to it nothing less than a festival. The mood of the villagers is like the one of a *jaagor* (to remain

awake throughout the night). Men and women from the entire village or hamlet took active part in assisting the marriage parties in the performance of different tasks.

There are certain norms followed by the members of the community. In the first place, marriage cannot take place between persons who worship to same clan God. Thus, marriages between members who are residents of the same hamlet are to be avoided. This is because the members of the community in every tribal hamlet consider and treat each of them as brothers and sisters (*bhav-bandhu*) or as belonging to one big family or *kutumb*. A marriage can take place between members belonging to Velip families, as well as between Velip and Gaonkar families. In the early times the marriageable age of girls was twelve to thirteen years, while the boys got married when they attained an age of fifteen or sixteen years. They evaded marriages with people of more than forty years of age. The marriage among them took the form of a *Rakshasya vivaha* (detailed ahead in the same chapter).

In the olden times, the proposal was done from the bride's party to the bridegroom. However, of late the boy or his parents approach the girl's house to enter into wedlock. The elders generally played an important role in the selection of partners. During marriages, the tribals wore traditional dresses. The bride dressed in a traditional style known as *kashin*. The bride did not adorn her with multiple ornaments, but put only the sacred *mani* or *mangalasutra* as an ornament in marriage. Today, the ornamentation in the marriage ceremony to be put by the bride and the groom has considerably increased. In addition, the things exchanged between the two parties included a nominal share of grains demanded by the bride from the groom. During the last thirty years or so, the exchange of things between the parties has undertaken an exorbitant form. In modern times, marriage seems to take a reverse trend wherein the demand has taken a shape of dowry from the bridegroom to the

bride. Hence, marriages are looked as issues of prestige determined in terms of the wealth exchanged between the parties.

Earlier the marriages were solemnised at the sacred *Daando*. During the last forty years, marriages have stopped taking place at the *Daando*. Of late, the marriage ceremonies are solemnized in the courtyard of the eldest male member of the village, or in the courtyard belonging to the groom. The well to do parties, however, undertakes their marriage ceremonies into some hired halls, hotels or gardens in the nearby towns.

The tribals now visit the *Daando* only after the marriage, i.e. on the second or the third day to take blessings of Lord Niraakar or Shivapurush. This day of visit to the *Daando* is called as *khalacho dis*. The bride and the groom is accompanied by the *raibari* (middleman) and assistant for the groom (*dhedo*) to the *Daando*. The sacred *choru* (holy food prepared from rice and jaggery) is prepared and offered to the different gods at the *Daando* on this visit. A ritual of beating or thrashing raw grains into a unique vessel made of bamboo known as *karo* is performed to bestow household status for the new bride into the new house.

In connection with the marriage it may be noted here that the role of parents of the bride and the groom as *Yajmans* (one who hires service) remained insignificant, and was largely taken over by the *Budavant* and *Chougules* (wiseman and elderly) of the village community. The parents of the bride did not accompany their daughters in their marriages, which were supposed to take place at the grooms place.

Apart from the help rendered by village men, the Velip community enjoyed the services of other communities too at the occasion of marriage. A member from *Modovol* or *Parit* (washerman) community was involved in the *savo* (stage)

preparations at the time of marriage. While the service of the *Pandit* or *Bhat*, namely the priest was only required for the purpose of garlanding the mates in the marriage.

The tribals observed certain rules pertaining to marriage. Some of these rules refer to *badla soirik*, *godkaatli khavop* or *saakharpudo*, *vhorak vachap*, *kar*, *ghury*, *jovli*, *apone*, *devak vhoval ghalop* and *tel*.

Badla soirik

In the bygone era, the tribals followed a unique practice pertaining to marriage, wherein an oral agreement was made between two villages or hamlets. Under this agreement, any hamlet requiring a bride in marriage from other village or hamlet for their groom had to exchange their girl for marriage to a boy from the bride's village. This system of arrangement of exchanging of mates in marriage is called as *badla soirik*. The *badla soirik* was done to ensure a demographic balance between villages.

Godkaatli khavop* or *Saakharpudo

No marriage ceremony is solemnised without the performance of *godkaatli khavop* or engagement ceremony. The engagement ceremony takes place generally a fortnight or a week before the marriage day. The *godkaatli khavop* ceremony takes place at the bride house. In the earlier days only the *Budavant* of the village and the *raibari* (middleman), or *maneli* (some respected persons), generally a group of four men visited the bride's place. However, of late, the bridegroom party consisting of the eldest male member or the *Budavant*, the *raibari* (middleman) and some men visit the bride's party. For the engagement ritual, these men carried five coconuts and some jaggery. In the yester years, the engagement ceremony was known as *godkaatli khavop* among the tribal community, which meant eating the coconut along with jaggery. The term '*godkaatli khavop*' is now replaced with the term '*saakharpudo*'. The community is now widely making use of sugar in place of jaggery, and hence the

name *saakharpudo* is used instead of the word *godkaatli khavop*. The engagement ceremony was treated as an occasion or moment of declaring the marriage of the bride's parents to the entire village. On this day, the bride's father invites people to his house to extend the news of the marital tie. Discussions pertaining to things to be exchanged between both the parties in the marriage, as well as the place of marriage are done on the engagement day. After the performance of the engagement ceremony, the bride and the groom are not supposed to undertake any laborious work in or outside their houses. During the interim period of engagement and marriage ceremony, relatives of respective sides invite and treat them with special meals and give away some gifts in the form of clothes.

Tela dis

The pre marriage rituals such as *daati* and *tel* were held in great enthusiasm. Women undertake traditional grinding of pulses and grains required in marriage by singing songs. The day before the marriage ceremony is called as the *Tela dis*. The *Tel* ceremony is done before the sacred *gharvai*, which involve the applying of oil and bathing the groom or bride at their respective places. Five people who are called as the *manelis*, which include the *Budavant*, the *Velip*, and three people from three different *gharvai*, take active part in the *Tel* ceremony.

Vhorak vachap

The members from the boy's party leave for the girl's house in the evening on the day before the marriage to invite her in the marriage. The custom of getting the bride in the marriage by the groom's party is called as *vhorak vachap*. The boy's party carry with them some bunch of bananas, sweets like *laddoos* and saris for the bride's mother. In some hamlets like Kinalkatta, the *Pagin* (fisherfolk woman) accompanied the bridegroom party with loaded stocks of bananas over her head to the bride's place.

Before beginning with the marriage proceedings, the barber performed the role of shaving and cutting the hair of the bridegroom. The *Devli* (temple caste member) was entrusted to dress the bride with the sari in the marriage ceremony. On the day of marriage five shares of bananas known as *tali* were gifted from the groom's party to the bride's party on the day under the *tann*. The *tann* is done beyond the courtyard by the *Modovol*. Two sticks apart are joined with a string made out of the bark of a plant called *kadde vaayo* or *kevnicho vaayo* (*Helicteres isora* L.). The string is ornamented with leaves of mango tree and erected in front of the house of the bride, which is called as *tann*. The offerings in the form of *tali* are done at the *tann* wherein both the parties stand on the either sides of the *tann* and the *tali* is placed by the groom's party on a piece of cloth held tight by both the parties under the *tann*. The *Modovol* is supposed to hold the cloth at the *tann*, and wash the feet of the couple at the *tann*. He is also authorised to tie the *gaantvol* (knotting of dress of bride and groom). The community not so often hire the services of the *Modovol* as they demand a higher price for the performance of the acts. At the *tann*, the bride and bridegroom put on garlands made of the *vovla* flowers (*Minusops elengi*) around their necks, and the *mangalsutracho mani* was tied by the groom to the bride.

The type of marriage practiced by the Velip community is supposed to have a strong link with that of the marriage of King Baliraja (a mythical legend). The Velips consider themselves the descendants of King Baliraja, a mythical legend who is supposed to got married through the *Rakshasya vivaha*, i.e. forcibly abducting a woman to get married. Traditionally, marriage among the Chenchus of Andhra Pradesh was by elopement or by abduction. In recent times, they are experiencing change in the observance of their rituals particularly with reference to the practice of marriage (Raju, Sudhakar & Umamohan, 2009). The Muthuvan tribe in Kerala too

demonstrate a similar practice, but in a modified form. While the act of stealing the bride is totally abandoned now, the bride along with her friends hides in a nearby forest and is taken by the bridegroom relatives after conducting search operations (Aerthayil, 2008, p. 32). Though not practiced in the same spirit, but the act of taking away the bride display intent of forcibly running away with the bride.

Ghury

An act of *ghury* was observed at the bride's place, wherein the party of the bridegroom was posed the challenge to take away the bride. In this case, the bride to be given in marriage was well protected by ladies belonging to the bride's party by forming a circle. A circle of ladies had to be broken by the groom's members to captivate the bride. As an act to resemble the *Rakshasya* marriage, the bride is carried over the shoulder to the groom's place. On the day of marriage, the maternal uncle played an important role of carrying the bride over his shoulders at the place of marriage. This practice of shouldering of the bride by the maternal uncle is called as *ghodear marop*. The practice continues even to this day, but not in the same spirit.

Kar

The *kar* is a custom executed on the day of marriage wherein the groom's party gives away an amount of twelve rupee and fifty paise to the bride's side. The giving of *kar* meant that there are no exchanges of any gifts or dowry between the two parties. If the *kar* is not executed, it is presumed that the marriage invited for more exchanges of goods, or money between the parties. In the earlier days, jaggery or grains such as toordal, rice and coconuts were gifted by the groom to the bride. Tribal communities such as Malavedars, Malankunvars, Thandapulayars, Irulas, and Kurumbars in Kerala display a feature of dowry given by the bridegroom to the bride even today. There are

also examples wherein the practice of offering is undertaken every year (Aerthayil, 2008, p. 32).

Jovli

The tribals follow the custom of gifting clothes to the members of the hamlet and also their close relatives. The custom of purchasing gifts in the form of clothes is known as *jovli*. The *jovli* is done four or five days before the day of marriage ceremony. The marriage party of the bridegroom selects a place for the purchase of clothes, and is accompanied by a member from each house for the *Jovli*. In the Baddem hamlet, only the men folk take part in the *jovli*. In some hamlets, both men and women take part in the purchase of clothes. In the olden days, the tribals gave away gift in the form of towels. The gifting has taken a different form today, wherein the tribals have started gifting saris and other garments. The gifts are distributed on the day of marriage.

Devak Vhovar Ghalop

A couple of days after marriage the newly married bride prepare the first meal to be offered to the *gharvai*. Raw grains of rice are beaten in the *vaan* for dehusking, and then boiled into a vessel with jaggery with no salt added to it. The type of food is called as *choru*, offered to the Gods. The groom offers the *vaadi* to the *gharvai*, wherein the *choru* is placed over five leafs to the Gods by sprinkling water and breaking of coconut. In this case, the Velip of the village is not entitled to perform the act of offering *vaadi*.

Apone

After a lapse of five days of the marriage ceremony, the brother of the bride along with some men of his village visits his newly married sister to invite her at his place. This gesture of inviting the sister is called as *apone*. The groom repeats the act of *apone* in the same manner to receive her back to his house. This takes place after

another five days after the first *apone* and hence, is known as the *paacha apone* by the tribals (Devidas, 2013, p. 131).

Gudi

Marriage of the boy can only be solemnised with his prior participation in the *gudi*. The *gudi* is done at any point of time before marriage. The boy offers a coconut to the *gharvai* takes a round at the holy *tulsi* and then proceeds to the Mallikarjun temple.

Marriages outside the tribe

The taboo of prohibiting members to get married outside the tribe is facing a threat in recent times. Two cases of outside the tribe marriages have been noted in the hamlet of Bharsa, wherein the Velip men are married to women not from the same tribe. As per the dictates of the elderly and the social and religious head (*Budavant* and Velip) of the community, the couples were allowed to remain in the village and stay in the common house with parents, brothers, and sisters, but were not allowed to participate in the common religious rituals of the community. The villagers plainly refused the entry of the couple at common religious functions at Upper Bharsa or during any activity at the *maand* (a common open space generally appearing like a courtyard where people assemble for meetings or to perform dances). The couple is not allowed to offer the *pod* (rice grains) to Shivapurush (Clan God), or cannot take part in religious activities such as the *porobs* (religious occasions or festivals) at upper Bharsa. They also cannot take part in the performance of marriage rituals in other houses. The children too are not allowed to take part in common functions. Children born out of the union of such inter tribal marriages cannot be offered to the clan God, a custom followed by the community. They even cannot pay visits to the deceased member or its family (cremation site or burial grounds). Events taking place in the community are not informed or addressed to such members. The treatment given to

them by the family and the community compelled them to remain away from the main house by constructing separate houses. The elders strongly believe in protecting the cultural and tradition ethos of the community through the institution of marriage.

DRESS CULTURE

The indigenous people have carved out their identity in terms of unique forms of dressing patterns. Until the end of the last century, the elderly Velips (men and women) were given to their traditional dressing modes; however, in recent times there appears to be a complete disappearance of the old dressing habits. Some elderly too have changed to modern dresses. The traditional dress of women was the '*kapod*', clothed in a peculiar style called as '*detli*'. The *detli* pattern of dressing is also called as '*gaath marop*', meaning, the dress is rounded over the body with one single knot. Marco (1969) mentions that the Kunbi women dress saris with or without *cholis* (blouse) in a manner resembling that of Coorgis, a typical ethnic group of Dravidian stock with whom the tribal women have many things in common. The *kapod* selected for the *detli* dressing style was of a particular fixed length; normally, of a length of seven metres called, '*saatwaari*' or nine metres called as '*navwaari*'. Women never entered the temple premises without wearing the *saatwaari* or *navwaari* in the olden days. The researcher has observed that some elderly ladies dressed in the *detli* style, but also put on a blouse, which formerly was not present. Many elderly women have completely given up the dress pattern of *detli* since last five years. Very rarely, one may come across women in the age group of eighty and above practicing *detli* in its original form. However, the dressing style of *detli* has stopped since the last twenty years. These women some twenty years back wore the eight or nine *wari*. Ladies wearing the *detli* do not put on many ornaments over their bodies. At the most, they may have a chain of beads or a thread around their neck.



Photo 3.9: Velip woman dressed in *Detli*

A bunch of small metallic tools is entangled in the chains, which are referred as '*chimto*', '*kanulo*' and '*kato*'. The three tools are made use for different purposes; for example, the *kanulo* is made use for cleaning the ear; the *kato* and *chimto* for pricking and removing thorns from the foot or any part of the body.



Photo 3.10: Differential dress pattern of mother and daughter

One of the core practices of Velip men that have become extinct totally was to keep the head bald. Men shaved their head by leaving a small hair growth behind the forehead. A ritual called as '*sheneache mhatan*' was performed to shave the head. It is noticed that the ritual continues even to this present day; however, the practice of shaving off the head has become extinct. The elders express a strong concern over the rapid disintegration of traditional elements of the community. They say, "Our identity is lost among ourselves as we find it difficult to identify our fellow men and women as they have taken to modern western dressing patterns". The custom of wearing a white turban over their head was symbolic of Velip men. Nowadays, these men use the turban only while they move into the forests mainly to protect their head to avoid injuries from the branches and twigs of plants and trees.

In the marriage ceremony only the *yajman* and the *yajmani* puts on the traditional *kashin* dress. One may witness the use of traditional dress in marriage only with the *yajman* and the *yajmani* wherein they dress in the style called *kashin*. Also during the performances of *pooja*, men and women make use of the *kashin* dress. The bride used to put on the *mani* (sacred string) and the *naka kadi* (nose stick) as the only gold ornaments in marriage. The young girls before attaining a marriageable age would wear white dresses, which were called as *dhavi pudiya*.

FOOD

Before taking to settled agriculture, the tribal community of the Velips was principally dependent on the forest for its food requirements. Produce obtained from the forest centred activity of shifting cultivation, wild fruits, animals, birds, vegetables, underground tubers and crabs were some of the traditional foods of the community. The total dependency of the tribals on the forest for their food is sometimes referred by the locals in an idiom as '*raan gholon khavop*'. With some progression in their livelihoods and acceptance of settled agriculture, the community started producing to meet their day-to-day subsistence. The community has subsequently moved into a phase of transition, demanding less from the forests and agriculture but more from the market. The dependence on the forests is now restricted only for superficial purposes and not to meet their primary needs.

Some early beliefs

As mentioned earlier, the priestly nature of the Velips invited the notion of ritual superiority in their lives, which curtailed them to dine at the house of any non-tribal. They would consider themselves polluted if they had to eat with others. The traditional minded men, some decades ago would carry a coconut shell with them to the nearby town hotel for the purpose of drinking tea or water. The more conservative

among them refrained from eating or drinking in the hotel. On their return from the market or town they only entered their house after having bath in the outdoor. Some tribesmen observed strange practices of feeding at public places. If they had to drink tea from the hotel, they would evade direct contact of their lips with the glass; the thumb finger was placed at an intermediate position between the lips and the glass to sip the pale of tea. Some elderly women do not visit hotels even to the present day. Not a long ago, but barely a two or three decades back the members of the community observed the notion of purity in other forms too. On their return from the market place, the elders would enter into their homes only after having a bath outside the house. Also, before entering they left their dress outside their homes. Incidents such



Photo 3.11: A Velip on his way to market

as a crow flying over the head or an accidental touch of a crow were believed to pollute them. In the olden days, consumption of alcohol was prohibited among the members of the community. Some two decades ago due to the ritually superiority refrained the community also from distilling the alcohol in many hamlets. They no longer strictly adhere to the practice now. A few youngsters of late have started consuming alcohol, but almost all elders abstain from alcohol consumption. If alcohol was needed for any medicinal purposes, they avoided contact of the bottle by holding it with the help of a stick. Those who had taken to the consumption of alcohol have however given up alcoholism after joining some religious fronts (*sampradayas*).

Consumption pattern/Food items

The consumption of foods such as forest fruits, roots, tubers, leafy vegetables is gradually lessening from the tribal diet. Many of their primary food demands are now increasingly fulfilled and taken over by the modern market. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight some of the traditional food items consumed for their livelihood. The tribals consumed vegetables such as *taikilo* (*Cassia tora*, Linn.), *tero* (*Colocasia esculenta* (L.) Schott), *kill* (Bamboo shoot or *Dendrocalamus spp.*, *Schizostachyum spp.*), *kuddukke* (*Celosia argentea*), *kandya bhaji or sheermondoli* (*Adenia hondala*) which were readily available to them in their nearby places (Bhave, 2005). Underground roots and tubers were an important source of food among the tribals. These include *chaayi* (*Dioscorea oppositifolia*), which is a form of tuber from the creeper known as *chayel* (*Dioscoreaceae*), *almi* (Termite hill mushrooms or *Asparagus*), *kanga* such as *valachi and kateachim* (*Dioscorea esculenta*), *chirko* [a tuber (*Dioscorea bulbifera*)], *chonio* [a bulbil (*Dioscorea bulbifera*)], *zaad kanga* (*Solenostemon rotundifolius*), *aloo maadi* (*Colocassia esculenta*), *kaat kanga* (*Dioscorea esculenta*), and *aloo* (*Colocassia* species). The Velips were also fond of

kairos (*Entada scandens*), which were available generally in the forest areas. Forest fruits such as *jamla* (*Syzygium cumini*), *bhiran* (*Garcinia indica*), *churna* (*Zizyphus rugosa*), *jaam* (*Xylia xylocarpa*), *chaara* (*Buchanania lanzan*), *avaale* (*Phyllanthus emblica*), *reethe* (*Sapindus laurifolius*), *karmala* (*Dillenia pentagyna*), *bora* (*Zizyphus mauritiana*), *mango* (*Mangifera indica*), *kanera* (*Zizyphus oenoplia*), *ametha* (*Antidesma acidum* Retz.), *shinola* (*Phoenix sylvestris*), *chapera* (*Flacourtia montana*), *nedduka* (*Tali minor*), *kanja* (*Carrisa carandus*), etc.

Crabs are an important source of food for the tribals, especially during the rainy season. Men and women of different age groups get involved in the collection of crabs. Those houses located in close proximity to the rivulets find it more convenient to collect crabs round the year. Areas, which retain scanty proportions of water during the winter and early summer season, are common sites for the availability of crabs and are frequently visited by the tribals.

As mentioned by some elders, the early tribals depended on a very peculiar pattern for food i.e. the wild bamboo or *kanki kato* (*Dendrocalamus strictus*). These wild bamboos, which are found in many pockets of the forests, are said to blossom once in sixty year's time. The flowering of the wild bamboos was a time of great joy for their ancestors. The researcher was fortunate to see the bamboo in a full blossoming state during the course of his fieldwork. The loads of fine small flowers are left over the bamboo trees until they dry. They then shook the trees to bring down the dried seeds. These dry seeds were eaten as grains as a nutritious food supplement. The flowering of the bamboo was considered an extraordinary occasion for the tribals in other respects too. Firstly, it is believed that the tribal members could refer to the flowering of the bamboo to ascertain, compare and differentiate their ages or years in the times when advanced counting techniques were very less in vogue.



Photo 3.12: *Kanki kato*

Secondly, the elders of the different settlements also explained that this occasion of flowering also cautioned a likely drought to take place. During the course of the researcher's work it was understood that the monsoons were delayed by more than a month leaving the places dry.

Other common and widely consumed traditional tribal foods consumed by the community are the *goneachi bhakri*, *ameel* and *aamot*. The main crop grown in the shifting cultivation sites was the millet, and was extensively used. The *goneachi bhakri*, *ameel* and *aamot* were rich in protein content as it contained millet, the main ingredient. *Aamot* is prepared from the mixture of red chilli, toor daal, cocum, salt and millet flour. The *ameel* is made of ingredients such as salt mixed with the millet flour and water. Now, with the cultivation of paddy, the tribals are increasingly consuming food items prepared from rice. The *bhakri* is now made of rice instead of millet, and the consumption of the local parboiled rice (*ookde bhaat*) and the curry has become a

regular diet. Many tribals never consumed the morning tea before, but of late have started consuming tea along with their children. In fact, many tribal societies in India abstain from consuming tea. Singh (1994) states that the use of milk with tea is a new trend particularly in the North East. One can notice that with the decreasing consumption of traditional delicacies taking place among the tribals, the non-tribal townsmen are becoming more health conscious and have begun consuming these foods on health grounds. This establishes the fact that the process of assimilation of traits by the non-tribals from the tribals has been in vogue for a long time and vice versa. The non-tribal populations staying in the close vicinity are greatly influenced by the food ethos of the tribal society. Kalia (as cited in Srinivas, 1995) describes the process of “tribalization” taking place in the Bastar region in Uttar Pradesh among the high caste Hindus wherein there is an acceptance of some tribal ways of life. In this respect, one can clearly discern the process of tribalization occurring among the non-tribal community in the domain of food.

The swift expansion of *porsu* cultivation by all individual families has largely resolved the food problem situation in the region. The tribals grow vegetables for their personal consumption as well as for the market. Hence, there is no dearth of vegetables.

The tribal settlements included in the study, though bear different topographic features, they possess more or less similar ecological features. For example, while the places around the settlements are covered with cashew trees, the areas within the settlements are densely covered with jackfruit and the *otamb* (*Artocarpus gomezianus*) trees. The jackfruit and the *otamb* trees are important food requirements of the tribals. The jackfruit is an important source of food for people as well as for their cattle. The jackfruit tree bears fruits from February to June. The Velips prepare

bhaji from the raw jackfruit, and also consume the ripe jackfruit. The seeds of jackfruit are dried during the summer and consumed during the rainy season. In many cases the seeds are also pasted with a layer of soft mud and dried to add more shelf life. These seeds are used in the preparation of vegetable dishes and various food items. *Pansachi bhaji* or jackfruit vegetable dish is a common food of the Velips during the months from February to June. In many hamlets, the raw jackfruit pieces are dried and utilised as fodder for the cattle in the monsoon. These pieces of jackfruit before drying are also boiled and served along with husk (*kuno*) to cattle. Trees of *otamb* are found in abundance in the settlements. The Velips make optimum use of the *otamb* as a substitute for *bhirand* (*Garcinia indica*) or the tamarind in their food preparations. The table 3.5 highlights the preference of food habits with reference to specific days.

Table 3.5

Food consumption

Village	Ward/ hamlet	Total Households	Observe days for vegetarian food	
			Yes	No
Cotigao	Baddem	44	70.45	29.55
	Pansulemol	47	51.06	48.94
Gaondongrem	Bharsa	48	63.04	41.30
	Kinalkatta	26	61.54	38.46
Total		165	61.35	39.88

With the exception of only two families, almost all families consume vegetarian and non-vegetarian food. Sixty one per cent of the households observe specific days in the name of Gods and consume vegetarian food. The tribals worship

the clan God Niraakar and Shivapurush, incarnation of Lord Shiva or Mahadev on Monday and generally consume vegetarian food on this day. There are also some families who observe vegetarian food on Thursdays too. Singh (1994) while offering the anthropological profile of tribal communities in India points out that the majority of the tribes in the country are non vegetarian except three vegetarian communities, namely the Toda (except its Christian segment), the Rabari and the Bharwad. Moreover, an interesting fact is that all the three communities are pastoral.

Chicken a taboo

The Velips observed some customary taboos with reference to consumption of certain items. The consumption of items such as chicken and eggs were strictly forbidden among the members of the community. If any member of the community contravened this norm, he had to remain outside the house for a period of three days. The elders were the watchdogs and put a fear for non-consumption of chicken. The consumption of chicken was considered highly polluting and inauspicious for undertaking religious acts by the community. Even an unintentional act of stepping over the feather of a chicken would pollute them. The tribals would not captivate the wild hens or cocks, but leave them if they had to come across them during any animal hunt. In local parlance, the Velips refer to the chicken as '*kukad*' or '*kokud*'. The most elderly person of ninety-two years from the hamlet of Kinalkatta spells the meaning of '*kukad*' as, 'not to be eaten'.

The belief behind the non-consumption of chicken is supported with some reasons. It was hard enough to arrive at a pragmatic reason to support such a belief. The elders too are left with less rationale for explanation of certain behaviours. The Velips hold a general belief of non-consumption of domesticated animals. In addition to domesticated animals like chicken, the Velips also refrain from eating domesticated

animals such as goat, sheep and domestic pig. As forest was the only source of food for the tribals in the olden days, and with no restrictions imposed on hunting, the easy availability of wild animals could be another possible reason for not depending on domesticated foods such as chicken. Hence, chicken was probably not looked as a necessity as forest animals were readily accessible. According to some elders, the non-consumption of chicken probably must have some link to an untoward happening in the past, wherein the consumption of chicken must have spelled out some misery on their ancestors that must have led to the abandonment of the practice. The elders believe that they should refrain from killing and eating those animals, which were offered for Gods. A chicken is offered (not killed) to the Paik God by the tribals every year and at the time of harvest to please some spirits around the land of cultivation. However, the younger generation members do not strictly abide by the consumption ethos of the community and hence there is less reinforcement of the age-old practices. They contravene these rules and on the contrary question their elders by saying, “if chicken is offered as a sacrifice to the Gods, there should be nothing indecent to consume the same chicken by us”. Thus, one finds a transition taking place also in the food culture of the Velips.

The waning of a belief

The table 3.6 indicate the relative habits of the household members with reference to the consumption of chicken.

Table 3.6**Household food habits related to the consumption of chicken**

Village	Ward/ hamlet	No. of houses	Consumption of chicken					
			All eat	%	Some eat	%	All do not eat	%
Cotigao	Baddem	44	08	18.18	14	31.81	22	50
	Pansulemol	47	21	44.68	19	40.42	07	14.89
Gaondongrem	Bharsa	48	12	25	23	47.91	13	27.08
	Kinalkatta	26	04	15.38	12	46.15	10	38.46
Total		165	45	27.27	68	41.21	52	31.51

The table 3.6 suggests that thirty one percent of the families abstain from the consumption of chicken, and forty one per cent of the households have some members who possess chicken. It is interesting to note that fifty per cent of the households (all members) in the hamlet of Baddem do not consume chicken. The high percentage explains the rigidity of customs and authoritative power of the elders in Baddem. The households in Pansulemol on the other hand show a greater proportion of households consuming chicken, i.e. 44.68 per cent. Probably, this may be because the religious and social heads of the community are at Avali, a former settlement of the Pansulemol residents. As such, they are not able to administer direct control over its members.

There were instances of a few families wherein all members abstain from the consumption of chicken and egg, as they have a strong dislike. It is observed that many elderly women do not consume any type of wild flesh of a pig or that of the chicken. Nevertheless, some members of the community do not adhere to the taboo of non-consumption of egg or chicken. The elders generally abstain from eating egg as

well as chicken. Many a times the youngsters consume chicken while they are away from their homes. However, if some interested members desire to consume chicken at home, the preparation and consumption of it is done outside their homes. Very rarely one may come across the preparation done inside their homes. In such cases, they do not cook chicken on the hearth, but only on a LPG (Liquid Petroleum Gas) gas stove. Almost all families maintain two hearths (*chullas*) inside their houses, one used for cooking vegetarian food and the other for non-vegetarian food such as fish. In addition to these two, there is also a third one, which is kept outside the house, and is used exclusively for preparing chicken.

In the hamlet of Bharsa, the tribal residents at Kajuwaado are severely prohibited to undertake cooking and consumption of chicken too within its defined territorial jurisdiction. The residents are therefore compelled to undertake preparation and consumption beyond a creek that separates the territory of Kajuwaado.

By and large all young adult men consume chicken. They consume it without bringing it to the knowledge of the Velip or the *Budavant*. They defy and argue against the belief of non-consumption of chicken. They contradict the statements of their elders and counter question too. Thus, according to some young men the consumption of chicken by humans should not to be considered as a huge crime, as Gods too get polluted with the offering of chicken.



Photo 3.13: Flesh hung over the hearth

The Velips follow a custom of offering the hunt of wild animals first to the Gods. Offering of hunt symbolise the offering of blood of the animal or animals to the Gods. Herein, only the hunt of animals such as the wild boar and the *meru* (sambar deer) are first offered to their clan God, which is at the holy *Daando* and then shared amongst the members. The tribals prepare the meal of such animals inside the house. While the meat of *katandor* (civet cat), *kuring* (four horned antelope), *gaar* (monitor lizard), Indian hare, chicken, *saal* (porcupine) or any other animal is prepared outside their homes. The meat of animals is also preserved by the tribals for more than four to five seasons, or even to the extent of two years. In this case, the meat is cut into small pieces, tied together to a thread, and hung over the hearth or the *chullah*. The smoke released from the hearth acts as a good preservative for the flesh.

Lokotsav: A cultural expression

The researcher witnessed the tribals showing a great enthusiasm in participating in the Lokotsav, an event showcasing the essence of distinct traditional social and cultural life of the Velips. The Adarsh Yuva Sangh, a tribal organisation formed by a few



Photo 3.14: Lokotsav

young individuals from the taluka more than a decade ago is continuing this legacy of organising the Lokotsav to protect and promote the tradition of its tribal community. It provides a platform for the tribal people of all ages to participate in this extravaganza, which is held for three days. The Lokotsav event provides a glimpse of aspects such as sports, agriculture, folk medicine and traditional tribal food items. An art gallery exhibiting the traditional artefacts and tools is a special feature of the Lokotsav. It is an important occasion for the tribal men and women to participate in competitions, especially the unique traditional dance forms.

CHAPTER IV

TRADITIONAL LIVELIHOOD SYSTEMS

Physical, economic, social and cultural aspects constitute the livelihood structure of tribal life. The physical dimension primarily includes the place of settlement of people. The peculiar settlement of tribal societies has always attracted the attention of anthropologists and ethnographers. In fact, the identity of any tribe is fundamentally constructed on the basis of the type of settlement they inhabit. The geographical location, topography, demography, ecology (natural resources) are important features of any tribal settlement.

The study of traditional or early settlements of the Velip tribes is an important part of the study and is explored taking the help of the religious dimension. The study has found out that all settlements claim to have migrated from remotely situated old settlements, which they had abandoned. The early tribal settlements are located in far flung secluded geographical locations in the forests. All tribal members of the Velip community owe their ethnic identity to their previous settlements. These early settlements serve as important religious centres of tribal faith and belief. These early settlements explain primitive modes of housing and reliance on wild resources for livelihood. Tribal settlements thus provide an important departure for the understanding of any traditional tribal livelihood. In addition to the physical dimension, the economic dimension entailing the traditional dependence of the community on forests, hunting, shifting cultivation, cattle rearing and community cultivation referred as *saavod* have been discussed at length. Health concerns of the tribes are deeply interrelated with forest resources. On the one hand, there is a reinforcement of culturally determined health beliefs and practices; on the other hand, there is a decline in the traditional institutional health practices and preference in

modern medicines. In this context, the discussion juxtaposes the prevailing response of the community towards modern medicine and ethno medicine.

EARLY SETTLEMENT AND THE DOMAIN OF RELIGION

Animism formed a type of religious belief of the primitive tribal society. It is in fact a difficult exercise to explain whether tribal religion has remained the same or otherwise. In fact, scholars such as Ghurye and Risley mention the difficulty in drawing a line of separation between animism and Hinduism, as there are close overlaps between the two. However, Hutton saw them as two different religious faiths. He writes,

‘the claim of certain politicians to include tribal religion under Hinduism is not logical so long as they have not reached the stage of accepting Brahmins as priests or of attaching any sanctity to the cow or of worshipping in Hindu temples in their own village’ (Hutton, as cited in Ahuja, 2005).

Nevertheless, it is certain that the institution of religion and for that matter the day-to-day customs and traditions among the Velip community have come to absorb some elements of Hinduism if not total in recent times. At this particular juncture, it is significant to take a look into the orientation of tribal religious behaviour in the private as well as public domain. Religion for the Velip tribe entails the worshipping of totemic symbols even to the present day. In this context, it is important to interpret and understand the concepts of ‘*gharpuris*’, ‘*gharvai*’ and the ‘*Daando*’. The *gharpuris* and the *gharvai* are sacred totems for the Velips. Hoebel in his definition of totemism says that the members have a peculiar bond of emotional identity between themselves and the totem. The totem is thus a symbol of tribal unity and keeps the group organised (Kapoor, 2013, pp. 211-12).

These three central concepts are religious ideologies to the tribals, and each of them warrants a specific religious behaviour. In fact, it may not be incorrect to say that the *gharpuris*, *gharvai* and the *Daando* to the tribals determine their worldview.

As Sinha (as cited in Mehra, 1977) makes an important point that the ideological system of the tribals covers man to supernatural, man to nature, and man to man relationship. It is rightly observed that the three dimensional relationship can be explored when explained in terms of the *gharpuris*, *gharvai* and the *Daando*. Tribal religious practices undertaken at the personal level i.e. in the house are directed to the *gharpuris*.

***Gharpuris* and the lighting of lamp**

One comes across a small wooden log like structure erected in houses which is called as the '*gharpuris*'. The *gharpuris* is also called as '*Dhaann*' or '*Puris*'. The concept '*gharpuris*' is a combination of two words, namely '*Ghar*' meaning house and '*Puris*' literally means a male person. In this context, it symbolises the worship of the male ancestor of the family. It is regarded as totem of the house. The system of having the *gharpuris* in the house is quite old and hence traditional in nature. The *gharpuris* is made out of the wood of trees such as *phirgus/furgus* (*Alseodaphne semecarpifolia*), *kharsang* (*Radermachera xylocarpa*), *khair* (*Acacia catechu*), *asana* (*Pterocarpus marsupium*), *otamb* (*Artocarpus gomezianus*) and jackfruit tree. The sacred *gharpuris* normally appears of a height of one to two feet with octagonal sides with one end of it planted vertically into the floor and the other end projected upwards. The place surrounding the *Dhaan* always should be kept clean and pure (*kasloch waaro lagpak jaina*) and hence, the tribals generally plant the *gharpuris* in a separate room. The room in which the *gharpuris* is installed is cleaned with the help of *ghaatyalo* (a hand broom made of a forest shrub used for cleaning the sacred place

Not all houses have the *gharpuris* in their houses. It was observed that mostly the newly constructed houses did not possess the *gharpuris*. There are a couple of reasons for not planting the *gharpuris* in the new houses. One of the reasons is the

continued dependence of the tribal community on the services and dictates of the Brahmin priest. The acceptance of sanskritic practices by the Velips is increasing



Photo 4.1: The *Gharpuris*

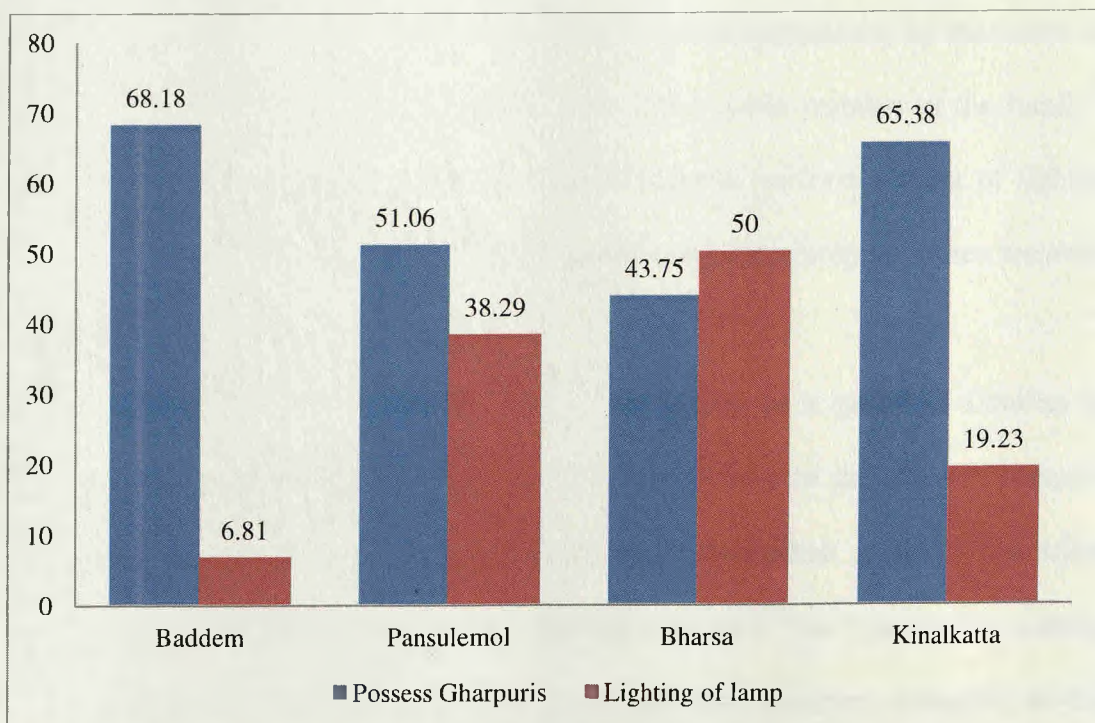
rapidly in the recent times. A tribal family living in the newly constructed house is directed by the Brahmin priest not to install the *Puris* when the householder's father and his other sons are still alive and reside in the joint family house. Yet another deterministic reason for non-installation of the *gharpuris* in the house is due to the financial status of the family. For installing the *Puris* they need the services of at least

two Brahmin priests which sometimes require an expense of rupees ten to fifteen thousand. Owing to the poor financial status, some families have not installed the *gharpuris*, but have temporarily performed the *hom* (a purification ritual). There are also families who desire to install the *gharpuris* into their houses after having completed all their house works for a decent stay.

While the community has accepted sanskritic practices in the religious domain, there is also a continuity of their indigenous practices to a great extent. The worship of *gharpuris* does not entail lighting of the oil lamp before it. This indigenous practice of the tribal community is directly contradicted with the conventional practice of the Hindus. However, a few families subscribe to sanskritic methods of worship. The members feel that there is no system of lighting the lamp in their community. They opine that the practice of lighting the lamp is borrowed from other people (non-tribals).

Figure 4.1

Possession of *Gharpuris* and lighting of lamp



According to figure 4.1, the practice of lighting the lamp is minimal in the hamlets of Baddem and Kinalkatta, while at Pansulemol and Bharsa the tribal families show a moderate response to the practice. The hamlets of Kinalkatta and Baddem have a fair number of houses with the sacred *gharpuris*. Houses in the new settlement at Pansulemol show a very less number of *Ghapuris* as many of them have the *Puris* installed in their ancestral homes at Avali. The lamp is lit only during festive occasions; some lit it only during a marriage. While, there are others who do not lit the lamp at any point of time. Instead, worshipping the *gharpuris* every evening is substituted with the practice of lighting of incense sticks by some families. Some do not lit the lamp or incense sticks also during *Porobs* (religious occasions or festivals). They strongly believe in lighting the lamp only at the sacred *Daando* (an early uninhabited sacred settlement), and thereby, do not feel the necessity of lighting it in their houses. The tribals feel unreasonable of lighting the lamp in their houses, as they believe that lighting the oil lamp in their respective houses would mean that their clan Gods (*Shivapurush* or *Nirakar*) is kept in dark at the *Daando*. It was also observed that the practice of lighting the lamp was undertaken only by the males and not by the females. It is the prerogative of the eldest male member of the family to light the lamp. In his absence, his sons are obliged to perform the act of lighting. However, in the rarest cases, a woman is entitled to light the lamp if all men are away.

The *Gharvai*

Religious practices oriented at the level of the family or a group of families are directed to the *gharvai*. In fact, families owe their identity to the *gharvai*. Members belonging to a particular family type have their independent *gharvai*. The tribals attach more importance to the *gharvai* than the *gharpuris*. The '*gharvai*' is a sacred totem of a group of families or clan. It is a temple like structure, miniature in size,

which is generally found aside the *Tulsi* (basil plant). The sum total of religious activities pertaining to the families is initiated at the *gharvai*. The location of the *gharvai* and the temple of the clan God (*Kuldev*) are found at the *Daando*.



Photo 4.2: The *Gharvai*

'*Daando*' - The collective domain of worship

By and large, religious practices among the Velip community take place in a collective manner at the *Daando*. Religion, to the tribal means jointly visiting and participating in the occasions at the sacred *Daando*. The tribals get hardly involved in performing prayers or in initiating religious rituals in their houses on a day-to-day basis. The sacred *Daando* is a place of common religious participation for the people of the community. The clan God *Nirakar*, the *gharvai* and several other subsidiary Gods (*Saath Purav*, *Khuti*, *Magil Purav*, *Satai Devi*, *Jalmi*, *Sarkarpurush*, *Vaagro* etc.) are located at the *Daando*. The *Nirakar* is revered by all people of the

community keeping aside their individual and family differences. In common parlance, the word '*Daando*' means a perpendicular stick. The place of *Daando* is located into the hills at a distance of eight to nine miles away from the present settlement of the hamlet of Baddem. The place is at a high altitude and appears in complete isolation, and hence popularly called as the '*Daando*'. The villagers have to commute across three hills to approach the *Daando*. It can only be approached by walking for almost two hours through the tedious inclined steep terrain.



Photo 4.3: Clan God Nirakar at Baddem *Daando*

The *Daando* is the abode of tribal Gods and Goddesses. At the centre place of the *Daando* is the temple of clan God *Nirakar*. Alongside the temple is the '*maand*', an open space generally appearing like a courtyard where the men assemble to play

various dance forms known as '*mel*' in the presence of Goddess *tulsi* (Basil plant). The main *gharvai* is aligned to the holy tulsi plant. The *Saath purav*, *Khuti*, *Magil purav* and other Gods lie in the close vicinity of the temple. The *Saath purav* and the *Magil purav* are considered to protect the God *Nirakar*.

All the present day settlements of the Velip community are not their ancestral settlements. In fact, every ward or a hamlet in the village has its primitive settlement far away from their present settlement, normally located in the deep forests. Such sacred places in the nearby wards of Kuskem and Avali also bear the name of '*Daando*'.

The tribals consider the *Daando* as their earlier place of settlement wherein their primitive men lived and constructed livelihood systems. It is in fact difficult to set a precise date of the settlement of the primitive people into the region. The elders however, firmly believe that their ancestors lived at the sacred *Daando* roughly some three hundred years ago. The primitive men dwelled in such habitats by practicing primitive occupational habits of hunting, food gathering and shifting cultivation. Such primitive practices and habits continue even to this day, though not practiced in the same spirit by the community. The tribals continue to engage in occasional hunting and undertake shifting cultivation in the higher reaches of the mountains.

Eventually, these primitive men came down the slopes in search for a more settled life. Nevertheless, they did not completely settle on the plains but preferred to stay clinging on to the lower reaches of the mountains. The fertile lands below the mountains were gradually used for undertaking settled cultivation.

It is fair enough for anyone visiting the *Daando* today to believe and comment on the existence of a society in the past. The early tribals with the help of the prevailing natural resources constructed a system for living. The age old livelihood

system at the *Daando* is depicted through the natural resources existing in the form of a well, huge fruit bearing trees of mango, jackfruit and coconut, and also a land for raising sugarcane plantation. In the nearby forest of the *Daando*, one may witness water resource points of perennial natural springs such as Madiadai also called as Namshibaandh, Bheemapaati and the Daatre. Tribals walking the inclined steep to *Daando* stop for a while and relax at the Namshibaandh.

As one leaves the hamlet of Baddem and starts trekking up towards the *Daando*, one may come across different sets of cultivations done on the hilly slopes. During the first phase of walk, one can witness the mountain slopes occupied with cashew plantations. In the subsequent phase, there are betel nut, coconut, banana and pineapple plantations. Of late, it is learnt that the tribal communities have shown a positive inclination in raising cultivation throughout the hilly region. Barren tracts of the mountains are tilled to raise productive plantations nearby the Namshibaandh. It is interesting to note that some of these plantations have been managed collectively by the tribes. Through this communitarian way of cultivation, people have formed groups consisting of families coming together in a common enterprise to take care of the cultivation. The group centred work enables the community to go for an effective division of labour between the families. As a result of which the burden of irrigating and maintaining the plantations is shared by the entire community, thereby reducing the hardships of frequently climbing the mountains.

Tribals living in such remote areas amidst geographical barriers have always found themselves raising their livelihood by adjusting and relying on the natural resources available around them. The waters of Daatre and Bheemapati served important lifelines for the primitive people at *Daando*. Today, the water of Daatre and Bheemapati emanating from the *Daando* region is the main source of drinking water

for the people living at Baddem and other hamlets in Cotigao. The water from Daatre and Bheemapati is tracked down to the settlement at Baddem.

All major religious rituals, festivals, marriage ceremonies, and various other religious acts of the community are undertaken at the *Daando*. Normally, every calendar month of the year is given to the celebration of some religious occasion or festival at the *Daando*. The festivals are generally referred as '*porobs*' by the Velips. The men folk visit the *Daando* more frequently than the women folk. However, the collective participation of all men and women takes place only during the festival of *Shigmo*.

During the month of March, the Hindu society in Goa is engaged in the celebration of the festival of *Holi*. The festival of *Holi* is locally called as *Shigmo*. Tribal communities in Cotigao are actively involved in celebrating the local festival of *Shigmo*. At this point of time, the tribals are relieved from all forms of agricultural duties. The *Shigmo* festival marks the beginning of cashew production. Almost all tribal families are owners of small and big cashew plantations. The *Shigmo* is a perfect example demonstrating a belief in religion, livelihood and communitarian lifestyle of the tribal people. The *Shigmo* celebration lasts for almost a week time. The *Daando* at Baddem in Cotigao comes alive during the festival time of *Shigmo*.

Preparations for the *Shigmo* begin almost a week before the festival. The community members during the festival temporarily camp at the *Daando* for nearly seven days to participate in the different activities associated with the *Shigmo*. All members of the community not excluding their cattle leave the hamlet of Baddem and settle at the *Daando* by constructing temporary houses. Men as well women in large number help in the construction of nearly twenty to twenty five houses made out of

grass, bamboos, branches and twigs of plants and trees. Normally, each house is occupied by two or three families.



Photo 4.4: Temporary houses at *Daando*

The *Shigmo* is an exhibition of various dance forms performed by the men. Tribal folk dances are to be considered as life style of the community and not merely as an art form (Khedekar, 1996). In fact, the oral traditions of tribal societies in India are kept alive through their songs and dances. Minz (1993) says that there is hardly any tribe in India that does not sing and dance. Their songs and the dances are the lifeblood and a group and community affair of tribes in India. In fact, folksongs and dances do constitute significant life expressions of collective tribal belief and worship. The dance forms are exemplary and depict the heritage and culture of the ancient Goan society. It is the culture and traditions of the tribals which has been described and idealized as 'Goan culture' (Newman, 2001, p. 20). More importantly; the folk

songs sung during the occasion of *Shigmo* unfold the tracing of some historical settlements of the tribal community in different parts of the State.



Photo 4.5: Prepared to dance in *Shigmo*

Men participate in the dances in great numbers, while women turn out to become mere spectators. Women engage in the preparation of meals for their families. A special sweet delicacy known as '*kheer*' is prepared during the festival. A unique feature of the *Shigmo* is the performance of dances accompanied by folk songs. The songs sung during the festival of *Shigmo* are a testimony to the historical placement of the people at the *Daando*. The folk songs even go beyond to trace and explain tribal Gods and places of historical settlements. The *Khute Velip* i.e. the chief priest of the community takes recourse to the some folk sayings which clearly unfolds an understanding of their past. He vibrantly utters lines sung in the form of an invocation popularly called as the '*Naman*', and is joined by the other men in a chorus. The

Naman is sung in a steady rhythm along with the other men in a slow circular walking movement. The *Naman* is cited as follows:

<i>Ye Aade Maaye khela khelaita</i>	<i>Tya Ramnatha Devang khela khelaita</i>
<i>Ani Tulshichea BelmaandarKhela rangaita</i>	<i>Tye Devi Maaye khela khelaita</i>
<i>Tya Gaonkare Maaye khela khelaita</i>	<i>Tya Zaita Nasang khela khelaita</i>
<i>Tya Meghnatha Devang khela khelaita</i>	<i>Tya Shiwa Devang khela khelaita</i>
<i>Tya Dhartare Maaye khela khelaita</i>	<i>Tya Sarkara Prasang khela khelaita</i>
<i>Tya Vishnu Barmeang khela khelaita</i>	<i>Tya Khute Devang khela khelaita</i>
<i>Tya Indre Devaang khela khelaita</i>	<i>Tya Brahmana Konaang khela khelaita</i>
<i>Tya Chuklea Makhleank khela khelaita</i>	<i>Tya Roderia Devang khela khelaita</i>
<i>Tya Paatala Khaala khela khelaita</i>	<i>Tya Kadalekara khela khelaita</i>
<i>Tya Patale Shekaak khela khelaita</i>	<i>Tya Vonnea Naasaang khela khelaita</i>
<i>Tya Rama Laxmana khela khelaita</i>	<i>Tya Ghorvoye Maaye khela khelaita</i>
<i>Tya Paacha Pandvang khela khelaita</i>	<i>Tya Dervatea Nasang khela khelaita</i>
<i>Tya Ekvisa Kavrang khela khelaita</i>	<i>Tya Khamya Devang khela khelaita</i>
<i>Tya Jaita Khandlang khela khelaita</i>	<i>Tya Pella Proshea khela khelaita</i>
<i>Tya Bhutanatha khela khelaita</i>	<i>Tya Taala Mrudaang khela khelaita</i>
<i>Tya Ganpati devang khela khelaita</i>	<i>Tya Payachea Ghagreang khela khelaita</i>
<i>Tya Bhome maaye khela khelaita</i>	<i>Tya Fulam Kamlank khela khelaita</i>
<i>Tya Karmala Bhome khela khelaita</i>	<i>Tya Sorvoye Shirnang khela khelaita</i>
<i>Tya Chandreshwara khela khelaita</i>	<i>Tya Chartea Goruk khela khelaita</i>
<i>Tya Paika devang khela khelaita</i>	<i>Tya Chaddea Devang khela khelaita</i>
<i>Tya Nirankara khela khelaita</i>	<i>Tya Baddeam Angnang khela khelaita</i>
<i>Tya Zolmea devang khela khelaita</i>	<i>Ani Tulshichea BelMaandar khela rangaita</i>

The invocation cited above refers to some prominent Gods, places and to some biotic components of worship. Lord Ramnath, Chandreshwar and Bhutnath

referred in the *Naman* are dear to the tribals. The temple of Lord Ramnath is at the place called Verla in the Sanguem taluka while Lord Chandreshwar and Bhutnath are at Gudi Paroda in the taluka of Quepem. The Velips pay regular visits to these places of worship. The members of the community, in particular the elders trace their social origins to some places cited in the invocation. In fact, Singh (1994) in the people of India project (PoI) mentions that 63.4 per cent of the tribes were found to be migrants to their present habitats. He further adds, their oral traditions are a testimony to this, and as many as 8 per cent of them recall their migration in the recent years. The Velips presumably believe that the oldest and probably the first settlement of the community was at Karmali, i.e. the present day Carambolim in taluka of Tiswadi. Subsequently, the band moved to Chandreshwar Bhutnath, in the taluka of Quepem. The community then later migrated to a place called as Verla in the Sanguem taluka, and finally resorted at *Daando* before stepping down at Baddem. This historical movement of the community may be implied to the entire tribal population in Canacona. Senior tribal leader Shirodkar (1987) points out that the Velips considered themselves 'pure' and were reluctant to mix with other Gawdas because they consider them polluted as they left their ancestral place and migrated into the hinterlands. The conversion movement carried out during the colonial rule could be a possible reason for the movement of the community.

Festivals of the community

The Velips continue to celebrate their traditional age-old festivals. *Shigmo*, *Diwali*, *Dussera*, *Suta punav*, *Asadi porob*, *Kartik punav*, *Savsar paadvo*, *Gorwa paadvo*, *Barshim punav*, *Ghudulo*, *Kodva porob* and *Shivaratri* are some of the popular festivals of the community. These festivals are by and large are similar to that of the non tribal Hindu communities. There are a few exceptions of some festivals gaining

popularity among the Velips, such as *Chaturthi*. It is learnt that the community in the yester years did not celebrate the festival of *Ganesh chaturthi*. However, it is observed in hamlets of Bharsa and Pansulemol that a few families have begun celebrating *Chaturthi* and *Laxmi pooja* during the previous five to ten years. Thus, while the Velips have well protected their “little traditions”, there is also the acceptance of the “great traditions” from the non-tribals. The socio cultural interaction between the tribes and the non-tribes has given way to the process of socio cultural integration. Agarwal (1977) says that the process of integration facilitates a mutual give and take between the two groups. Thus, through the process of integration, the tribals do not lose their identity but continue with their traditions. The Chenchus of Andhra Pradesh due to their interaction with the plains also illustrate the gradual absorption of some of the “great traditions” in the form of observing festivals like *Deepavali*, *Sankranthi*, and *Vinayaka chowthi* etc. (Raju, Sudhakar and Umamohan, 2009). While the tribals are fast absorbing some of the socio cultural traits of the non-tribal communities, there Events such as festivals among the Velips are also marked by some stringent work ethics. Men and women could strictly abstain from doing work during the festivals days. The following day of any festival is called as *shelea dis*. The preceding half day of the festival is called *porbe maito*. Men during this time do not go to work, and the women remain at home for preparation of delicacies for the festival day i.e. the next. In recent times however, the mode of celebration of festivals and the regularities associated with have taken a flexible form.

Death and the ritual of ‘Tad marop’

Death and its related aspects are undergoing change among the Velip community. The community does not follow the practice of lighting the lamp or incense sticks in front of the *gharpuris* for a period of five days in the house of a deceased member. In

reality, the tribals observe pollution period of only three days after the death of any person. The pollution period was lifted after taking a bath, which was called as '*vole karop*' (ritual undertaken to end the pollution period after three days of the death of any deceased person). After the lapse of the pollution period, any tribal person considers him or her pure, and is eligible to worship any God. Lately, with the influence of sanskritic practices, the tribals increasingly seek help from the Brahmin priests in matters pertaining to death. They now are confronted with a new situation wherein the Brahmin priest performs the ritual of purifying the house of the deceased. Secondly, the pollution period is stretched from three days to twelve days. The Brahmin priest declines to undertake rituals such as marriage and other religious acts in those houses if the Velips do not abide to perform the purification ritual called *hom* on the eleventh day.

Ancestor worship and the ritual of *Tad marop*

The Velip tribal community firmly believe in worshipping the ancestors. The day on which the ancestors are worshiped is called as *nam*. On this day, the dead ones are remembered and worshipped into their houses by providing a meal to some living members in the name of their ancestors. Worshipping the ancestors is treated as bringing goodwill to the family. However, the Velips believe that ancestors cannot be worshipped without the consent given by the *Ghaadi* (Shaman). They therefore follow the practice of consulting and seeking approval from the *Ghaadi* to decide whether the dead ones could be invited to enter into their houses. The intervention of the *Ghaadi* is done for the reason that in some cases the dead ones may not be inclined to enter in their houses. The ritual, *tad marop* is done for a single person at one given time, to decide whether the ancestor is eligible to be invited for worshipping in the house or not. The *Ghaadi* with the help of his personal wit (*delpon*) decides whether the

ancestors could be invited into their houses or not. This ritual undertaken by the *Ghaadi* is called as *tad marop*. Those who die a natural death are considered appropriate for the ritual of *tad marop* and hence could be brought into their houses.



Photo 4.6: The ritual of *Nam*

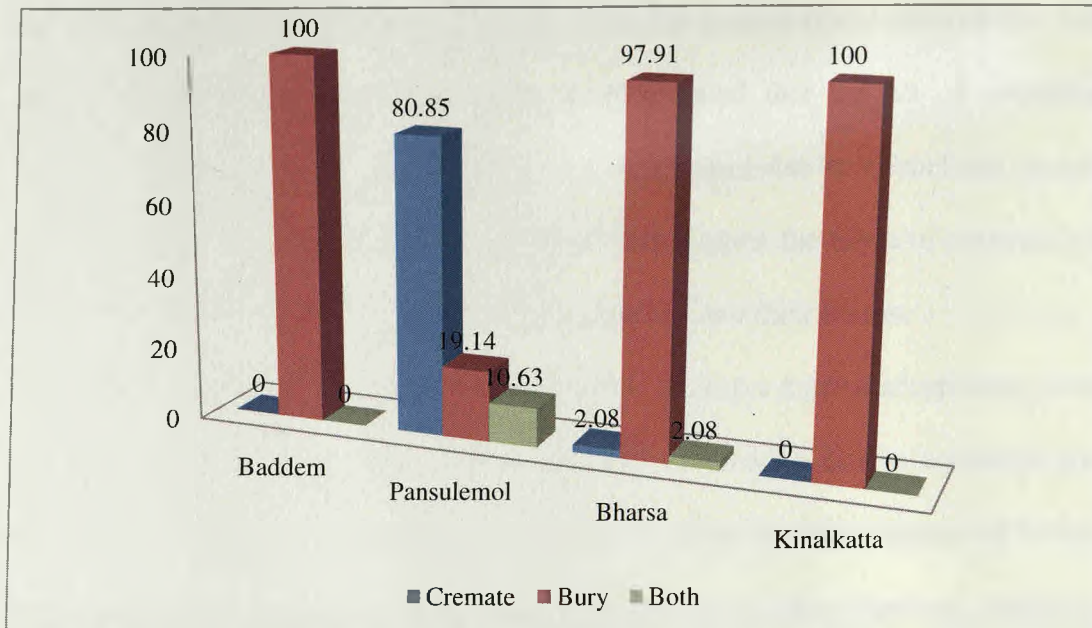
Unnatural death cases caused by suicides, poison intake, falling from trees, drowning into the wells are considered not very auspicious for worshipping. There have been instances wherein the ancestor was received in the house overlooking the ritual of *tad marop*, but was later sent back as the household members encountered some problems. The community thus accepts the practice as a mandate. Members who have expired lately cannot be brought home unless all preceding ancestors complete their turns. The elders speak that the present day generations do not seriously undertake rituals such as the *nam*. As a symbolic gesture, the tribals offer food during every religious occasion or *porob* to their ancestors before beginning their meals.

Final rites: Burial or cremation

The Velips in the earlier times strictly followed the practice of burying the dead ones. The burial place is called as *eetan* or *masan*; some also refer it as *masnat*. There are no common grounds earmarked for the burial of dead bodies in the villages. Families select their independent grounds for burying their deceased members. However, a group of families may maintain a common place for the burial, which is referred as *Eetanamol*. They believe that the members who have undergone unnatural deaths are not supposed to be buried within the territorial limits of the hamlet, but are buried on the outskirts of the settlement. The Velips are seen accepting reformation pertaining to the acts of death too. The figure 4.2 emphasise the incidence of cremation and burial practices prevailing among them in the different hamlets.

Figure 4.2

Acts of final rites



It is observed from figure 4.2 that all families at Baddem and Kinalkatta continue the traditional act of burying the dead ones. But, in the case of the residents of Pansulemol the cremation rate has overtaken the burial rate. Only a negligible per cent of 19.14 households continue with the traditional act of burying. Thus, it is clear that there exists a mixed response to the acts of burial and cremation among the community, which indicates a trend of change taking place from traditional practices to modern.

The acts of burial and cremation are determined on the basis of some peculiar considerations. In the first place, most of the traits of the non-tribals are getting fast absorbed amongst the tribal masses. The tribals are now taking to the practice of cremation partly because of the practices prevailing among the non-tribals, which are not too far away from them. At this juncture it is crucial to recall observation made by Mazumdar. He says, a tribe remains a tribe so long as it thinks of itself as a tribe, a category different from the Hindu castes. The emulation of practices according to him

means a change in the tribal self-image and identity (as cited in Sahay, 1977). It is learnt that the practice of cremation is roughly old by fifteen years. Another reason is the advocacy of the Brahmin priest, urging the tribal community to cremate the dead ones. According to the Brahmin priest, it is assumed that the act of cremation promotes spiritual merit for the departed soul, which may also turn beneficial to their children. The priest who is referred as '*Bhat*' insists upon the tribes to cremate; not abiding by his given advice, he refrains from entering into their houses.

Despite the fact that the act of cremation is finding a gradual acceptance, many families continue to follow the age-old practice of burying due to economic and religious restrictions. The practice of cremation involves the performances of several rituals (*shastras*) which are cumbersome in nature and invites expenses, which are beyond the limits of some families. Another reason, which supports the continuity of the age-old practice of burying, is the imposition of a restricted duration of pollution period. In the case of burial ceremony, the pollution period is lifted after a period of three days. The individual is let free to undertake his routine works soon after the ritual of *vole sutak*. However, seeking the services of the Brahmin priest for cremation imposes the pollution period of twelve days. Hence, many tribals prefer to bury. As the period of pollution is observed by the entire clan, all members of the clan, as a rule are not supposed to undertake any extraordinary activity. The members thus remain idle without any work during the period. The hardworking nature of the Velip tribes is yet another reason for opting the burial of the deceased person, which liberates them to get involved in their livelihood activities. A few elders say that they follow the pollution period of three days by way of burying the deceased, due to the fact that the spread of the pollution period is applied to all the families irrespective of the *gharvai* they may belong to.

Women and the religious domain

Religious participation of women is minimal when compared to men in the tribal society of the Velips. Women participate with great enthusiasm during marriages and other religious rituals such as '*Dhilllo*' (a festival of dance by women) and '*Divaj*' (a celebration of lighting lamp by women). The festival of '*Dhilllo*' includes dances played by the women for more than ten days. In the olden days, men folk exclusively performed dances during the *Dhilllo*. However, the present day *Dhilllo* include dances performed by the women folk and not the men folk, the reasons of which are not ascertained by the community people. Non-tribal women from other talukas play a similar festival of dance known as *Dhalo*. They move their bodies in the front as well as at the rear like a flower, which moves with the breeze. In Konkani this is called *dholap*, from which is derived the designation '*Dhalo*' (Sinai Dhume, 2009). The festival of *Dhilllo* is held for almost a month period. It begins on the day of Nam i.e. on the preceding day of *Dussera* and continues for duration of thirty days until the *Diwali Padwa* day.

Women during the *Dhilllo* collect mud from the anthill. They crush the mud and add water to form a type of round object, which is referred as *Dhilllo*. This object is then placed on a wooden plank at the *maand* near the *Tulsi* plant and is worshipped for a period of one month. An oil lamp is lit in front of the object and the *Dhilllo* dance is performed by the women. Women as well as girls from every household assemble at the *maand* to perform dances in the evening. This is an occasion for the young girls to educate themselves of the traits of singing and dancing. Mead (1943) while explaining the adolescent girls in Samoa explains the activity of informal dancing learnt by children during festivities in front of their houses or at the village

guesthouse. After a period of one month, the object is immersed in water on the day of *Gorwancho paadvo* (cattle worship) between 8 pm to 12 pm.



Photo 4.7: Women performing the *Dhilllo*

All women participate in the *Dhilllo*, however menstruating women and mother of a new child does not participate in the *Dhilllo*. Widow women can also play the *Dhilllo*. On the concluding day, the tribal women perform the immersion of *Dhilllo*. Women from every household carry a share of coconut and grains known as *pod* at the *maand*. The *pod* is used in preparing a common meal for all the villagers. The *Dhilllo* is played on the *Diwali padva* day. The *tulsi* plant is worshipped only during *porobs*. Nowadays, the women sing songs being heard from the radio of television. The traditional folk songs are losing importance. They are involved in cooking and eating. At the *jatra* the women perform the *divaj* ceremony. Women at Baddem take part in the shaving of head of the newborn child. Women generally are involved in *bhurgeachi chaakri* (taking care of their children). They also perform the *fugdi* especially during religious occasions as well for participating in some dance competitions, which are exclusively held for women. Young girls have stopped

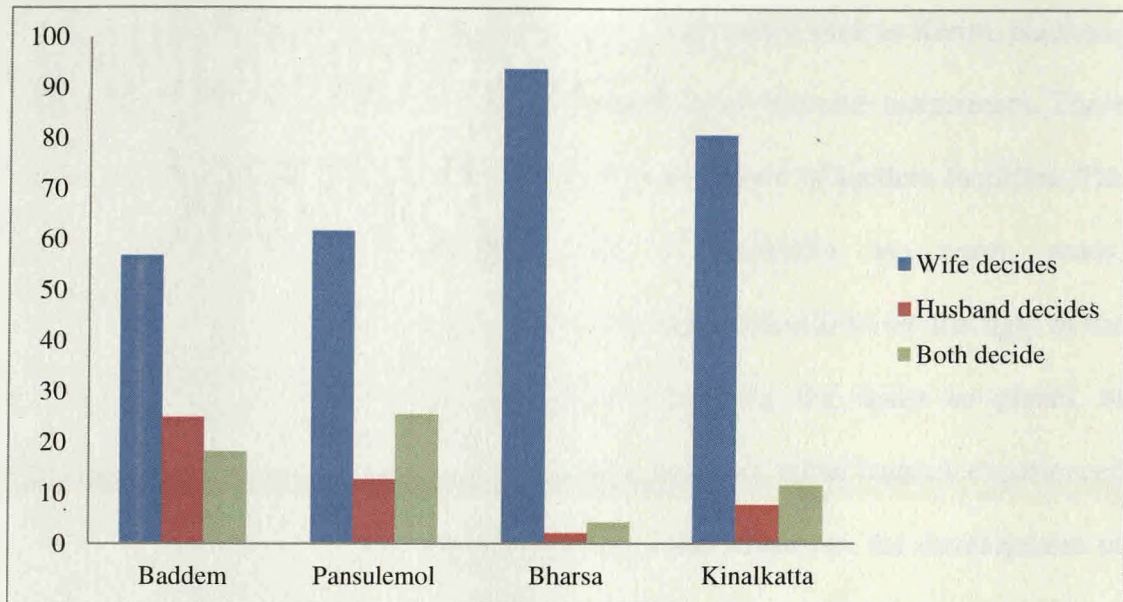
participating in dances. Women centred festivals such as the *haldi kumkum* (celebration of womanhood) and flower ceremony for the pregnant women has been introduced among the tribes since last five years. Women refrain from lighting the lamp before the *gharpuris* as they think that they remain impure during some period. However, the practice of lighting the lamp is undertaken by the women only at the *Daando*. For many men as well women, the act of lamp lighting is a male centred act in the community (*pursachi vaat pursanit lavop*).

The women engaging in the different life activities sing a rich folk lore. The *Satai Devi* is worshipped only by the women. Those who do not have *gharpuris* in their house worship photos of gods. During all major religious occasions, the women are primarily involved in cooking, except the *ushtan* (a post harvest ritual undertaken for shifting cultivation). The role of cooking for public consumption is the responsibility of men. Thus, during the *ushtan* ceremony cooking is totally done by the men. Only during the festival of *Shigmo* and during marriages the women cook in groups.

Figure 4.3 gives an understanding of the position of women in the process of decision-making.

Figure 4.3

Women autonomy



Though the participation of Velip women in the religious domain is not prominent as compared to the men folk, they, nevertheless, show active participation in carrying out various activities in the economic domain. One may witness a Velip woman effectively take part in the household works as well as shouldering the livelihood activities with the man. Thus, women have come to be seen more active than their male counterparts. As seen in figure 4.3, the Velip woman has become more expressive and exercises a fair amount of liberty in the decision making process. In addition to the family domain women, now handle a chunk of other social responsibilities such as participation in functions or visiting places to procure day-to-day needs and so on. Tribal women emancipation has received a major boost mainly because of the spread of education among them and due to intervention programmes in the agricultural sector mobilising women to a great extent.

FORESTS AS SETTLEMENTS AND LIVELIHOOD

Tribal settlements in the wild life sanctuary

Due to remote geographical placement, some tribal habitats in Cotigao even today are not easily accessible. The major problem that hinders the development of any tribal settlement is its isolation from other settlements. Settlements such as Kerim, Nadkem, Bhutpal, Endrem and Morfondamol in Cotigao are away from the mainstream. These habitats are physically cut off and yet to witness the dawn of modern facilities. The utmost necessities of everyday life such as electricity, tap water, roads, communication means and several other primary needs are still to see the light of the day. The tribals commute long distances by walking for hours to places of connectivity. With the available resources, these detached tribal hamlets experienced some sort of relative self-sufficiency for a long time. However, the development of the system of transport in recent years in the nearby areas they frequently move down to the slopes. They are becoming increasingly dependent for their day-to-day needs on the modern market system.

Forest was the chief source of livelihood for the ancestors. Since tribal livelihood activities such as hunting, gathering and shifting cultivation are rooted in forests there is persistent cultural valuation of the forest: conservation and sustainable use are part of the norms governing the interface between the human and the non-human (Sen & Lalhrietpui, 2006). The community preferred to settle and stay on in the forests for a very long time. The forest provides for their simple needs, and it is this resource abundance and communal partaking from 'Mother Nature' that traditionally kept them away from the need and concepts of resource use intensification and settled farming (Phansalkar and Verma, 2004). The varied resources of the forest provided them with the essential means of livelihood. Hunting

and food gathering were the core traditional occupational pursuits of the tribal men. They raised primitive shelters amidst the sources of water and depended on shifting cultivation for their survival. There was an absolute dependence on the forests as the available conditions could act favourable for them, though adversities were a part of their life. Boserup (as cited in Phansalkar and Verma, 2004), mentions that tribal people traditionally lived under conditions of relative resource abundance and hence were never compelled to intensify the use of their resources such as land (through increased cropping intensity) and water (through irrigation).

Forests continue to serve the livelihoods of the community even to this present day. The immediate environment that is accessible to the tribals is the forest. (Leach, Gasper, Means and Scones (as cited in Mishra, 2007) speak of 'environmental entitlements' which refer to 'alternative sets of utilities derived from environmental goods and services over which social actors have legitimate effective demand and which are instrumental in achieving well-being'. These entitlements fulfil livelihood security, at the household level, viz. economic security, food security, health security, and empowerment, particularly in fragile ecological contexts in the northeast region (Jodha as cited in Mishra, 2007). Resources accessible through the forest include forest fuel, timber, water, wild animals, *saavol* (a traditional organic fertilizer), forest fruits, flowers, vegetables, grass for cattle, medicinal trees, herbs and plants, honey and several other products. The major dependence of the community is on the water resources emanating from the forests. The tribal hamlet of Baddem and surrounding hamlets are solely dependent on the waters of Daatre and Bheemapati originating from the forests. Daatre and Bheemapati are natural springs located in the high mountains near the sacred *Daando*. The springs never go dry. The water from these

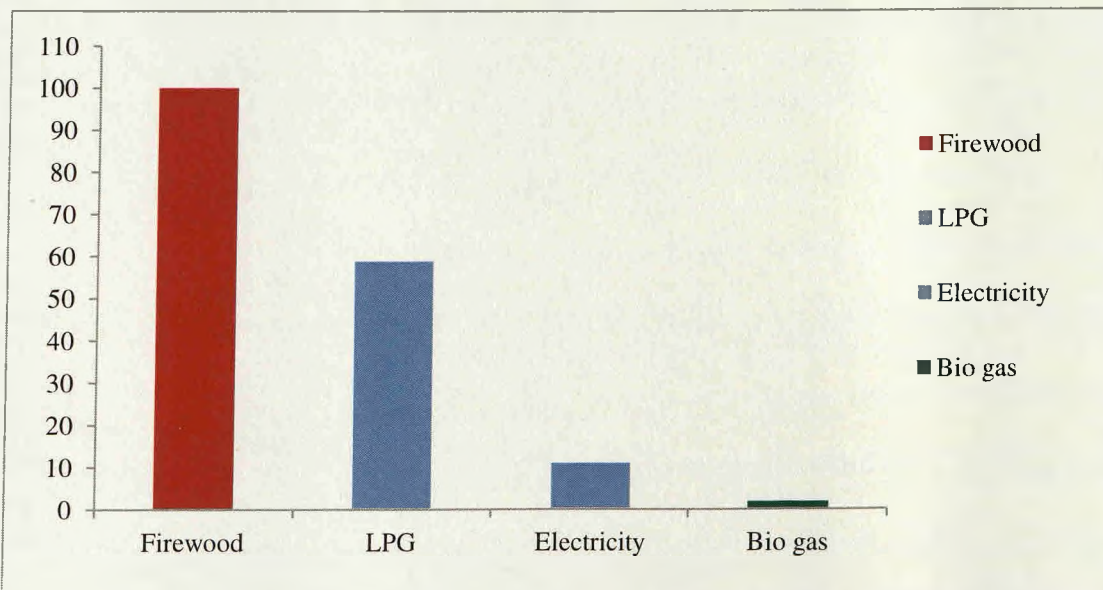
two springs is tracked through pipes to the hamlet of Baddem and others. The tribals make use of this water for their multiple tasks.

Early ancestral settlements of the Velips are the centres of tribal faith and belief. The tribals owe a great affinity to their early settlements situated inside the deep forests. In fact, Beteille (1992) recognises the renewal of Hindu civilisation with the forests. He says, as the desert became important for Islamic civilization, the Hindu saints were in search of the forest for religious vocation. These early settlements are sacred as their clan gods and other gods and goddesses are believed to dwell in these places. All present day tribal settlements have their early settlements, generally located in the hills away from their current habitats. Early settlements such as *Daando* for the people of Baddem, *Daando* for the people at Avali, and Upper Bharsa for the tribals living in Kinalkatta and Bharsa are sacred.

Forest fuel continues to serve tribal livelihoods. In modern times however, the tribal families have also shown preference to other means. The figure 4.4 indicates the other forms of fuel used by the community.

Figure 4.4

Fuel used for cooking



In addition to firewood, the figure 4.4 illustrates a gradual dependence on fuels such as Liquidified Petroleum Gas (LPG), electricity (induction) and biogas for cooking purposes. While all the households have persisted with firewood, the demand for LPG is steadily increasing. The motivation behind the increase in the LPG is the availability of free LPG connections to people below the poverty line (BPL). Since majority of the houses have been electrified, a few tribal families have now shown preference to the electric induction system. What rather seems to be unsatisfactory is a negligible use of biogas by the community. Only three households were found with biogas units. Despite the government scheme of providing ninety per cent subsidy for installing the biogas unit, the tribal families continue to rely on firewood for cooking and other purposes. In this direction, some steps may be devised to educate the tribal masses of the ill effects of firewood to their health and immediate ecological setting. Effective steps may also be undertaken to educate them about conservation of energy through the use of biogas.



Photo 4.8: Firewood for rainy season

Normally, the women took up the task of collecting firewood from the forest. They move in groups for the purpose of collecting fuel. One of the reasons for moving in groups was the fear of wild animals. They gathered fuel whenever they were at leisure or while they took their cattle for grazing. When the firewood was not available in the nearby areas, they have to walk for more than a kilometre to collect forest fuel. Domestic plantations such as coconut and other plantations were also used for fuel purposes. The forest fuel was collected and stored outside the houses. As collection of dry forest wood becomes difficult in the monsoon, they stock their requirement in the summer. Care was taken to protect the dry stuff from termites and ants by sprinkling the ash from the *chullah* (hearth). The tribals cannot venture freely into the forests as severe restrictions are imposed by forest officials. The Foresters confiscate their sickles if they come across incidents of cutting of trees or branches.

The tribals generally do not cut trees for fuel purposes, but dried leaves, twigs and branches left on the ground are collected as fuel. The tribals prefer collection of fuel from their nearby cashew plantations. They use forest timber for house construction, roofing the courtyard, fencing of their fields and vegetable gardens.



Photo 4.9: Women on their way for fuel collection

The forest hilltops generally appear flat with abundant grass. Such grassy lands over the hill surfaces are called as *moddio*. The *moddio* are grazing grounds for their cattle. These hilltops are also the habitats for the bisons (wild gaur) and other wild animals. The bisons generally move together in herds. A herd may sometimes have twenty to twenty five bisons. The tribals witness the movement of bisons also around their paddy and cashew tree plantations. The long distances of the *moddio* is cumbersome for grazing cattle, the tribals therefore graze their cattle in the nearby forest or cashew plantations.

Baddem and Pansulemol are surrounded by thick forests as these hamlets are very close to the Cotigao Wild Life Sanctuary. The Velips notice the movement of wild animals around their cultivation sites mainly due to the presence of the sanctuary in their neighbourhood. The commonly noted animals include *raan dukar* (wild boar), bison (wild gaur), Indian hare, *cheetal* (spotted deer), sloth bears, *khete* (red mouthed monkey or bonnet macaque), *vaanor* (black mouthed monkey or common langur), *bhekro* (barking deer), *pisoy* (mouse deer), leopard, *kuring* (four horned antelope), *dhaanio wagh* (tiger), peacocks, *saal* (porcupine), *katandor* (Civet cat), *kutari* (jungle fowl), etc. The adjoining areas of the hamlets of Bharsa and Kinalkatta do not have a dense forest area, and therefore the presence of animals in the locality is very rare. The tribals are under the fear of movement of wild animals such as leopards and sloth bears. These wild animals are a regular threat to domestic animals such as cats, dogs and even cattle. They encroach upon the settlement areas especially during nighttime to prey upon these domestic animals. Incidents of their domestic animals going missing are not uncommon. Many elders do recollect instances of sighting the presence of wild animals near their settlements during their childhood. An old man in his youth days once noticed a tiger killed in the nearby forest. Of late, the movement of such animals around their habitats is less. This infers the idea that the number of wild animals perhaps has gone down. Wild animals such as bisons and sloth bears are a common sight to the tribals. Sloth bears move around their cashew plantations in search of cashew fruits. Jackfruit plantation in the hamlets of Baddem and Pansulemol is plentiful, and is a chief food for sloth bears. These sloth bears climb the huge jackfruits trees and eat away the fruits. They excrete the jackfruit seeds in the nearby areas resulting in the growth of additional jackfruit trees. Wild boars are a regular threat to paddy, coconut, banana, and betel nut cultivations. The tribals also informed

the researcher that these wild boars are fond of eating crabs. The wild boars dig deep holes nearby the water bodies for extracting crabs out from the ground.

The land beyond the settlement of Pansulemol comes under the jurisdiction of the Cotigao Wild Life Sanctuary. This wild life zone is segregated from the hamlet of Pansulemol by a trench like canal on all sides, which prevents the movement of animals as well as human across. The trench averts activities of the tribals like hunting, food gathering, shifting cultivation, cattle grazing etc. Traditional practices such as hunting and shifting cultivation have thus come under the scanner of forest officials. The 28th Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes that the tribes have lost their freedom to collect the minor forest produce (MNP) which was duly recognised at the time of reservation of forests, but has not been honoured in its true spirit. The report further states:

“With the passage of time what was conceded as a right became a concession, and now we are at a stage where even these concessions are not easily conceded and are being virtually treated as unnecessary encumbrances”.

Forest guards keep a strong vigilance over the settlement and visit at least two times in a day. The supervisory role of the forest officials has drastically increased especially during the past ten years. The department of forests keeps a strict vigilance over encroachment done in the form of cashew plantations on the forestlands and activities such as animal hunting. Encroachments have lead to appropriation of the plantations by the forest officials. Such plantations are referred as coup.

The department of forest has put a gate that closes at 5.30 pm. The tribals have to produce a pass to enter and exit. Timber was smuggled in and out of the forest that resulted in the putting of gate by the forest officials. Xaxa (2012, p. 321) mentions that the exploitation of the forests resources for the industrial and other infrastructural projects in many parts of the country has resulted in a lot of restrictions and

regulations imposed on the tribals whose livelihood is increasingly dependent on forest resources. During emergencies especially during nighttime or late hours the villagers have to make a special request to the RFO who is stationed at a main gate far away from the settlement. In such instances, this requisition process sometimes takes away at least two hours.

The elders of the community believed and practiced in the management of forest and forest resources such as wild animals. The determinist idea of protecting the wild animals was supported by the belief of higher animals depending on the lower animals for their survival. The hunt of lower animals by men would invite food shortage for higher animals, and consequently lead to encroachment upon the human territory for their survival. They therefore, abstained from frequent hunting. It is learnt that the hunting activity was well regulated.

HUNTING FOR LIVELIHOOD

Hunting as an activity was the only means of subsistence for the whole humankind just 12,000 years ago. In modern times however, there are no pure hunting or gathering people (Barnard, 2007). The practice of game hunting said to have been the passion of the princely rulers has almost come to a halt with the enactment of the Wildlife Protection Act in 1972. It has now shifted from the princely states to the tribal society in some lesser degrees (Mitra, 2010). The hunt of animals was the chief source of livelihood for the Velips. Terms such as *bhowdi*, *kaas* and *raan hamudop* are commonly used by the Velips to refer the livelihood activity of hunting animals. Hunting undertaken during the nighttime was called as '*kaas*', whereas the term '*bhowdi*' refers to hunting done during the daytime. The concept of '*raan hamudop*' tells us about the particular art of hunting. The *bhowdi* entails collective participation of the members, while the *kaas* is undertaken by a very few people. The *bhowdi* is

also sometimes referred as '*devachi bhowdi*', meaning, hunt undertaken to please the Gods. In this context, it is significant to note that invariably, all day-to-day tribal activities are guided by considerations of some beliefs, regarded as religious in nature by the community. Traditionally, all families practiced hunting. Their love for the forest foods was fulfilled by the fruits and the petty animals around them. With the increase in forest regulations in modern times, the age-old tradition of *bhowdi* has almost come to a standstill. The religious connotation given to the practice nevertheless, keeps the tradition alive in shorter forms.

Procedures of hunting

Hunting of animals was a male centred activity and was a prerogative of the adults; the elderly normally refrained from hunting as the activity demanded rigorous movement and physical valour. Mitra (2010, pp. 266-67) mentions of hunting practiced by a group of tribal women in Jharkhand. A hunting festival known as 'Jani shikar' is celebrated once in twelve years wherein women dress up like men and carry traditional hunting tools for hunting. A few elders recollect memories of hunting done whenever they were at leisure. There was no any rigidity of time for venturing into the forests for hunting. There was barely any need felt to undertake *kaas*, as the *bhowdi* was common and frequently done. The *bhowdi* demonstrated a belief in unity of the group and collective common needs of the tribals. As the *bhowdi* involved many men, it facilitated easy hunt of animals. The big task force also assisted in hunting for many animals.

The tribals living at Baddem do not hunt on Monday. On this day, they worship the clan God, Lord *Nirakar* at the sacred *Daando*, and therefore do not engage in hunting on this day. They preferred to hunt during the dark days especially, on the new moon day of every month. Hunting activity during the rainy season

becomes more active as the forest facilitates for an easy hunt. Of all the calendar months, the October, November and December months are widely preferred for hunting activities. Hunting carried out during *porobs* (religious festivals) or *deva karya* (religious acts) is generally done during daytime. Customarily, every small or a big festival would begin and end with *bhowdi*. *Nemachi bhowdi* (mandatory religious hunt) as the name suggests, is a compulsory practice in all hamlets of Gaondongrem and Cotigao. In Baddem and Pansulemol, *devachi bhowdi* was mandatory in nature and was done at least two times in a year i.e. before the harvest season and during the *Shigmo* festival. The hamlets of Kinalkatta and Bharsa take part in the *nemachi bhowdi* which is called as *poorvachi bhowdi*. It is done once in three years in the forest near the temple of Lord Mallikarjun at Gaondongrem. The elders taking part in the *poorvachi bhowdi* could hunt at least ten to fifteen animals at a time. Every tribal family or a household compulsorily represent the *bhowdi*, non-participation in the *bhowdi* invited a fine to the household. In the same manner, *kartik bhowdi* is treated as compulsory and non-participation sometimes may result in some problems in the family.

Bhowdis are generally meant to coincide with every festival such as the *Chaturthi*, *Diwali* and the *Shigmo*. In fact, every tribal festival would habitually begin and end with the act of *bhowdi*. Some members do continuous hunting for five to fifteen days during the festival seasons. Occasions such as *Asadi parab*, *Barshi punav*, *Ghudulo* were other important occasions for hunting.

Moreover, there were also other occasions besides the religious ones wherein the *bhowdi* was done. The rituals undertaken following some livelihood activities were well supported with hunting. Livelihood rituals such as, *naye* (new grain formation), *ushtan* (a post harvest ritual undertaken for shifting cultivation), *mer*

marop (fencing or preparing agricultural bunds), *moot karop* (a ritual associated with harvesting of paddy crop) were associated with hunting. A kind of regularity is thus observed in terms of hunting activities undertaken throughout the calendar year. The regularity of timings coinciding with social and religious events was done to keep an eye on the animal resource. Reichel-Dol-matoff (as cited in Berkes *et al.*, 2000) observe that Shamans of the Tukano people of Colombia regulated hunting activity by determining the number of animals to be hunted and the species that need to be protected, based on field observations. Gadgil *et al.* (as cited in Berkes *et al.*, 2000) observe that communal hunts practiced by tribes in India serve the purpose of monitoring or evaluating the status of prey populations and their habitats which in turn may help in adjusting resource harvesting strategies. Ingold (2000) states that the tribal view of nature is based on trust rather than domination, a perception which posits as common among hunter-gatherers (as cited in Sen & Lalhrietpui 2006).

Traditionally, the hunting activity generally involved a group of men. These men were split into two groups at two different places. On the one end there is a group of men who after realizing the presence of animals on the basis of foot prints, sheet, voice or virtual presence embark in the direction by bursting out sounds (*raan hamudop*) to drive away the animal or animals in the direction where the other group of men are ready to gun down the hunt. The expert hunters during the nighttime also spotted a particular type of animal based on identity of their eyes. There were occasions wherein the tribals did not feel the necessity of hunting animals directly. A tribal living at Bhutpal narrates his early experiences wherein wild foxes after their hunt of small animals partially left the animals uneaten. These partial hunts were used as food by the tribals.

The post hunt activity was accompanied by a special ritual of *sheer divap*. The ritual of *sheer divap* stands for the offering of animal blood to the Gods. The chief Velip enjoys the privilege of offering blood of the animal to the Gods. The blood is shed on the leaf of the *churni* plant (*Zizyphus rugosa*) and the fruit of the *galo* (*Catunaregam spinosa*). Soon after the offering of blood to the Gods, the animal was then cut before the Gods by him and then shared between the members who participated in the hunt. The Velip lights the lamp before the Gods and performs the *vaadi* (food for the gods in the form of flesh). The hunt of a few animals is offered for the Gods, which include wild boar, *meru* (sambar deer) and *cheetal* (spotted deer). The *sheer divap* ritual takes place at the sacred *Daando*. Only the hunt of a wild boar and the sambar deer are offered at the sacred *Daando*. Every hunt of these animals has to be offered to the Gods at *Daando* (Avali or Baddem). The tribals at times refrain from hunting the wild boars, as they have to perform the ritual at *Daando*. Another reason for avoiding the hunt of such animals is the problem of shifting or lifting the animal from the place of hunt to the *Daando*, which is a tiresome job. They therefore, sometimes refrain from hunting the wild boars, which usually move in a group of twenty-five to thirty.

The table 4.1 presents the number of households engaged in hunting.

Table 4.1
Hunting activity

Ward	No. of houses	Houses engaged in hunting	
		No. of houses	Percentage
Baddem	44	08	18.18
Pansulemol	47	14	29.78
Bharsa	48	29	60.41
Kinalkatta	26	13	50.00
Total	165	64	38.78

Hunting activity has almost ceased during the past five years or so. Unusually, a very few families may do hunting. The villagers show very less interest as they have to climb the steep mountains. This is true of the hamlets of Baddem and Bharsa as the areas surrounding their settlements are hilly. As indicated in table 4.1 only a few houses from Baddem and Pansulemol hamlet take to hunting. The hamlets of Baddem and Pansulemol in Cotigao are adjoined by dense forests, and therefore forest officials keep close checks on these hamlets, especially at Pansulemol as the area comes under the jurisdiction of Wildlife Sanctuary of Cotigao. Visits of these officials are more frequent in the Pansulemol area mostly during the early monsoon period. This is the period where hunting of animals takes place in a rampant scale. The number of people possessing guns for hunting is also very less. The government has also stopped issuing new licenses for availing guns.

SHIFTING CULTIVATION

It is believed that the origin of shifting cultivation goes back to the Neolithic age dating back to 7000 BC (Haokip, 2011, p. 421). Since ages, human beings have been making their livelihood by practicing shifting cultivation. The livelihood dependence in the earlier societies was principally based on hunting, shifting cultivation and food gathering from the forest. As is the case with hunting, the traditional and ancient practice of shifting cultivation too is being completely erased in recent times. The last twenty years have shown a sharp decline of the activity. Nevertheless, a very small percentage of tribals continue the practice. However, the manner and form of cultivation has not remained the same. The availability of new hybrid seeds and fast declining consumption of foods prepared from the *gono* or *nachne* (finger millet) is a testimony to the fact of decline of shifting cultivation. In India about 10 million hectares of tribal land stretched across sixteen states is under shifting cultivation. Based on satellite image, Forest Survey of India estimate 1.73 million hectares of land is affected by shifting cultivation (*ibid*: 422).

The practice of shifting cultivation is also called as swidden or slash and burn type of cultivation. Shifting cultivation is known by different names in different parts of the country; *jhum* in Assam and Tripura; *bewar* or *dahiya* in Madhya Pradesh; *podu* in Andhra Pradesh; *koman* or *bringu* in North Orissa and *gudia* in South Orissa (Mann, 1980). Bose (2002) mentions that the method of shifting cultivation is also found away from India in places such as northern Myanmar, Sumatra, Borneo, and New Guinea as well in parts of the African continent. In India, shifting cultivation is very popular in the northeast region.

The names used by the locals to refer to the practice of shifting cultivation are *kumeri*, *kamod*, *raan shinop*, *raan maroon khavop*, *kamod shinop* etc. Prior to the

advent of the Portuguese the practice was referred as *kamod*. Under the Portuguese regime many old terms such as *gaavkari* and *kamod* were replaced and instead *gaavkari* came to be transformed as *comunidade*, and *kamod* as *kumeri*. During the pre liberation period, the tribal societies especially in the new conquests hardly witnessed any Portuguese colonial intervention. Their major thrust areas were places in the old conquests. However, practices associated with shifting cultivation such as tree cutting were observed by them from close quarters. They endorsed *Kumeri* cultivation, but with a proviso of not cutting the big trees. The tribals were provided with license to cut down some unproductive trees and allowed them to cut the branches of trees, which had to be used as timber for their houses. The harnessing of forests cover should therefore be attributed to the agenda of protection adopted during the colonial period in Goa.

A little away from the tribal settlement zones, were the sites meant for undertaking shifting cultivation. These sites were preferably chosen in the upper reaches of the mountains. The conditions existing in such areas of high altitude favoured the growth of only limited and specific crops for consumption purposes such as the *gono* (finger millet), *orai* and *kaangu* (*Setaria italica*) and *kolio* (a traditional paddy seed or *Oryza sativa*). In addition to these, the tribals also grew monsoon vegetables such as cucumbers (*Cucumis sativus* L.), ladyfinger (*Abelmoschus esculentus*), pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo* Duchesne), *karande* (*Dioscorea bulbifera*), leafy vegetables etc. One hardly grows finger millet in the mountains today, and the traditional seeds have become almost extinct. Settled agriculture has found a strong base among the tribals, and is more than two century old. Today, the tribal society has more vibrantly emerged as a society of cultivators. Settled agriculture has become a

primary source of livelihood for every household in the region leaving behind the age-old primitive occupations of hunting and shifting cultivation.



Photo 4.10: *kaangu* on the verge of extinction

The tribals after stepping down from the hilltops to the foothills took to settled agriculture in the plain areas. Gradually, there was a growth of cultivators. The tribal society then evolved to the settled agrarian community. Having accepted these novel ways, the primitive means of livelihood such as hunting, food gathering and shifting cultivation did not completely relegate to the background, but continued with modifications. In the initial stages, as agriculture took some time to potentially develop, they had to resort to shifting cultivation for supporting their livelihood. Modern tools, fertilizers and seeds were brought in use until recently by the

community. Shifting cultivation thus continued to act as a corresponding food resource to agriculture.

A group centred activity

In the yester years, shifting cultivation was undertaken jointly by a group of families. As it was the only and major occupation of the tribals, and the cultivation sites far away from their settlements they spent a larger part of their time remaining around it in the forests. They left their houses in the early hours carrying with them their *bhuti* (tiffin carried to the place of work) to the shifting cultivation sites. While they stayed on for more time, they also took to allied activities such as food gathering and hunting in the forests. They could meet their subsistence with these activities. The families returned home from the cultivation sites only in the twilight. The tasks were undifferentiated and also brought them together to work for it. Shifting cultivation united the families into one whole. A type of mechanical solidarity was seen prevailing among the community members. Unlike settled agriculture, which requires more animal and machine power, shifting cultivation involves tremendous amount of manpower. It was therefore imperative for people to manually shoulder the responsibility in such a collective enterprise.

Procedure of cultivation

Sites were first chosen for shifting cultivation. A new site was selected every year for a single crop. Frequent use of the same plot every year was avoided as its fertility declines. The Dangs followed a pattern of two to five years or sometimes even a generation time of repeating the same site for cultivation (Skaria, 2007 p. 225). The residents of Baddem took up shifting cultivation at *Daando* as well as at Nadkem in Cotigao. The preliminary works begin at least a month before the onset of the monsoon season. The existing plants, shrubs and big trees at the site are cut down,

spread evenly over the plot and left for drying for a minimum period of ten to fifteen days. The dried leaves, branches, bushes and twigs were then put fire and turned down into ash.



Photo 4.11: Slashed and burnt

To prevent small insects such as white ants and termites, which may prove disaster to the crop, the tribals burn the dried stuff until the upper crust of the soil turns fully red. The ashes left over the soil surface serves as a natural fertilizer for the cultivation. Some unburnt plants or trees were then collected and piled at one place, and again put for fire to turn into ashes. This process is also called as *kayar karop* (a method associated with the practice of shifting cultivation for increasing soil fertility). The soil bed is then made ready for further works. The Dangs method of doing shifting cultivation was ecologically perfect, since it prevented the exhaustion of thin

topsoils, required fewer resources, and used technologies that Dangis were familiar with (*ibid*: 225).



Photo 4.12: Man undertaking transplantation in shifting cultivation site

The only tools used in cultivation are the *kudovon* (a hand plough or a traditional tool used for tilling land in the mountains), *koytee* (a tool used for cutting), *paal* (tool used for cutting purposes), *nivli* (a flat wooden piece with a long stick used for levelling the tilled surface of the soil) and *the vilo* (sickle). Of these, the *kudovon*, is the key tool. Skaria (2007, p. 225) mentions a similar type of a tool used by the Bhils known as ‘*pawada*’ or hand plough which was drawn across the field. Unlike ploughing which involves the plough and the bullocks in the fields, the *kumeri* site is mainly hand ploughed with the help of the *kudovon*. For tilling the soil, especially in the highlands the Velips frequently make use of the *kudovon*. The *kudovon* eases the

pain of carrying heavy tools such as the plough in the upper lands. The *kumeri* is solely rain fed cultivation, and did not require any other mode of irrigation. After the preparation of plot, the seeds are sown at the time of the first rain showers. Before the sowing takes place, the tribals follow the custom of consulting the *Jaan* or the *Ghaadi* (Shaman). This practice is also followed at the time of harvesting the crop. The *kudovon* is dragged over the soil by a single person. The *kudovon* facilitates the deep entry of the seeds into the soil. The tilling and sowing (seeding) work was carried out at the same time. Soon after the tilling and sowing work, a hand tool known as *nivli* is used to make the surface of the plot even throughout. The *nivli* is a wooden piece used for levelling the tilled surface of the soil. The cultivation area is then fenced with the help of branches of trees to prevent entry of wild animals. The entire area is protected during the day and night time with the help of a small tower erected in the middle of the site, which is called as *maalo* or *maashi*. The *maashi* is used to supervise and protect the site from wild animals.



Photo 4.13: Maalo or Maashi

In the early days, the Velips took up a single cropping system over the plot. Food items such as *gono* (finger millet), *orai* (*Setaria italica*) a type of rice, *kaangu* (*Setaria italica*) used to prepare a sweet dish called *pais*, *kolio*, a type of rice and chillies were grown on separate plots, not more than one crop was grown at the same site. They abandoned the use of the same site during the subsequent year and looked for a new site. This was done to enhance the productivity of the crop as the new site conveniently offered a readymade growth of plants and trees needed for clearing. After the sprouting of the seeds, the members paid attention to the weeding process. As there was no availability of any type of fertilizers during this time, they practiced a unique method of preparing natural fertilizer for their crops called as *saavol*. Fresh leaves, branches of nearby trees and plants and bushes are trimmed and laid between

the crops, which get decomposed forming rich compost of natural manure thereby increasing the fertility of the soil.



Photo 4.14: The Saavol

The crop was ready for harvesting in the month of September or October. A tool called as *vilo* (sickle) is used for cutting the harvest. The harvest of traditional crops such as *kolio*, *orai*, *kaangu* and *gono* is then ready for thrashing, which is sometimes done with the help of bullocks or manually by foot. The process of winnowing is then taken up to separate the grains from the unrefined matter. The grains are collected and put in a huge copper vessel called as *bhaan* and kept for boiling. The boiled grains are then put for drying at least for a minimum period of three to four days. The next step was the dehusking of the dried grains. The removal of husk from the grains was carried out through a process called as *kaanop*. *Kaanop* was an activity found in every tribal household. A hole, popularly called as *vaan* was dug into the floor for half feet at the central place of the common room in every

house, which was used for beating or dehusking of grains. The process of removing the husk from the grains is known as *kaanop*. The grains are bitten in the *vaan* with the help of a stick or sticks called as *mussol*. The beating of the grains is sometimes done by one, two or three person; accordingly make use of the number of *mussols*.

Underground roots and tubers such as *chirko* [a tuber (*Dioscorea bulbifera*)], *chonio* [a bulbil (*dioscorea bulbifera*)], *karande* (*Dioscorea bulbifera*), *zaad kanga* (*Solenostemon rotundifolius*), *alva maadi* (*Colocassia esculenta*), *kaat kanga* (*Dioscorea esculenta*), and *aloo* (*Colocassia* species) were also grown in the sites of shifting cultivation. Ornamental flowers such as *roza* (marigold or *Tagetes patula*) and *dhalio* (*Dahlia varia bilis*) were also grown.

Emerging challenges

Shifting cultivation has undergone remarkable changes in recent times. The activity is no longer centred around a group of families, but is now taken over by single families. A single family may possess one cultivation site a year. The techniques, procedures, cropping pattern have all undergone changes. The diversified occupational interests of the community, sustainable agricultural yields, availability of new hybrid rice seeds, access to modern fertilizers, use of tractors and other modern equipments, expansion of cashew plantations, dependence on public distribution system, forest regulation, geographical barriers, wild animals, hardships encountered has brought down the scope of participation in shifting cultivation.

The table 4.2 presents the continuity of shifting cultivation by the households in the selected hamlets.

Table 4.2**Shifting cultivation**

Ward	No. of houses	Shifting cultivation	
		No. of houses	%
Baddem	44	18	40.90
Pansulemol	47	01	02.12
Bharsa	48	35	72.91
Kinalkatta	26	12	46.15
Total	165	66	40.00

As seen in table 4.2, a large number of families have quit this traditional occupation. There is a sharp decline of the occupation in the hamlets of Baddem and Kinalkatta, i.e. more than half of the population has stopped the practice. The hamlet of Bharsa continues to hold on to the practice, as the nearby forests offer some amount of scope to them. Forest areas beyond the settlement area of Pansulemol come under the purview of stringent wild life rules that prohibit shifting cultivation. The practice is diminishing in Pansulemol. A major constraint faced by the Velips at Pansulemol is dearth of land. The plots allotted by the government have once again found to be putting pressure for such activities such as shifting cultivation. Due to availability of less space in the plots, some villagers undertake shifting cultivation in their earlier settlements at Avali, which has a close proximity to the forest area. Immediate constraints have also forced some of them to undertake it at the place of their relatives.

One of the major reasons for the decline in *kumeri* is the expansion of cashew plantation. The areas around their settlements are completely occupied with cashew

trees. Cashew plantation has flourished during the last fifty years to a great extent in the region. The expansion of cashew plantation is limiting the scope in further continuing shifting cultivation. The tribals are left with no much choice than to take up *Kumeri* in the land beyond their cashew plantations. Such sites are very scarce and are at far off distances, sometimes more than one or two kilometres from the settlement, needing not less than an hour of walking time. The long stretching uphill distances and scarcity of land in the highlands pull down the spirits of the community members in taking up the practice. In many cases, the exposed areas ahead the cashew plantations are used by the department of forest for planting trees. Paucity of space in the highlands is thus a major reason for the occupation to decline.

The few families who persist to cultivate *Kumeri* in the high lands have discontinued with the traditional form. It is noticed that cultivation of crops such as *gono*, *orai*, *kaangu*, *kolio* are totally abandoned by them and these food items have completely disappeared from their dietary list. The only traditional crops grown are the chilly or *toor dal*. During the first year, they take out a yield of chilly, followed by *tor* or *gono* during the subsequent year on the same plot. In many cases the tribes grow more *toor dal* and less finer millet as the wild boars get easily attracted to finger millet and destroy the crop. From a single cropping system, the tribals have moved to multiple cropping systems. They now mainly reserve the sites for chilly plantation along with plants such as banana, cashew, *toor daal*, vegetables, underground roots and creepers. Vegetables such as pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo* Duchesne), brinjal (*Solanum melongena* L.), ladyfinger (*Abelmoschus esculentus*), *podvol* (Snake gourd or *Lagenaria siceraria* (Molina) Standl.), *Ghosaali* (Ridge gourd or *Luffa acutangula* (L.) Roxb.), cucumbers (*Cucumis sativus* L.), muskmelon (*Cucumis melo* L.) and other leafy vegetables are grown between the chilly plantations.



Photo 4.15: A shifting cultivation site

The tribal women in particular in recent times have diversified their livelihood by opting to grow the winter vegetables for the market. The vegetables grown from the shifting cultivation sites are more popular in the taluka and yield a good value due to its nutritious content. Many women prefer to sell their produce by displaying it at the roadside, preferably the national highway route (NH 17) running just ten kilometres away from the villages of Gaondongrem and Cotigao. Kakhrieseno (as cited in Mishra, 2007) notes a similar trend occurring among the women in North East India.

The cropping pattern has thus changed drastically over the years. The *kumeri* soil is found to be more conducive for the growth of such vegetables and plants and adds more nutritious value than those grown in the lowlands. Realising the high productivity of the cashew plant, the sites of *kumeri* plantations were eventually used

for undertaking cashew plantation. However, the few families who continue doing *kumeri* make use of plot continuously for a period of three years. This is because the cashew plants require a minimum period of three years to grow.

It is observed that the families living in the foothill areas show very less inclination to participate, as they have to climb more than their counterparts who live in the higher spaces. Now, with the less or non-availability of such sites in the highlands, the practice has completely taken a different form. Those who continue doing *kumeri* undertake it amidst their cashew plantations. It is done in open spaces within, or in places where the cashew trees have become either non-productive or have died, while there are some who reserve a small permanent space especially for *kumeri* in their cashew plantation. They also follow a makeshift arrangement of sites within the plantation. In this case, also the Velips follow a mixed system of cropping.

A big hindrance faced by the community was the fear of wild animals. The cultivations had to be constantly protected from the wild animals. The produce has to be continuously protected for at least a minimum period of two months. Animals such as sloth bears, wild boars, *khete* (red-mouthed monkey or bonnet macaque), *vaanor* (black mouthed monkey or common langur), rats and *kuring* (Four horned antelope) were a major threat, as they destroy and eat away the entire produce. The bonnet macaques and common langurs eat away the tender growth of cultivation and wild boars spoil the harvest during night time. Rats also destroy the chilly produce.

Constraints imposed by forest rules have brought large-scale abandonment in the practice. Foresters pay regular visits to the *kumeri* sites; instances of uprooting of plants cultivated in the *kumeri* sites are not uncommon. At times, the villagers gossip and complain to the forest officials of the newly chosen sites of their immediate neighbours. As the forest officials play a supervisory role and keep a close

cognizance/vigilance on the cultivation into the forest territory, the tribals undertake cultivation is taken up in such a manner that the places go unnoticed to the foresters. Due to excessive forest regulations, the tribals are left with very less scope of selecting a new site; hence, cultivation is carried out every year on the same plot. The National Forest Policy 1988 made it ample clear of the detrimental ecological effects caused by shifting cultivation and proposed for alternative options. It says,

“Shifting cultivation is affecting the environment and productivity of land adversely. Alternative avenues of income, suitably harmonised with the right land use practices, should be devised to discourage shifting cultivation. Efforts should be made to contain such cultivation within the area already affected, by propagating improved agricultural practices. Area already damaged by such cultivation should be rehabilitated through social forestry and energy plantations (Department of Environment, Forests & Wildlife, 2003).”

Studies however undertaken in different parts of the country favour the continuity of shifting cultivation. The sites chosen for cultivation generally did not require a lot of clearance of forest. Unfortunately, without going to the root cause, many people blame the shifting cultivators for forest decline and voice for total banning of shifting cultivation. Scientific findings have proved that shifting cultivation, which required fallow phase enhanced bio diversity, recouped soil fertility with less erosion and did not trigger landslides (Dollo, Samal & Sen, 2008). The tribal selected such areas, which did not have densely populated trees. Gadgil and Guha posit that shifting cultivation and hunting-gathering "with their low population densities, low per capita resource demands, cycles of materials closed on limited spatial scales, and a number of practices that promote sustainable resource use" usually have minimal ecological impact (as cited in Sen & Lalhrietpui, 2006).

But of late many families have completely stopped raising shifting cultivation even in their cashew plantations. Chilly and other vegetables are now grown in the *porsu* (kitchen garden or homestead farming). The *porsu* cultivation is carried out in

their respective fields. While the fields are utilised to cultivate paddy only during the monsoon season, the *porsu* activities soon commence with the start of the winter. The winter season was not given to any type of agricultural activity, as the availability of water in the region was very less. Due to intervention of governmental and non-governmental programmes, the number of wells nearby the fields is gradually increasing. With the availability of subsidised inorganic fertilizers and modern hybrid paddy seeds like *Jyoti*, *Jaya* and *Karjat* the practice of shifting cultivation declined. The produce obtained from *kumeri* is lessening day by day as the same sites are repeatedly used every year and such exposed sites are prone to soil erosion during the monsoon, which reduces the fertility of soil. Constant use of artificial fertilizers is also bringing down the soil fertility. Foggy climatic conditions also hamper the growth of plants. The villagers have slowly started giving up shifting cultivation and have started vegetable cultivation by forming self-help groups.

The sites cannot be visited regularly on a day-to-day basis due to distant locations from the place of settlement. Many young men and women are being engaged in secondary works away from homes, as a consequence they cannot effectively supervise their plantations forcing them to abandon the practice of shifting cultivation. The chilly obtained from the *kumeri* cultivation however cannot match the quality standards from that obtained from the *porsu*. Due to decline in shifting cultivation, they now have to buy the chilly from their neighbours. Earlier the families grew more than ten sacks of chillies, which have come down drastically to two or three.

There are some nuclear families who have never participated in the *kumeri* type of cultivation. The practice of *kumeri* is even strange to be heard for many newly married couples. The interventionist role of the first chief minister of Goa, Shri

Bhauasaheb Bandodkar of allotting plots at Pansulemol is a major step in the decline of shifting cultivation in the region (this issue is elaborated in chapter five).

Shifting cultivation and the ritual of *Ushtan*

With the coming of the winter season all families gear up for the performance of the ritual of *ushtan*.



Photo 4.16: The *Ushtan* ritual

By this time, the produce from the shifting cultivation sites is ready for harvest. The tribals follow a unique custom for performing the ritual of *ushtan*. '*Ushtan*' literally means, experiencing the first taste of the produce. However, in this case it means the offering of the harvest first to the Gods followed by a sumptuous collective meal. Before selling or using it for their personal consumption, the villagers undertake the ritual of *ushtan*. Yet again, the *ushtan* involves a collective participation; all households join in the celebration of *ushtan* at temple of their clan

god. They arrive upon to celebrate the *ushtan* during the daytime. Generally, the men folk assemble in large numbers for the *ushtan*. Every household is supposed to carry some share of their produce from the cultivation site, especially vegetables and some underground tubers. The vegetables are then collectively pooled and cooked at a given place. The cooked food is offered as *choru* (holy food) to the clan Gods and other Gods and Goddesses. The villagers then take pleasure in having their meals together. Though the *kumeri* cultivation has declined and greatly transformed in nature, the tribals continue to hold intact the tradition of *ushtan* every year. Vidyarthi's (1963) study of the *khallu* cultivation of the Maler, is a typical example of Nature-Man-relationship, the man to man relationship, and ultimately, "the Nature-Man-Spirit" relationship. As it is for the vegetable cultivation, the tribals also perform a small special ritual during the harvesting of chilly from the shifting cultivation sites. A handful of white rice, a piece of thread, one betel nut, a betel leaf, brinjal flower, musk melon flower, and cucumber flower are placed on five leaves of the *churni* plant and offered to the gods.

CATTLE REARING

Though originally the Velips have been traditionally identified as a hunting and gathering community, they have emerged as a pastoral and agricultural community. The practice of cattle rearing has been an integral part of every household and has endured for a long time. This traditional system of domesticating cattle seems to have evolved alongside the development of settled agriculture, i.e. when the tribals settled in the low-lying areas in search of new livelihood settlements.

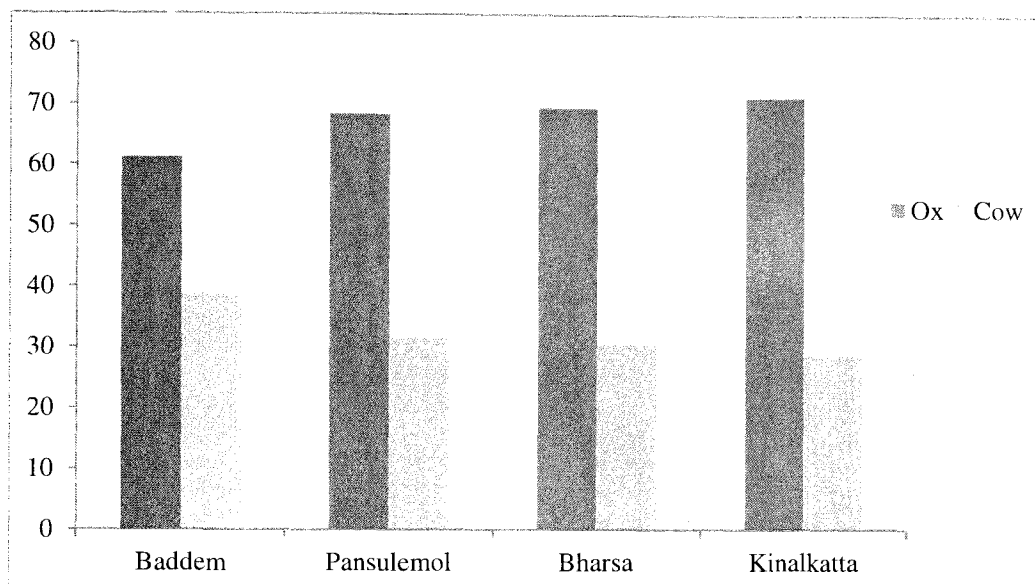
Cattle provided a novel means for their livelihood, in the sense that it provided sustenance to agricultural activity. The elderly men from the community narrate experiences of every household possessing as many as fifteen to twenty cattle. The

cattle was brought in use in a number of ways such as for providing milk, ploughing and harvesting the fields, for providing manure, in a rare cases for fuel purposes wherein cow dung *cakes* were used, dung was also used for painting of mud floors and walls, and in recent times manure used for bio gas. The non sanskritic priestly Velip community used the dung and the urine of the holy cow for purifying their domestic spaces as well as in cleansing the inauspicious moments in their lives.



Photo 4.17: A traditional cow shelter

It is observed that there is a sharp decline in the number of cattle in the villages of Cotigao and Gaondongrem. The figure 4.5 indicates the number of cattle in the selected hamlets of Gaondongrem and Cotigao.

Figure 4.5**Cattle rearing**

It is clear from the table that more preference is given to ox than the cow. The number of cows is almost fifty per cent the number of oxen that amply explains the declining interest of the community in pursuing dairy farming. The number of cattle recorded by the Department of Animal Husbandry in the State was 57612 in year 2014 of which 8495 were from Canacona ((Directorate of Planning, Statistics and Evaluation, 2014). Skaria (2007, p. 226) quotes an interesting fact to highlight the importance given to the traditional practice of cattle rearing by the Dangs. There were around 24,039 cattle in 1891-more than the population of the Dangs. Alongside the dwindling in the number of cows, yet another interesting fact noticed was that community did not possess any buffaloes. Every tribal society has its own peculiarity of rules and practices. Ghurye (1963, p. 216) for instance points out that the Kols ploughed with cows as well as oxen, though as plough animals buffaloes are preferred. He further mentions that they did not, perhaps even now rarely do, touch or use milk. In the case of the Velips the consumption of milk and the products made from it is hardly visible. In very rare cases, one may notice milk tea offered by them

to their guests. The elders mention that the consumption of tea was almost a taboo during their early days, though lately some few members have started consuming black tea. Consumption practices of the Velip tribe have been much similar to that of South Bihar wherein there is a dislike for or prejudice against cow milk for over three thousand years (*ibid*: 217). As mentioned earlier, the preoccupation with pastoralism did have some implications on consumption practices among some tribes; however, this is not true with the Velips as it was not their sole traditional occupation.

There are several reasons for the rapid decline of cattle among the Velips. One of the primary reasons for the sharp decline in the number is due to the intervention of mechanised means of farming. The tribals are forced to abandon the traditional plough driven by the bullocks as the work is now increasingly taken over by mechanical devices such as tractors and other modern tools and implements. Hence, those households who still possess cattle have stopped making use of their cattle for major agricultural purposes, except for some indirect purposes such as dung being used as a natural fertilizer or manure.

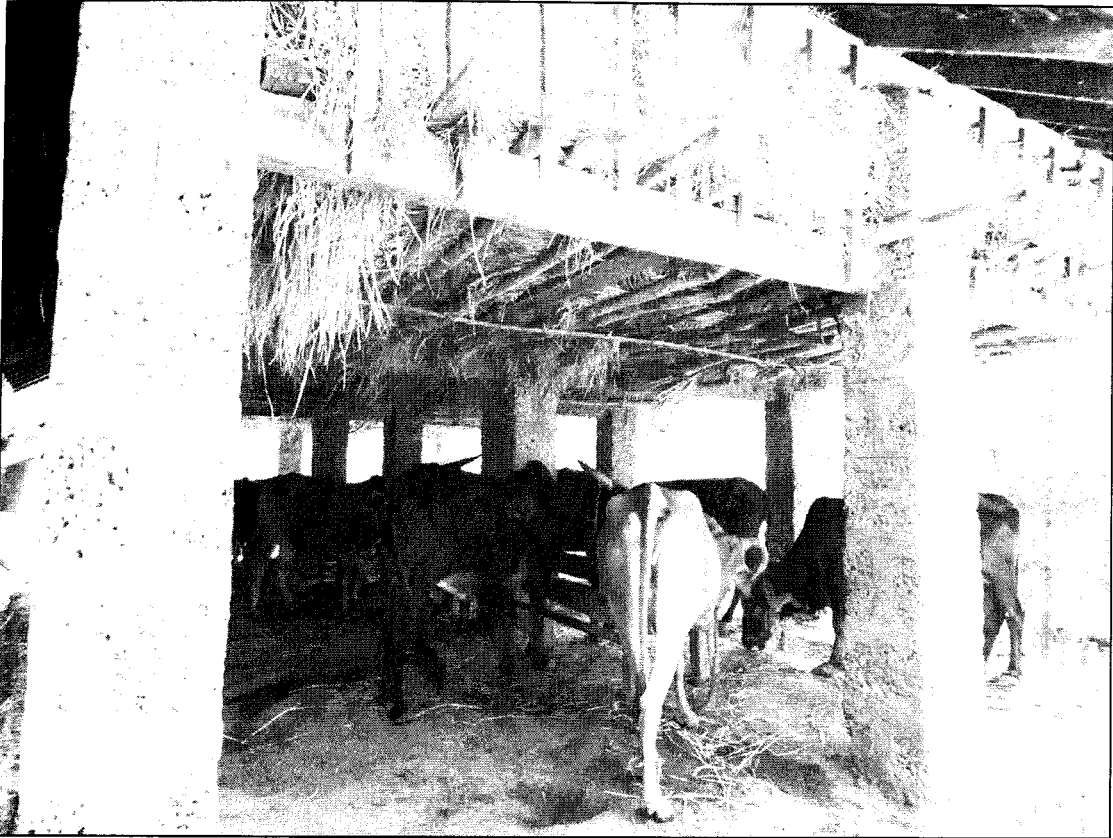


Photo 4.18: A modern cow shelter

As there is no direct and active participation of their cattle in the fields, they opt for selling them. Many tribal families have started selling their cattle to some *Dhangar* (shepherd) community in the neighbouring talukas of Quepem and Sanguem. Though cattle rearing is one of the traditional occupations of the Velips, there is a gradual abandonment of the practice. There is acute shortage of grazing pastures around their settlement areas. The areas surrounding their settlements have been converted into fields and cashew plantations. The land available for grazing is too far away from their residential territories and the herdsmen at times require more than three to four hours for reaching the grazing sites through the tedious mountain ranges. The only lands, which can be accessed with very scarce pastures, are spaces within their cashew plantations. However, one has to graze his or her cattle in personal cashew plantation. Some families from the hamlet of Baddem have sold their

cattle as their agricultural land holdings are too small and their ox therefore are left with very little work or at times no work at all. Due to the shortage of green pastures in the nearby locality, the tribal families in Bharsa substitute their cattle rearing responsibility by handing their cattle on a payment of rupees five hundred per ox or cow per month to the professional shepherds in the nearby taluka.



Photo 4.19: A cattle grazer

The activity of rearing cattle invariably requires the constant service of at least one member from the household. The undivided family at some point of time provided sufficient human resource to undertake such traditional activities. The senior most members of the age group of seventy and above remain home due to their physical and health related problems. Usually, it is the men folk who shoulder the responsibility of taking the cattle for grazing. Exceptionally, one may come across a woman undertaking such a task. The women provide fodder when the cattle remains

tied in their sheds. A herdsman on an average spends a minimum of six to eight hours a day for grazing his cattle. They leave their houses during the early hours of the day and return home in the twilight. The herdsmen have to prevent the cattle from entering in areas such as agricultural fields and other areas of cultivation such as pineapple, horticulture sites. In turn, he has to protect his cattle from the wild animals as most of the surrounding areas especially in Pansulemol come under the purview of the Cotigao Wild Life Sanctuary. In recent times, the nuclear families with its limited strength cannot provide enough attention to their cattle alongside the household responsibilities and other works. Youngsters generally do not take their cattle for grazing. As mostly all family members are engaged in various tasks, members remaining with no much work at home are elderly members who take up the responsibility of grazing cattle.



Photo 4.20: Gorwa paadvo

Invariably, no single member of school going population remains home uneducated. The presence of *anganwadis* (pre primary schools) and primary schools in every ward of the village has helped the fostering of literacy and educational levels among the tribal members. The access to modern education has enabled the members

to qualify for jobs away from their habitats. The youth are now getting increasingly absorbed in modern occupations. The uneducated and the less educated members too volunteer their labour on a daily wages in the nearby areas or the town. A few men and women are hired by the Department of Forest on daily wages. With the existing downfall in the number of cattle, the tribals do not show any keen interest in forming any cooperative for dairy farming. The herdsmen are left with no choice, than to get their cattle tied in their sheds or to sell them.

The cattle owning families in Pansulemol face severe restrictions from the forest officials; the territory separating the settlement and the Cotigao Wild Life Sanctuary is demarcated by a deep trench that prevents the movement of men as well as animals into it. The traditional rights of the tribal families have been defeated due to increasing forest control on their long-established livelihood systems. As there are no more grazing lands accessible the cattle owner is left with no option than to tie the cattle in the cow shed. The cattle at times remained tied for two or three seasons. The cattle are released in the fields only during the winter because the fields retain some greenery aspects during the post harvest season. They remain tied in the cowsheds during the monsoon and cashew season. As the settlements are surrounded by agricultural fields and cashew plantations they do not release their cattle as they may spoil their produce.

(HEALTH) ETHNO MEDICINE

Traditional health practices

Terms such as folk medicine or ethnomedicine have generally been used to refer to a institutionalised set of health practices among tribal societies. Folk medicine refers to those health-related beliefs and practices that have a traditional existence alongside an official, politically dominant system of medicine (Hufford, 2012, p. 349). Krippner

(as cited in Brumot & Naidu, 2011) refers to ethnomedicine as a study of traditional medical practice, which is concerned with the cultural interpretation of health, diseases and illness and also addresses the health care seeking process and healing practices. Tribal societies seem to firmly believe on indigenously developed systems of health care and management. Kumar (2008, p. 96) says that ideas of health, disease, causes of illness treatment are understood mainly in cultural terms. In the same manner Lowe (as cited in Brumot & Naidu, 2011) defines ethnomedicine as a complex multi- disciplinary system constituting the use of plants, spirituality and the natural environment.

Health related concerns among the Velips despite the long continuity of a belief in traditional herbal medicines in recent times seem to show very less reliance towards traditional medicines. Knowledge of indigenous herbal medicine was in fact known to every member of the community. They collected herbs from the nearby forests and prepared the necessary compounds to treat their illnesses. Apart from individually possessing knowledge of local medicines, each hamlet or a settlement had a *Voktoli*, a medicine man or woman who could provide with his/her expertise to treat several health problems.



Photo 4.21: A female *Voktoli*

The *voktoli* are mostly the elderly members. Many hamlets have male members as *voktoli*. Very rarely one comes across a female *voktoli*, as in the case of hamlet of Bhutpal. Some *voktolis* carrying high reputation and are highly trusted ones, are visited by people (also non-tribals) from far off places as well as from the neighbouring hamlets. Thus, for example, the entire population of Pansulemol consult the female *voktoli* from the Bhutpal hamlet. The hamlet of Baddem has only one recognised *voktoli*. In the absence of *voktoli* in their hamlet, they consult *voktolis* from the neighbouring village. Many elders continue to treat themselves with ethno medicine, as they consider their ways of treating very effective in their lives. Herbs required for treating minor ailments such as common cold, fever, and other sicknesses particularly of children are grown in their nearby fields. The number of *voktolis* is

dwindling day by day as there is very less transmission of knowledge from the elders to their children.

The tribals display a collective orientation of behaviour in many activities. One such illustration is the group participation of the members in the collection of herbal leaves from the forest once in a year. Shortly after the festival of *Ghudulo* (men singing folktales in a peculiar rhythm throughout night), the community members assemble in good numbers and collect medicinal leaves from plants and trees.

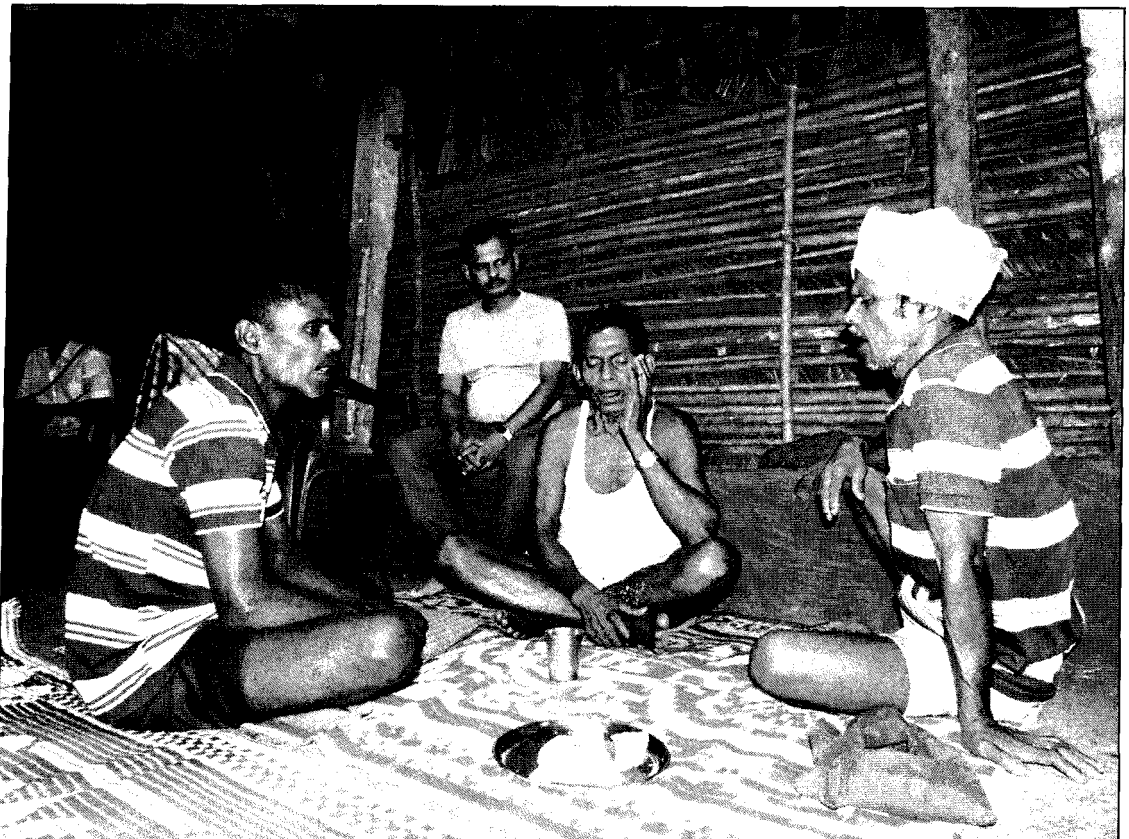


Photo 4.22: The researcher observing *Ghudulo*

They collect leaves of all plants, except from *kaaro* (*Strychnos nux-vomica*) and *vuro* plant (*Sapium insigne*). After roaming in the close by forest for a few hours, they pool the leaves at a given place and distribute them between members for families. They grind these leaves together and extract a juice, which is called as '*kadu*' (a bitter extract prepared from the leaves and bark of plants and trees). The

kadu is consumed as a medicine by all members of the household. Every member consumes a single pale of the extract. This collective participation of members reinforces continuity of an age-old practice of herbal medicines among the tribals.

Belief in modern health care facility

The researcher came across instances of some tribals not having visited the hospital any time in their life. This is true of a few elders who totally abstain from the use of modern medicines. However, people of other age groups such as the middle aged and the young increasingly subscribe to the use of modern medicines and health care facilities. Given this understanding, the belief in ethno medicine has not completely disappeared among them. As a matter of fact, every small or a big ailment is preliminarily treated at home with herbal medicines. Almost all families first administer some indigenous medicines before consulting the doctor. Modern medicines are bought in use only when the traditional ones are found to be ineffective. This has given rise to the idea of medical pluralism. Bhasin (as cited in Brumot & Naidu, 2011) refers to medical pluralism as the synchronic existence in a society of two or more than one medicine systems grounded in different principles or based on different world views.

In times of major illness, the tribals approach the Community Health Centre (CHC) in the municipal town area at Canacona, some ten to fifteen kilometres away. The CHC is equipped with a gynaecologist, one physician and other subordinate staff. The families living in Baddem and Pansulemol are provided with a health sub centre at Avem. It facilitates primary treatments and provides immunisation programmes especially for children. The sub centre is visited by a medical practitioner only once in a week. The tribals reported that the general staff at the sub-centre do undertake awareness campaigns in the tribal villages. The tribals generally avoid visiting private

clinics since for many it is unaffordable and they are far away. On the whole, the number of clinics or medical centres is very less and do not meet satisfactory levels in terms of medical facilities and aid.

As the trust in traditional medicines has gone down, the belief in modern medicines is picking up. Some elderly men are showing inclination to traditional as well as modern medicines. The younger generation and the middle aged show more preference to modern medicines than the traditional ones. Owing to critical nature of illnesses in modern times and the less effectiveness of indigenous medicines, the tribal belief in allopathic modern medicines is becoming friendlier.

***Ghaadi* and magical healing**

Tribal societies increasingly demonstrate a belief in indigenous healers or ritual specialists or Shamans. The *Ghaadi* claims to occupy a position of great pride in the tribal society of the Velip. The *Ghaadi* is also referred as '*Jaan*' (one who knows or soothsayer). Terms such as *aaso kadop* (selecting the grain), *devaspon* (a religious act or duty) or *barepon* (goodwill), *jaan bhaas* (one who can understand, predict and explain), *nad* (misfortune), *kaul* (blessing) are used to refer to the acts undertaken by *Ghaadi*. The Velips show a high conformity to the advice given by the *Ghaadi* right from their birth until death. The consent given by him is considered supreme and sometimes treated equivalent to the word of Gods. We shall also see later in the subsequent chapter that tribals consult the *Ghaadi* not only for health reasons but also in executing many of their livelihood activities. In fact, the tribals seek answers for their life and day to day acts from the *Ghaadi*; in short, their every single life concern is utterly dependent on the directives of the *Ghaadi*.

Issues of health too are increasingly consulted upon with the help of *Ghaadi*. It is learnt that the Velip men are frequent visitors to the *Ghaadi* than the women.



Photo 4.23: *Ghaadi* in action

The cause of simple illnesses ranging from cold or fever to the most dreaded diseases are set for explanation before the *Ghaadi*. The *Ghaadi* follows the practice or method of revealing the cause of any illness or misfortune by placing a handful of few

grains over a wooden plank. Such a practice is called '*aaso kadop*' (selecting the grain). He arranges these few grains in some symbolic sequential pattern on the wooden plank, and after listening to the aggrieved person utters words (not clear for interpretation) after becoming possessed. He then resorts to some calmness and finds some ways of explaining the cause of the misfortune. He then removes these few grains placed over the plank and offers them to the aggrieved person. This offering is also called as '*kaul*' which is meant to treat the aggrieved person.

The growing rationalist approach of the Velips has however virtually shown distrust and discarded the traditional importance of the role and position of *Ghaadi* in modern times. One should not apparently bind to the fact that the entire lot of the Velip society have remained primitive or ignorant in their approach to life. The tribals in this regard are becoming more sensible and equally logical in explaining their emerging worldview. The elders too are accepting rationality in their behaviours. Many of them did not support the irrationality of behaviour attached to the acts of the *Ghaadi*. They termed such acts as '*Ghaadi mhanje chaadi*' (*chaadi* means gossip), i.e. the acts of *Ghaadi* are a mere gossip. The *Ghaadi* has found a total disacceptance particularly from the youngsters as well as some elders. The younger generation also do not let their parents or elders to consult the *Ghaadi*. They neither believe in the use of traditional medicines nor the magical healing by the *Ghaadi*. Regardless of the role of the *Ghaadi* in providing inappropriate answers or treatment to problems related to health, he continues to enjoy control in several other activities of the village. However, those who do not subscribe to magical healing of the *Ghaadi* take *prasad* (holy blessings) from the village temples of Lord Mallikarjun as well as from temples such as Ballikarin, Betal, Fatorpakarin or Cuncolikarin at Fatorpa from the neighbouring taluka of Quepem.

Indigenous medicinal knowledge: A need for survival

Traditional health related practices and the knowledge of ethno medicine is on the verge of extinction. A Velip man, aged 65, traditionally trained in ethno medicine has ceased to continue the practice of providing herbal medicines. The number of traditional medicine experts is fast dwindling and a majority of traditional practitioners do not exist. The most elderly men cannot recollect some of the medicinal herbs as they have long stopped the practice. Many have become feeble to venture into the forests for its collection. The ancestors have not felt any need for the successive transmission of the knowledge pertaining to ethnomedicine. A knowledge gap is thus witnessed among them and there is a fear that it may further be widened.

The forest with its diverse biotic resources seems to offer a vast scope for the practice of ethno medicine. In fact, the Range Forest Officer (RFO) found it worth mentioning that the forest cover and its remarkable diversity have increased in recent times. Taking cognizance of the importance of indigenous medicine and health concerns of the community, the foresters do not interfere or restrict the tribals from making use of the forest resources. The traditional medicinal practices prevailing in the community are associated with a taboo. One of the reasons for the decline of ethno medicine is a rather dogmatic belief of limiting or restricting the sharing of such knowledge of indigenous medicines with the others. The elders consider sharing of traditional knowledge of medicine as less effective and devaluing the occupation. They refrain from sharing the knowledge to outsiders and to members outside their family. Exceptionally, the eldermost tribal member may pass on the knowledge of herbal medicines to a member within his own family. However, the interest among the youth to institutionalise the knowledge has found a total disapproval.



Photo 4.24: Clan God Shivapurush at Upper Bharsa

The community follows certain guidelines pertaining to the collection of medicinal plants and herbs. They do not venture into the forests for collection of medicinal plants, herbs or barks of trees on Monday, as they perceive it as a God's day. The Velips reserve this day especially for worshipping Lord Niraakar (at Baddem) and Shivapurush (at Upper Bharsa), treated as incarnations of Lord Shiva.

The elders make visits to these places of worship of their Clan Gods on every Monday. Similarly, they abstain from doing any type of work on a new moon day. Collecting medicine or performing any type of work away from their homes is considered as inauspicious on a new moon day. They strictly follow certain specific timings pertaining to the collection of herbal medicines. They collect the medicinal herbs only during the post noon time i.e. after 2 pm. Despite some conservative reservations followed by certain families of limiting the knowledge, the collective

opinion of the community supports the need to disseminate the knowledge beyond the village contours.

Deliveries done in homes or hospital

It is only until the late 1990's that the deliveries of newborn were generally carried out within their houses. The researcher came across instances wherein members in the age group of 20 to 40 years who are born in their homes. With the improvement in the means of communication and modern health care facilities this practice however, is stopped during the last twenty years or so. The deliveries are now done in the taluka CHC or district government hospitals. The tribals normally avoid delivering in private maternity clinics due to economic reasons. The *vaijin* (midwife) handled childbirths through traditional means available within the village. It is said there was no *vaijin* in the hamlet of Baddem. In cases of general emergencies and during pregnancies, the tribals with the development in telecommunications in the tribal areas ask for free medical transport from the government.

Illnesses treated through indigenous medicines

The following illnesses are treated by the local medicine experts: *Aangar javop* (suffering from leucorrhoea), *Kaljeache* (common cold and fever), *Ghosheache* (intestine disorder), *Kamin* (jaundice), *Doleat ful padop* (cataract), *Dhaatuche* (for pain), *Sheer vadop* (urinary infection), *Kidiche* (Tooth ache), *Daataachi kid* (tooth decay), *Kalje vaijepon* (for fever), *Kawaal baandop* (bone fitting), *Mutkhado* (kidney stone), *Paavot kadop* (gastric disorders), *Molache* (for worms), *Kalgi vaijepon* (blood vomiting and blood deficiency), *Shevne* (face paralysis), *Paai kusap* (foot infection), *Paai khutvop* (leg bone injury or fracture), *Kurin javop* (paralysis occurring among cattle), *Kevon modap* (wound injury to cattle), *Sarpeen* (herpes zoaster), *Kaan vovop* (ear flow), *Vaaye kadul* (back pain), *Nageli kaado* (intestinal disorder in children).

The following two illustrations are highlighted to display the extraordinary belief of the community in indigenous medicines. The first illustration explains a human problem, while the second deals with problem appearing in domestic animals such as cattle. Problems such as skin burn are treated by the Velips in quite an interesting manner. In such cases, a blanket made out of goat hair is burnt and turned into powder form. The powder is mixed with coconut oil to form a thick paste. The paste is then applied only by a male person over the burnt parts of the body of the injured person. According to the *voktoli* the medicine heals the skin over the body within a short span of three days. The illustration makes it ample clear, the indigenous knowledge systems of the community of treating certain diseases even without the help of ethno medicine.

Illness of domesticated animals such as the cattle is solely handled by the community. Problems such as wounds, foot rot and fracture of bones in cattle are efficiently treated. *Kevon modop* is the indigenous practice of curing wounds in cattle. It is done in two ways: in the first method, a paste of some plants is grounded and put in the *kolmi*, i.e. a wooden vessel used for feeding the cattle. The *kolmi* is strategically placed at the entrance of the shed, so that the foot of the cattle drops into the *kolmi* containing the paste. This paste is considered a fast healer. In the second method, there is no need of any direct administering of treatment required. In fact, this method does not require any aid of medicine. There are a very few elders who specialize in this art of treating the cattle with the help of some '*mantra*' (sacred word). The tribals refer to it as '*zaad mantra*'. The person treating it is physically not required to visit the cattle suffering from the disease. This practice entails the offering of a coconut to the person who presides over and then followed by the utterance of the *mantra*. However, there are a very few specialists who undertake this practice. This method of

treatment has found to be very effective for their cattle among the Velips of Canacona.

Social wellness and the ritual of Margot



Photo 4.25: The ritual of *Margot*

One of the enduring age-old social systems of the Velips that helps in the overall well being of the social group is *margot*. The ritual of *margot* is performed once in three years in the temple of the clan God at the initiative taken by the *Budavant* and the chief Velip in consultation with all the members of the village. The Velips believe in the good will of all the villagers, which can well be protected and maintained only by driving away the malevolent spirits (*mharus*) inhabiting their

locale. The ritual begins in the evening on a pre decided day and lasts for a minimum period of three days, and in some cases may also extend even to five to eight days depending on the intensity of action required. A set of three *Ghaadis* (Shamans) who can be possessed are invited to perform the *margot* in the presence of the villagers.

Child birth and the role of rituals

The Velips of Baddem hamlet uphold certain unique traditional practices throughout the span of life and death. Some of the practices may appear rather rigid, but are binding on every member of the community, and continues to be in vogue in the hamlet since times immemorial. In the tribal society of Baddem every woman during her post delivery period has to follow specific codes of behaviour for a period of three months, which are rather stringent but are customary in practice. Now, with the deliveries of the newborn taking place in medical hospitals, the woman after the child's birth is bought home, but is not allowed to enter into any of the internal rooms of the house. She remains secluded in an exterior room for a period of ten days. Her access to kitchen, the holy room and other common rooms are strictly barred during this period. The naming ceremony is undertaken on the eleventh day with the performance of *hom* (a purification ritual).

During this period, the woman is supposed to abide some stringent rules of behaviour, as she is not allowed to comb her hair, or adorn it with flowers, or put the vermilion mark (*tikka*) on the forehead, which is regarded as a symbol of womanhood in India, especially by the Hindu women. Adding to this, the woman and the child cannot wear new clothes or new bangles during the period.

The health care of the child may also seem to astonish many of us. At Baddem, the new borns are not fed with any type of modern medicines. They avoid visiting the doctors for availing any form of treatment during the first three months.

They also refrain from administering the new borns with mandatory doses of immunisation and vaccination periodically advised by the doctors. However, they turn to their ethno medicines during this period. The Velips follow a unique system of feeding the babies with herbal medicines. Even when these herbal medicines are to be used they followed certain norms. The mother is not supposed to feed medicine directly into the mouth (spoon-feeding) of the child. But in the case of a Baddem woman, the medicine is fed indirectly from the mouth of the mother into the mouth of the child. The nature of practice continues uninterrupted in the traditional manner in the village of Baddem.

The tribals exhibit a great enthusiasm by participating in rituals connected with every household, be it a marriage, a birth or any social celebration. A similar festive mood is witnessed among the tribals during their participation in rituals connected with the birth of the child. After the lapse of three months, the villagers take part in a special ritual. Two women who are the nearest relatives of the family are welcomed as special invitees. The hair of the two women is combed with coconut oil, adorned with five types of flowers into their head, and a black *tikka* is applied on the face of the women. The child's hair is then shaved in the nearby place. All these acts are performed under the *kasam* tree (*Schleichera oleosa*). The trimmed hair is spread over a leaf five times. If it is a boy child, a turban (*pagdi*) is put over his head. The restrictions imposed on the child and the mother is soon lifted after the completion of this special ritual i.e. after a three-month period. The woman along with the child is later taken to the house and offered before the *gharpuris*, assisted by the *Budavant*, the chief Velip, and the Khute Velip along with other family members.

While the hamlet of Baddem portrays stiff rules, the rest of the tribal hamlets in Cotigao and Gaondongrem however, manifest flexible practices especially with the

delivery and the postnatal care. The *nhaan or tandul lavop* ritual is performed wherein the *Budavant* showers grains of rice over the head of the woman who has delivered a child after a period of five or seven days. After the delivery of the child, the *Modovol* (washerman) puts the *khaar* (ash water) over the head of the woman. He then washes the after birth clothes of the woman and the child. Hocart (as cited in Dumont, 1998, p. 48) mentions that in the whole of India except perhaps the Maratha country the washerman took care of washing the soiled linen at times of birth and menstruation. The linkages of the tribals with the other caste groups such as the washerman and others are intact even to this present day. However, the naming was done only after the completion of three months as in the case of Baddem.

SAAVOD: A TRADITIONAL COMMUNITY ENTERPRISE

The hamlets of Kinalkatta and Bharsa follow a quite old and unique traditional system of cultivation called as '*saavod*'. Under this system, a group of families from the two hamlets collectively participate in cultivation on a common land (plot). The name *saavod*, probably must have found its derivation from the location where the cultivation is carried namely, Saavri. Saavri is located at distance of two kilometres away from both the hamlet of Bharsa and three kilometres from Kinalkatta in a semi hilly like area. There are altogether thirty-four families participating in the *saavod* cultivation from both the hamlets. The ownership rights of the families participating in the *saavod* have been passed over to them from their respective ancestors participating in it. Hence, not all families from the two hamlets have a stake in the *saavod*.

The ancestors in the olden times took active part in the *saavod*. During the monsoon, the tribals grew paddy in their independent fields and alongside got involved in the practice of shifting cultivation. During the remaining part of the year,

they remained without any much work. At this point of time, the Velips also did not witness cashew plantation in the area. The community therefore took to sugarcane as the only, and the chief crop to be cultivated by them in the *saavod*. The ancestors during the monsoon and post monsoon period could give additional attention to the sugarcane cultivation. As the system of *saavod* was communally owned, it did not compel any requirement on all individual members of the families to work for it. There was definite pattern of division of labour accepted by the families. In this, on one particular day (for 24 hours) any one member of the family was required to provide his/her service to the *saavod*. The service generally involved taking care of the cultivation and supervising it during the day and especially at night from the fear of wild animals. On any given day there were at least two persons managing the *saavod*. It is learnt that every family receives a turn of its participation in the *saavod* once in seventeen days. Any one member from the family visited the site. Generally, the elderly male members took part in the *saavod*, women rarely participated. The ancestors enjoyed participating in the *saavod* as most of the time they were at leisure. The *saavod* also gave an opportunity for the people to come together and share their life stories.

The institution of *saavod* gradually underwent changes in practice overtime. The land at Saavri faced water problems during the late winter and summer season, which brought down the productivity of sugarcane. Still more pathetic was the scarcity of rainfall. The cultivation of sugarcane was more favoured by the community in olden times for several reasons. The use of sugarcane was not meant for any commercial purposes but to meet their subsistence. Product such as joggery made from the juice of sugarcane was largely used to prepare sweet dishes. Literally, the celebration of all *porobs* (festivals) among the Velips was marked with the

preparation of sweet meals. The regular diet was also given to items prepared from jaggery. In modern times however, the entry of new food items in the dietary list has brought a lot of disfavour to the traditional meals particularly prepared from jaggery. The youth are increasingly fascinated to the nearby town culture, which offer modern delicacies. Also with the demand for cash crops, they eventually gave up the production of sugarcane.



Photo 4.26: Traditional tools used for extracting sugarcane juice

During the course of the study, the researcher came across a set of traditional wooden heavy logs excavated from a well nearby the fields at Bharsa. The elders reported that these logs were lying immersed in the well and used by their ancestors for crushing and extracting juice from sugarcane for preparing jaggery. They

estimated these logs to be older by more than two hundred years. The excavation of these logs establishes the very fact of the popularity of sugarcane plantation among the primitive tribal people.

Due to paucity of water for some time, the land remained uncultivated. However, it is in that in the last fifteen years the pattern of collective cultivation has taken a different form. Young educated Velip men have begun showing interest in the *saavod*, by seeking direction, support and guidance from officials of government departments such as irrigation, public works department and the department of agriculture and Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR). The intervention of various programmes of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research programmes is the major reason for the flourishing of *saavod* cultivation in recent times. Improved irrigation techniques, expansion of the water base, digging of additional wells, provision of free high yielding variety seeds, plants and fertilisers, impartment of scientific training have fundamentally added more value to the *saavod*. With the availability of modern high yielding hybrid seeds and the inclination of the families to market, the produce has brought about a radical change in the *saavod*. The major boost to the cultivation was received from Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) funds. The tribals are now entitled for free supply of seeds, plants, fertilizers, and modern tools required for farming under the TSP funds.

Various schemes are rooted through the department of agriculture. The tribal families under the Tribal Sub Plan are making optimum use of extension of government benefits. Profit and market oriented crops such as coconut, turmeric, cashew, banana, jackfruit, pineapple and mangoes are grown at this communitarian plot. To enhance production the tribal families are also given adequate training and orientation by experts in the field by organising camps and workshops.

As the cultivation is undertaken jointly the produce too is collectively owned by the families. With an increase in the production, they are able to meet the needs of their families as well as the market. Hence, of late the families have developed an inclination to sell their produce in the nearby taluka market. Crops such as banana and coconut are a regular source of income to the families.

The *saavod* is a perfect model of communitarian and a collective distribution of labour. Howsoever, the modern ways may be appealing to the tribal society of the Velips, but the *saavod* keeps the group united through the division of labour shared by the members of the community. In this case, the Durkheimian concept of mechanical solidarity is found to be apt, at least for the tribal social world in the form of *saavod*. Unlike modern occupations, which demand specialisation and reinforce a particular code of behaviour, the *saavod* provides the families with ample liberty for a substitution or exchange of labour between the members. The collective attitude of the members to execute work sets aside the constraint of self-centredness. Though, the hamlets of Bharsa and Kinalkatta are geographically separated from one another, the *saavod* symbolises a continuity of unity of an age old association between them. A similar pattern of *saavod* also exists in other tribal hamlets of Gaondongrem and Cotigao but on a lesser extent.

CHAPTER V

TRANSITIONS IN LIVELIHOOD SYSTEMS

Tribal populations in Goa remained relatively isolated from the influence of the outer world for a very long time. The State of Goa continued to remain a colony of the Portuguese even after India attained independence in 1947. It was fourteen years later, that is in the year 1961 the Portuguese left the Goan soil. The State soon accepted the process of development in the post liberation period. The five and a half decade period of planned social and economic change was aimed at meeting the aspirations of masses in the State. The tribal populations residing in the hinterlands, however, did not receive the fullest benefit of the process of development. Close interaction of tribes with their non tribal neighbours, improved means of communication, influence of mass media, programmes designed for tribal welfare, access to modern education and many other factors have gradually brought in transformations in the livelihood systems of the tribes in general and the Velips in particular.

To begin with, tribal settlements as such have not remained the same as they were before. The movement of the tribes from the places of early hilly settlement areas to the plains is itself an indication of change in their overall livelihood system. In other words, forest no longer serves to support their livelihood in the fullest sense. The abandonment of primitive livelihood systems left the community in search of new settlements. They preferred to settle in the low lands. A new livelihood system thus began taking shape posing a new set of challenges. A kind of settled life resulted in a livelihood system not completely dependent on forest but on settled cultivation.

No doubt, the present tribal settlements, though new, are also encountering incompatibility of several kinds with the existing new sets of resources. The conditions very clearly reveal a struggle-taking place in their livelihood. Demographic

transition is yet another major challenge faced by the community in recent times. The geographical horizons of the tribes are therefore in the process of gaining new dimensions altering the shape and size of the settlements. As a result of a kind of livelihood struggle in these settlements, the villages have come to witness the establishment of new settlements. Alongside the territorial shift-taking place from the older to the new settlements, the tribal society is seen fast absorbing traits of modern life, which is clearly demonstrated in the domain of housing. Livelihood occupations such as agriculture, cashew plantation, kitchen gardening too have gained popularity among the tribes. Given the livelihood transformations taking place, the tribal settlements do encounter struggle with fundamental resources such as water and land.

POST LIBERATION PERIOD AND THE RISE OF NEW SETTLEMENTS

One of the vivid changes observed during the post liberation period is the rise of new tribal settlements in the village of Cotigao. The settlement of Pansulemol consisting of hamlets such as Bhatodemol, Sukodshet, and Pansulemol has come into existence in the post liberation period especially in the 1970s and 1980s. The tribals living at Pansulemol were earlier the residents of Avali, a tribal settlement in Cotigao. In Avali, the tribals inhabiting the mountains faced livelihood challenges. The settlement at Avali bearing almost a similar topography as that of Baddem encountered problems such as pressure on land and other resources. The land for cultivation in this region is very scarce and did not support the livelihood demands of the increasing population.

The Pansulemol ward is a case different from and opposite to that of the hamlet of Baddem. Tribals living in the hamlets of Pansulemol ward have come to experience a livelihood system which is quite new and rather an artificial (man created) one. Owing to the growing population pressure and scarce resources, it was during the mid 1960's; the tribals flagged the livelihood issue before the government.

The government after hearing to the grievances of the community decided to allot land in the form of plots at Pansulemol. The efforts of Shree Bhausaheb Bhandodkar, the first Chief Minister of Goa, Daman and Diu, are largely acknowledged and applauded by the tribal community even to this day. 'Bhau' as he was fondly called was an iconic and a populist leader. He did show a strong concern for the tribal masses in Goa. In fact, Late Antonio Gaonkar, a minister in the Goa legislative council recollects Bhau giving four Christian Gawdas Maharashtra Gomantak Party (MGP) tickets to contest elections for the Goa legislature. In fact, Bhau wanted the tribal leaders emerging as rulers in the State (Fernandes, 2014).

The tribal society during this time largely depended on shifting cultivation as a primary source of livelihood. Every family or a household perceived it as a primary occupation. The practice of shifting cultivation was largely responsible for the depletion of the forest cover and resources. The ecologically sensitive Bhausaheb through his personal intervention requested and pledged from the tribals to abandon the practice of shifting cultivation and take to agriculture as their main occupation. This decisive intervention of the chief minister resulted in the livelihood change of the tribal population in the village of Cotigao.

WATER RESOURCES AND LIVELIHOOD CHALLENGES

Water is a major concern for the tribal families living in Gaondongrem and Cotigao. The scarcity of water in the region has prevented the tribals from becoming full time cultivators. The families undertake cultivation solely during the rainy season. Their struggle for water is acute as they are devoid of water even for drinking purposes and other utilities. Studies have pointed to the fact that tribal dominated states such as Jharkhand and Orissa which have the potential of becoming the largest exporters of 'virtual water' to the rest of the country are also the most food insecure states and end

up importing virtual water in the form of food grains from water-scarce regions of the nation (Phansalkar & Verma, 2004, p. 3473).

Pure and safe drinking water is a distant reality as many families rely on extracting water from the ground by digging holes. Such rudimentary method of extracting ground water through holes has reportedly lead to a number of death cases of many tribal persons. Water related ailments such as kidney stones are common among many tribal persons. During the course of field research, the researcher came across three tribal women suffering from kidney disorders. On the completion of field study, one of the women was reported to have expired due to chronic urinary illness. Scarce rains sometimes reduce table water in the river canal thus inviting the problem of water shortage even for drinking purposes. However, in recent times this problem rarely surface as *bandharas* have been constructed across the river tributaries. Nonetheless, one continues to hear of frequent death reports due to starvation from tribal areas such as Kalahandi and Melghat in Orissa are the most frequently reported places for these tragedies (*ibid*: 3473).

The tribal ancestors in the olden days strategically decided to settle at places nearby abundant sources of water. In fact, all early settlements of the Velips such as *Daando* at Baddem, *Daando* at Avali, and Upper Bharsa at Bharsa are located in the vicinity of water resources such as natural springs. All these early settlements are located in the hillocks. The gradual movement of the Velips from these hillocks to the plains has surfaced a new struggle in their lives. They now have to encounter a struggle for land, water and various other fundamental resources. However, what is interesting to note is the continued dependence of the community on these traditional water resources existing in the early settlements. After descending from the hillocks to the plains, the tribals continue to use the water from the traditional water springs once

used by their ancestors in the early settlements. Thus, for example, water from the springs of Daatre and Bheemapati emanating in the *Daando* region of Baddem is piped down to the present day hamlet of Baddem and other neighbouring hamlets.

All present day settlements face a major problem of paucity of water. In recent times, water from the traditional sources is not sufficient to meet the requirement of increasing number of families. The increase in the number of households has resulted in shortage of water especially during the summer. Also, the presence of natural springs is very few and not able to cater to the increasing needs of the families. According to the *Budavant* (wiseman) of Bharsa, excessive practices of shifting cultivation in the higher reaches of the mountains, especially above the sources has also led to diminishing flow of the spring waters. According to Tripathy and Samantaray (2008) the common reasons for water scarcity are excessive practices of deforestation, shifting cultivation, over grazing and improper cropping of undulating land, plugging of natural drains and other kinds of poor land management are causing increasing runoff, reducing ground water recharge and eventually leading to water scarcity. The hamlets of Baddem and Pansulemol are released water only for a few hours due to scarce water from the perennial resources. Virtually, all hamlets in the villages of Gaondongrem and Cotigao have to depend on water supplied through tankers by the Public Works Department (PWD). The terrain topography of Bharsa pose transportation difficulties to the tribals as the road to the hamlet is too inclined making it difficult for heavy vehicles such as water tankers in reaching the settlement.

Table 5.1
Source of drinking water (in percentage)

Village	Ward/hamlet	Tap	Well	Spring	River
Cotigao	Baddem	100	0	0	0
	Pansulemol	4.26	42.55	4.26	70.21
Gaondongrem	Bharsa	0	54.16	54.16	0
	Kinalkatta	100	96.15	0	0
Total		43.64	43.03	16.97	20.00

It is quite clear from the table 5.1 that the tribals are not dependent on a uniform source of water for drinking. The hamlet of Baddem is exclusively dependent on tap water supplied from the springs; at Kinalkatta, the tribal families make use of tap water as well as well water, but predominantly use well water for drinking purposes. At Bharsa, the Velips make use of well as well as spring water but no tap water. The families living at Pansulemol increasingly are dependent on well as well as ground water from the river basin.

Table 5.2
Type of Tap water connection

Village	Ward/ hamlet	Total	Public	Private
Cotigao	Baddem	44	15.91	84.09
	Pansulemol	2	0	100
Gaondongrem	Bharsa	0	0	0
	Kinalkatta	26	19.23	80.77
Total		72	16.67	83.33

Table 5.2 shows that the households which possess tap water connection, a majority i.e., over 84 per cent of households have availed independent tap water connections. This higher proportion of private connections also explains the affordable capacity of the tribal families, and indirectly reveals a gradual rise in their socio economic conditions. However, the situation seems to be rather dissatisfactory in the hamlet of Bharsa and Pansulemol, as many do not have tap water connections.

The tribals living in the hamlets of Kinalkatta and Baddem make use of water from the tanks constructed by the Public Works Department. Water to these tanks is collected from different sources. At Kinalkatta, water is collected into the tank from a bore well as there are no natural springs nearby. While at Baddem, water is collected from the traditional springs of Daatre and Bheemapati. The tanks are provided with filtration units. All the tribal families are provided with free tap connections however, they have to bear the charges of water usage. Both these hamlets are also provided with a few taps for common use. It is learnt that the Velips of Kinalkatta do not make use of the bore well water supplied through the tank for drinking purposes. The boring water is used for feeding and cleaning cattle, cleaning utensils, washing clothes and bathing purposes. They only use well water for drinking purposes. It is interesting to note that, though more than eighty per cent households have availed personal connections in some hamlets, the taps have been installed outside their houses. It was found that a majority of the houses did not possess in built washrooms. There are pseudo wash rooms built in the exterior. The tribals living at Baddem do not use well water for drinking purposes, mainly because there are merely three, which are a little far away and used only for the cultivation purposes. The table also suggests that a few households have not availed personal tap water connections owing to their poor

financial condition. They therefore, have to rely on their nearest neighbours or relatives or make use of the common tap water.

At Bharsa, water from a natural spring is collected into a tank, which is constructed thirteen years ago. Water through the tank however, is not supplied to the hamlet through tap water connections, as the flow of the spring water is very less, and the tank is not equipped with modern standards. The tribals therefore have to manually collect water from the tank. They have to wait for long hours to find their turn. Prior to the construction of the tank, the villagers channelized the spring water to the hamlet with the help of the half round betel tree trunk. Some well to do families conveniently pump water from the wells into their houses by installing pipes. The sole source of water is used for different purposes such as irrigating the nearby plantation area, feeding the cattle and other purposes such as washing and cleaning. The villagers offer a small chicken to the spring every year as they believe that the place is inhabited by a spirit. During excessive rains these hilly areas witnesses a number of fresh springs under the fields thereby lessening their worries of water. The eight families staying at Karmagaal have installed water tank in the year 2012, which was donated by the former MLA of Canacona, Mr. Isidore Fernandes. The water pump is connected to the well and is supplied water to the tank.

Livelihood needs of the tribals living on the plains pose new quests and challenges. The water resources accessible for the people living in the low lying areas are ground water and well water. The nature of water resources thus differ markedly according to land topography. While there is one section of the tribal population dependent on the natural springs, there are others who are dependent on well and groundwater. The hamlets of Morfondamol, Bhutpal and Pansulemol in general come across acute water problems throughout the year and especially in summer.

The recent flood calamity in the year 2009 in the villages of Cotigao and Gaondongrem brought in devastating effects on the livelihood of the tribal people. The flood brought a huge loss to fields in the entire taluka; around 250 houses collapsed, left many people homeless, over 500 houses were inundated and around 2000 domestic animals and two persons died (Barreto & Nadaf, 2011, p. 96). Massive soil erosion resulted in huge sedimentation in the riverbeds and the nearby fields. The post flood recovery operations such as dredging of heavy soil deposits from the riverbed further led to the depletion of river water. The tribals thus faced a major problem of shortage of water for their fields as well for drinking purposes. There are critical times during the months of April, May as water from the river canal recedes, and the water taps go dry. To overcome this situation the hamlets are supplied with water through the government tankers. Each household is supplied with one barrel of water.

There are very few wells in the hamlet of Pansulemol. Some of these wells are personally constructed, while some are constructed by the Rural Development Agency (RDA). Presently, there are only nine wells and the number is steadily increasing in the Pansulemol region. As the well water generally gets dried up in the summer, the tribals therefore have to resort to traditional methods of extracting water. The permanent source of water for drinking for most of the villagers in the hamlets of Pansulemol, Bhutpal and Morfondamol is the *fonaro* (see photo 5.1). The *fonaro* is a small pit dug into the bed of the river canal, especially dug during the summer to extract water. The water from the *fonaro* is brought overhead from a distance of two hundred to three hundred meters. Of late, some families make use of the river water through electric pumps, which are used for non-drinking purposes.



Photo 5.1: A *Fonaro*, drinking water source

The residents of the isolated hamlet of Morfondamol have to walk for half an hour during the summer to borrow water from the neighbouring hamlet of Sukodshet as table water of the river drastically declines. As the hamlet comes under the purview of the wild life sanctuary, they face restrictions to the extent that they are not allowed to expand or dig new wells with the help of modern machines such as earthmovers. The two families staying at Endrem use spring water located six hundred metres away from the settlement. The tribals applaud the generosity shown by one of the former ministers for monetarily assisting them to buy a six hundred metre pipe some nine years ago. Half of the total cost of rupees fifteen thousand was borne by the Member

of Legislative Assembly (MLA). At Bhutpal, the foresters do not allow the tribals to construct well from laterite stones due to wild life restrictions. To overcome the problem of shortage of water a series of *bandharas* have been constructed by the government in the villages of Gaondongrem and Cotigao.

Sustaining the water resource through *bandharas* and minor irrigation tank

Bandharas or minor reservoir structures have to a great extent resolved the acute problems of water shortage especially during the summer. In spite of heavy rainfall in the Talpona river basin, the drainage system gets dried up in the month of January itself due to thin soil cover and highly rugged configuration of the topography.

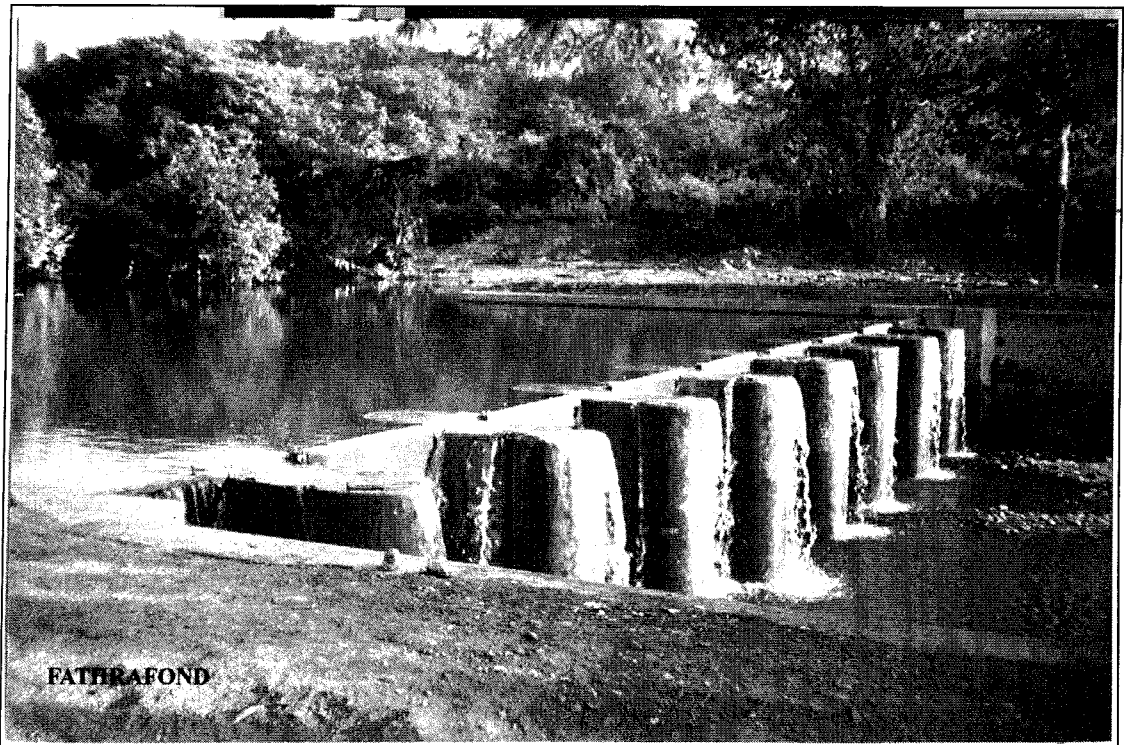


Photo 5.2: A *Bandhara*

The steep hydraulic gradient and highly permeable phreatic aquifers tends to rapid development of ground water resources. As a result of this, the basin area faces severe scarcity of water during the summer season. Short length of rivers and steep slopes of the Western Ghats and extension of reserved forest pose constraints for large water structures, and hence it was decided to construct series of *bandharas* across

river Talpona and its tributaries. The construction of these *bandharas* began in the year 2004. The water level of bhandhara waters is maintained by arranging tight gates, which holds the water.

Table 5.3 presents the list of the *bandharas* in the villages of Gaondongrem and Cotigao.

Table 5.3

Bandharas in Gaondongrem and Cotigao

Sr. No	Name of <i>bandhara</i>	Storage capacity in lakhs cu. M
1	Dabel	0.72
2	Monem	0.56
3	Astagal	0.66
4	Tamanamol-I	0.51
5	Tamanamol-II	0.66
6	Pansulemol	0.65
7	Kelyapanto	0.60
8	Devimol	0.13
9	Santemol	0.04
10	Kuskem	0.55
11	Morfond	0.09
12	Bibyamol	0.45
13	Thalane	0.30
14	Boriemol	0.21
15	Agali	0.13
16	Fatrafond	0.80
17	Panna	0.16
18	Zari	0.03
19	DeraMastimol	0.05
20	Kinalkatta	0.05
21	Shrithal	0.09

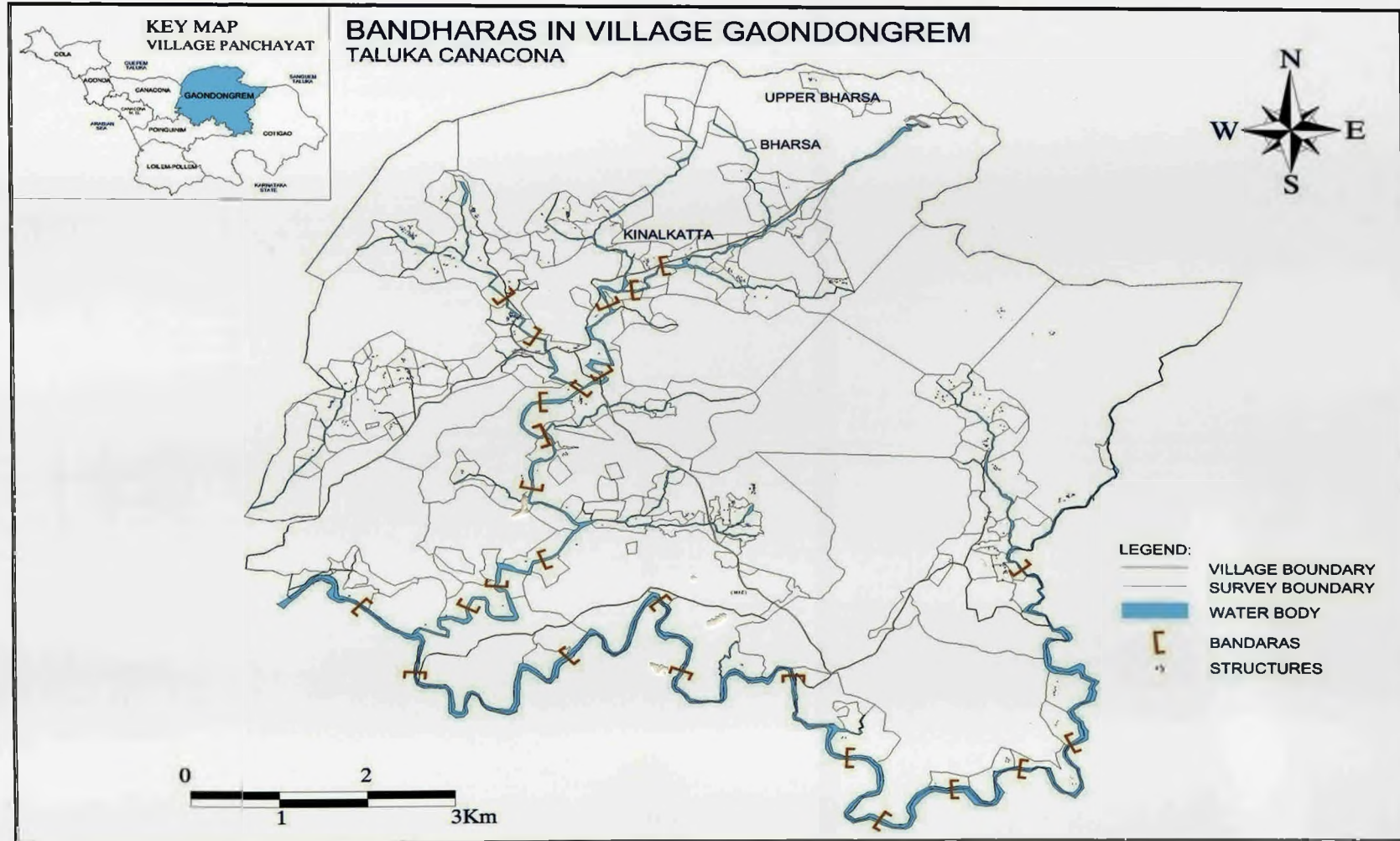
Source: Department of Water Resources

The construction of a series of open type *bandharas* have proved advantageous in many ways. Firstly, it has helped in recharging the ground water table whereby the tribals living near to these river tributaries are assured of availability of water also during the summer. Secondly, the retaining of water resource has facilitated the tribal communities in raising garden crops during the winter season. Thirdly, with the increase in the ground water table, the nearby wells are able to retain water for longer periods. Fourthly, as the storage is within the river course, the *bandharas* are presumed to be eco friendly structures and do not invite any problems of land acquisition or rehabilitation. However, the recent floods in the year 2009 have affected water conservation system of the *bandharas*. The officer from the Department of Water Resources informed that huge amount of silt deposited during the floods has reduced the water capacity in the *bandharas*. He further added that with the desiltation process the water level could be restored.

Yet another step undertaken by the government is the construction of a minor irrigation tank at Gavnem in the village of Gaondongrem. This upcoming project is located at a place called as Gavanem in village panchayat Gaondongrem in Canacona taluka, which is around ten kilometres from Chaudi, Canacona. It is an earthen dam constructed across a westerly flowing local *nala* (a river tributary) of Talpona originating from village Gavanem. The dimension of the dam includes a length of 215 meter width and 25.24 meter height at deepest section.

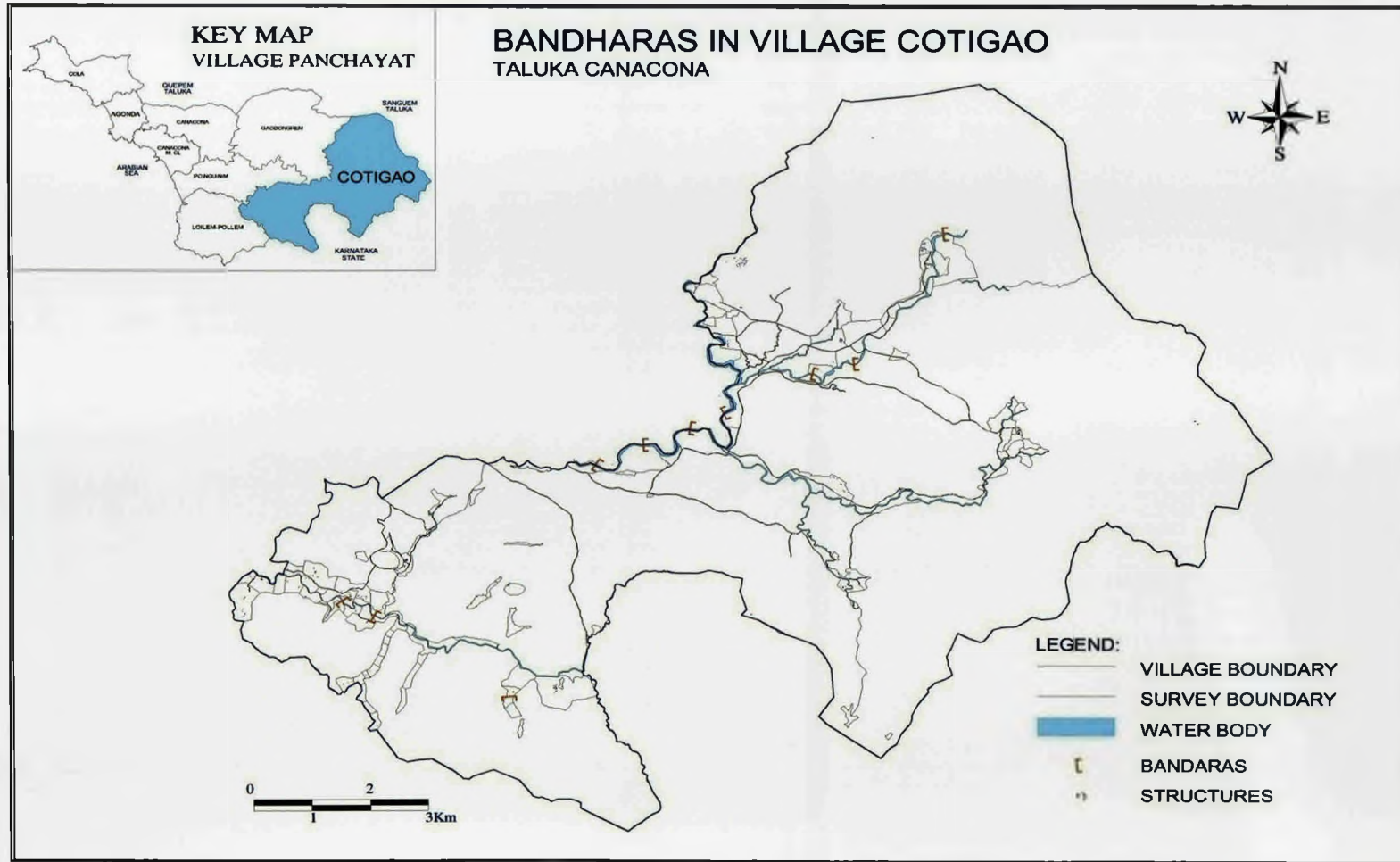
Map 5.3

Bandharas in village Gaondongrem



Map 5.4:

Bandharas in village Cotigao



Most of the beneficiaries of the Gavnem project are the members belonging to Velip and Dhangar community. The project aims at conserving water resource for irrigation and water supply purpose. It endeavours to meet the growing demand of irrigation water to 100 Ha. of command area in villages Gavanem, Tollem, Saturlim, and Fulamol of village panchayat Gaondongrem in Canacona taluka. Besides helping in recharging ground water table, the project also aims at providing drinking water supply (5 MLD) to the rural villages, which come under the village panchayat of Gaondongrem.

HOUSING AND ASSETS

The type of shelter used by a group of people determines the nature of their lifestyle. Unsophisticated ways of living are normally represented in terms of small and simple dwellings. The dwellings of tribes in India were simple as they solely used the local resources existing around for preparing them. In fact, the identity of any particular tribe was determined on the basis of the type of housing pattern. The traditional tribal shelters in India have undergone radical changes over a period of time. The traditional housing pattern of the Velip community too has largely disappeared. The movement of the tribes from early hilly settlement areas to the plains is a major transition in the livelihood system of the tribes. Moreover, the movement of tribes from Upper Bharsa to Bharsa and Kinalkatta, from Baddem *Daando* to Baddem, from Avali *Daando* to Avali, and from Avali to Pansulemol brought in a major transition in the nature of housing. The transition is vividly manifested in the type of housing pattern.

The transitory movement of the tribes from the hills to the plains was to seek better means of livelihood. Before permanently settling down on the plains, the tribal ancestors built temporary hut like structures, popularly known as *goval* to facilitate their sheltering needs especially during the daytime. The *goval* is a conical shape hut

like shelter, generally made of coconut leaves touching the ground, having no mud walls. The coconut leaves act as a roof as well as a wall for the *goval*. After spending time in the cultivations on the plains during the entire day with their cattle they returned in the twilight to the hill sides. With the gradual expansion of livelihood activities, the tribals took permanent residence by constructing permanent shelters. The traditional houses of the Velips were made out mud, bamboo and thatched straw grass, popularly known as the *kolwa ghar*. The long straw grass was obtained from the flat grasslands (*moddio*). These grasslands are generally found on the hilltops. The tribals, especially the elders denote a rather less affinity to their present day dwellings. They tend to look down upon their present houses as *goto*, meaning place to shelter cattle. The places of early settlement are called as *Deva ghar* (God's home) as major religious enactments are undertaken even to this present day. Thus, one witnesses a transition in the housing pattern from the *goval* to the *kolwa ghar* to the modern day cemented houses.

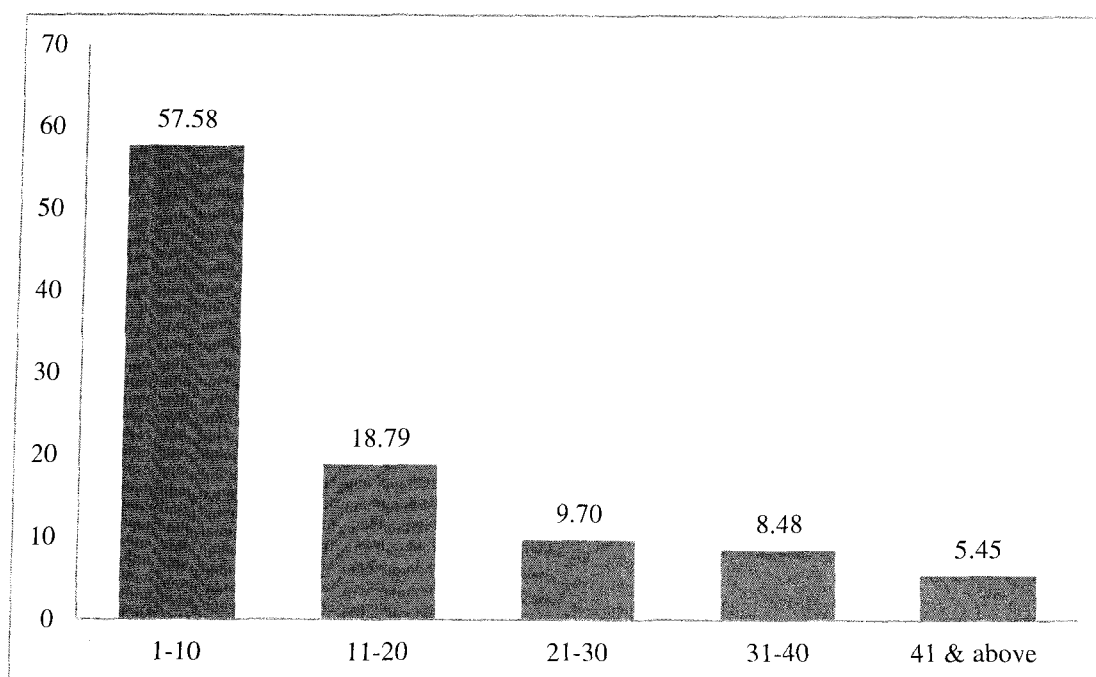
The Velip community demonstrates a strong feature of integration. The integrative spirit is reflected in several ways. One of the ways of expressing this integration is seen in terms of closely knitted houses. Sharma (2008) explains the differences in the set up of the houses in the Bhil and Mina villages of Rajasthan. While the Bhil houses in the village are scattered and are positioned at elevated points, the houses belonging to the Minas appear very compact to each other, which is very similar to the pattern of Velip houses in the hamlets. The Velips preferred to stay in close proximity to each other forming a cluster, which evidently reveals the cohesive nature of the group. The clustering of houses facilitates the families to exchange different tasks in the livelihood activities such as agriculture and other common activities. This reciprocal mechanism helped the tribesmen to remain

together as a primary group. Srinivas (1997) while explaining the type of social relations observes that rural social bonds were strongly integrated on the principle of reciprocity. The reciprocity was normally seen when the agricultural works were at heyday. However, of late there appears a wide dispersion of houses from each other, resulting in the expansion of the hamlets. Settlements at Pansulemol and Kinalkatta on the plains are experiencing dramatic expansion of houses, while houses in Baddem and Bharsa have reached a point of saturation in the hill side.

Figure 5.1 presents age of houses in the four hamlets of Gaondongrem and Cotigao.

Figure 5.1

Age of the house (in percentage)



As seen in figure 5.1 more than fifty per cent of the houses have been constructed during the last ten years in the four hamlets. The existing houses falling in the age group (21-30) is nearly fifty per cent of the age group of 11-20. An interesting fact is that the number of houses constructed during the last ten years has increased three times more than the preceding ten years. The increase in the number of houses

in this regard cannot be wholly explained in terms of the increase in the population of the community, but rather due to the disintegration of the joint families. It is also observed that the community in the post liberation period is showing more inclination to the small family and not the extended one. The transition in the increase in the number of houses also needs to be observed in terms of the nature or the type of houses constructed by the Velips.

Figure 5.2

Type of residence

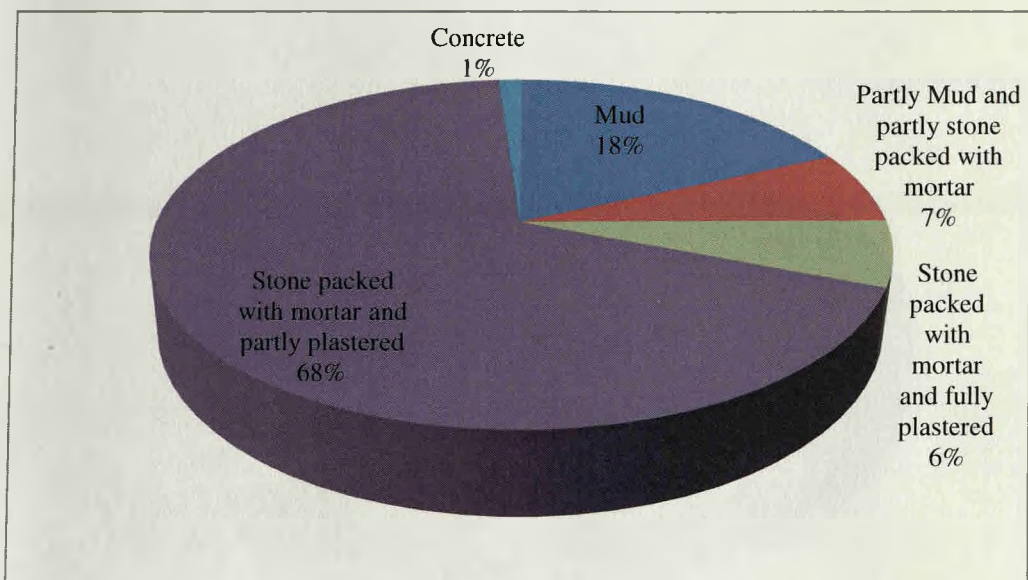
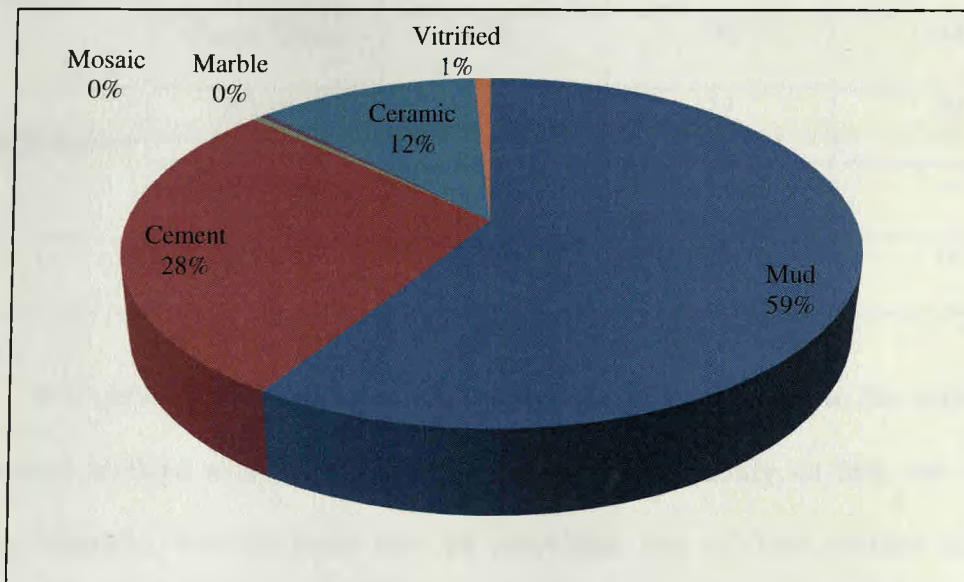


Figure 5.2 depicts the present day housing pattern of the tribals. It is observed that a major transition is witnessed in the type of residence of the Velip families. The community is largely favouring modern standards of housing which is evident from the fact that a large proportion of houses (73.94 per cent) are made of stone packed with mortar. Of these, 67.88 per cent are partly plastered while only 6.06 per cent fully plastered. Despite the big number of such houses, it is observed that a large number of them have remained incomplete in many respects. For instance, the floor may be of mud, windows may not have proper closing panels, etc. Only 6.06 per cent of the houses are fully plastered, while only two houses are made of concrete.

However, it is crucial to note that 18.18 per cent i.e. thirty houses are of mud (*katchha*) and eleven houses are partly mud and partly mortar packed, most of the houses of mud exist in the hamlet of Pansulemol. At Morfondamol in Pansulemol, the tribal families are restricted from constructing houses of laterite stones. It can be discerned that the acceptance of the modern standards of housing is largely because of the assistance availed by the community for housing related purposes. The condition of houses is furthermore revealed on the type of floor.

Figure 5.3

Type of floor



It is seen from the figure 5.3 that though a majority of tribal houses are made of mortar, the tribals have not totally given up flooring made out of mud. While many households continue with their mud flooring, there are others who have partly used cement flooring in their houses. Of late, a few houses have also taken to ceramic floor tiles. Given the fact that the community has been accepting the modern flooring trends, the researcher has noticed that almost all houses reserve at least a single room or a couple of rooms which are floored with mud. There were primarily two reasons for this; one, that the cow dung was easily available and second, the tribals continue

to perform the activity of dehusking grains or any other seeds in the *vaan*, which is generally found dug at a central place into the mud floor.

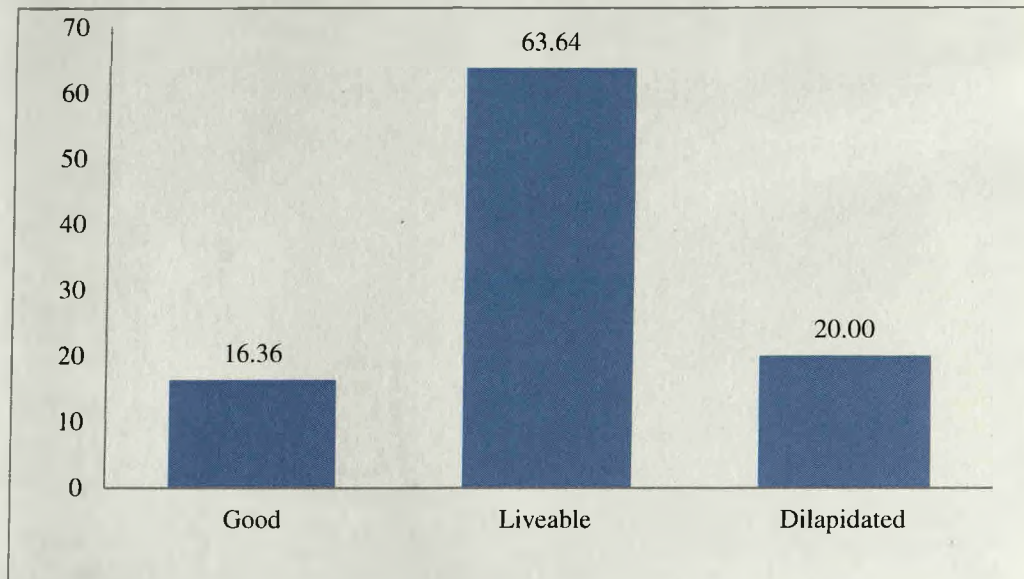
It is also significant to understand the new housing pattern in terms of the number of rooms possessed by the families.

Table 5.4

Houses with no. of rooms

Village	Ward/ hamlet	No. of rooms		
		1 to 5	6 to 10	11 to 15
Cotigao	Baddem	16	24	03
	Pansulemol	23	20	04
Gaondongrem	Bharsa	23	23	02
	Kinalkatta	13	13	--
Total		75	80	9

It is quite an obvious fact that the preference of the families to the number of rooms has declined with the reduction in the size of the family. In fact, one comes across instances, wherein there may be more than two or three divided families residing under one common house roof. It goes without saying that the institution of joint family has completely withered away. Table 5.4 indicates only nine household having a composition of room of more than eleven. As housing schemes are immensely appealing the tribal masses, it is crucial to understand the status of housing condition at this juncture.

Figure 5.4**Condition of houses**

Houses having good and liveable condition altogether amount to nearly eighty percent of the total houses. It is thus ample clear from the figure 5.4 that there is a substantial improvement in the condition of houses in the different hamlets of Gaondongrem and Cotigao. Houses in the dilapidated condition, as seen in figure are those, which are generally made of mud, i.e. twenty per cent of the houses, are made of mud.

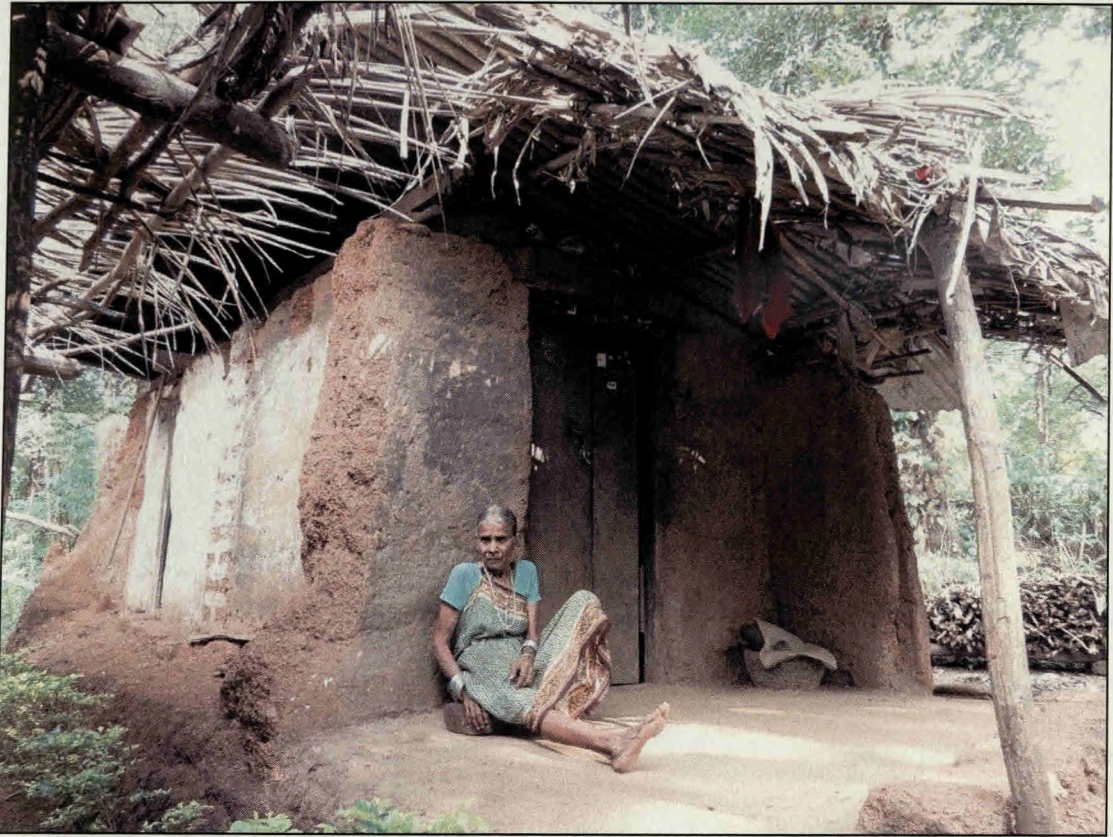
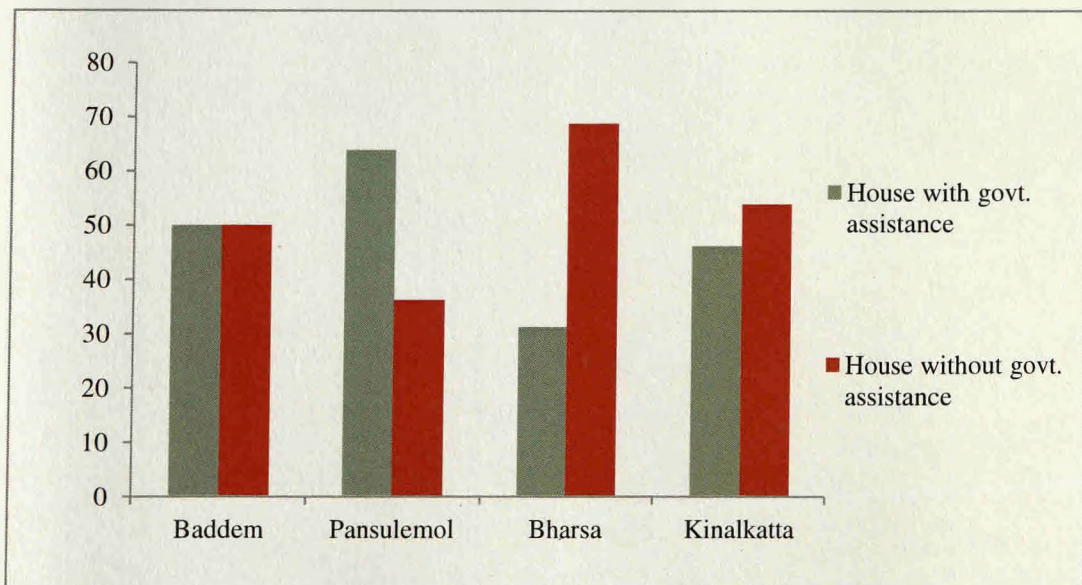


Photo 5.5: A *katchha* (mud) house

Figure 5.5 demonstrates the number of houses with and without government assistance for housing.

Figure 5.5

Assistance for house construction



Until now, schemes such as Indira Awas Yojana, and the Rajiv Awas Yojana were predominantly used by the Velips for house construction and house repair. The beneficiaries of these schemes were basically those belonging to Below Poverty Line (BPL) strata. Figure 5.5 demonstrates a mixed response of the community to housing programmes. It is observed that nearly fifty per cent of the houses have not availed any benefit of any housing schemes. The hamlets of Kinalkatta and Bharsa have not completely remained dependent on the government housing benefits. In Kinalkatta, 53.84 per cent and in Bharsa 68.75 per cent of the houses have not availed any housing benefit. The disparity observed in availing the benefits of the schemes clearly reveal that the welfare programmes have not reached the tribal masses to a desired extent. However, to improve upon the housing situation of the tribals in the State, the Department of Tribal Welfare has floated a new scheme, exclusively for the tribals in the direction for undertaking repair and construction of new houses. This scheme is known as Atal Asra Yojana (AAY). Tribal housing has received a positive motivation from the scheme.



Photo 5.6: A *pakka* house

It is learnt that those families, which have not availed of any housing benefits, too have forwarded their proposals for the purpose of house construction and repair. Many such claims have yet to be settled by the government. Problems such as improper and inadequate records, lack of knowledge of procedures, illiteracy, slow pace of administrative works, lack of coordination between local representatives and officials, etc. have resulted in non-settlement of the proposals.

Table 5.5 highlights the amount received as assistance for house repair and house construction.

Table 5.5
Assistance for house construction (in rupees)

Village	Ward/ hamlet	Upto 10,000	10,001 to 20,000	20,001 to 30,000	30,001 to 40,000	40,001 to 50,000	50,001 to 60,000	60,001 to 70,000	70,001 to 80,000
Cotigao	Baddem	4.55	9.09	9.09	54.55	4.55	13.64	--	4.55
	Pansulemol	6.67	20	50	20	3.33	--	--	--
Gaondongrem	Bharsa	13.33	40	13.33	26.67	--	6.67	--	--
	Kinalkatta	33.33	25	8.33	25	--	8.33	--	--
Total		11.39	21.52	25.32	31.65	2.53	6.33	--	1.27

Table 5.5 provides a tentative structure of the amount received by families. It is observed that many families have enjoyed the benefit up to an amount of rupees forty thousand, while a very less number of families have availed benefit of more than forty thousand rupees. The rationale behind such an imbalanced situation is because of the disbursement procedures, wherein the allotment of money is done in stages. Hence, it is expected that many more families are likely to receive the total benefit of the schemes in the near future. Another reason for such a variation probably could be the nature of assistance asked for. The assistance for house construction is normally higher than the assistance asked for house repair.

Problems of housing

Residing in the hillside invites a number of challenges to tribal lives. Movement within the settlement involves physical climbing and descending the hilly area. The terrain appearing settlement does not permit for any vehicular means of transport, as the landscape cannot be developed for roads. The villagers therefore cannot have direct access to their houses with the help of their vehicles. The tribals therefore, have to pull or lift their things of utility such as the crop produce and other kinds of props or assets over their heads or shoulders. Any outsider coming on his maiden visit to the

settlement perhaps encounters this situation a challenging one. Government officials appointed for surveying such localities face hindrances of collecting household information as they find difficult to commute the hillsides. This is rather not true in the case of the Velips, as they do not feel the pressure of commuting as their daily life entails frequent walking movement along the hillside. Not many complain of the topography of the settlement, which virtually makes movement difficult in the area.

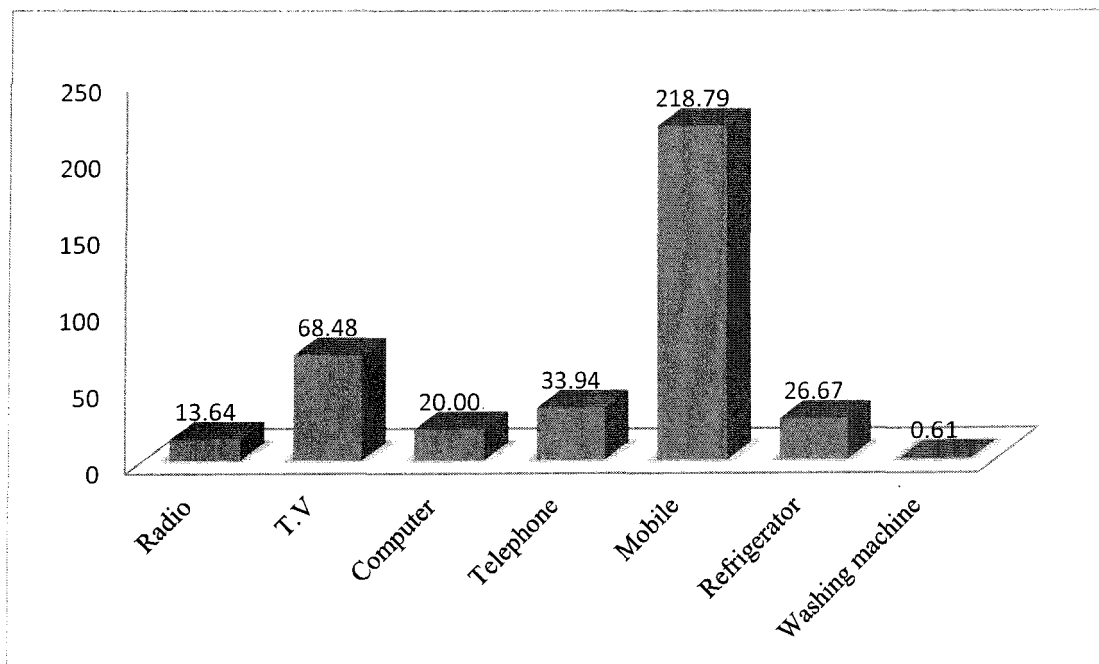
House Assets

As housing condition of the tribes is manifesting progress to a considerable extent, there is also a concomitant steady enhancement in the possession and use of modern assets.

Figure 5.6 indicates the household assets owned by the community.

Figure 5.6

Household assets owned



The tribal society is gradually getting adjusted to modern gadgets in recent times. Old electronic gadget such as radio is becoming extinct, while the television sets and mobiles are becoming friendlier amongst the Velips. Sixty eight percent of

the houses possess television sets, only twenty seven per cent have refrigerators, thirty four per cent of the individuals have telephone sets, i.e. one among three families possess a television. The use of washing machines among the tribals has found a total disfavor, i.e. in absolute numbers there is a single household possessing a washing machine. One probable important reason for not possessing the washing machines is attributed to the water related problems in the region. However, what is interesting to note is the possession of mobile phones; i.e. on an average, a household possessed at least two mobile sets. In addition to these household assets owned, the Velips are also not lagged behind in possessing automobiles too.

Transportation in tribal areas

The villagers date the private transport system to have started in the year 1977. However, the public transport system started in 1981. Some villagers recollect the *karret*, a mode of transportation used prior to 1977 and particularly, during the colonial period. Even after more than fifty years of liberation, the tribal areas encounter a major hindrance with the transportation system. Though there has been an improvement in the quality of roads in the recent years, the situation is not true throughout. The hamlets of Pansulemol and other hamlets not included in the study are yet to witness the dawn of roads. Also, the hamlets which have road connectivity cannot enjoy access to transport facility, and have to walk a few miles. The poor performance of the public transport service is yet another problem that is persistent in these villages. Though the introduction of road transport system is old by some thirty years, the villagers have to walk miles to catch the nearest bus service. The hamlets of Kerim, Nadkem and Pansulemol are the worst affected areas in the Cotigao village, as there is neither a road network nor a transport system. To overcome with the given

situation many tribal families have tried to resolve their personal worries by owning their personal vehicles.

Figure 5.7

Type of automobiles

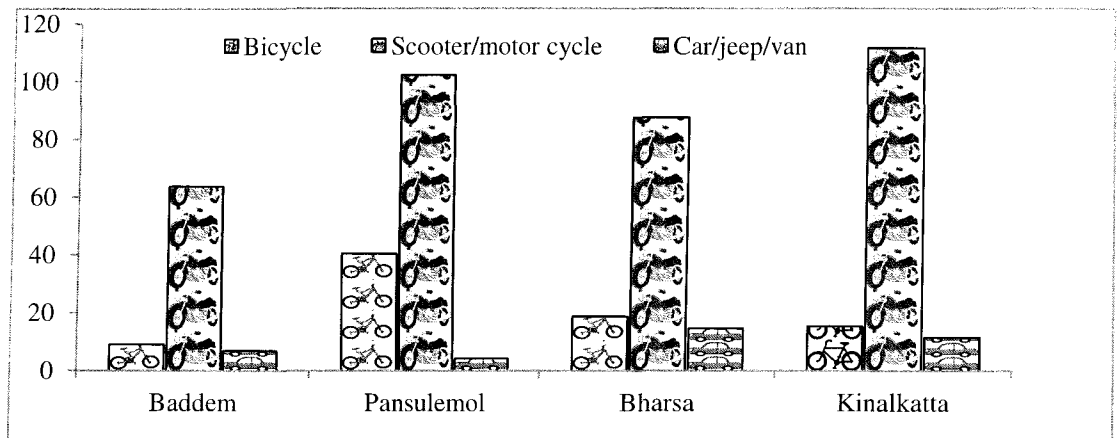
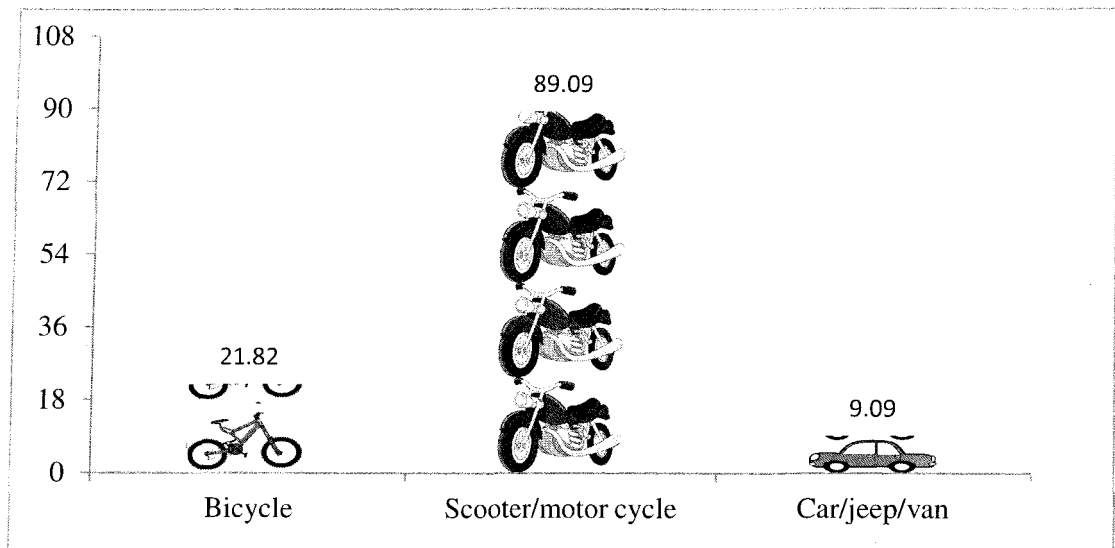


Figure 5.7 highlights many tribal families preferring a scooter or a motor cycle to a bicycle or a four-wheeler. One of the prime constraints encountered by almost all tribal hamlets is the hill topography, which makes transportation difficult for four wheelers and heavy weight vehicles. The situation is even more challenging in areas of the Cotigao Wild Life Sanctuary. The tribals are compelled to overcome such problems with the help of a two-wheeler rather than a bicycle or a four-wheeler.

Figure 5.8 makes it ample clear the preference of two wheelers over other vehicles.

Figure 5.8

Overall possession of automobiles



Overall, there are almost ninety per cent of the tribal families using the two-wheeler automobiles (scooters and motor bikes). A very few community members have come to own four wheelers, and their affordability is steadily increasing among them. The use of bicycles is very less as the terrains are not user friendly for biking, the tribals prefer walking instead.

As there is an improvement in the housing standards, the in house arrangements of facilities such as toilets was also examined. It was found that the families that possessed toilets had avoided constructing them inside their houses. The toilets were constructed at a few metres away from their houses.

Table 5.6 highlights the number of houses with latrine (government and private) and the nature of condition.

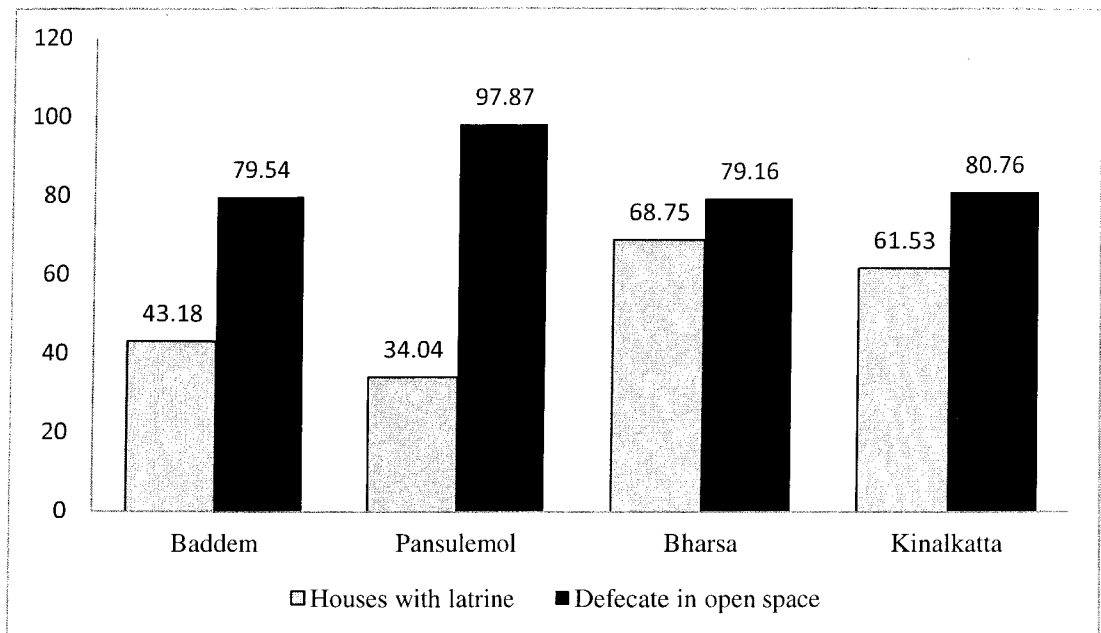
Table 5.6**Latrine facility (government/private) and nature of condition**

Village	Ward/ hamlet	Houses with latrine	Nature of assistance			
			Under government scheme		Private	
			Working condition	Non working condition	Working condition	Non working condition
Cotigao	Baddem	43.18	47.37	36.84	26.31	--
	Pansulemol	34.04	50	50	--	--
Gaondongrem	Bharsa	68.75	72.73	15.15	15.15	--
	Kinalkatta	61.53	81.25	6.25	18.75	--
Total		50.90	64.29	25	15.47	--

According to table 5.6, 51 per cent of the houses were found with latrine facility. More than 60 per cent of the houses in the hamlet of Bharsa and Kinalkatta owned toilets. The tribal families living in Pansulemol and Bharsa have not shown a good response to the construction of toilets, probably because these settlements have easy and nearby access to the forest areas or open spaces, and hence were not stimulated to construct a toilet. A very few number of families have constructed toilets without government support. Nearly 25 per cent of toilets provided by the government were found in non-working condition.

Figure 5.9 presents a comparison between those families having toilet facility and the associated defecatory practices.

Figure 5.9

Latrine facility and defecation practices

Another insignificant thing noticed was a large number of members defecating in the open spaces, i.e., more than 80 per cent of the households were found defecating in the open spaces. They persist with the age-old habits of defecating out in the open space, and thereby do not avail the latrine facility provided by the government or even on their personal behalf. There are also instances where the villagers even after possessing the toilets in their premises continue to defecate in the open spaces. It was found that the elders in the families are prone more to the habit of visiting places away from their houses for defecation. The other reasons sighted for not possessing the toilets was the scarcity of water in the area. For instance, the hamlets in Pansulemol and Bharsa face water paucity in the region. Some tribal families have not received the benefit of owning government toilet facility on account of administrative difficulties. It is learnt that some families have forwarded their proposals for asking toilet facilities from the government as many as three to four times. However, given the fact that not all households have toilet facility, efforts have

to made in providing toilet facilities to all households. Furthermore, the members in particular the elders have to be educated of the ill effects of defecation in open spaces. The government in this direction has launched a mission to provide toilets to all in the next five years. To this effect a book has been released recently by the Ministry of Panchayati Raj on elementary sanitation in gram panchayats. The book says 65 per cent of the rural people practice open defecation in the country. It says that human excreta contain huge disease causing pathogens and can enter human system and food through air, flies, fluid, feet, fingers, fields, animals and motor vehicles. It appeals the representatives and the local officials to end open defecation (The Navhind Times, 2015).

Electricity

Though the villages of Gaondongrem and Cotigao witnessed the introduction of electricity some thirty to forty years back, a few hamlets in these villages received electricity only some fifteen years ago. Experience gained from the field informed that during the first few years the tribals could not afford private connections owing to their poor economic background. Therefore, many families availed subsidised electricity which provided them with only two bulbs connections wherein a household was charged a mere amount of rupees twenty. However, it is only some ten to fifteen years back these families have changed to non-subsidised connections. Given the fact that a majority of houses have been electrified, hamlets in the Cotigao wild life sanctuary continue to remain in darkness. The stringent wild life laws enforced upon the tribals in the wild life zone have forced the tribals to make use of kerosene fuel and solar energy sources. It is learnt that the Department of Tribal Welfare with the help of Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) funds until very recently has decided to provide the hamlets with electricity. In this direction, one of the major projects that has been

commenced in the taluka and in particular the tribal dominated areas is the laying of underground electric cables. The provision of electric cables through an underground network will help reducing problems of recurrent power failures and save a number of trees from being cut. The tribals living in these hamlets are under a constant fear of uprooting of trees especially during the monsoon leading to continuous power failures. The incessant rains with the falling of trees damage the aerial electric wires leaving the hamlets to remain in dark for prolonged periods.

Table 5.7 presents the source of electricity connections in the hamlets.

Table 5.7

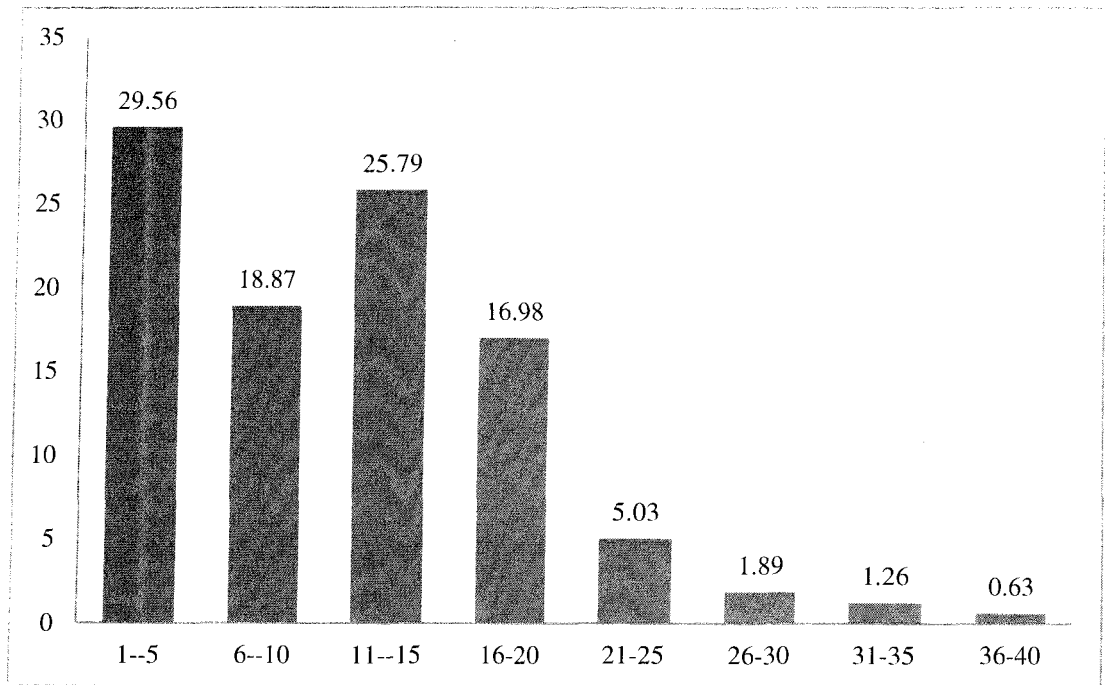
Source of electricity connection

Village	Ward/hamlet	Electricity	Kerosene	Solar
Cotigao	Baddem	100	--	--
	Pansulemol	87.234	12.76	4.25
Gaondongrem	Bharsa	100	--	--
	Kinalkatta	100	--	--

The novel projects entering into the tribal society did not percolate evenly to all sections of the tribal society. It therefore became crucial to look at the electricity connections availed with reference to a particular time period.

Figure 5.10 explains the year of electricity connections availed by the Velip families.

Figure 5.10
Year of electricity connection



It is observed that many households have availed electricity connections during the previous five years. Electrification of houses has picked up active momentum during the last twenty years or so. The increase in the percentages indirectly highlights the fact that there is also an increase in the number of household in the last twenty years, which supposedly supports the spurt of single families and eventual breakdown of the joint family.

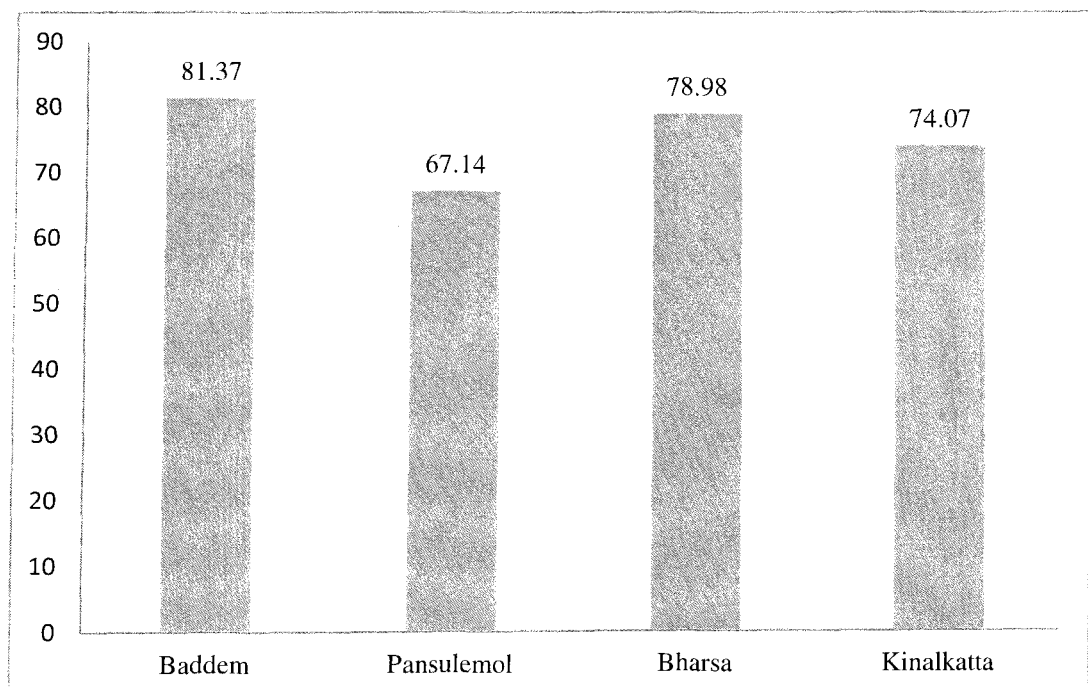
EDUCATION AND THE RISE OF MODERN OCCUPATIONS

Tribal society in India is lagging behind in several quarters. One such area is that of education. However, one finds that only recently they are favourably responding to education. The concern for education has been a major agenda of national and state planning in the post independence period. The problem of illiteracy looms large among the dispriveleged sections of the Indian society, in particular the Scheduled Tribe population. In fact, the dearth of educated youth among the ST's is the major

cause of backwardness among them. They either are found illiterate, or show a very high drop rate or have attained less education. The literate ones have hardly attained education until the primary levels. Rarely, one may come across tribal members achieving professional education or higher learning from colleges and universities. Given this fact, access to free and compulsory modern education in democratic Indian society has wiped away illiteracy to a great extent. The educational scenario in the case of the Velip tribes of Goa reveals satisfactory trends, though there is much more scope for improvement. The Velips are becoming consciously aware of the significance of education in their lives, and also the safeguards which are there at their disposal.

Figure 5.11 explains the literacy rates in the selected hamlets of Gaondongrem and Cotigao.

Figure 5.11
Literacy



Note: Age group 1-6 years not considered

While the overall literacy rate of our country has advanced from 64.8 per cent (2001) to 73 per cent (2011), the Scheduled Tribes recorded a literacy rate of only 59 per cent. Goa registered a literacy rate of 88.70 per cent. An equally healthy literacy rate of 84.68 is recorded in the taluka of Canacona. Lagging not much far behind, a fair amount of literacy rate is recorded among the tribals in the hamlets. That is, the average literacy rate of all the four hamlets is 75.26 per cent. These fair indices of literacy rates are attributed to the provision of schools in the areas, mainly the primary schools. Invariably, all major hamlets have primary schools within their settlement areas. The schools operating in these areas are government primary schools. The village of Cotigao has a government high school, while in Gaondongrem there are two high schools, one belonging to the state government and the other to a private body. In addition to the primary and secondary schools in the region every small hamlet has kindergarden (*balwadi/anganwadi*) run by Integrated Child Development Council (ICDS), Government of Goa. The establishment of *anganwadi* schools in the different hamlets has served as a big motivation to youngsters in accepting and continuing education. The *anganwadis* have been largely instrumental in giving a boost to literacy in the tribal areas. Under adult literacy campaign, some of the villagers 35 to 40 years back attended night classes, which helped them to acquire some elementary writing skills.

Table 5.8 demonstrates the literacy rate between males and females in the selected hamlets.

Table 5.8**Literacy rates for males and females**

Ward/ hamlet	No. of persons	Total no. of literate	%	No. of literates			
				Males	%	Females	%
Baddem	247	201	81.37	111	55.22	90	44.77
Pansulemol	280	188	67.14	117	62.23	71	37.76
Bharsa	258	203	78.98	111	54.67	92	45.32
Kinalkatta	162	120	74.07	67	55.83	53	44.16
Total	947	712	75.26	406	57.02	306	42.97

Note: Age group 1-6 years not considered

All hamlets in the villages of Gaondongrem and Cotigao indicate more male literate members than the females. Though the difference between them is not very high in the hamlets, the Pansulemol ward shows a bigger variation on account of the location of the settlement and the concomitant hardships encountered by the tribals. However, it was observed that the literacy rates have improved only in recent years.

**Photo 5.7: An Anganwadi**

Though the problem of illiteracy is not a major issue among the Velips, it became pertinent to understand the nuances of the problem in the hamlets chosen for the study.

The table 5.9 makes clear the problem of illiteracy prevailing among men and women.

Table 5.9

Illiteracy

Ward/ hamlet	No. of persons	Total no. of illiterates	%	No. of illiterates			
				Males	%	Females	%
Baddem	276	46	16.66	18	39.13	28	60.86
Pansulemol	312	92	29.48	34	36.95	58	63.04
Bharsa	289	55	19.03	19	34.54	36	65.45
Kinalkatta	180	42	23.33	14	33.33	28	66.66
Total	1057	235	22.23	85	36.17	150	63.82

Table 5.9 indicates a total illiteracy of 22.23 per cent. The corresponding illiteracy rates of the different hamlets do not show bigger variations, except the hamlet of Pansulemol recording an illiteracy rate of 29.48 per cent. The possible reasons for such a variation in Pansulemol is due to its isolated location, transportation problems, no proper road network and the absence of primary school during the first three decades of establishment of the hamlet. The hamlet now has a government primary school and an *anganwadi*, and has brought a great relief to the families. Nevertheless, the villagers face constraints of completing their secondary education. The nearest school is at a distance of four kilometers and invites hardships

of walking especially during the rainy season. The villagers encountered these problems during the first three decades after settling down at Pansulemol. Of late, however, the village is provided with an *anganwadi* and a government primary school. Nevertheless, the problem persists as they have to move to the neighbouring hamlet to perceive secondary education. The villagers come across the problem of crossing rivulets especially, during the monsoons. Taking note of the adversities of absence of transport system, long walking distances and adversities encountered during the rainy season, many parents are compelled to send their children to residential schools, students' guesthouses, boardings and to houses of their relatives. The younger generations no longer remain in their homes uneducated. The problem of illiteracy however, gets noticed among those who belong to the higher age groups.

Table 5.9 also indicates a big variation of illiteracy rates between men and women. All tribal hamlets have recorded an illiteracy rate of more than sixty per cent among women, while the men show illiteracy rates below forty per cent.

Tribal outlook towards education

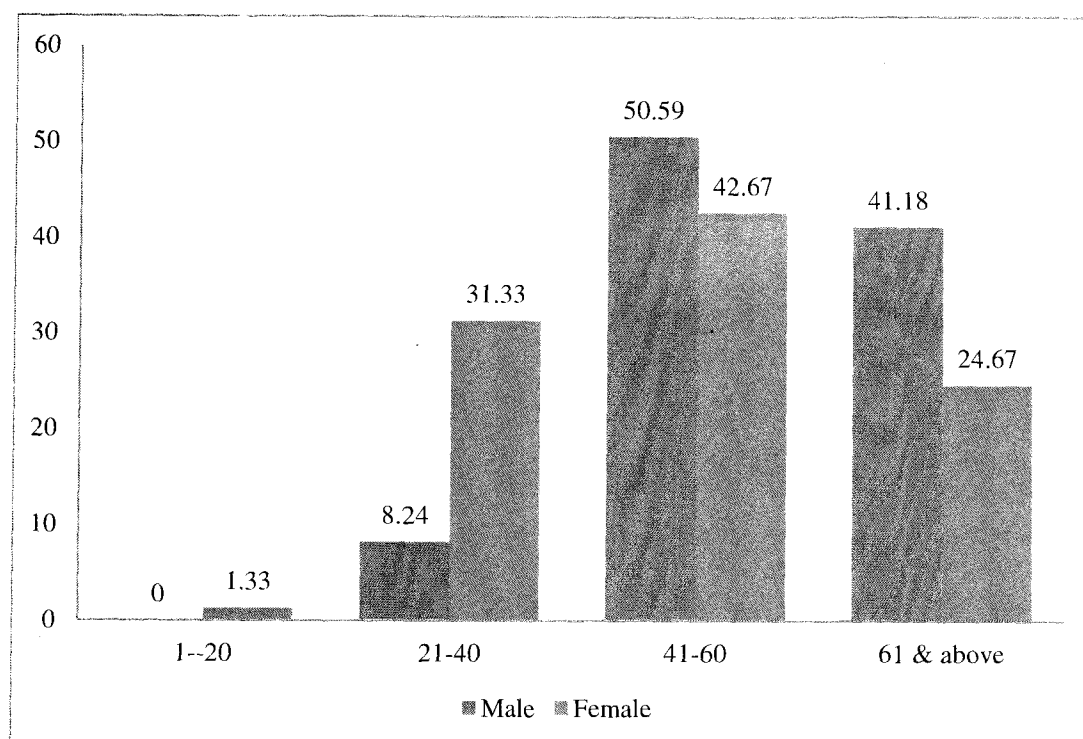
The Velip community remained ignorant of not realizing the importance of education in their lives for a very long time. The impulsion to receive education nevertheless started with the commencement of government schools in the tribal dominated regions. Until then, the need of acquiring education away from the village was barely felt necessary. The young members also did not receive enough persuasion from the elders to join schooling. Work became a part of their life since childhood. Irrespective of the age and sex, all members were engaged in small and big domestic tasks. While parents were mainly engaged in agricultural pursuits, the task of grazing the cattle was given to the children at a very early age. The size of the family also mattered limiting the choice of many to pursue education. The average size of a single tribal family was

relatively big compared to the modern day Velip family. By and large, every single couple would have five to six children. Whenever the parents got busy in performing tasks away from their homes, the responsibility of taking care of their young siblings rested on their elder children. These early tasking forced many of them to remain illiterate throughout their lives.



Photo 5.8: Shouldering early responsibility

With the introduction of a few schools in the villages, initially many families developed a hostile outlook to education. When the teachers carried informal outreach programmes of creating awareness of motivating them to join schools, there were incidents of some parents forcibly hiding their children inside their homes. At the interest shown by the children, their parents would shout at them declining their concern for education. Such instances explain the primacy given to domestic tasks over education during the early days.

Figure 5.12**Age wise illiteracy of males and females**

The figure 5.12 indicates a more number of female illiterates than the males, i.e. almost 63.83 per cent of the illiterates are females, while only 36.17 per cent of males are illiterate members. While females showed high illiteracy in all age groups, illiteracy among members in the age group of one to twenty was, absent for males, while for females it was negligible i.e. only two members from the Pansulemol ward have remained illiterate. What was more striking is the female illiteracy in the age group of 21 to 40, which is almost four times more than the males. The figures in fact, explain a positive outlook of the tribals to education, especially among the youth. It is obvious from figure 5.12 that the problem of illiteracy has not been a matter of concern during the past twenty years or so. However, the problem actually manifests in greater degrees for twenty years and beyond, and in retrospect.

Though education is welcomed by the community during the last twenty years, it became pertinent to look at the levels of education achieved by them.

Table 5.10
Level of education

Ward	No. of literates	Pre primary	Primary	SSC	HSC	Graduation & Above	professional /Vocational
Baddem	215	6.51	27.91	50.70	11.63	1.86	1.40
Pansulemol	203	7.39	17.24	60.10	7.88	5.42	1.97
Bharsa	221	8.60	21.72	54.75	8.60	5.43	0.90
Kinalkatta	129	6.98	31.01	47.29	9.30	5.43	0.00
Total	768	7.42	23.83	53.78	9.38	4.43	1.17

Table 5.10 indicates nearly fifty per cent of the literates who have achieved secondary education. The tribals show a very less preference for post matriculation education. The inclination of pursuing post graduate and professional courses also is extremely minimal among the Velips. The vertical educational mobility of the community is hampered due to drop out rates prevailing.

Table 5.11
Dropouts (sex and level of education)

Ward	No. of literates	No. of dropouts	%	Primary			Secondary		
				M	F	T	M	F	T
Baddem	215	68	31.62	21	13	34	10	24	34
Pansulemol	203	65	32.01	16	08	24	21	20	41
Bharsa	221	77	34.84	13	15	28	29	20	49
Kinalkatta	129	46	35.65	11	10	21	14	11	25
Total	768	256	33.33	61	46	107	74	75	149

It is noticed from table 5.11 that the number of dropouts is more at the secondary level than the primary. Secondly, the number of male dropouts was higher than the number of female dropouts during primary education. However, at the secondary level there was no much-felt difference. Reasons generally cited for such a higher dropout rates are illness of elderly members, untimely death of parents, exorbitant household work, less encouragement from parents, poor economic condition, livelihood challenges, disinterest in education, recurrent failures in examination, distant location of schools, geographical barriers, and many more. Though the problem of literacy has fallen in place due to compulsory and free education, the problem of dropouts continue in tribal areas.

Strengthening the educational base

Considering the multiple constraints faced by the community, the Ministry of Tribal Welfare, Government of Goa has started a residential school (ashram school) named as Balaram High School for the Scheduled Tribe children in the taluka of Canacona. Hostels for school as well as college going boys and girls are playing an important role in extending help and support especially for the tribal children. Mataji Mandir in the municipal area and Parshuram Vasatigriha in the village of Poigunim are hostels for the boys. Kanya Vasatigriha is a sole hostel for the girls in the village of Loliem. The problem of commuting the long walking distances is largely resolved by these institutions. However, the larger question that needs to be addressed is the strengthening of education among the tribal members.

It is interesting to note that modern education has been received by many individuals as first generation learners. Given the fact that education has been well accepted by the community, yet a lot has to be done to take education to their doorsteps. Alongside, it is also important to address the issue of quality education

with adequate infrastructural arrangements. The Government primary schools face the problem of inadequate number of teachers, not meeting an adequate student teacher ratio. Many such schools are handled by a single teacher, thereby overlooking the norms of class strength. The infrastructural arrangements also seem to appear poor, inadequate, and not updated in standards. The *anganwadis* in particular should be given a different face-lift. Thus, a stiff competition is observed between Government schools and private and residential schools. Student enrolment in many government schools is drastically going down year after year. Some government schools are on the verge of closure due to paucity of strength of students. Parents can now decide upon more schooling options for admitting their wards in the schools.

Notwithstanding the shortcomings taking place in the domain of education, education per se has made the tribals to become more conscious of achieving mobility in the domain of work.

Table 5.12 depicts the process of migration taking place among the tribal members.

Table 5.12**Migration**

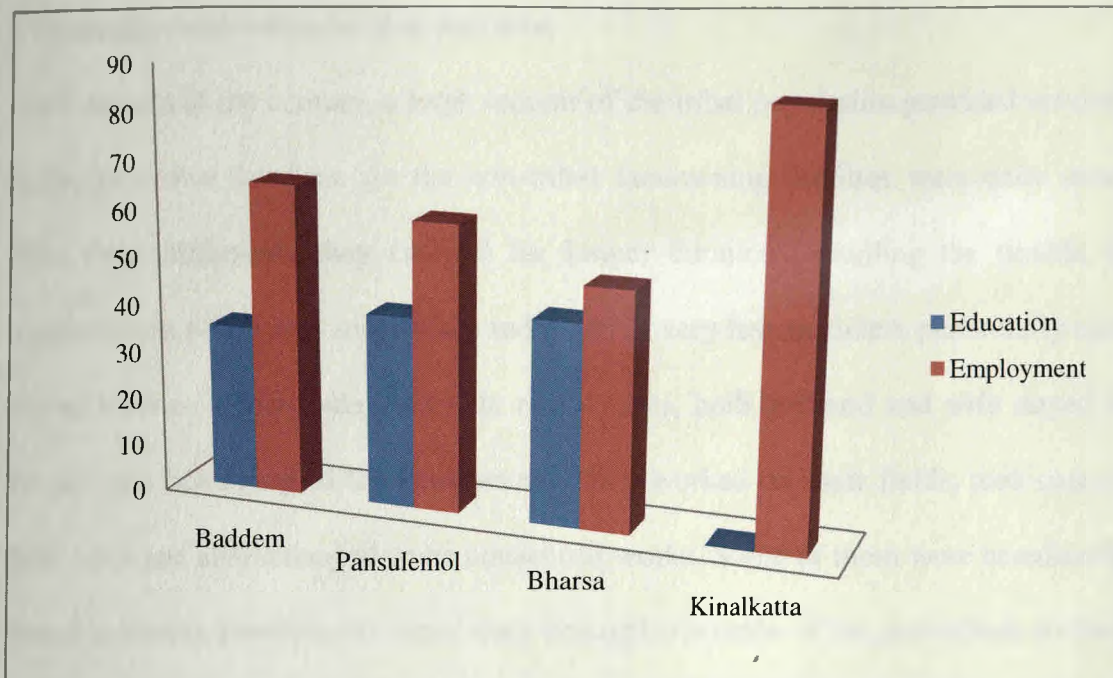
Ward	No. of persons	No. of persons migrated		Place of migration				
		No.	%	Outside the ward/In the village	Outside the village/in the taluka	Outside the taluka	Outside the state	Abroad
Baddem	276	26	9.42	--	15	10	01	--
Pansulemol	312	50	16.02	03	34	12	01	--
Bharsa	289	26	8.99	--	07	18	01	--
Kinalkatta	180	08	4.44	--	02	06	--	--
Total	1057	110	10.40	03	58	46	03	--

It is clear from table 5.12 that the process of migration is just in its initial stages, with only a ten per cent of members moving away from the hamlets. Of these, nearly fifty per cent have left their hamlets and moved outside their villages. About 42 per cent of them have migrated outside the taluka. The number of individuals migrated from the Pansulemol ward is more as compared to the other hamlets, chiefly because of absence of primary necessities and the absence of roads and transport system in the region.

Figure 5.13 provides details of the purpose of migration among the members of the tribal families.

Figure 5.13

Purpose of migration



After having a look at the migration rate and subsequent place of migration, it was found that the education and employment motivated the process of migration. However, employment was the chief reason for the members migrating to different places. Nearly 37 per cent of the persons migrated for pursuing education away from the settlements. It was found that the younger generation who migrated away from their settlements had taken admission in residential schools. There was no single person from Kinalkatta who moved away for education; probably because the hamlet has a well-recognized private school, on the contrary the persons who migrated from Kinalkatta for employment purpose were greater as compared to the other hamlets. On an average almost 61 per cent of the total migrated persons had taken to employment away from their respective hamlets. The migrated members were found paying visits to their villages particularly during agricultural works, some family occasions as well as some village rituals. Sarkar (2001) mentions of two important facets in the socio-cultural life of any tribal. One, for practicing agriculture and their tremendous

psychological attachment to participate in traditional ritual practices, and second, for receiving urban facilities and cash earnings in the towns.

The employment scenario then and now

Until the turn of the century, a large section of the tribal population provided services to the non-tribal families. As the non-tribal landowning families were quite away from their settlements they camped for longer durations avoiding the trouble of transportation which was inadequate and poor. A very few members particularly men visited them on a day-to-day basis. In many cases, both husband and wife stayed in the property belonging to the landowners. They worked on their fields, took care of their cattle and also managed some household works. Some of them were hereditarily bound to certain families. At times, they brought the cattle of the non-tribals to their villages, as these areas were rich in pastoral grounds. In return for their services, the tribals received a share of grains in kind. The non-tribal families of late are finding a great difficulty due to non-availability of workmanship from their traditionally bound tribal families.



Photo 5.9: Father barbering his son

The community hardly rely on the services of specialised occupational caste groups. An interesting thing noticed during the course of fieldwork is the proficiency and autonomy developed by the Velips in the field of carpentry, masonry and also to some extent barbery. On the researcher's visit to one of the houses, the father was seen engaged in hair cutting of his son. Every tribal hamlet had at least two or three families preparing articles made out of bamboo and cane.

These families make articles ranging from a small cradle to the every day-to-day items brought in use in their domestic lives. The elders informed that this traditional skill of working with bamboo or cane was present in almost all families; however, in recent times there is a sharp decline in the art form. One of the common practices prevalent among the community was the making of the *mandri* (mat) made of leaves of coconut and palm leaves. This household art form has fallen down drastically among the families; they now make use of synthetic mats from the market. The work habits, capacities and interests of the Velips have greatly declined with the influx of government facilities and rise in education. One of the primary reasons leading to a sharp decline in the traditional art forms is a gradual rise in secondary occupations among tribal members.



Photo 5.10: A Velip cane artist in action

The contemporary Velip society is witnessing a trend of increasing engagement of members in modern heterogeneous occupations. By and large, the community members have discarded their traditional occupational culture. The achievement of education and access to multiple avenues of work opportunities has led to an occupational transition taking place among them. Improvement in the means of transport and the nearness to the towns has opened up possibilities for many young educated tribal members to pursue diversified occupations. Thus, while on one side of the spectrum there is swift acceptance of modern occupations, the situation seems to be gloomy at the other end. The contradiction arises as a result of some tribes still clinging on to their traditional occupations. The fact of the matter is that these tribals hitherto remain detached from the mainstream society primarily due to geographical isolation with no any means of connectivity. They are thereby forced to remain away

from non-traditional occupations. Remaining isolated also means that they have remained educationally backward and do not aspire to move away from their hamlets.

Table 5.13 provides information on households participating in secondary occupations.

Table 5.13

Household participation in supporting occupations

Village	Ward	No. of houses	Participation in supporting occupations	
			No.	%
Cotigao	Baddem	44	43	97.72
	Pansulemol	47	45	95.74
Gaondongrem	Bharsa	48	44	91.66
	Kinalkatta	26	23	88.46
Total		165	154	93.33

Table 5.13 explains a predominant participation of households in secondary occupations, i.e. 93 per cent of the households were involved in secondary occupations. Table 5.14 elucidate male and female participation in supporting occupations.

Table 5.14**Sex wise participation of individuals in supporting occupations**

Village	Ward	No. of persons	Participation in supporting occupations			
			Males	%	Females	%
Cotigao	Baddem	276	71	25.72	08	2.89
	Pansulemol	312	92	29.45	23	7.37
Gaondongrem	Bharsa	289	60	20.76	14	4.84
	Kinalkatta	180	36	20.00	13	7.22
Total		1057	259	24.50	58	5.48

There are almost 30 per cent of individuals participating in secondary occupations. However, there appears a big disparity in terms of male and female work participation rate. The male participation ratio is more than four times higher the female participation ratio. The lesser participation rate among the females is attributed to their engagement in domestic and agricultural works. Given the moderate educational status of members in the selected hamlets, the study revealed that many members were found engaged in petty jobs for daily wages. A very few members are able to get government jobs, whereas the larger chunk is absorbed in doing private work. Those who are into government jobs are placed in very low profile positions such as gramsevaks, clerks, electricity linemen, constables, drivers, conductors, forest and excise guards, life guards, home guards, watchmen, postman, *anganwadi* teachers, firemen, Public Works Department (PWD) pump operators, etc.

As agriculture and cashew are seasonal activities, men and women are left with no work for some time periods. These individuals take to part time or seasonal

employment or many a times work for daily wages. They render their services for manual works in shops, factories, hotels, plantations, as assistants in masonry, carpentry and other works. The Velip men as well as women feel contented to labour for a wage than to remain tied up to his domestic works. Ghosh (2008) refers to this as an increasing casualisation of workforce on a piece rate basis created by the process of globalisation. What is rather disturbing is the fact that labouring for a daily wage has become attractive and more stimulating than to work for the domestic traditional domain, i.e. in agriculture and cashew plantation. Tribal members who do not find absorbed in any permanent occupations provide their services for forestry. The Department of Forest offers members of these families with fifteen to twenty days of work at least once in a quarterly for undertaking forests works near to their respective settlement areas. A member is paid a daily wage of rupees two hundred and twenty one. Forestlands in the adjoining tribal settlement areas that provide some scope for afforestation are selected and allotted for tribal families to take up new plantation of forest trees. These families are further entrusted to take care of such plantations for a minimum period of three years.

A few villagers have left serving as casual labourers as they are now increasingly engaged in their domestic works such as agriculture and cashew. Also due to their involvement in house duties and less strength of members to take care of domestic chores, they have stopped taking casual work. Due to engagement in secondary occupations some families let their lands on lease for cultivation.

Industrial development in the taluka of Canacona is miserably low as compared to the rest of the talukas in the State. One of the grievances of the people of Canacona is that they have been denied the benefits of industrialisation, which has brought prosperity to other regions and generated employment (Keni, 2007).

Industrial employment is minimal owing to the less number of industrial outfits. There is a sole industrial estate in the taluka at Shristal controlled by the Goa Industrial Development Corporation (GIDC). The factories registered under the factories act, 1948 that are in operation are only four, employing a mere figure of only fifty-four average number of daily workers. There are a total of 163 of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSME) employing an average number of 983 daily workers (Directorate of Planning, Statistics & Evaluation, 2014).

One of the areas, which have created a demand for employment, is the tourism industry. The tourism business becomes active from October to February attracting many youngsters for seasonal employment. The less educated young girls and boys are able to find employment for a daily wage at the most popular destination, Palolem beach in Canacona. They are found working as waiters and room boys. Some assist in kitchen works, housekeeping, while some are also involved in marketing. Temporary cottages called shacks are erected along the coastal line to facilitate stay for the tourists. Many men are also able to find employment in the construction of these shacks before the start of the winter season.

CULTIVATION: METHODS AND PRACTICES

Agriculture: a mainstream occupation

With not much diversification that has taken place in the occupational domain, the Velips continue to be recognised as primarily a farming community. Singh (1994) mentions that more than 87 per cent of the tribal workers are engaged in the primary sector of the economy, of which a majority are cultivators (54.43 per cent) followed by agricultural labourers (32.67). In the year 1961, 58 per cent of the total working population in Goa was engaged in agriculture. The figures drastically declined when in the year 2001 with only 16 per cent were engaged in agriculture (Almeida, 2013, p.

409). Given this rather dissatisfactory trend of work, participation in agriculture in the State, one can witness an altogether different facet of work participation in some villages of Canacona. Invariably, all families in the selected hamlets of Gaondongrem and Cotigao are cultivators. Agriculture in Gaondongrem and Cotigao is monsoon fed. The tribal families make use of their entire plots for cultivation; there are hardly any instances of lands remaining unused or not cultivated. In fact, agriculture continues to serve as the mainstream occupation of the community.

Table 5.15 presents the distribution of ST cultivators in the different talukas of Goa.

Table 5.15

Scheduled Tribe cultivators in Goa

Taluka	ST population	No. of cultivators	% of cultivators
Canacona	13657	3535	25.88
Quepem	25290	2158	8.53
Sanguem	14290	791	5.53
Ponda	27599	573	2.07
Tiswadi	18785	486	2.58
Salcete	32562	378	1.16
Mormugao	6870	98	1.42
Sattari	4030	84	2.08
Bicholim	4492	81	1.80
Bardez	1654	20	1.20
Pernem	46	04	8.69

Source: Census of India 2011

As indicated in table 5.15 despite the fact that the ST population in Canacona is much lesser in absolute numbers than the talukas of Salcete, Ponda, Quepem, Tiswadi, and Sanguem, it has the highest number of cultivators. Almost one fourth of the ST population is engaged in cultivation. The remaining talukas have negligible proportion of their ST population taking part in cultivation.

Nature of land holdings

One of the predominant features of tribal hamlets in the villages of Gaondongrem and Cotigao, howsoever big or small, is the presence of lands for cultivation within or around their settlement areas. Settlements in the hilly regions have found access to running water from the hills for cultivation, while those in the plain areas rely on the river tributaries. The lands are logically and systematically terraced specifically to allow water enter into them from uplands to low lands depending upon the direction of the source of water. This feature of terracing the land stratifies the agricultural lands into small plots. Each fragmented small land holding is locally referred as '*kungi*' or '*bandi*' by the Velips. Every family or a household may possess several *kungis* or *bandis*. This pattern of segregation of land into small plots is quite different from the pattern in the villages in the district of north Goa, which have quite longer stretches of lands. One of the limitations of not possessing large stretches of land is primarily because the topography of Gaondongrem and Cotigao is more hilly than plain. Secondly, not all plain areas are super flat enough to expand the size of the plots, but have elevations that require land terracing to be done in smaller sizes. Also, the available fertile lands around the settlements are less in number to fit in the requirement of the number of families.

Figure 5.14 provides an idea of the nature of land holdings of the tribal families.

Figure 5.14

Type of land possessed for cultivation

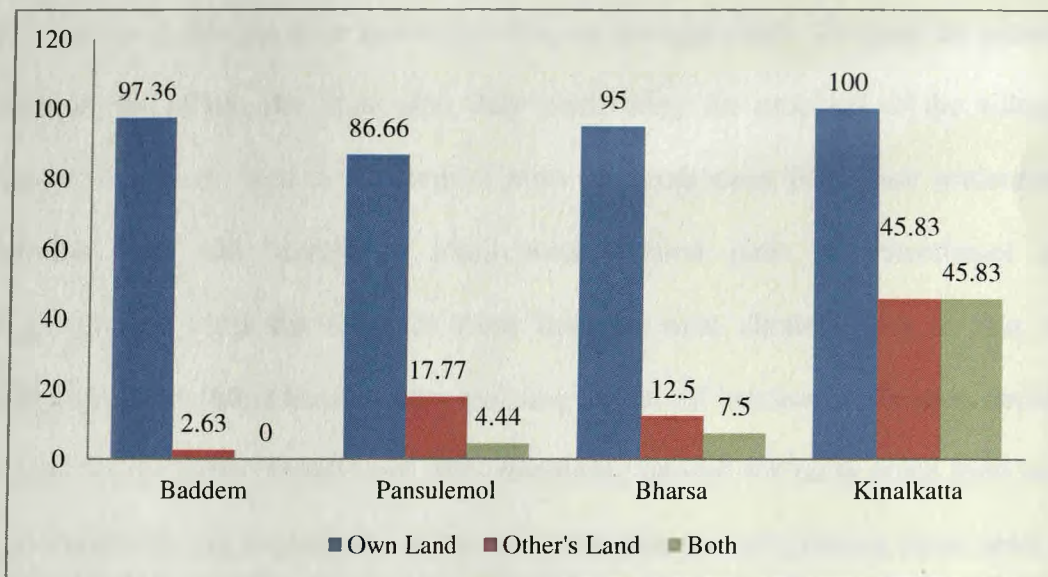


Figure 5.14 clearly suggests a vast majority of tribal households possessing agricultural lands of their own. Invariably, all households own lands for cultivation in Kinalkatta. Though the proportion of households cultivating on other's lands is very small in all hamlets, it is greater in the settlement of Kinalkatta. It goes without saying that the nature of land holdings does not support the growing food requirements of the members. Yet another problem is that the nature of landholdings among the families is getting divided with the splitting of the joint families. Doshi (2005, p.144) in a similar line argues that the main obstacle taking place among the Bhils is the fragmentation of land due to division of property and lack of consolidation of landholdings.

It is learnt that while the tribal families possessed cultivating rights, they do not possess appropriate land records (housing as well as agricultural lands). In the case of divided families, it is observed that the members have just parted with their agricultural lands merely through an oral consent. Now, with the recent introduction of the Forest Right Act (FRA), the tribals are anxiously waiting for their traditional

rights to be transferred in their names. The continuing tussle between the tribals and the forest, and the paucity of lands in the respective settlements compelled the state government to allocate open spaces for carrying out agriculture. To meet the growing needs of the tribals, the State after duly considering the proposal of the villagers decided to allocate land in the form of plots at places away from their settlements. Families from the hamlet of Avali were offered plots at Pansulemol and Morfondamol, while the residents from Baddem were allotted plots at Eda and Saligamol. Some tribal families after realising the far off location of the plots decided to give up the plots. These lands after remaining unused for quite some time were appropriated by the Department of Forest for the purposes of planting forest trees. A few assurances of the State government to allot plots to the tribal families at Manem in Cotigao and other places however were a sheer failure.

What is noteworthy is that the tribal families have gained full ownership rights of the newly allotted plots. The plots allocated at Pansulemol are far away from their original settlement, which is at the place Avali in Cotigao. Soon after the allotment of plots at Pansulemol, these families initially visited on a regular basis to carry out cultivation. Realising the hardships of visiting these new sites often for cultivation purposes, the tribals eventually permanently settled in the plots. This has resulted in the rise of new settlement of the hamlet of Pansulemol. These plots are used for residential as well as for cultivation purposes. Some villagers have not exclusively used them for rice cultivation, but have grown cashew trees, while some have used for bringing up mixed vegetation such as banana, coconut, jackfruit, pineapple and also sugarcane plantation.

Agriculture in tribal areas

By and large the Velips have taken to paddy cultivation. There is also a growing interest among some families for sugarcane plantation.

Table 5.16

Paddy and Sugarcane cultivation

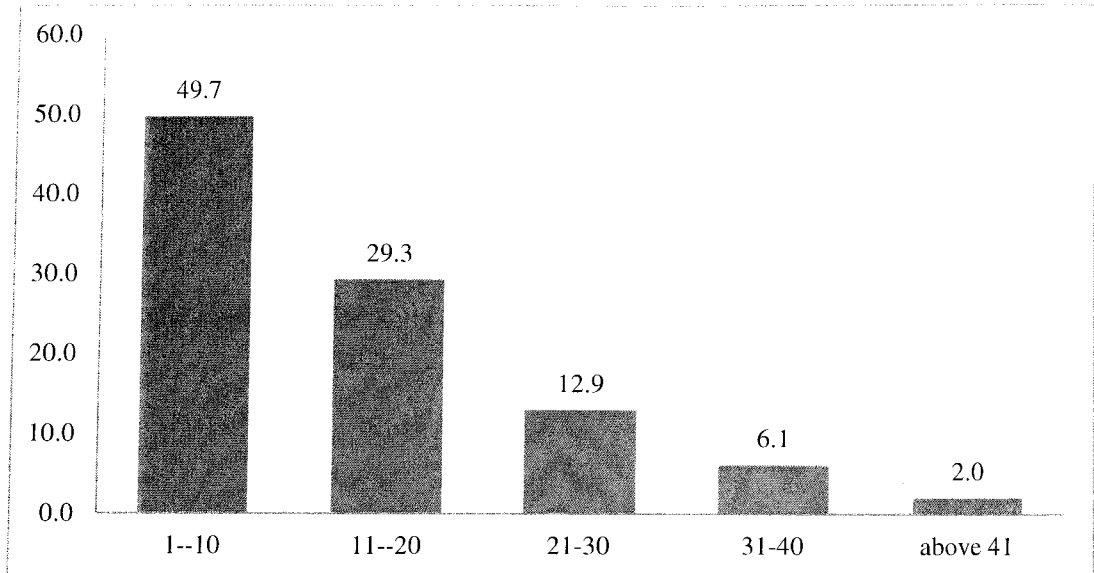
Ward	No. of houses	Paddy		Sugarcane	
		No.	%	No.	%
Baddem	44	38	86.36	05	11.36
Pansulemol	47	45	95.74	04	8.51
Bharsa	48	40	83.33	02	4.16
Kinalkatta	26	24	92.30	--	--
Total	165	147	89.09	11	6.66

The table 5.16 suggests an overwhelming response of the community for paddy production. It is found that nearly ninety per cent of the tribal households in Gaondongrem and Cotigao produce rice. There are also a few families taking part in sugarcane cultivation in the different hamlets with the exception of the Kinalkatta. Sugarcane cultivation is undertaken in the newly allotted plots. The Velips take up a single yield of paddy every year, as the production is solely dependent on the monsoon season. Fields that are dependent solely on the rainwater are called as *morod* (*mordde*). The fields remain dry during the rest part of the year, as there is no development of water irrigation in the areas. Fields located on the banks of river canals are used to grow sugarcane as it facilitates for easy access to water. Lately, the Velips are making use of electric motors to pump water from sources such as river, well and other sources.

Figure 5.15 illustrates production of rice by the households in quintals.

Figure 5.15

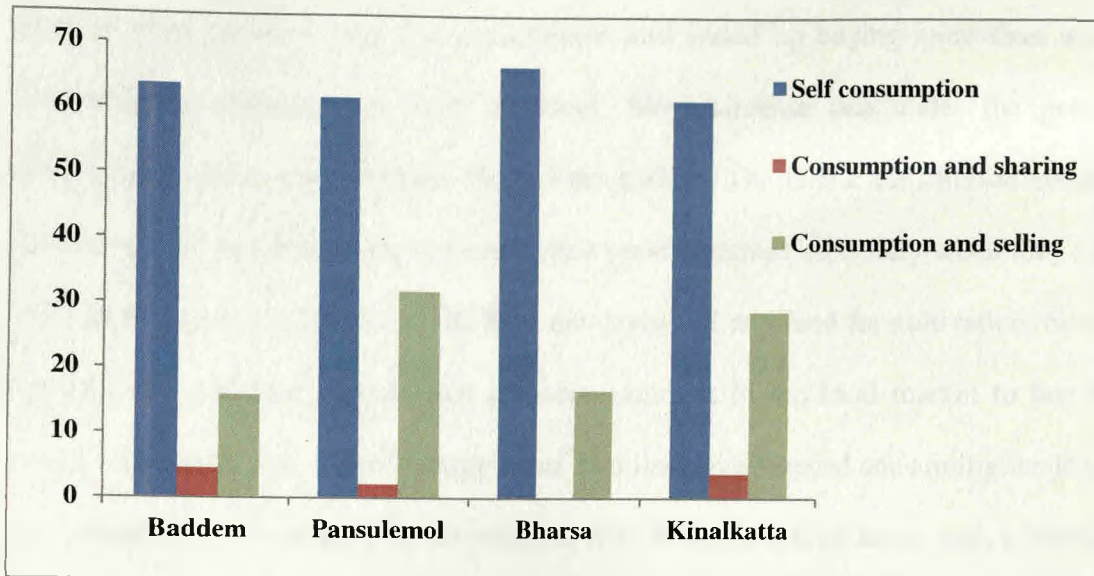
Rice production in quintals



It is observed that nearly 50 per cent of the families produce rice up to ten quintals followed by 29.3 per cent in the range of 11 to 20 quintals. A very few number of families produce more than 20 quintals. As the yield of rice is seen in different degrees across the households, it is important to understand the type of use made by the community.

Figure 5.16

Use of rice cultivation



It is observed from figure 5.16 that a predominant number of families used the rice produce for self-consumption, which is almost 63 per cent. Other than making use for subsistence purpose, only 2.42 per cent families used for consumption as well as for sharing. The tribal families shared their produce with some of their near and distant relatives who generally do not engage in agricultural pursuits, especially with relatives who reside in towns and cities. 22.42 per cent of the households utilised for consumption and for selling purpose. They sell their produce in a nearby place in Gaondongrem to a rice merchant. Many a times they exchange their rice for purchasing items for fulfilling their day-to-day needs. Though some family members have raised separate residences, they jointly undertake cashew and agriculture cultivations. In such cases, the produce is also jointly shared between them. However, such instances are very few and rare. In some cases when a large family is split into nuclear ones, the elder brother claims the ownership rights of the land for cultivation, as a result of which the other brothers are deprived of any share of produce. At times when the production of rice is surplus, it is sold at the fair price

shop and the tribals are entitled to receive a subsidy on the proviso that they produce the receipts. There were also instances noticed during the fieldwork of families falling short of their produce even for consumption and ended up buying more than what they actually produced. In such instances, they purchase rice under the public distribution supply (ration) from the fair price shop. The public distribution system has helped the tribal families to satisfy their basic demands especially when they fall short of adequate produce or when they are devoid of any land for cultivation. Some families that produce surplus rice sell some amount in the local market to buy in return the refined rice (*surai*). Many tribal families have stopped consuming the local par boiled rice and adapted to the polished rice. When enquired about such a change in rice consumption they informed that raw rice purchased from the market requires less cooking time and hence saves their fuel (LPG) used for preparing food. As mentioned earlier, the use of modern fuel such as LPG is increasingly used by the families as these families are provided with free LPG connections by the government. A very few families who have stopped cultivation of paddy buy grains from the nearby floor mill or at times the relatives lend them their produce.

Sugarcane cultivation

As mentioned earlier, traditionally, the cultivation of sugarcane was the mainstay of the Velips. With the introduction of cash crops and the declining use of jaggery in their diet, the production of sugarcane was almost abandoned in the region. Of late, however, there is a rejuvenation of interest among a few families in the last twenty years towards sugarcane cultivation. The tribal families produce sugarcane not for self-consumption but only for selling. The few families who produce sugarcane sell it to the Sanjivani sugar factory in the north district of Goa. The cultivation of sugarcane is more profit oriented than the other crops. Only those families who possess surplus

lands and have better access to water resource venture into sugarcane cultivation. The Zonal Agriculture Officer informed that a few families have also converted their cashew plantation lands for sugarcane cultivation. He further informed that there were altogether eighty farmers from the villages of Gaondongrem and Cotigao who have taken to sugarcane cultivation under the drip irrigation system.

Table 5.17 illustrate the quantum of sugarcane produced by the families.

Table 5.17

Production of sugarcane

Ward	No. of houses producing sugarcane	Production in tonnes								
		1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	81-90
Baddem	05	--	03	--	01	01	--	--	--	--
Pansulemol	04	--	02	01	01	--	--	--	--	--
Bharsa	02	--	--	--	--	--	--	01	--	01
Kinalkatta	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	11	--	05	01	02	01	--	01	--	01

With the exception of the hamlet of Kinalkatta, the rest of the hamlets have taken to sugarcane production. The minimum quantum of sugarcane produced ranges between 11 to 20 tonnes to a maximum of 80 to 90 tonnes. It is learnt that during the current prices a single ton of sugarcane was sold at rupees three thousand. The Department of Agriculture and the Sanjivani sugar factory jointly offers a support price of rupees 2400 per tonne for every farmer. Had the tribals been provided with more sustainable resources for cultivation throughout the calendar year, they could emerge as established peasants. Sharma (2008) for instance notes that the Mina tribe

of Rajasthan have been able to economically rise higher than the Bhils because of the capacity to grow cash crops such as the mustard. In short, agriculture itself is capable enough to wipe off the economic backwardness of the tribals.

Traditional paddy seeds

Settled agriculture among the Velips in the early days manifested the use of traditional paddy seeds such as *Panio*, *Shitto*, *Tamso* and the *Ajgo*. These varieties of seeds radically differed from the ones, which were grown in shifting cultivation sites such as *kaangu* and *orai*. In fact, they are no longer in vogue with the Velips and also in any part of Goa. The yield of these seeds generated very less output. The production techniques, methods and non-availability of inorganic fertilizers limited the crop produce. The *Panio* was more common among the Velips, and was grown only in the low-lying areas. The crop of *Panio* grew up to a height of more than three feet. The height of the *Panio* crop does not allow the grain stock to remain in an upright position. There is likelihood of the crop leaning on the floor that destroys the grains. The *Panio* and other traditional paddy seeds were discontinued with the introduction of modern seeds and techniques and tools of production. The traditional seeds have given way to some popular brands such as *Jyoti*, *Jaya* and *Karjat* among the community.

The older variety of paddy seeds such as *Tamso*, *Ajgo* gave very less yields and were not enough even for subsistence purposes. However, what is noteworthy is despite their low yields the nutrient content of the traditional seeds was very high. It is only after the Green Revolution and especially after the state liberation that the tribal regions have experienced a gradual rise in paddy production. Until the year 1925, the then Goa, Daman and Diu could export rice to neighbouring states of Maharashtra and Karnataka. Even till the beginning of 1981 the economy of Goa continued to be based

on agriculture contributing about 17 per cent of its income to its Gross Domestic Profit (Almeida, 2013, p. 408). The introduction of the Japanese method of doing agriculture brought about a massive transformation in paddy cultivation. Newer varieties of rice have been introduced on a trial basis; however, the *Karjat*, *Jyoti* and *Jaya* varieties still continue to dominate and are most prominent among the Velips. The modern paddy seeds on an average yield a produce of 3500 kilogram to 5000 kilogram per hectare; while the traditional ones could hardly give 500 kilogram per hectare.

Cultivation and the belief in rituals

All agricultural works carried out throughout the period of four to five months are coupled with the undertaking of rituals by the Velip community. In fact, rituals are considered as approvals for the different cultivation tasks. The community people follow the practice of consulting and taking consent of the *Ghaadi* before performance of cultivation acts such as *mer marop* (preparing bunds), *luvop* (crop cutting), *molap* (thrashing of crops) etc. Generally, the elderly males approach the *Ghaadi* to decide upon the day and time of commencing cultivation. The customary advice given by the *Ghaadi* is meticulously followed by the members. His advice also pertains to the things to be offered in their fields at the time of performing the tasks. He also offers a handful of rice to be spread before beginning those acts. Every act involves a different set of things to be offered. For instance, the *mer marop* included things such as a set of betel leaves and betel nut, set of five bananas, a clay horse and a live cock. Similarly, at the time of thrashing of grains *kaajal* (collyrium), *kumkum* (vermilion), *khastache fala* (*Hydnocarpus pentandra*), betel leaves with nut, bananas, a clay horse, a cock and the grains are offered by the *Ghaadi*.

Rice cultivation is undertaken between the *Mrug nakshatra* and *Aradra nakshatra* (star positions generally followed as per the Hindu calendar). After the sowing of seeds, the tribals return home with all the tools used in their fields. They clean and assemble these various tools in front of the basil plant (*tulsi*) and perform worship by lighting a lamp before them. They celebrate this day with a grand meal. The ritual performed to worship the tools on this day is called as *oap*.

With the coming of the harvest season, the Velips are all set to cut the produce. During this time they perform a ritual called *moot karop*. *Moot karop* refers to the ritual of cutting the harvest. The ritual is performed by the *Budavant* into his field. The ritual involves placing a coconut in the field along with some raw bananas and some leaves of the *churni* plant. The coconut placed into the field remains until the cutting of the harvest is completed by all families. The crop is kept for drying by the families in their respective fields for a minimum period of two to three days.

The tribal families generally take a week time to cut the harvest. Two important rituals, namely, *kokud khalar sodap* and *jogon ghalop or bharo* are performed after the crop cutting is done. *Kokud khalar sodap* refers to the offering of chicken to the land. This ritual is collective in nature and therefore binding on all individual families to participate in it. The Velips consider chicken as highly polluting in nature. Mere touch of a chicken is believed to defile them, and hence do not consider it as a food item. To refrain from its touch, they sometimes hold it by tying it to two sticks. The *kokud khalar sodap* ritual is performed by the *Devli* (temple servant) from the nearby hamlet. He kills the chicken and sheds away some portion of blood into the field. The killed chicken is taken away by the *Devli* to his home.



Photo 5.11: *Devli* performing the ritual of *Kokud khalar sodap*

Soon after the ritual of offering chicken, all villagers assemble at a common place into the fields in the evening, normally in the *khal* (field) belonging to the *Budavant* where the *jogon* takes place. In some hamlets, the *jogon* is offered below the *sasan* tree (*Alstonia scholaris*). Every household gets a *pod* (a share of rice and a

coconut) for the preparation of *choru* (food for the Gods) at the *khal*. The share of rice is prepared by every household by thrashing a few rice grains of the new crop into their houses through the *vaan*. They pool their individual shares collectively for undertaking the ritual of *jogon* in the field of the *Budavant*. A handful of grains dipped into water are placed over small leaflets of banana tree and offered for the nearby Gods. This offering of food is called as '*akes*'. The common share of rice brought by the families is boiled with water into a huge vessel along with jaggery. There is no salt added to it. This food is known as *choru*. The *Budavant* offers the *choru* as *vaadi* (food for the Gods) at the *khal*. Among the Velips the term '*vaadi*' is used instead of the word '*prasad*' used by the non tribals. The *choru* is then offered to the villagers assembled at the *khal* as a holy meal.



Photo 5.12: The *gudi* or *bowlo*

Once the crop is dried, they collect them and compile into small bunches. These bunches are called as *vengoes*. A cluster of six to seven *vengoes* are then tied together to form a bundle which is called as *vonny*. The *vonnies* are collected and stocked at a place in a circular heap like structure called as the *gudi* or *bowlo* (see photo 5.12). The activity of stocking the dry crops in the form of a circular tomb like shape is called *gudi ghalop*. The *malni* (thrashing) starts after a period of minimum fifteen to thirty days. This is followed by fanning or winnowing of the grains.

Broadcasting versus transplanting of paddy

The Velips generally undertake the broadcasting method (*rovap*) for paddy cultivation. As such, the method of paddy transplanting (*ropap*) seems to have found very less favour among them. The transplanting method is treated as beneficial as it gives a good yield as compared to the method of broadcasting. The broadcasting method does not always guarantee the cultivators of a good yield. But, there are other reasons for preferring the broadcasting method over the method of transplanting. The transplanting method is labour intensive as it involves more tasks as against the practice of just seeding or broadcasting. Families devoid of manpower, especially nuclear family units increasingly turn towards the broadcasting method. Under the *ropni* type of cultivation an additional layer of mud is used which requires excess amount of water. Paucity of rainwater may also sometimes hamper the growth of the paddy plant. The villagers thus favour broadcasting, as it needs less rainwater against transplanting of paddy crop. Families staying in the secluded hamlets of Endrem, Pansulemol and Bhutpal use the broadcasting method due to scarce population. The *ropni* method is more productive as it lessens the growth of weeds and the cutting process becomes faster. However, the practice of transplanting hardens the surface of the soil inviting the difficulty of tilling the soil in the subsequent year. Therefore,

some families follow the system of alternating the practices. Nevertheless, lately most of the tribal families have started the *ropni* type of cultivation, though it is time consuming.

Major challenges in agriculture

The possession of old lands and the provision of new lands for cultivation has not completely resolved the problems of the community. Though agriculture supports livelihoods of nearly 70 percent of India's rural population, land based livelihoods of small and marginal farmers are increasingly becoming unsustainable, forcing the farming community to look at alternative means for supplementing their livelihoods (Hiremath, 2007). Crop production is not always consistent. Scarcity of rainfall, poor irrigation, fear of wild animals, land topography, modern occupations, dearth of lands, environmental conditions, expensive fertilizers and technical equipments, increasing labour cost, soil condition and intensive physical labour are major concerns for the cultivators. Though agriculture is a major source of livelihood for the people living in North East India, the productivity is very low owing to poor irrigation facilities, low mechanisation, limited usage of high yielding variety (HYV) seeds, and predominance of monocropping and *jhumming* or shifting cultivation (Mishra 2007, p. 70).

Since agriculture is solely dependent on the monsoons, scarce rains may become a major hindrance to cultivation. Most of the agricultural fields are positioned on banks of the river Talpona. The small and big rivulets of Talpona flowing through the two villages of Gaondongrem and Cotigao are the only lifelines for the agricultural community of the Velips. Water from these rivulets is tracked into the fields during the monsoon for cultivation purposes. The normal course of the rivulets was disturbed when in the year 2009 the taluka of Canacona was badly hit by floods;

Gaondongrem and Cotigao were the worst affected. The incessant rains led to the flooding of river lines, which in turn resulted in soil erosion into the riverbeds thereby raising the level of water, which eventually destroyed the paddy cultivations throughout these villages, and particularly the hamlet of Pansulemol. The post flood situation was still worse because the de silting works undertaken by the government reduced the water level to a minimum level. Hence, during the past six years the villagers face the problem of directing and lifting the water from the low levels into their fields.

Invariably, all hamlets are surrounded by thick forest, and are the kingdom of the animal world. The existence of the Cotigao Wild Life Sanctuary around tribal habitats is a constant threat to their cultivation. The harvest has to be protected against the wild animals by erecting a tower (*maalo*) amidst the cultivation to keep a watch on the wild animals, especially during the nighttime. Men leave their homes in the evenings and remain throughout the night on the *maalo* to supervise their plantations. The villagers from Pansulemol complain of monkeys destroying their crop. Monkeys outnumber the human population and destroy the crop during the daytime, while wild boars eat the crop during the night. If the tribals sight any animals entering into their fields, they drive them away by biting the drums or by bursting out sounds. Wild boars, rats and wild gaurs are also a danger to the cultivation at Endrem. The Velips at Morfondamol have reported of protecting their domestic animals such as cattle against the fear of wild animals. Incidents of wild animals preying on the domestic animals such as ox, dogs and cats are not uncommon. A few villagers in Pansulemol have protected their sugarcane cultivation using solar cell fencing to protect it from the entry of wild animals.

The nature of land topography in the highlands poses constraints for many families. As noted earlier, the movement of tractors in the hilly tracks becomes difficult. Most of the manual works therefore cannot find a suitable substitute of machines. They have to lift loads of manure, sacks of seeds and fertilizers, and other tools and implements over their head. Returning with the produce over their head is equally a difficult task. Also, the tractors cannot be moved into the hamlets of Morfondamol and Endrem region during the monsoon as these hamlets are surrounded by water from all sides.

Families devoid of their personal lands cultivate on lands belonging to their relatives, neighbours or non-tribal families. In such cases, they have to part half of their produce with the owner of the land. Some families stopped cultivating on the land belonging to the others, as they demand for a big share of produce. In return, the cultivator sometimes shared half of his produce, while in some cases he returned the share in the form of money. Many have abandoned cultivating on such lands, as they are not left with much gains. Instead, they now prefer providing their labour for wages to cultivation sites of others. The wages received in return for the services is sufficient to buy the necessary livelihood requirements for sustenance. In eventualities such as shortage of rice, the tribals buy from the Gaondongrem floor mill.

Modern occupations and education of children affect traditional tasks of agriculture. Most of the agricultural tasks are performed by the elderly population and not by the youngsters. Realising the importance of education in their lives, children pursuing education are generally kept away from the domain of work. Parents are left with no much support in their traditional occupational pursuits. The situation results in a shortage of labour force as much of our younger generation is engaged in education as well as in other occupations. Members who are engaged in jobs away

from their homes are not able to actively serve their families in agricultural pursuits. To overcome this problem, they import labourers from the neighbouring state of Karnataka. Families having fewer members at times give up cultivation.

Tribals living in the hamlet of Pansulemol face different set of problems. The land topography is less fertile and also not flat enough, and not much conducive for cultivation. It is learnt that the Department of Agriculture have put in some efforts to test the quality of the soil, but these efforts have not helped them so far. Under such odd conditions, they have now shown motivation to plant cashew trees instead of producing rice. Many families hence undertake paddy cultivation in the fields belonging to their relatives in the nearby hamlets.

It is observed that every activity in the domain of agriculture invites a lot of physical hardships. The Velips by their very nature are hard working people and love to toil for their livelihood. Majority of the tasks are performed manually, which compel them into strenuous activities. The cultivators virtually, are engrossed in work that is more laborious especially during the first phase of cultivation. During this period, the task of preparing the bunds is tedious and requires a lot of physical labour. Fields in the sloppy regions have the long heightened bunds and hence the bund preparation involves exorbitant labour force, which normally results in body pains. Furthermore, if the community undertakes the transplanting of paddy, it requires participation of many members and therefore may invite hardships on the families of borrowing labour from other families. Despite a multiple number of shortcomings faced by them in the agricultural domain, they continue to accept these works as challenges without treating them as a trouble.

The Zonal Agriculture Officer (ZAO) revealed the fact that the agricultural community is not fast responding to modernisation in agriculture, and hence the

anticipated change is very slow. The tribals are thus encountering the problem of adjustment due to tradition-modernity conflict (Somayaji, 2010, p.viii). Another drawback of agriculture in the region is a rather unsystematic and haphazard manner of cultivation. Soil fertility is declining day by day due to constant use of chemical fertilisers, and the red lateritic soil, which is highly potash deficient turns more acidic in nature due to heavy rainfall resulting in furthermore declining yields. While the use of fertilisers is increasing among the traditional Goan farmers, the use of pesticides and fungicides is showing low utility. However, in the neighbouring states of Maharashtra and Karnataka the use of pesticides and fungicides is considerably higher.

Methods and tools of cultivation

Despite development occurring at faster pace, tribal societies if not totally, but to some extent continue to rely on traditional methods of farming. In fact, the possession of cattle and its use in agriculture and other purposes has been a mark of the Velip society since long. Historically speaking, Roy (as cited in Ghurye, 1963) mentions that the plough culture was introduced by the Oraons, and their livelihood is mainly centred around agriculture. The bullock driven plough method finds emergence among the Velips only with the beginning of settled cultivation. However, one may notice that until the end of the last decade the community by and large made use of the plough cultivation culture. The last five years has witnessed a dramatic change from traditional to mechanised farming.

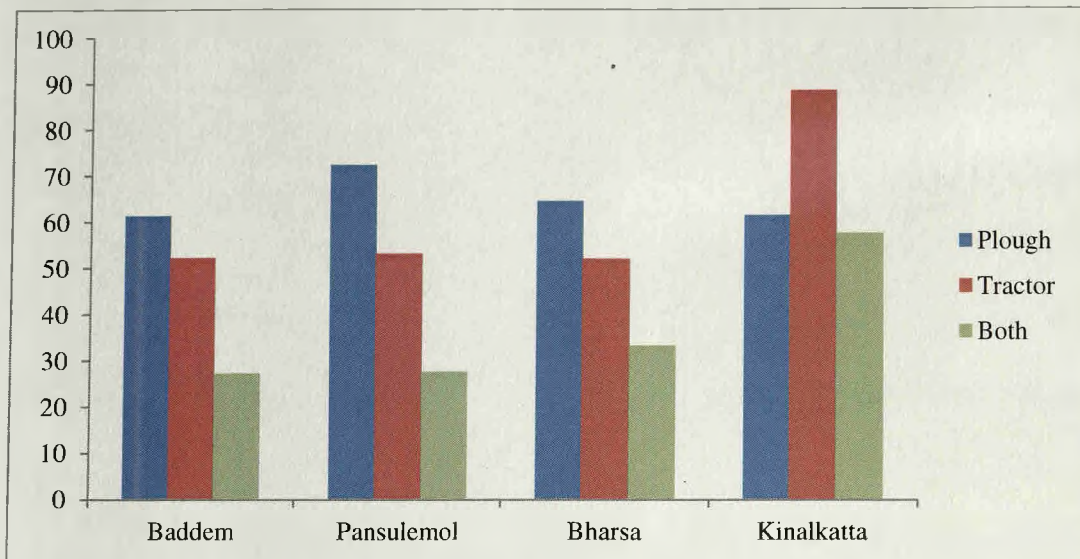


Photo 5.13: Manual dehusking

The Oraons, whose life is described as centred round their agriculture by Roy, our leading authority on the subject, assert that they introduced plough-culture in Chotanagpur and, as Dalton pointed out, the Mundas partiality for the *jhum* or shifting system of cultivation seems to justify their claim. The Oraon is mostly his own carpenter.

Figure 5.17

Methods of cultivation



As indicated in figure 5.17 almost sixty per cent of the families make use of the traditional *jot* (plough) for cultivation purposes. The use of tractors is also increasing in modern times, i.e. nearly half of the families in the different hamlets use tractors. In other words, nearby half of the population is still dependent on traditional means of cultivation.



Photo 5.14: Continuity of plough cultivation

Generally, the tribals make use of the *jot* (traditional plough) only on Sundays and Wednesday. The traditional tools used in cultivation include the plough, a pair of oxes, *alai* (a wooden leveller), *koytee* (sickle), *nadne veelo* (weeding knife), *lupacho veelo* (crop cutting knife). The last ten years have witnessed a great decline in the cattle rearing occupation in the villages of Gaondongrem and Cotigao. The families who do not possess bullocks have abandoned the plough method of cultivation. They exchange their hay for borrowing fertilizers (cow dung manure) and also for the bullocks from their neighbours or relatives. The major agricultural tasks of ploughing, cutting and thrashing are now increasingly performed with the help of tractors. Tractors are used in paddy as well as sugarcane plantation. While the families using the *jot* may have to work for a minimum period of fifteen days, the use tractor facilitates in reducing the working time to only two days. The use of tractors has started only during the past five years.



Photo 5.15: Agrarian mechanisation

Tractors cannot be brought in use in some fields, which are located in the higher regions. The uneven topography of such lands makes the entry of the tractors difficult. The number of tractors is also very less in the villages. The tractors are not privately owned by individuals but belong to SHGs consisting of men. At the most, a hamlet may possess one or two tractors. Until recently, the tribals living in Pansulemol borrowed tractor from other villages to carry out agricultural works. These tractors are hired on the payment of rupees 350 per hour. The ploughing rates done the tractors are high and therefore unaffordable for some families.

Though the use of tractors is significantly increasing, some tribal families continue to use the plough keeping in view certain important aspects. After using tractor for ploughing the fields, some families persists to make use of the traditional *jot* for the purpose of levelling the surface of the field on the day before the sowing of seeds. They also think that the *jot* tills the soil deeper and efficiently than the tractor, which helps in better growth of the paddy crop. The use of *jot* is also decided on the arrival time of monsoon. Normally, when the monsoon is timely the Velips use *jot*, but in cases of delay, they rely on the use of tractor. Almost all families in Pansulemol until recently exclusively used the tractor for cutting and thrashing the paddy crop. The traditional thrashing activity of manual and bullock leg thrashing has completely ceased, and is exclusively taken over by tractors.



Photo 5.16: Paddy thrashing carried with the help of oxes during night time

Traditional and modern fertilizers

Until recently, the community by and large persisted with age old practices of using natural fertilizers in shifting cultivation and settled cultivation. Natural or organic fertilizers such as *saavol* and cowdung were regularly used in shifting cultivation sites and in the agricultural fields. Of late, availability of high yielding variety of seeds and inorganic fertilizers has percolated into the community to a great extent. The availability of subsidised fertilizers has also created an additional demand, thereby bringing down the scope of organic fertilisers.

Table 5.18 illustrates the type of fertilisers used by the community.

Table 5.18**Type of fertilizers**

Ward	No. of houses	Houses involved in cultivation	Type of fertilizers		
			Organic	Inorganic	Both
Baddem	44	38	72.73	86.36	72.73
Pansulemol	47	46	76.60	97.87	76.60
Bharsa	48	40	72.92	83.33	72.92
Kinalkatta	26	24	73.08	92.31	73.08
Total	165	146	73.94	89.70	73.94

Nearly, three fourth of the households make use of organic fertilizers. Inorganic fertilizers have received a bigger appeal from the community, i.e. almost ninety per cent of households use inorganic fertilizers. It is also observed that the community has not entirely given up the use of organic fertilisers. The decline in the number of cattle in the villages is however resulting in the less use of the dung being used as potent manure in the fields. Those who do not possess their own cattle borrow from neighbours.

One significant thing noticed by the researcher is the construction of temporary cattle sheds in their fields during the post monsoon period, which is soon after the harvest season. They keep their cattle tied into these sheds for a period of four to five months or until the onset of the monsoon making the fields organically richer for cultivation. The shelter raised for cattle in the field is called as '*waad*' (see photo 5.17). This practice however is reducing with the decline in the number of cattle.



Photo 5.17: The *waad*

Another method of adding organic content to the fields is by spreading leaves, branches of trees in the fields, and leaving them to dry for some period. After a lapse of some period just before the onset of the monsoon, the tribals put fire to the dried stuff and transform it into ash, which acts as a manure for the crop. A quite similar method of preparing an organic seedbed called as '*rab*' was practiced by the Warli, Kathkari, Kokna, Koli, Thakur tribes in the Thane district in the State of Maharashtra. In this, a seedbed was prepared by burning loppings of trees, shrubs grass, leaves and clay. The clay was used to prevent the ashes from blown away by the winds (Munshi, 2007). Notwithstanding the importance of organic manure, the families show more inclination for inorganic fertilisers. It was observed that the *Sampurna* was a popular inorganic fertilizer among the tribals.

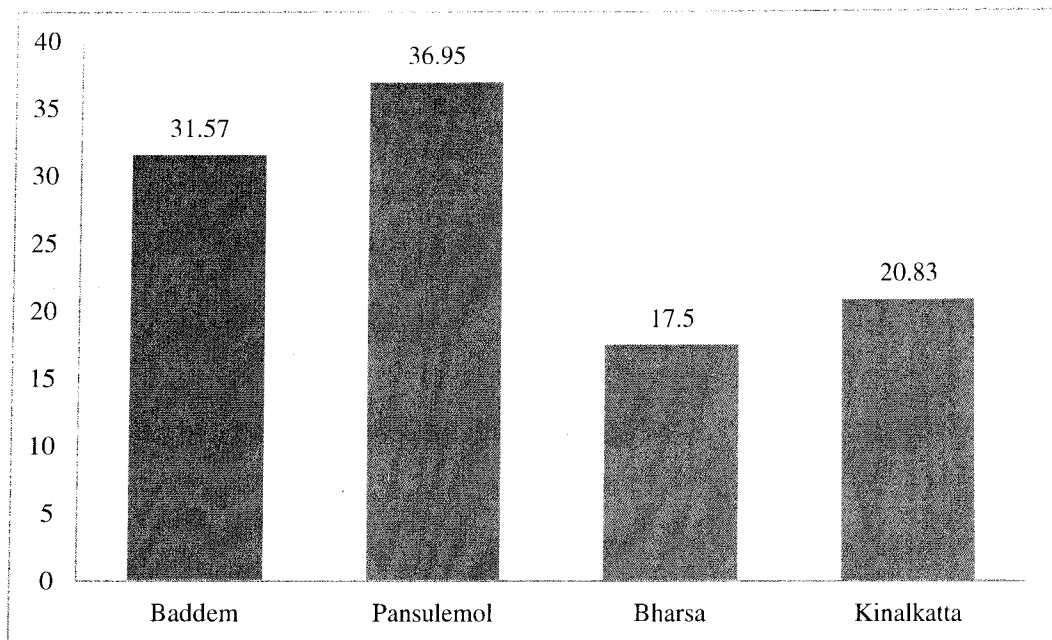
Figure 5.18**Fertilizer subsidy**

Figure 5.18 indicates a very less population availing government subsidy for buying fertilizers. Only one fourth of the households have availed fertiliser subsidy. It is learnt that many tribal families do not possess the essential document of Krishi card for availing fertilizer subsidy from the government. The Krishi card is provided to those families possessing appropriate land records and is considered as the identity of the farmer. In many cases, it was noticed that the villagers did not possess proper land records and hence were not entitled for the benefit of any form of agricultural subsidies. Another reason for not availing the benefit was the lengthy procedure consuming an exorbitant time and money. The experience of some tribals is in fact still bitter, as they have not enjoyed the benefit of fertiliser of the preceding two years. Under the newly implemented Pradhanmantri Sinchan Yojana, the farmers can now avail a facility of owning Soil Health Card. Farmers who possess the Soil Health Card can get their soil tested periodically or at least once in a year and receive valuable

suggestions for upgrading its quality from the officials of the Department of Agriculture.

Cultivation roles

In olden days, the agricultural tasks were largely designated on the basis of a particular gender. The modern times however, witness mixed roles undertaken by men and women in the agricultural domain. In the traditional society, men and women performed specific tasks, but there was also sharing of some joint roles by them. The joint family provided the necessary work force required for performing the multiple agricultural tasks. The burden of undertaking cultivation was not felt as all family members participated in the agricultural pursuits. There was no any need felt to hire services from the neighbouring families. Traditionally, ploughing and cutting of the crop was the prerogative of the men folk. The disintegration of families has resulted in the breakdown of gender centred roles. Today, the different agricultural tasks are shared between men and women, irrespective of the traditional character attached to them. Tasks such as plant weeding, preparation of bunds, releasing of water, cutting, thrashing, winnowing, boiling and drying of rice are managed effectively by men and women. However, the only activity that remains men centred is of ploughing the field (*jot kasap*).

CASHEW PLANTATION

Cashew is a major commercial crop of Goa. A native of North East Brazil in Latin America, cashew (*Anacardium Occidentale* L., *Anacardiaceae*) was introduced by the Portuguese in Goa in the year 1570. Since the introduction of cashew and until now cashew was grown as a wasteland crop. Today cashew has evolved as a major crop in the State and is generating employment in the villages and contributing to state's economy (Dessai, 2009). The post liberation period witnessed a phenomenal growth

of cashew plantation in the State of Goa. The hills as well as the plain areas bear a heavy concentration of cashew plantation and other productive and non-productive trees as well. The hilly topography of Gaondongrem and Cotigao is an important factor favouring the high productivity of cashew plantation. These villages have witnessed the growth of cashew cultivation roughly some 150 years ago. With the gradual decline of the age old and primitive occupational practice of shifting cultivation in the region, the plantation of cashew crop has taken over increasingly by the community. The traditional spaces allocated for taking up shifting cultivation are now extensively used for raising cashew crop. The plantation has flourished to a considerable extent. It can be very well said that the major cause for the decline in shifting cultivation has been attributed to the expansion of cashew trees.

Though Cashew plantation has evolved in the region some 150 years ago, the interest of the tribals in cashew plantation has increased in the last four or five decades. This is evident from the fact that almost all families own cashew trees ranging from a few hundred to more than thousand trees.

Table 5.19

Houses with cashew plantation

Ward	No. of houses	No. of houses with Cashew trees	%
Baddem	44	40	90.90
Pansulemol	47	39	82.97
Bharsa	48	47	97.91
Kinalkatta	26	24	92.30
Total	165	148	89.69

Table 5.19 indicates a strong interest of the tribals in undertaking cashew cultivation. It is learnt that a very few households have not taken up the cultivation mainly due to migration of the entire family unit to a nearby town, or due to other reasons such as new formation of the household or the nuclear unit. By and large, all integrated families do own cashew plantations. Some families have their cashew plantations in the nearby areas. There are others who have raised their plantations far away from their settlement, and may have to walk for miles, sometimes for more than an hour. The cashew plantations in the neighbourhood areas are quite old, while those, which are far away, are recent ones.

Table 5.20 displays the ownership of cashew trees in the different hamlets.

Table 5.20

Cashew trees

Ward	No. of houses with Cashew trees	No. of cashew trees							
		1 to 250	251 to 500	501 to 750	751 to 1000	1001 to 1500	1501 to 2000	2001 to 2500	2501 to 3000
Baddem	40	11	16	01	09	03	--	--	--
Pansulemol	39	33	05	01	--	--	--	--	--
Bharsa	47	23	12	01	06	--	03	--	02
Kinalkatta	24	12	06	02	04	--	--	--	--
Total	148	79	39	05	19	03	03	--	02

Nearly, 53 per cent of the households from the four settlement areas possess cashew trees in the range of one to 250. The ownership of less number of trees is

mainly because some of these plantations have found existence in the last twenty years or so. These new plantations are done mostly by those households, which are lately constructed. 26 per cent of the houses own cashew trees in the range of 251 to 500, three per cent households have in the range of 501 to 750, almost 13 per cent of them have in the range of 751 to 1000, while only two per cent have between 1001 to 1500, two per cent in the range of 1501 to 2000 and two per cent in the range of 2501 to 3000 trees. The residents at Pansulemol do not own bigger plantations; they do not hold more than 751 trees. The households of Kinalkatta do not possess more than 1001 cashew trees.

Transition from shifting cultivation to cashew plantation

The age-old practice of shifting cultivation has almost come to a standstill with the interest of the tribes now drifting more towards cashew cultivation. The barren, unused and abandoned lands are largely brought under cashew cultivation. The terraced and the sloppy plots, which were, once widely used for undertaking shifting cultivation are also transformed into areas for planting cashew trees. The interest of the tribals in cashew plantation has increased tremendously in the last thirty or forty years or so. Realising the enhanced marketability and the economic value of the cashew crop they now expand the cashew plantation base year after year. It is observed that a tribal family sprouts a minimum of one hundred cashew seeds every year. Plantation of new trees is done in areas within and beyond their existing cashew plantation sites.

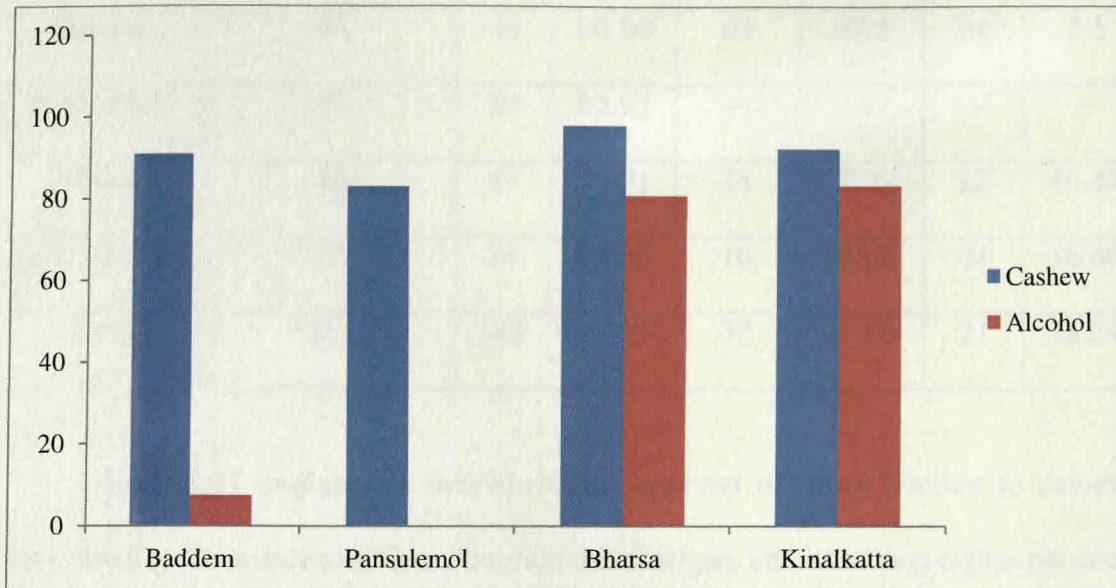
Alcohol production

Though all families own small and big plantations ranging from a few hundred to more than three thousand cashew trees, the insignificant fact is that a very small

proportion of them are engaged in the production of alcohol. As such, the production of alcohol is declining day by day.

Figure 5.19

Cashew production



According to figure 5.19 of the total households possessing cashew trees, only 41.21 per cent households engage in producing alcohol from the four hamlets. The hamlets of Bharsa and Kinalkatta show fair percentages of families producing alcohol, while Baddem has a negligible number; the hamlet of Pansulemol has no house producing alcohol. Alcohol distilled from the cashew is popularly known as '*urrak*' and '*feni*' in Konkani language. There are more consumers for *urrak* than *feni*.

Table 5.21**Alcohol producing families (*Urrak/Feni*)**

Ward	No. of houses	Cashew		Alcohol			
		No.	%	Urrak	%	Feni	%
Baddem	44	40	90.90	03	07.5	01	2.5
Pansulemol	47	39	82.97	--	--	--	--
Bharsa	48	47	97.91	18	38.29	22	46.80
Kinalkatta	26	24	92.30	16	66.66	04	16.66
Total	165	148	89.69	37	25.00	27	18.24

Table 5.21 explains an overwhelming response of tribal families to cashew cultivation in the hamlets of Gaondongrem and Cotigao, i.e. more than eighty per cent of the households are engaged in cashew cultivation. Yet another observation is the declining interest of the tribal families in producing *feni*, considering the production of *urrak* that has a slight edge.

It is learnt that, not all tribal families venture in alcohol production due to certain reasons. As mentioned earlier, the community continues to believe in the notion of purity and pollution. In the initial stage, which is soon after the introduction of the cashew crop, the Velips refrained from distilling the alcohol. They also did not consume it as it was considered highly polluting in nature. The belief in the notion of purity was so rigid that even touch of the bottle containing alcohol needed for any medicinal purposes was considered to defile the person. They therefore, held the bottle with the help of a stick. The affiliation of the Velips to priestly activities kept them away from distilling alcohol for a very long time. With the passage of time, they eventually started preparing and consuming alcohol. Even now, some elders generally

refrain from consuming alcohol. A few youngsters of late have started consuming alcohol.

However, some elements of the older practices continue to operate even to the present day. The ritual superiority observed in day-to-day lives, especially in the pre liberation era refrained some families also from storing alcohol into their houses. They considered in house storing of alcohol a taboo. This taboo is followed even to this day by many families. In olden days, the distillation process was carried out collectively by the villagers. However, in recent times some families possess their independent alcohol distilling system called as '*bhaati*'.

Table 5.22 elucidate the quantum of alcohol (*urrak* and *feni*) produced in litres.

Table 5.22
Alcohol production (in litres)

Ward	Alcohol production in litres											
	<i>Urrak</i>						<i>Feni</i>					
	0 to 200	201 to 400	401 to 600	601 to 800	801 to 1000	1001 to 1200	0 to 200	201 to 400	401 to 600	601 to 800	801 to 1000	1001 to 1200
Baddem	01	01	--	01	--	--	01	--	--	--	--	--
Pansulemol	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Bharsa	07	06	04	--	--	01	13	08	--	01	--	--
Kinalkatta	09	05	01	--	01	--	03	01	--	--	--	--
Total	17	12	05	01	01	01	17	09	--	01	--	--

Out of the 37 families participating in the production of *urrak*, only seventeen families produced *urrak* up to twenty litres, and twelve families in the range of twenty

to forty. What is evident from the table 5.22 is that there are more number of families producing less *urrak* and a very less number of them producing more. In the same manner, the number of families producing less *feni* is more. As it is, the number of families producing *feni* is minimal as compared to *urrak* producing families.

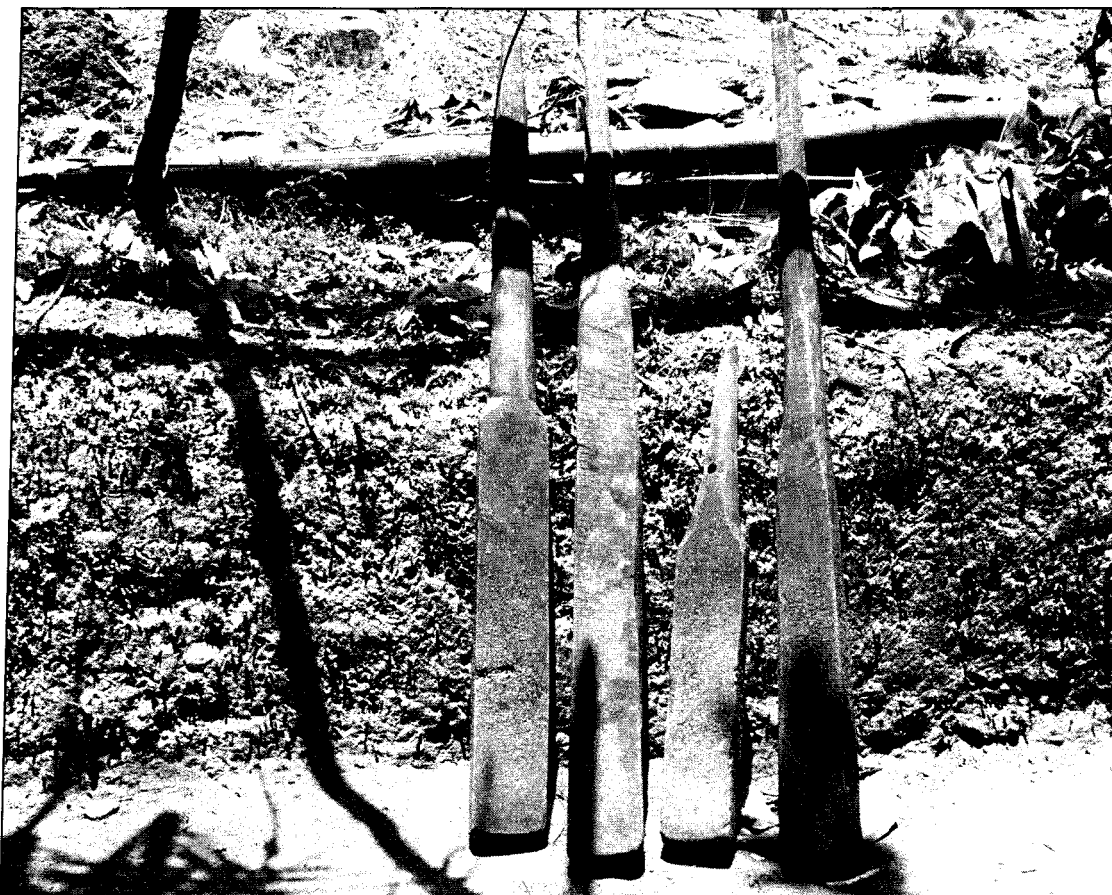


Photo 5.18: Wooden tools used for crushing cashew apple

The alcohol produced is either directly sold to local vendors or sometimes in the nearby taluka market. The tribals use the measure of a gallon for the sale of the liquor. A gallon is approximately equal to a measure of thirty-five litres. A gallon of *urrak* is sold for a price of rupees eight hundred. A gallon of *feni* fetches an amount of rupees one thousand five hundred. Considering the economic value of cashew the government of Goa has planned to declare the traditional cashew and coconut *feni* as heritage drinks. Such a declaration will help the cashew cultivators and distillers, and

standardise the marketing and distillation process, informed the excise commissioner (The Navhind Times, 2015).

Emerging constraints in alcohol production

The cashew tree plantations are in the hilly ranges where there is no nearby access to water resource points needed for the process of alcohol distillation. In the absence of water in the forest areas, carrying or lifting the water over the head to cashew plantation sites is a tiresome work. Given the adversities, especially of commuting down the hillside with heavy loads of cashew overhead is a strenuous activity and requires a great physical vigour. The burden of undertaking alcohol production in the hillside has forced some families to distil near to their settlements. For instance, at Baddem the alcohol producing families carry out the process at one common distillery plant (*bhaati*). The distillery unit belongs to one of the members, and is installed nearby the settlement area.

The decline in alcohol production is also attributed to factors such as fewer yields of cashew fruit. Though the plantation of cashew trees is steadily increasing in the region, the tribals are not enjoying satisfactory yields. The last five years have shown a sharp decline in the yield. Some families who actively took part in the production of alcohol have stopped distilling the alcohol since last two years as the cashew production has gone down. Climatic disturbances have fundamentally resulted in the decline of cashew production. The Directorate of agriculture, Tendulkar (2009) explained that the cashew produced declined during the year due to climate disturbance such as dew, fluctuations in temperature, late rains making the crop prone to fungal attacks. The cashew yield in the State declined nearly fifty per cent as compared to the preceding year of 2008. However, one can clearly notice that the raw nuts which were sold at rupees forty-eight in the year 2009 have been priced at rupees

hundred and fifteen during the current year of 2015. The pricing indicates the fast increasing marketable value of cashew.

Though very rare, but animals such as wild boars and deers eat away cashew fruits. The preparation of liquor requires abundant cashew fruit, the juice of which is fermented and then distilled into liquor. Many families who do not obtain a rich cashew produce abstain from liquor manufacturing. Another reason is the non-viability of the activity of distilling alcohol. This is mainly due to the fact that the process of manufacturing alcohol is fully traditional which requires an intensive and constant observation. As a result, many tribals do not look at it as a productive activity, and in some cases may also think of substituting their labour for a wage.

Many do not look at alcohol production as a gainful activity. It is found that an increasing number of men as well women are getting attracted to daily wage labour in and around the village. Thus, a major transition is taking place from traditional occupational pursuit to modern day secondary occupations such as casual labour. Those who serve as casual labourers as an alternative source of employment earn a sum of rupees three hundred to five hundred as a wage for a day. As many members are engaged in non-traditional jobs away from their homes, they cannot visit the cashew sites on a regular basis.

The residents of Pansulemol ward have stopped producing alcohol for the last five years. Many villagers, especially the women complain of the problem of alcoholism spreading among young men, resulting in disruption of their family atmosphere. Young men in the village are able to find an easy access for alcohol consumption and create nuisance. The problems faced by women and other members have forced them to abandon producing alcohol.

Water scarcity, transportation problems and less productivity and other factors has resulted in the underutilisation of the cashew fruit. The cashew fruit is partially used, wherein many families extract the nut from the fruit and leave the fruit unused. They do not extract juice, as the fruits have to be brought down to the plains over their heads. It is quite difficult to step down the steep areas with the cashew load over their heads. There are also families who have plantations far away from their settlement, and have to walk for miles with heavy loads of cashew fruit.

However, the sale of cashew nut has picked up and created a boom in the market. This sale cashew nut sale was done at rupees 105 per kilogram during the current season. Invariably, almost all families sell the cashew nut. The table 5.23 illustrates the production of cashew nuts by households in quintals.

Table 5.23

Cashew nut production

Ward	No. of houses with Cashew trees	Production in quintals						
		0 to 1.99	2 to 3.99	4 to 5.99	6 to 7.99	8 to 9.99	10 to 11.99	12 to 13.99
Baddem	40	16	13	05	01	03	02	--
Pansulemol	39	25	09	01	03	01	--	--
Bharsa	47	12	19	12	01	--	--	03
Kinalkatta	24	06	12	04	01	--	--	01
Total	148	59	53	22	06	04	02	04

The production of cashew nuts is directly related to the number of cashew trees possessed by the families. As seen in table 5.23 there are 53 per cent of families who have cashew trees in the range of 1 to 250, and 26 per cent of them possess in the

range of 251 to 500. The table indicates that almost 39.87 per cent of the households produce cashew nuts up to two quintals, and 35.81 per cent produce in between 2 to four quintals. The number of households producing over four quintals and beyond goes on decreasing. Thus, it can be said that those families who own lesser trees are not economically much profited by selling of cashew nuts. The cashew season which roughly lasts for a period of three months gave an approximate income of rupees twenty thousand for families who sold cashew nuts upto two quintals.

Dependence on traditional settlements

It is significant to note that, though the tribal communities have moved to the low-lying plain areas in search of better livelihood, they are still dependent for their livelihood on the earlier ancestral settlement zones. Tribals living at Pansulemol and at Kinalkatta continue to visit their earlier settlement of Avali and Upper Bharsa, respectively. Almost all the families living at Kinalkatta do possess their ancestral houses at Upper Bharsa. The Upper Bharsa region has rich cashew cultivation in addition to betel nut, jackfruit and pineapple plantation. The families pay frequent visits and keep a vigilant watch at their plantation sites throughout the year. It is interesting to note that these families camp permanently for a period of at least three to four months (February, March, April and May) during the heyday of the cashew season, and return to Kinalkatta only during the monsoon for carrying out agriculture.

The families having moved to Pansulemol from Avali in search of new livelihood have not completely given up their share of their ancestral house property, agricultural land and cashew plantation. Around ten families continue to grow cashew in Avali. The tribals living at Pansulemol have made the optimum use of the government plots for raising cashew plantation. Plantations such as coconut, betel nut, sugarcane, jackfruit and pineapple are too undertaken in these plots. The Pansulemol

settlement is now older by thirty to forty years and is currently experiencing pressure on the land. The tribals are not left with additional land for expanding their cashew plantation as the lands beyond are occupied by the forests.

PORSU (KITCHEN GARDENING)

With severe restrictions imposed on shifting cultivation and the hardships encountered in undertaking it, the tribal families are now focussing on *porsu* cultivation. The *porsu* cultivation is gaining popularity in the tribal hamlets of Gaondongrem and Cotigao. *Porsu* is seasonally a *rabi* plantation which is done especially during the winter which normally gets extended in the summer. Vegetables such as chilly, *tambdi bhaji* (*Amaranthus carentus* L), turnip or knolkohl (*Brassica rapa var. rapa* L.), maze corn (*Zea mays* L.), *bhendo* or ladyfinger (*Abelmoschus esculentus*), onion (*Allium cepa* L.), cucumber (*Cucumis sativus* L), pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo* Duchesne), chavlo, *alsaande* or cow pea or (*Vigna unguiculata*) (L.) Walp, *vaangi* or brinjal (*Solanum melongena*), *ghosali* or ridge gourd [*Luffa acutangula* (L.) Roxb.], *chitki* or cluster bean or (*Cyamopsis tetragonoloba*) (L.) Taub., *Irville* or *vaal* or yard long beans (*Vigna sesquipedalis* (L.) Verdc.) and some underground tubers are grown in *porsu* cultivation. The tribal families are preoccupied with paddy cultivation throughout the rainy season. Soon after the completion of paddy harvesting, the community embarks upon *porsu* cultivation.

The tribal families in recent times have developed interest in *porsu* cultivation. The table 5.24 presents the participation of household in *porsu*.

Table 5.24***Porsu* cultivation**

Ward	No. of houses	<i>Porsu</i>	Percentage
Baddem	44	39	88.63
Pansulemol	47	40	85.10
Bharsa	48	37	77.08
Kinalkatta	26	23	88.46
Total	165	139	84.24

The table 5.24 suggests a growing interest among the Velips for *porsu*. The *porsu* cultivation was prevalent among them for a long time, but done on a small scale. The produce from the *porsu* was limited only to meet the consumption needs of the family and not for marketing. In the initial stages, produce was limited as the cultivation process was devoid of many basic resources. The cultivation could not develop because the lands for cultivation generally remained dry during early and late winter. However, it was during the last fifteen years the *porsu* cultivation has picked a good momentum. The cultivation received a major impetus during the last three or four years with some interventionist strategies of the government as well as private bodies. The launching of Goa Shipyard Limited (GSL) Agri Cooperative Project in the villages of Cotigao and Gaondongrem is considered as a major step in bringing in transformation in their livelihood. The Agri Cooperative Project facilitated the formation of two significant collective farming cooperative societies and many Self Help Groups (SHG's). Accordingly, the Khotigao collective farming cooperative society and Gaondongrem collective farming society were formed in the two villages. The villages witnessed a great increase in the number of women as well as men SHGs

in the last three years. The project was supported by The Goa State Tribal Welfare Department, Department of Agriculture and department of Horticulture, Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR) Goa and other government departments and bodies.

Agri cooperative project

The Goa Shipyard Limited (GSL) launched the Agri Cooperative Project in the year 2012 with a general aim to enhance livelihood opportunities in South Goa by increasing agriculture productivity.

The findings of the Baseline survey report revealed that in the hinterlands of Goa, almost 80% of population is engaged in agriculture. Inadequate irrigation facilities, monocropping done only during monsoon limit the employment opportunities of agricultural labour. Activities such as cattle farming, dairying or poultry were found deficient. The report also mentioned the inadequacy of irrigation facility, small land holding, use of poor quality seeds, less use of organic fertilizers and absence of agriculture extension services as major gaps in the system. Vegetables and paddy were grown predominantly in these areas but their productivity levels were low due to inefficient practices and poor extension support.

The report suggested a proper agriculture extension support system, crop diversification and allied activities to increase agriculture productivity in the region. It also suggested crop rotation of paddy with vegetables and pulses by applying organic fertilizers or bio pesticides and diversification with other allied agriculture activities like vermi composting, poultry, honey beekeeping and dairy. The approach involved interaction with different stakeholders at the village and community level, especially small, marginal and landless labourers and local panchayat and agriculture department.

The following objectives were outlined under the project:

- a) Community organisation through collective activities
- b) Nurturing agriculture and allied activities
- c) Empowering community for employment generation.
- d) Resource mobilisation and fund raising for entrepreneurial initiatives

The project was looked after by the agency of National Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) hub. It was facilitated by State and local government bodies such as Goa Agriculture Department, Goa State Co-operative Milk Producers' Union Ltd., NABARD regional office, local administration and village panchayats.

It was decided to form farmer groups within hamlets to enable the creation of a village level federation that will be run by the members with the support of GSL. Accordingly, two cooperative societies have been registered in Cotigao and Gaondongrem. Basic infrastructure has been created, and a field office was started in Cotigao. The emphasis was also given to adopt several allied activities through a series of training programs, infrastructure support activities and continues field support. Technical training programmes are conducted every month in collaboration with ICAR Goa and seeds and fertilizers are distributed the farmers. Training programmes are also conducted on honeybee hives and vermi compost. A plan was evolved to do collective marketing of the produce generated by the farmers in order to secure the best possible price. Vegetable cultivation in 50 acres area harvested in 2012-13 for *rabi* cultivation. 520 households are getting direct benefit from the project and 2500 people are getting benefit from increased income to family and vegetable supply.

The following are the achievements of the project from 2012 to 2013

Seeds and fertilizers were supplied to all the cooperative society members in collaboration with the Department of Agriculture. A significant aspect of the project has been the sanctioning of 20 new bore- wells and 25 (2H.P) Motors for both the cooperative societies through the Department of Tribal Welfare. MOU signed with ICAR for technical support. The ICAR has established three fruit processing units based on cooperative society survey.

Khotigao Collective Farming Co-operative Society Ltd., Khotigao Canacona Goa

The objectives of the society are:

- Community organisation through collective farming activities: In Cotigao most of the farmers cultivate their land collectively. If we can motivate to work together as a group, it will increase the efficiency and per acre productivity.
- Nurturing agriculture and allied activities: south Goa has a great deal of bio mass density. We intend to effectively utilise it by promoting like vermi compost, honeybee, dairy, vegetable etc.
- Empowering community for employment generation: agriculture diversification will help to increase the year round employment in the village.
- Resource mobilisation and fund raising for entrepreneurial initiatives: agriculture and allied activities can be promoted by closely working with different government agencies like agriculture and horticulture department.
- To take up schemes for land improvement, irrigation, soil conservation, consolidation of land, land protection, plantation floriculture etc.
- To purchase and maintain cattle, agriculture machinery, vehicle, agriculture implement, dairy implement etc.

- To purchase stock, and utilize manure, fertilizers, seeds cattle, and other agriculture requisites
- To arrange for the storage, processing and sale of farm produce.
- To purchase/ erect, hire or acquire otherwise farm houses office building, cattle sheds, godowns etc., necessary to facilitate the activities of the society
- To promote social, recreational and cultural activities for the benefit of members.
- To raise the funds from members and others for the fulfilment of its objects.

The villages of Gaondongrem and Cotigao are now experiencing a steady increase in the number of ground water wells, bore wells and expansion of existing wells. Many abandoned wells are brought in use, especially for cultivation purposes. The provision of motors for pumping of water through the wells and river canals has brought a tremendous relief to the tribals.

As a result of these interventionist strategies, the *porsu* production has increased to a large extent during the last three years. The villagers are no longer dependent on the market for their vegetables. Vegetables such as chilly, onion and cluster beans are marketed. A single family sometimes produces eight kilogram of chilly from the *porsu*.

Those who grow onion produce at least fifteen to twenty onion *fatios* (bunches). Some even produce forty *fatios* of onion from their *porsu*.

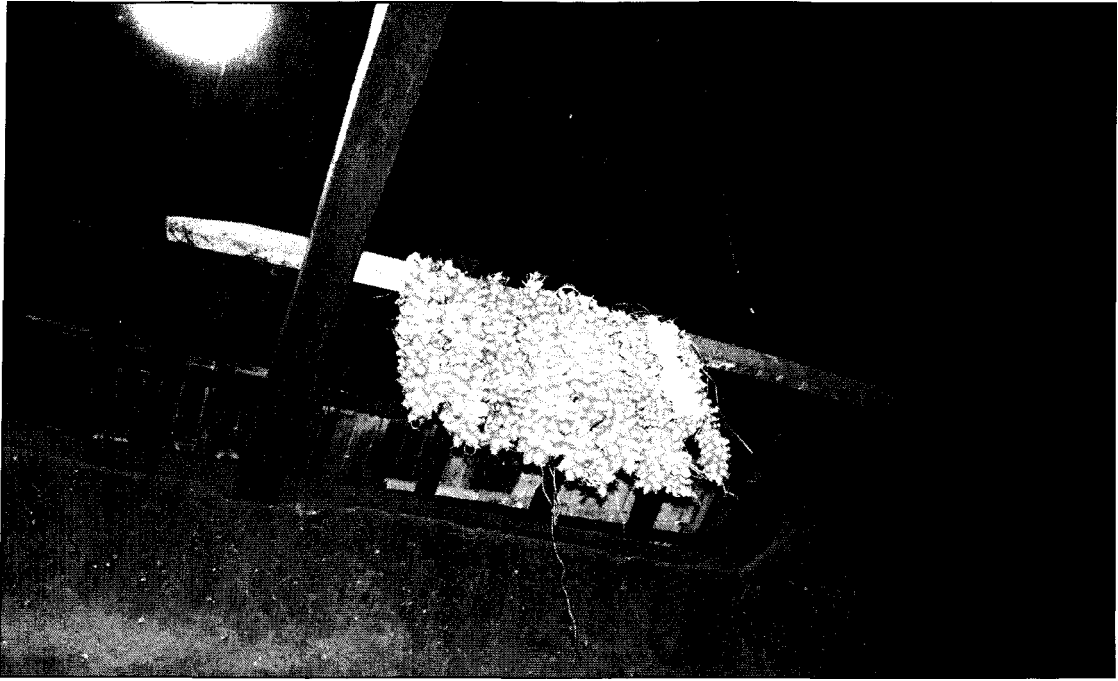


Photo 5.19: Onion *fatios* hung at the ceiling

Chilly is grown in small divisions known as *bandi/bandeo*. A single family may sometimes cultivate six to eight *bandeo* of chilly. The chilly that is grown in the *porsu* is of two types namely the green chilli and the red-hot chilli. The green chilly is cultivated and marketed of three *bandeo* at the rate of about nine thousand rupees and the red hot chilli is grown and marketed of five *bandeo* for rupees two thousand. They seasonally earn rupees of nine thousand from green chilly that is marketed to Adarsh Co-operative Society at Khalvade. Red-hot chilli is not sold but is used for consumption purposes.

Since old days the red chilly obtained from *kumeri* was marketed by the community for a long time. The production of chilly through *kumeri* drastically came down with restrictions imposed on the practice. Notwithstanding the limits imposed on shifting cultivation, a few families continue to grow chilly in the higher altitudinal regions. There are others who grow chilly within their respective cashew plantations. However, the cultivation of chilly received a major boost in *porsu* cultivation only recently. Recognising the market value and importance of chilly in daily diet, chilly is

now grown for domestic as well as commercial purposes. The red chilly grown in the hilly regions is a high quality yield than the one grown into the fields. The *kumeri* chilly can be preserved for longer time, and it is hot and spicy earning a higher value than the *porsu* chilly. While the *porsu* chilly is produced faster within a period of three to four months, the chilly grown in the *kumeri* takes a time of five to six months. But, climate conditions, natural fertilizer in the form of *saavol* and the monsoon water acts in favour for a good yield of chilly in the highlands. The pricing pattern also showed a great variation between the two. The red dry chilly obtained from *porsu* was sold at rupees 200 per kilogram, while the *kumeri* chilly was sold for rupees 400 to 450 per kilogram during the current season.

In the past, the velips could cultivate these crops only for self-consumption. It is learnt from the elders that a family could produce ten to fifteen sacks of chilly through shifting cultivation every year. Those families, which undertake *kumeri* chilly cultivation of late, may hardly get a yield of a few kilograms. They are no longer left with any *kumeri* chilly even for self-consumption.

They are now producing to meet the requirements of other people. Marketing too has taken different forms. They sell their produce of chillies and other vegetables to cooperative society. Some tribals move outside their villages and display their products for sale in the weekly market in the nearby town area; there are also others who market their products at the roadsides at some strategic locations of the national highway (NH) 17.

Achievements of cooperative farming societies

The cooperative farming project was started in the year July 2012. The focus of the projects was to empower the downtrodden farmers, which were until now only seasonal farmers, and to make them full time farmers. The agriculturist community of

the Velips were mainly dependent on *kharif* seasonal cropping. The initiative of the project was to make them produce also during the *Rabi* season. So far, the community was only producing to meet their family needs. The project emphasised the need of producing for local consumption as well as for the market. The marketing of the produce was facilitated with the help of Department of Horticulture. Initially, the horticulture department did not have any vegetable collection point. A collection point was thus raised at Khalwadem, a nearby place to the town area. The villagers found it difficult to supply their vegetable produce from the respective villages to the collection point as the distance between the villages and the collection point was too far away. Problems such as transportation by bus invited constraints on the part of families to comply with. Due to this problem, an additional unit was opened in the village Gaondongrem by the Department of Horticulture where the supply of vegetables became more feasible for the tribal farming families. Currently, the department is planning to open an additional unit in the village of Cotigao.

Besides producing an array of vegetables for self-consumption, the Self Help Groups emphasised on the production of vegetables meant for marketing. These include green chillies, cluster beans, ladyfingers, brinjals and bottle gourds. The other leafy vegetables produced by the farmers were not supplied to the horticulture department, but were partly consumed while the surplus leafy vegetables were sold by doing roadside marketing. Women sell these vegetables, especially sitting at the national highway roadside, Chaudi market and also by roaming in the villages. Farms located next to the roads could do better business by selling the fresh farm produce to people passing by the roads.



Photo 5.20: A roadside market

Initially, it was hard and surprising for the members to believe that they could achieve high commercial indices of achievements. The villagers were not aware of the high yielding nature of certain hybrid seeds, for instance the *Nisha* variety of chilly plant produces five to eight kilograms. The members of the farming societies are provided with free plants. Approximately, the farming society supplied the farming community with three lakh plants. This saved the expenditure of the farmers of purchasing the seeds from the market. The cost of the chilly seeds per kilogram (KG) was rupees forty thousand. The Self-Help Groups (SHGs) sold chillies at an average rate of rupees thirty-five for per kilogram during the current season.



Photo 5.21: Ready for selling

The total supply of vegetables done to the horticulture department was gross ten tonnes from both (Gaondongrem and Cotigao) the societies (2013-14), the income of which was around rupees ten lakh. During the year 2014-15, the total gross produce was twenty-six tonnes fetching twenty lakh rupees. However, the selling rate during the year 2014-15 was lesser than the preceding year. It was expected to grow four times more than the previous year, but the production lessened due to unseasonal rains destroying the crop.

The cooperative farming societies provide the following requirements to the SHGs:

One of the major thrust areas of the farming society is to harness the water availability in the villages and Gaondongrem and Cotigao. Twenty-two wells have been excavated so far; eleven in Gaondongrem and eleven in the Cotigao village. The

society has proposed to excavate more ten wells in both the villages. Furthermore, for the purpose of extracting water, the society has provided the groups with motor pumps. Till date, 69 pumps are provided to the farming families. Initially, the pumps driven by petrol and kerosene were allotted to the farmers. It was realised that the people had a problem in procuring kerosene and petrol fuels and therefore, electric power pump came to be distributed. Thus, out of the total of 69 pumps, 15 electric pumps were distributed. The society plans to provide the groups only with electric pumps. An additional ten more pumps will be distributed until May 2016. The average cost of a single kerosene or petrol pump initially allotted to the SHG was rupees twenty six thousand, while the costing of an electric pump is rupees fifteen thousand.

Accessories required for the pumps such as pipes were also allotted. In the initial stages around 1000 pipes were distributed to them. During the current year, they have been provided 30 pipes, while the society plans to distribute more fifty pipes the next season. To save the expenses and ease the burden of the farmers the cooperative society purchase seeds grow the necessary saplings needed in a professionally maintained agricultural nursery. The fertilizers provided by the agriculture department are also transported and distributed to these families in the different hamlets by the farming society.

Besides vegetables, the production of vermi compost fertilizer has received a good response from the tribal communities. Vermi compost fertilizer of 25 tonnes produced by the SHGs has been sold to the government. Yet another 25 tonnes has been sold to farming communities who are not members of the cooperative society. In addition to the demand created for Vermi compost fertilizer by the government, some private marketing bazaars such as the Bagayatdar and others insist for more

production of vermi compost from the tribal families. The members of the cooperative society mentioned that it has an additional fifteen tonnes of vermi compost in reserve.



Photo 5.22: A vermi compost unit

The collection of vermi compost initially, was managed by the cooperative society, which relieved the farmer of the burden of supplying it to the society at regular intervals. Of late, the cooperative society has devised a mechanism wherein on a fixed particular date of a month the groups are asked to surrender the vermi compost to a vehicle doing the collection. The cooperative society purchases one kilogram of vermi compost for rupees nine from the farmer, and sells for rupees twelve at wholesale rates and rupees fifteen for retail business.

As seen earlier, the cooperative society has significantly aided the self-help groups by providing necessary infrastructure for producing vegetables; the same is true for vermi compost activity. The society has provided the groups with the units

and worms too for manufacturing of vermi compost. The cooperative societies have been benefitted immensely by selling worms, as the demand is good in the open market. The society members boast of receiving good profit from the selling of worms. However, they admitted that marketing the worms is a difficult task as it involves care to be taken while transportation of worms, particularly because the worms have to be transported under controlled temperature settings. At the initial stage, the cooperative society purchased worms of rupees fifty-six thousands from the neighbouring State of Karnataka. Today, the society has become self-sufficient and is also able to provide worms for others.

These two farming societies in Cotigao and Gaondongrem having found their emergence and being nurtured under the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) of the Goa Shipyard Limited (GSL) and monitored by the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS), Mumbai has completed three years, especially for the empowerment of the tribal masses. The project officer and other extension officers of the society anticipate that this five-year term project has provided the community with a foundational infrastructure to sustain and develop with the activities centred on agriculture. They also believe that the corpus fund generated by the cooperative society will certainly give a boost to the farming community. It is estimated that the GSL spends an amount of rupees twenty five to thirty lakhs for the two societies every year. However, it is noteworthy that among the different projects initiated by the GSL in various parts of the State, the agri project in Canacona has been accepted and responded well particularly by the tribal population.

Projects and programmes carried out by ICAR

The Indian council for agricultural research has initiated and carried out several projects under the Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) during the last four years exclusively for the

tribals communities throughout the State. All these projects are aimed at improving the livelihood of the tribal people. Some of the ambitious projects implemented and introduced for the tribes in the villages of Gaondongrem and Cotigao are detailed further:

Until very recently the tribal community was totally dependent on traditional farming practices. The ICAR has acquainted the farming community by introducing mechanisation programme for small and marginal tribal farmers. The traditionally bound farmers have been provided with agricultural inputs such as tractors. Men's self-help groups are allotted tractors in the various hamlets of Gaondongrem and Cotigao. To enhance the livelihood opportunities a naturally ventilated greenhouse for seedling production and crop cultivation has been established. As the tribal communities are rice-producing families, a major emphasis is laid on enhancing rice productivity. Efforts are also made in improving livelihood security of tribes in Goa through technology interventions for higher productivity and production in plantation crops, spices and mangoes. To support agricultural activities in the region, the ICAR is currently focussing on the development and demonstration of water harvesting tanks (Jalkunds). An innovative best practice of empowering tribal farmers, women and tribal youth through bio-input production and enhancing organic food security by sustainable cropping models is also underway. Improved varieties of ornamental crops and seed distribution and improved varieties of vegetable seeds have also been introduced in the tribal areas. Alongside these programmes, the tribal members are disseminated with demonstration and capacity building programmes as motivational exercises.

Augmentation of Self Help Groups

As mentioned earlier, lately, the villages of Gaondongrem and Cotigao have witnessed a swift growth of men and women SHG's. The major emphasis of the SHG's have been on cultivation, particularly chilly and other vegetables, preparation of vermi compost fertilizer and participation in allied activities. The women SHG's generally bear names of goddesses and feminine character, while the men SHG's bear names of gods. Some prominent women SHG's are the Kamakshi SHG, Kulgati SHG, Laxmi SHG, Anita SHG, Mamata SHG, Sanjivani SHG, etc. Some men SHG's are Shivapurush SHG, Shivnath SHG, etc. Men SHG's are few in number compared to that of women. There is one SHG belonging to men at Bharsa and one at Kinalkatta. Men SHG's are offered with tractors, cutters and other tools required for cultivation by ICAR. The introduction of tractors to men SHG's has brought about a massive transformation in the domain of cultivation. There are thirty-six SHG's in the Gaondongrem and twenty-four in the village of Cotigao. The table 5.25 presents the number of men and women participating in the SHG's in the selected hamlets.

Table 5.25

Men and women participation in SHG

Village	Ward/ hamlet	Participation in SHG	
		No. of women	No. of men
Cotigao	Baddem	23	06
	Pansulemol	15	02
Gaondongrem	Bharsa	34	19
	Kinalkatta	18	13

The Agri Cooperative Project has benefitted the SHG's in several ways. The self-help groups are provided with free services such as seeds as well as fertilizers by the department of horticulture. Help is also further extended to transport (cost) the produce to the marketing points. Wells have been dug near the areas of cultivation to facilitate proper irrigation of lands. The use of tractors, motor pumps and other agricultural tools are provided to men SHG's. However, the most significant aspect of the project has been the training imparted to men as well as women covering various aspects for raising the productivity of crops.

The women are now increasingly engaged in multi tasks throughout the year. Two major activities undertaken by the SHG's are vegetable production and preparing vermi compost fertilizer. All women members take part in these collective works and effectively share the responsibilities between them. The production of vegetables and vermi compost is showing an increase and has created a fair demand in the market.

A case of Mamata self help group

Mamata self-help group was registered in the year 2011. In the year 2009, a woman named Revati Gaonkar initiated the forming of an informal group with some likeminded women. The group, initially consisting of ten women raised a fund through monthly collection of money. The fund collected was used for lending money to the members of the group and members of the village. They started on a modest contribution of rupees 25, which later increased to rupees 50. Every woman now contributes rupees hundred every month. The total contribution of the group done so far is rupees thirty five thousand. They lent money to members of the group on a fixed rate of interest of rupees 20 for every one thousand rupees per month. This early effort mobilized the women to form the Mamata Self Help Group. On registering, the group received an amount of rupees 25,000 thousand in the year 2011. The women decided

to join the group on their free will. The women continue to contribute rupees 100 per month, but have stopped lending money. They have raised a contribution of rupees thirty five thousand through the common funding activity. They meet on the second of every month for an hour to discuss about their activities and programmes. After the formation of SHG the women decided to undertake vegetable production especially during the post monsoon season.

The cultivation was facilitated by the help provided by GSL Agri Cooperative Project channelized through the Khotigao collective farming society and various government departments. The members have evolved a framework to carry out the different cultivation roles such as fencing, watering, providing fertilizers, weeding, collection of vegetables, marketing, visiting distribution centres, maintaining records, banking, etc. The major vegetable crop grown was the chilly in addition to cluster beans, brinjal, ladyfinger, mazecorn, *tambdi bhaji*, *irville (vaal)*. During the current season, the group have produced five-quintal chillies. With the start of the season they sold chillies at the price of rupees twenty-eight per kilogram. At the end of the season they got a price of rupees forty-one per kilogram. The selling of chillies was soon followed by marketing of other vegetables such as brinjal, cluster bean and ladyfinger. All these vegetables are sold to Adarsh Krishi Cooperative Society, nearby the town area. The supply of vegetables is done once in a week, and was started in April 2013. The chilly produce initially fetched them rupees twenty-eight for a kilogram. Subsequently, it increased to rupees forty for a kilogram. Until now, they have marketed five quintal of chilly this season. They produce 15 kilogram chilly every week. Every member has earned an income of rupees 3500 from the SHG activities.

Another activity undertaken by the SHG women is the preparation of vermi compost fertilizer. Members of SHG's were imparted training programmes being

conducted by the officials from ICAR. Several vermi compost units have been set up around a cluster of houses in the different hamlets. A hamlet of forty to fifty houses has at least two to three vermi compost units. The activity is not seasonal and hence, can be taken up throughout the year. The women have shown a great enthusiasm in the activity. The fertilizers too have received a good response from the market, thereby increasing the income levels of the group members.

In addition to these activities, the SHG women members participate in village, taluka and state cultural programmes and competitions. They exhibit a rich variety of folk items in the form of folk dances such as the *fugdi* and other dance forms. The women also prepare traditional sweets, snacks, dishes, wild fruits, underground roots, homemade foods and sell them during socio cultural festivals, *jatras* under the banner of their SHG.

CHAPTER VI

STATE, DEVELOPMENT AND TRIBAL PEOPLE

Although the tribal voice in the State became more organised and sharpened in the recent years, the leaders had well begun staging the issue of demanding Scheduled Tribe status ever since liberation. The period soon after liberation saw the efforts of the community leaders in forming tribal organisations. The hard work of some statesmen first brought the tribal communities into the fold of the Other Backward Castes (OBCs), but not in the list of the Scheduled Tribe. The struggle for inclusion into the list of the ST, however, continued even after the turn of the century. The four communities in the race demanding for the tribal status were the Gawda, Kunbi, Velip and the Dhangar. Eventually, the dawn of the 21st century saw the Gawda, Kunbi and the Velip included in the list of Scheduled Tribes.

The recognition of the communities as Scheduled Tribes in the year 2003, however, did not in any manner speak about the welfare of the tribal people. The tribals remained deprived of constitutional benefits for a considerable period. The policy of neglect adopted by the State was one of the major reasons for the tribal masses to form associations. A few of them became more vibrant and staged issues before the government. The struggle eventually took a shape of a movement culminating in protests, agitations and not excluding violence. The demands articulated by the tribal masses were ultimately fulfilled. The formation of the Department of Tribal Welfare and the setting up of the Commission of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has been an important step in the launching of welfare measures in the state. The implementation of the Tribal Sub Plan (TSP), Forest Right Act (FRA) 2006, the development of Kuskem as a model village project are significant state intervention programmes aimed at development of the tribal society.

While the concern for sustainable development has been set in motion, the state has witnessed resistance mounted by the tribal society against anti mining projects and declaration of tribal habitats as critical wildlife habitats.

TRIBAL DISCONTENT IN GOA

Emergence of a tribal movement

Human society, no doubt is experiencing social movements since antiquity. The numerical intensity of movements however, has phenomenally increased in contemporary times. According to Singh (2000), one of the central features of tribal movements in India is the fact that the tribal struggles were revolts against the State. Bhardwaj (1977) says that the tribal movements in India took shape since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Writings by sociologists and anthropologists focussed on micro and macro tribal movements. The writings of Ghurye and Fuchs deal with tribal movements having an all India focus (macro), while Elwin, Vidyarthi, Sachchidanand, Edward Roy and others focus on tribal movements at the local (micro) level.

While the model of development instead of bridging the gulf between the tribes and the general society has brought in despair leading to growing unrest in the tribal society. It is also true that the tribal society in Goa witnessed some volume of discontent in the recent past. The nature of discontent has by and large assumed the shape of a social movement. There have been tribal movements in different parts of the country centred on several issues. Several scholars have studied and documented the struggles going on around the tribal communities. It is imperative at this juncture to understand the nature of tribal struggle vis a vis the state of Goa in the recent past.

The Goan tribal communities until the turn of the century were recognised a part of the Other Backward Classes (OBC). In fact, before getting included into the

fold of the Scheduled Tribes, the tribal scene by and large did not in any way manifest any form of a radical protest or discontent in the form of a movement. It is however, ironical and unfortunate to say that tribal unrest surfaced in a more audible manner in the State after the recognition of the communities as Scheduled Tribes.

The genesis of the movement took shape with the reservation proposition of the community. The issue of inclusion of the communities into the list of Scheduled Tribes had well begun soon after Liberation. The agenda of inclusion of the tribals meant that the community possessed a unique ethnic identity and were to be regarded as the original settlers of the land. Gaude (2009) mentions that Shri Vasu Paik Gaonkar forwarded a bill in the year 1980 in the Goa Legislative Assembly to notify the communities as Scheduled Tribes, but some members of the legislative members resented to the move and were therefore included in the list of the Other Backward Classes (OBC).

The initial phase of the movement was significant for two things; one was that the tribals became consciously aware of their origins and secondly, this phase did not manifest any rebellion or any protest movement by the tribals.

The long pressing demand of recognising the communities as 'Scheduled Tribes' got ultimately fulfilled with the concerted efforts of the leaders of the respective tribal communities in the year 2003. It was to be considered as a major breakthrough in the realisation of tribal emancipation in the years to come. Until this period, the welfare of these tribal communities in the State remained silent.

The constitutional recognition brought an array of hope among the community members. It was presumed that the fruits of constitutional recognition would bring emancipation among the tribal masses. However, to their dismay, the period from 2003 until 2010 too manifested a major lag in terms of the overall welfare of the tribal

communities. The aspirations of the tribal masses remained unresolved for a long period even after getting the official recognition of the ST's in the year 2003. It did not bring much improvement in the socio economic condition of the community. During this phase, the tribal society became more vigilant of the passive interest shown to them by the government.

The insensibility of the government apparently compelled the pan tribal society in Goa to protect and promote their collective interests through the formation of tribal associations. As Shah (2004, p. 106) points out, no movements are spontaneous but have organisational aspects, the tribal movement in Goa was precisely structured with the help of organisational support. The prominent among them are the Gawda Kunbi Velip Dhangar (GAKUVED) and the United Tribal Association Alliance (UTAA). In fact, until the turn of the century GAKUVED helped in organising the tribal voice. The organisational base even became stronger with the formation of UTAA in the recent years. The hard work of locating the communities into the list of Scheduled Tribes is mainly attributed to the GAKUVED. The UTAA on the other hand took up the campaign to mobilise support from the tribal masses along with the other tribal organisations in the state. The tribal communities used these tribal forums to organise and articulate themselves in staging their livelihood issues before the state. The UTAA was established in the year 2004, and has been the most active among them and was projected as an umbrella organisation for the different tribal communities in the state of Goa. Fernandez (2014, p. 98) calls the formation of UTAA, a new avatar, as it provided a platform for eight different tribal organisations to come together. Some of these are:

1. Gomantak Gaud Maratha Samaj led by Yeshwant Gawade;
2. Tribal welfare association led by Dr. Kashinath Jalmi;

3. Gawda, Kunbi, Velip, Dhangar Federation led by Anand Gawade;
4. All Goa Scheduled Tribes Union led by Namdev Fatarpekar;
5. Tribes of Goa led by Peter Gama;
6. Gomantak Velip Samaj Sangh led by Prakash S. Velip;
7. Taleigao Tribal Welfare led by Narayan Kuttikar; and
8. Gaud Jamat Mahasangh-Goa led by Shrikant Palsarkar.

The UTAA has been focussing and sensitising about tribal issues vigorously through public propaganda. The organisational base of UTAA assumed larger significance than the other tribal associations in the state. The organisation gained a good support from leaders coming from the educational, political, legal and business field. Moreover, the educated tribal youth in the State were able to augment a healthy support to the organisational base.

The Gawada, Kunbi, Velip and Dhangar Federation (GAKUVED) and the United Tribal Association Alliance (UTAA) became more active. They put forth their demands by launching protest movements before the State Government aiming towards the general welfare of the tribes. Despite statehood given to Jharkhand in November 2000 we notice an increase in protest movements. It was hoped to bring rapid changes in favour of the populace but the new policies did not favour the adivasis. Before losing all rights to their land and resources, the tribals articulated protests by building alliances with NGOs and people's movements (Rao, 2003, p. 4084).

Among the many demands, the tribals primarily demanded for the establishment of an autonomous tribal department to address and tackle the peculiar problems of the tribal communities. Detailed further is the list of the demands proposed by the UTAA before the government:

- To set up ST commission
- Implementation of the tribal forest act
- Fill up the backlog of vacancies in direct recruitment as well as promotions
- Implement the twelve per cent political reservation in the assembly
- Ban on selling of land belonging to ST community to non- ST community
- Setting up a high-level committee to look into implementation of demands of ST committee
- Setting of ST finance and Development Corporation, ST commission, independent tribal department and tribal ministry decides planning authority for ST community
- Simplifying the procedure for obtaining caste certificate.
- Providing 12 per cent political representation for ST and notifying of tribal area in the state
- Increasing the monthly pension of rupees 1000 to rupees 3000 for widows of the community
- Doubling the pension to senior citizens

The initiative undertaken by the UTAA culminated in the launching of a pan tribal movement in the state. Singh (2005) observes that the tribals of late have become proactive and assert their self-identity by participating in struggles irrespective of their isolated domiciles. Symbolically the movement brought in a consciousness of a common identity among the tribal members. The movement was facilitated by several factors. In the first instance, since the issues addressed were of a general nature, it facilitated in mobilising support from all the tribal communities from the different parts of Goa. The type of character of tribal unrest in Goa was not essentially from a particular tribal community or a large homogeneous land owning

community who have a relatively a strong economic base as Singh mentions (2004: 105). In fact, the movement drew support from different tribals groups from the State, irrespective of religious divides. The protest movements were joined in large numbers by Hindu and Catholic community as well. Secondly, the state of Goa being small in terms of its area, it easily facilitated in mobilising the different communities from the nook and corner of the state. Tribal masses from the remotest of the locations took part in the movement despite geographical considerations. As mentioned earlier, the modus operandi of UTAA of collective propaganda helped the movement to integrate the members across the state throughout the movement.

The official recognition of the tribal communities in the year 2003 as belonging to the Scheduled Tribes has evolved a sense of solidarity through the framework of such associations such as the UTAA. It brought about a collective radical mobilisation by raising socio-political awareness and participation among the tribal masses in the recent times through conventions. Conventions were organised in the different talukas to create awareness among the community members. These conventions brought the tribals together from the different parts of the State. The conventions sensitized and highlighted some pressing issues pertaining to the overall welfare of the tribal society. The leaders of the association urged the tribal community members to consolidate and add solidarity to the tribal movement.

The association took up the cause of the tribals to achieve their long awaited demands. The UTAA led by the president Mr. Prakash Velip and other members played an important role in launching a statewide movement. The members in one of the conventions appealed before the government to consider the demands put up by the association. It also set a deadline and threatened to launch an agitation across the State if the government had failed to do so. The leaders appealed before the people

from the community to join hands to show strength to the government and co-operate with the association (The Navhind Times, 2011).

The long awaited unfulfilled demands forced the tribal communities launched a radical protest at Balli in the Quepem taluka under the banner of UTAA. The agitation received an overwhelming response of over six thousand tribal men, especially from the talukas from the south district of the State. The agitation turned out violent paralysing the road and rail connectivity for several hours causing inconvenience for transportation along the National Highway 17. The outrage of the tribals was demonstrated by damaging and burning vehicles prompting the police to open lathi charge leaving many injured. What turned out to be rather more unfortunate during the protest was the death of two young Velip boys ruthlessly burnt by some group of non tribal men by setting fire to a go down of cashew seeds (The Navhind Times, 2011). The annoyed UTAA activists along with their leaders demanded for a judicial inquiry into the incident, however, subsequently asked the government to order for a probe done by the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI). The government however, finally decided to investigate to conduct a judicial probe. Accordingly, a judicial commission named as the Shah Commission was appointed to study the Balli riot. After receiving a detailed report from the Shah Commission, the State government decided to transfer the case to the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI), as demanded earlier by UTAA. The agitation bounced back on the tribals as their two key tribal leaders were detained in judicial custody for more than a month period. Following the incident, the UTAA members observed a daylong hunger agitation as a mark of respect to the departed souls; this was later followed by a *dharna* in the capital city as a protest against the ruling government. The family members of the deceased UTAA activists resisted to claim their dead bodies until the culprits were

appropriately traced and arrested. Meanwhile, realising the faulty assurances made by the government the leaders of the UTAA expressed that they would continue with the movement until their rightful demands are fulfilled. After a span of almost two months of the Balli incident, considering the delay in the realisation of tribal demands the organisation progressed further by threatening the government in deciding to organise a '*jail bharo andolan*' pressing their demands hard and also to demand the release of their tribal leaders (The Navhind Times, 2011). However, talks with the bureaucracy forced them to hold a peaceful demonstration instead. During this time the tribals suffered another yet another big blow when their three important forefront vibrant leaders were arrested and were kept in police custody. The consistent failures and dissuasion techniques adopted by the government finally compelled the activists to take to the street that was joined by over five thousand UTAA activists (Gomantak Times, 2011). The peaceful demonstration of the activists appealed before the government to release their jailed leaders and punish the murderers who burnt the two tribal men and warned the government of further intensifying their struggle. The detained tribal leaders were later released from judicial and police custodies. Meanwhile, very recently it is learnt that the 21 tribal persons charge sheeted by the CBI have been found discharged from the Balli riot by the district court (The Navhind Times, 2015).

Tribal leadership and organisations

The demand for the inclusion of the tribes in Goa into the fold of Scheduled Tribes started in the 1960s. Goa did produce eminent leaders since liberation, especially from the marginalised sections of the society. The leadership qualities particularly were noted among some legislators as well as some social workers who took up the cause of tribes. Shri Jiva Gaonkar, belonging to Velip community from Canacona was the

first nominated tribal member to the legislative assembly. In the year 1966-67, Shri Jiva Gaonkar moved a resolution in the assembly asking for the inclusion of the tribal communities in Goa in the list of Scheduled Tribe. Shri Gaonkar was soon joined by tribal legislators from other talukas. Shri Krishna Bandodkar was the first elected MLA from the constituency of Madkai for the Goa legislative assembly. In fact, Shri Krishna Bandodkar was an organisational pioneer of tribes in Goa. He was instrumental in the founding of the Gomantak Gaud Maratha Samaj in the year 1962. Shri Dhulo Kuttikar from Quepem, Shri Vasu Paik Gaonkar from Canacona, Shri Kashinath Jalmi from Priol, Shri Mama Cardoz from Margao, Antonio Gaonkar from Raia and Shri Prakash Velip from Quepem dominated the tribal leadership campaign as members of Goa Legislative Assembly in the 1980s. The effort of Shri Vasu Paik Gaonkar warrants special attention as he played an important role in bringing the community into the fold of OBC. In fact, the Gawda, Kunbi Velip and the Dhangar communities were listed as OBC's in the year 1987. It is interesting to note that the Goa legislature in the year 1985 brought five tribal legislators together.

Notwithstanding the existence of tribal organisations such as the UTAA, GAKUVED and the Gomantak Gaud Maratha Samaj, the state has also witnessed several other tribal associations in the recent past. It was in fact difficult for the researcher to ascertain the precise number of registered tribal organisation in the State due to its large number. A number of tribal organisations have been formed in the state considering some religious, regional and political attributes. Some tribal communities have been formed by tribals at the level of taluka, while some at the level of villages. Some have formed associations having affiliation to political parties. As the tribal society is divided between the Hindus and the Catholics, one finds associations exclusively organised around religious outfits. Shri Luis Alex Cardozo,

an active tribal leader from the Salcete taluka was actively involved in mobilising the Catholic Gawda Community. He worked as the minister, Department of Social Welfare, Government of Goa and was elected for three consecutive terms from 1989 to 2002. In the 1980s, Shri Cardozo formed the Gawda Vikas Mandal (GVM) and worked as the president of the GVM. As a Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA) Shri Cardozo stressed on the need for education for the tribes. He was instrumental in starting the Goa State Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Castes Finance Development Corporation Limited. Shri. Deu Mandrekar, (MLA) from the Pernem constituency was appointed as the first chairman of the commission. Yet another commission started by Shri Cardozo was the Goa State Backward Commission in the year 1994. Advocate Shri Guru Shirodkar was appointed as the chairman of the commission. The Gawda Vikas Mandal did not find much favour from the community members. He then founded another tribal association named as Salcete Scheduled Tribe Association in the year 1995. He applauds the efforts of tribal community members such as Sebastiao Miranda, late John Raikar, Rosario Gomes, Antonio Francisco Fernandes, Late Antonio Gaonkar and others for their efforts in taking up tribal issues. Fernandes (2014, p. 81), while portraying the life of tribal leader Antonio Francisco Fernandes, also highlights the role played by Emidio D'costa, Camilo Matheus and Luizinho Faleiro in bringing an awakening among the tribal masses. The Contemporary tribal leadership campaign is actively shouldered by leaders like Ramesh Tawadka, Shri Ganesh Gaonkar, Shri Vasudev Meng Gaonkar, Babuso Gaonkar, Peter Gama, Antonio Vaz, Govind Gaude and others.

A couple of months ago, yet another organisational endeavour undertaken by a group of tribal leaders in the State is of integrating the Goan tribes with pan Indian tribal forum. The tribal community in the district of south Goa has witnessed the

inauguration of the Goa Adivasi Vikas Parishad in September 2015. The former minister and president of UTAA, Shri Prakash Velip is believed to be instrumental in this novel organisational endeavour. The Goa Adivasi Vikas Parishad has been formed as one of its branches of Akhil Bharatiya Adivasi Vikas Parishad. The Akhil Bharatiya Adivasi Vikas Parishad in the country is considered as a pan Indian forum of the tribals. The Akhil Bharatiya Adivasi Vikas Parishad having branches in majority of states and union territories of India claims to be a non-political organisation aiming for the empowerment of the tribal masses. The broad objective of forming the state unit of Goa Adivasi Vikas Parishad is to resolve some of the tribal issues unsettled by the state. The Akhil Bharatiya Adivasi Vikas Parishad avows to address issues pertaining to the tribes before the government at the state as well as the centre. The Parishad intends to reach out to the tribal masses and wishes to expand its institutional base. The leaders of the Parishad have unitedly appealed before the tribal masses in the State to become members keeping aside their regional or religious differences. Considering the nature of tribal situation and the problems faced by them, the Goa unit has outlined a number of objectives aiming towards the general welfare of the tribes. It seeks to collaborate with the national Parishad in resolving the desired and timely issues of the community at regular intervals.

TRIBAL WELFARE: A NEW BEGINNING

The constitutional provisions and safeguards are the basic and chief instruments of social change aiming towards the amelioration of tribes. The interventionist strategy of the centre and the state into the tribal society in the post Independence period has resulted in the advancement of tribal lives to some extent. Nevertheless, the extension of welfare through various statutory means has not completely resolved the aspirations of the tribal masses. Relegating the developmental debate and its

assessment, it is imperative at this particular juncture to focus on the emergence of the Department of Tribal welfare in the State of Goa, understand the objectives, schemes, achievements, and assess the implementation and functioning of the Tribal Sub Plan (TSP).

A series of protests launched by the tribal associations ultimately brought an awakening on the part of the government, when in the year 2010 an independent Department of Tribal Welfare was established in the State. However, it is important to mention here that prior to the establishment of the Department of Tribal Welfare the welfare of the tribal masses in general was undertaken and monitored by the Department of Social Welfare. However, the results achieved by the department were not much impressive.

The Department of Tribal Welfare, though in its infant stage has constructively formulated certain objectives aiming at the overall development of the tribes.

Broad objectives laid down by the Department of Tribal Welfare are as follows:

1. Statutory and administrative facilities to protect and to empower the Scheduled Tribes in the State.
2. Implementation and monitoring of welfare schemes and Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) for tribals framed by Government of Goa as well as Government of India
3. Protecting interests of tribals in matters pertaining to employment in government service
4. Establishing and monitoring functions of statutory bodies pertaining to growth and protection of tribals. Carrying out Census and survey of Scheduled Tribe communities.

5. Training and capacity building among tribals.
6. Implementation of Scheduled Tribes and other traditional forest dwellers (Regulation of Forest Right Act, 2006)

The schemes formulated by the Department of Tribal Welfare are:

- ✓ Pre-matric scholarship: Provides financial assistance to ST students undergoing pre matric education
- ✓ Kanya Dhan: Promote education among girl students of ST communities
- ✓ Scholarship for Home nursing: Provides financial assistance to ST community students undergoing courses in nursing
- ✓ Grants to voluntary organisations for running hostels for ST students: To give grant in aid to the voluntary social organization who run hostels for ST students to enable them to pursue their studies away from their place of residence
- ✓ Post-matric scholarship: Provide financial assistance to ST students studying at post secondary stage to enable them to complete their higher education
- ✓ Book bank scheme: Establish book banks in medical colleges (including Indian systems of medicine and homeopathy) engineering, agriculture, veterinary, polytechnics, law course, chartered accountancy, MBA, and bio-sciences
- ✓ Gagan bharrari shiksha yojana: Financial assistance to support the expenditure on travel, food for the students undergoing post matric education

- ✓ Merit based award and recognition of high performers in board exams;
Felicitation of rank holders and merit based wards for high performers in board exams
- ✓ Sahayata: For creating of awareness of schemes, programmes for the upliftment of tribal population
- ✓ Antya sanskar sahay yojana: Financial assistance for incurring expenditure for conducting funerals and religious ceremonies related to last rites of the deceased
- ✓ Atal asra yojana: Financial assistance for construction/ repairs of house to ST population
- ✓ Mundkarache ghar: Financial assistance to the mundkars of ST community to exercise their right to purchase dwelling house
- ✓ Scheme to support orphan child/ children of widow belonging to ST community: To give financial support to the orphan children and the children of widows for meeting the expenditure on food, clothing, shelter till the children attains the age of 18 years
- ✓ Prashikshan yatra: To provide financial assistance to the educational institutes in the tribal dominated areas to conduct study tours/ excursions across the country to cover places of historic, cultural and educational importance during school vacations
- ✓ Sanskriti bhavan: To help the ST community by providing the most needed infrastructure of multipurpose community halls in the habitations of ST people
- ✓ Adivasi vikas yojana: To provide financial support to village panchayats/ zilla panchayats and municipalities where there is substantial tribal

population to create new infrastructure and upgrade the existing infrastructure as also carry out one time maintenance for the benefit of the village communities

- ✓ Special central assistance and grants under article 275: Financial assistance for development of infrastructure and minor irrigation works and self employment
- ✓ Pre primary schools for Scheduled Tribes children in remote areas: To provide financial assistance to set up pre-primary schools in the remote tribal areas which lack the facility of the pre-primary education for tribal population, financial assistance in the form of rent amount payable for the premises, fixed remuneration to one teacher, one helper, teaching aid/ equipments, toys, mid-day meal to be provided under the scheme.

The schemes outlined by the department clearly indicate a major thrust given to the domain of education. This is true from the fact that as many as nine out of eighteen welfare schemes are directly or indirectly committed to the cause of education among the tribes. The keen effort of the government to raise the educational standards of the community will help in overcoming the various problems faced by the community. Housing, infrastructure development, irrigation, and self employment are also other areas of concern. Currently, the department is in the process of designing additional three to four welfare schemes, which are likely to be implemented during the next financial year.

The table 6.1 looks into the achievements of the tribal welfare department for the year 2013-14.

Table 6.1**Expenditure and Achievements of Tribal Welfare Department under Plan****Schemes for the Year 2013-14**

Demand No.	Demand/ Major, Sub-Major, Minor Heads/ Schemes	Expenditure (Rs. in Lakhs)	Achievements
1	Capital outlay on roads and bridges	2700.45	----
2	Financial assistance for construction of new houses and repairs "Atal Asra Yojana"	1917.5	2108 beneficiaries
3	Education programme (stipends, meritorious scholarships to ST students)	569.23	9737 students
4	Capital outlay on water supply	387.00	----
5	Post Matric Scholarship to the students belonging to Scheduled Tribes	381.18	3162 students
6	Financial assistance to ST students under "Gagan Bharari Shiksha Yojana"	318.75	3736 students
7	Kanya Dhan	156.50	639 students
8	Grants to voluntary organisations for running hostels	82.01	5 NGOs
9	Merit based award and recognition of high performance in the board exams of SSC and HSSC in the State of Goa	75.08	916 students
10	Grant of financial assistance for performance of funeral and religious ceremonies related to last rites of a person of ST community under "Antya Sanskar Sahay Yojana"	44.60	32 beneficiaries
11	Prashikshan Yatra- scheme to provide financial assistance for conducting study tours (excursion) for ST students during	36.68	37 institutions

	vacations		
12	Non recurring grants for infrastructure development and minor irrigation	21.25	15
13	Implementation of Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights Act, 2006)	6.41	----
14	Scheme to support orphan child/ children of widow belonging to ST community	3.80	47
15	Coaching to ST students	2.14	
16	“Sahayata”- financial assistance for creating awareness and implementation of schemes/ programmes of ST	1.93	4 NGOs
17	Scholarships to ST community students in Nursing Courses	1.71	13 students
18	Financial assistance for self employment and training	1.35	----
19	Book bank for ST students	0.29	1 set

Source: Department of Tribal Welfare

Table 6.1 indicates higher expenditures done in the area of public works (roads and bridges), followed by housing, water supply and education. Access to certain tribal areas continues to pose a major challenge for people living in remote regions. By and large these areas have remained backward as a result of their settlements in the hilly regions making commutation difficult. There is an urgent need to connect these places through adequate means of transportation by constructing roads and bridges. The living condition of the tribals is well depicted in the form of housing. A gradual process of change is witnessed in the pattern of housing among the tribes in the recent years. One may rarely come across one or two mud houses or with that of a thatched roof in a tribal hamlet of Goa. A majority of the tribals are the beneficiaries of the housing schemes, which are at their disposal.

The Tribal sub plan

Even after Independence, the issues confronted by the tribals did not receive adequate attention from the government. To tackle the problems faced by the tribal communities across the length and breadth of the country the planning commission evolved a total and comprehensive strategy on the eve of the fifth plan (1974-75) known as Tribal Sub-Plan. The long term objective of the tribal sub-plan approach was to narrow the gap between the levels of development of tribal and other areas while improving the quality of life of the tribal communities (Chhotroy: 2006).

The tribal sub plan funds are channelized through the various departments in the State of Goa. Initially, i.e. in the year 2009-10, a total of only seventeen departments were allocated funds to meet the welfare of tribes in the State. Presently, there are altogether twenty-five departments utilising funds of the Tribal Sub Plan in the areas wherever there is the presence of tribal habitats. In keeping with the norms of the planning commission, funds are earmarked for the ST component and efforts are on to identify works for implementation of projects and programmes for the overall development of the Scheduled Tribe population (Tribal Sub Plan, 2013-14).

Table 6. 2

Outlay and Expenditure of Tribal Sub Plan from 2009 to 2014 (in lakhs)

Year	Outlay	Expenditure	%
2009-10	10715.01	9793.61	91.40
2010-11	13432.35	11221.61	83.54
2011-12	27358.47	17127.84	62.61
2012-13	37370.53	11273.64	30.17
2013-14	42650.46	17386.75	40.76

Source: Department of Tribal Welfare

Table 6.2 indicates the provision and expenditure of tribal sub plan funds from the year 2009 to 2014. The expenditure of funds, as shown in the table has declined from the year 2009 to 2013, but demonstrated a gradual increase during 2013-14. There is a steady decline in the expenditure pattern from the year 2010 to 2012. One can notice a radical fall in the percentage of expenditure during the period 2012-13. Though, there is a decrease in the expenditure on the one hand, one can observe that the allocation of funds during the period has shown a tremendous increase on the other hand. The outlay doubled during the year 2011-12 in comparison to the preceding year, and subsequently there is a hike of another hundred crores during the succeeding years.

Table 6.3**Comparison of expenditures of departments (Tribal Sub Plan) in percentages**

Sr, No.	Department	2012-13	2013-14
I	Water resources	65.42	36.37
II	Public works	33.52	--
III	Municipal administration	0.00	--
IV	Social welfare	4.66	98.20
V	Tribal welfare	12.73	31.30
VI	Education	56.06	17.21
VII	Electricity	58.32	83.11
VIII	Sports and youth affairs	16.51	31.05
IX	Women and child development	84.96	51.29
X	Health	78.87	54.30
XI	Animal husbandry and vet. services	51.64	39.28
XII	Agriculture	67.68	55.27
XIII	Forest	91.33	79.42
XIV	Dist. Rural dev. agency	42.31	54.71
XV	Panchayats	63.02	84.27
XVI	Fisheries	100	100
XVII	Craftsmen training centre	20.86	8.42
XVIII	Art and culture	9.68	48.85
XIX	Industries, trade and commerce	2.77	87.26
XX	Information and technology	82.82	--
XXI	Labour	0.00	3.62
XXII	Co-operation	0.00	--
XXIII	Tourism	5.15	--
XXIV	Science, technology and environment	2.04	4.82
XXV	Higher education	50.00	--

Source: Department of Tribal Welfare

As indicated in the table 6.3, the departments that have shown a rise in the expenditure pattern during the year 2013-14 are Social Welfare, Tribal welfare, Electricity, Sports and youth affairs, Dist. Rural dev. Agency, Panchayats, Fisheries, Art and culture, Industries, trade and commerce, Labour, and Science, technology and environment. Whereas, the department which show low expenditures are Water resources, Education, Women and child development, Health, Animal husbandry and vet. Services, Agriculture, Forest, Craftsmen training centre. Departments such as (Public works, Municipal administration, Information and technology, Co-operation, Tourism, and Higher education) have failed to meet any expenditure.

As shown in the table 6.3, the departments showing expenditure of more than 76 per cent are Social welfare, Electricity, Forest, Panchayats, Fisheries, Industries, trade and commerce. The rest of the departments indicate fairly low, moderate and no expenditures.

The Department of Social Welfare during the period of 2013-14 has shown a good rise in the expenditure in comparison to the preceding period (2012-13). The increase in the expenditure of the department is largely because of the schemes run by the department such as Dayanand Social Security Scheme, the Rajiv Awaas Yojana and also financial assistance to tiny enterprises. It may pointed that the number of beneficiaries increased more significantly through schemes such as the Dayanand Social Security Scheme, wherein financial assistance is provided to the most vulnerable sections of the society. The Department of Electricity has carried out major works in reaching to tribal people especially in areas in the vicinity of wild life sanctuary. The whopping expenditure is largely used in the setting up and up grading of sub-stations, and in laying underground cabling of electricity lines.



Photo 6.1: Underground cabling done in tribal hamlets

Interestingly, the Department of Forest reveal healthy figures since works such as establishment and maintenance of fire wood depots, rising of plantation under social forestry and maintenance, maintenance of nursery, maintenance of parks, maintenance of development works in forest areas, de silting of water holes, construction of roads, rubble walls, check dams and promotion of eco tourism are taken up.

The expenditure figures of the panchayats dealing with rural infrastructure too are contributing significantly towards tribal development. Similarly, the department of fisheries and the department of industries, trade and commerce have shown high indices of expenditure.

Clearly, one can discern that though the Department of Tribal Welfare is in its nascent stages of growth, the progress achieved by it is noteworthy. The formation of

Tribal Ministry in the State is largely responsible for the change. However, the tribal situation in the State warrants more attention and concerted action to attend to fundamental livelihood issues, especially in the remote locations. It is inferred that there is no optimum utilisation of the funds of the Tribal Sub Plan by few departments. Burman, Basu, Lahiri *et al.* (as cited in Bhowmik, 1988) observe that between 80 and 90 per cent of the funds allotted for tribal development were spent on maintaining the administrative structure. In other words, these funds are utilised for maintaining a structure, which will supervise the distribution of the remaining 10 or 20 per cent to the tribals. The expectations of the tribal communities perhaps are likely to be fulfilled if the allocations and expenditure of the funds probably do not show much bigger variations between the different departments. At this juncture, there is rigorous need to relook into the effective and timely implementation of the programmes. An all-inclusive development of the tribes can only come true if the departmental propositions are to be translated into action programmes to meet the desired ends.

SOME INSTANCES OF TRIBAL RESISTANCE IN GOA

The Cavrem Mining Imbroglia

The tribal people all over the country have been the major targets of development projects leading to alienation of land, and subsequent disruption in the livelihoods. The deleterious effects of development on our environment so far have shaken the faith of modern man. In the name of progress, we have followed a model of development that has brought the humankind almost to the brink of destruction (Ghosh, 2012, p. 37). The State of Goa with its rich mineral resources had been for a long time known for mining activities, especially in the hinterlands. Tribal habitats in the south district of the state experienced discontent due to rampant mining activities.

Cavrem, a small tribal village from the Quepem taluka demonstrates how exploitation of the pristine resources has resulted in resistance. The primordial livelihood infrastructures of tribal lands have been appropriated to carry out mining activities. This reveals the fact that there is an imposition of the ways of life of the dominant groups on the poor people (Doshi, p. 47). The tribals literally became dispossessed of their own local resources and launched protests to protect their agricultural livelihoods. The transportation of iron ore had led to the worsening of the vegetation and depletion of water levels in the region. The tribals on their very own land had to work for cheap labour into the mining operations. As rightly pointed out by Vyasulu (as cited in Fernandes & Chaudhury, 1993) some kind of Indo-colonialism has developed in the tribal dominated zones. The Cavrem villagers launched protests against the state demanding the stopping of illegal and unregulated mining activity. The anti mining movement was headed by a young man Mr. Nilesh Gaonkar under the banner of the Cavrem Adivasi Bachao Samiti. The protests launched by the tribals faced unforeseen results as the grievances of protesting tribals were not given any heed by the government. On the contrary, the protests resulted in lathi charge against the protesting tribals from the policemen. The anti mining movement took a violent turn when the leader of the Cavrem Adivasi Bachao Samiti was brutally attacked by members from the mining lobby. The anti mining movement received support from the several nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) requesting the state to ban illegal mining activities. The (NGOs) warned the government to protect human rights by preserving environment and warned about the ill effects of mining to the ecological system. The outcome of the movement resulted in the closure of illegal mining activities throughout the State.

Critical Wildlife Habitat (CWH) and the tribal resistance

During the mid of 2010, as per the directions of the Department of Environment and Forests, Government of India, the state government decided to declare some parts of the Cotigao Wild Life Sanctuary as Critical Wildlife Habitat. As per the definition, 'Critical Wildlife Habitat' means such area of National Parks and Sanctuaries that are required to be kept as inviolate for the purposes of wildlife conservation as determined and notified by the Ministry of Environment and Forests (MoEF), after the open process of consultation, by an expert committee. The Critical Wildlife Habitats are to be clearly identified on case-to-case basis following scientific and objective criteria.

As per the provisions of the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006, the Ministry of Environment and Forests in October 2007 took up the initiative of framing guidelines for the identification and notification of Critical Wildlife Habitat. The guidelines however, did not find much favour and was reacted heavily from different quarters. The government subsequently decided to amend the rules. The ministry came out with a fresh set of guidelines in the year 2011, and withdrew the earlier guidelines.

As seen earlier, the Cotigao Wild Life Sanctuary includes tribal hamlets of Keri, Nadkem, Endrem, Morfondamol and Bhutpal. Tribals living in these hamlets live a world of isolation and neglect. They are by and large dependent for their livelihood on the forests. All these hamlets are away from each other and are very old, except the settlement at Morfondamol, which is only just some forty to fifty years old.

Prior to the declaration of the sanctuary as a Critical Wildlife Habitat, the Government as per the directions issued by the Ministry of Environment and Forests resolved to set up a State Level Expert Committee to invite hearings from the

different stakeholders of the tribal community on the matter. Accordingly, the tribal unions, federations, associations and the leaders of the community and representatives of the block convened meetings with the residents living in the sanctuary to sensitize about the stand taken by the government.

After hearing to the CWH proposal, the residents of Cotigao setting apart their political differences unanimously decided to oppose the move of the government. Many of the families living on these lands for ages did not wish to get dispossessed of their lands. The Gawda, Kunbi, Velip and Dhangar (GAKUVED) Federation fundamentally opposed the move of the government of declaring the sanctuary as a critical wild life habitat. In its memorandum, the federation asked the government to settle the claims of the tribals as has been provided under the Forest Rights Act (FRA), 2006. To toughen the memorandum, the federation attached recommendations made by the 'jury of a people's tribunal' formed by the federation. The recommendations spoke of manipulation of land records, forceful evacuation from their land, faulty settlement of land, ignorance of settlement procedures, irresponsible mining, indiscriminate industrialization and haphazard real estate development resulting in an attack on the lands, lives and livelihood of the tribals. To protect the livelihoods of the tribals the federation asked for the restoration of the lands through the Forest Right Act (The Times of India, 2010).

The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 also known as FRA was enacted by the Government of India on 2nd January 2007. The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition Of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 has been enacted to recognise and vest the forest rights and occupation in forest land in forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes and other traditional forest dwellers who have been residing in such forests for generation

but whose rights could not be recorded, and also to provide for a framework for recording the forest rights so vested and the nature of evidence required for such recognition and vesting in respect of forest land. The Rules under the Act have been notified on 1st January 2008.

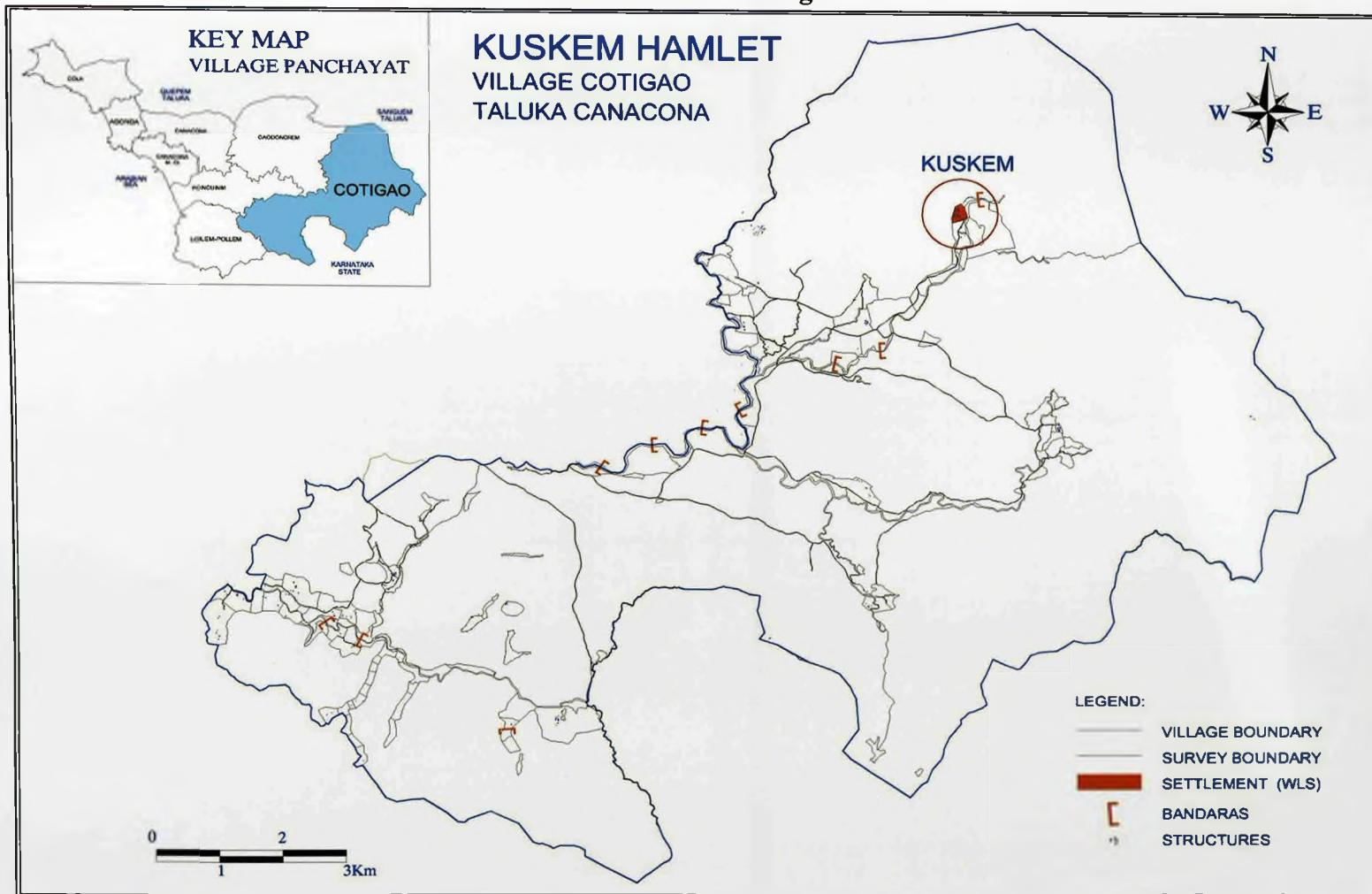
To safeguard the interests of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in the State, the Goa Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes came to be established in the year 2011. The commission looks into issues concerning the welfare of the tribal as well as the Scheduled Caste communities. Issues generally handled by the commission include matters relating to land, education, forest, monitoring of tribal sub plan, atrocities, monitoring post based roaster (service matters), political reservation, etc.

KUSKEM MODEL VILLAGE: A DEVELOPMENTAL INITIATIVE

The initiative of developing Kuskem as a model village in Cotigao has been looked as a model planned for the economic upliftment of the community. Khola in Canacona is yet another village, which is proposed as a model village under the Saansad Adarsh Gram Yojana having the third highest tribal population of 55.31 per cent. The Department of Tribal Welfare, Government of Goa, has taken up the novel initiative of adapting and developing the Kuskem ward on the lines of a model village. The Kuskem ward in Cotigao lying at a distance of around twenty-five kilometres from the Canacona town is the last approachable ward by road. The idea of starting the venture was whole-heartedly welcomed by the tribal community in Kuskem as well as by the villagers of Cotigao. The concept of model village aims at promoting collective farming practices, dairy farming, water harvesting projects in the form of ponds and *bandharas*, floriculture, eco tourism, sports and allied activities in the region. The major thrust of the project is to advance the cultural, social and economic standards

Map 6.2

Kuskem model village



The Ministry of Tribal Welfare intends to use the rural development model for Kuskem and desires to use the model for developing villages all over the state. The project aims to accomplish a condition of self-sufficiency by providing basic needs such as housing, electricity, water and generate economic activities by creating employment for the youth, thereby preventing the outflow (migration) of the population for employment to towns and cities. Thereby, the village human resources can well be protected to develop the village to its potential. As the land resource is plentiful in Kuskem, human resource can well be used for development of agriculture. Bountiful resources of flora and fauna, the Kuskem waterfall, ancient temple of Lord Mallikarjun, traditional festivals and the traditional political social organisation consisting of the elders can enrich community based eco tourism in the village.

The selection of the model village project was facilitated by several factors. Strategically, the Kuskem hamlet is geographically isolated and lies on the peripherals of the village of Cotigao. The waterfall at Kuskem is the point of origin of the river Talpona meeting the Arabian Sea. The waterfall and the bountiful hilly region is more favourable for promoting adventurous tourism. The green landscape in Kuskem is to be used for promoting agriculture, animal husbandry and allied activities. Taking into account the primitive traits of the community, distinct culture and economic backwardness of the community it was decided to develop Kuskem as a model village. The following are the projects proposed, the work of some has already set in motion:

Animal hostel cum ultra modern dairy farm

As a part of the Kuskem model project the department of animal husbandry and veterinary services, government of Goa intends to venture into animal husbandry activities. Considering the population of cattle, which is, approximately 302 the

department proposes to set up animal hostel with a fully ultra modern farm. The initiative is designed to help the under privileged farmers and create employment for youth of the community.

In the first stage, the directorate is planning to create sufficient infrastructure required for dairy farming. In the subsequent stage, it is planned to cultivate the green fodder necessary for the cattle, while during the third phase it is planned to purchase high yielding crossbred cows from the neighbouring states.

The overall objective of the setting up dairy farming is to sustain the existing livelihood of the tribal community and to boost dairy development in the state.

Community based Ecotourism development in Cotigao Wild Life Sanctuary

Eco development projects are aimed at bringing together the three stakeholders, namely, the protected are management, the local communities, and the eco tourist. The Cotigao Wild Life Sanctuary is roughly twelve kilometres away from the main taluka bus stand. The sanctuary is unique amidst the highest hills of Western Ghats between Anshi tiger reserve and Netravali Wild Life Sanctuary. There are moist deciduous and semi evergreen type of forests. It has settlements of early settlers (Velips) living in traditional ways with their distinct social and cultural life.

Cotigao Wild Life Sanctuary was declared as wildlife sanctuary vide government of Goa notification no. DF-894(909/67) FOR-67 dated 18.01.1968. The sanctuary covers an area of 85.65 sq. Kms. The sanctuary is situated in the southeast region of the Goa in the taluka of Canacona. This forms the essential part of continuous region of biodiversity hot spots known as Western Ghats. This results in to unique bio diversity many species are yet to be discovered and identified from this area.

The project of eco tourism is an organised structure designed to promote tourism in any given area. The basic motto of starting the ecotourism project in the Cotigao Wild Life Sanctuary is to increase the inflow of tourists, cultivate awareness of nature conservation, and sensitize the importance of wild life to strengthen the ecosystem. From the point of view the community, the project aims at providing sustainable alternative livelihood to the communities residing in and out of the wild life sanctuary, thereby uplifting their socioeconomic conditions.

The project is in its nascent stages and plans to promote and venture into activities connected to ecotourism. It endeavours to upgrade the existing eco tourism complex at Hatipaul and also add infrastructural arrangements such as creating new accommodation facilities and accessibility of basic amenities. The project intends to develop eco trails in the form of hiking, trekking, walking and driving in forests to explore the scenic beauty, historical importance and ecological uniqueness. It will also facilitate in constructing viewpoints to glimpse the landscape and to for interaction with the local forest dwellers. Development of watchtowers and observation stations, communication networks, eco camp facilities, restoration and repair of sites and buildings, and tribal small-scale entrepreneurship cum capacity building activities.

THE FOREST RIGHT ACT (FRA) AND ITS REALISATION

It is an accepted fact the tribals all over the country suffered historical injustice at the hands of the so-called powerful and elite groups. The tribals have been deprived of their customary rights over the forest resources and land on which their livelihood was dependent. The need for restoring rights and privileges to the tribals over the forest was thus considered with the formulation of the Forest Right Act (FRA) 2006. Such a plea is made on the ground that tribes preserved the forest as long as they exercised control over the forest (Xaxa (2012, p. 321). The country's major forest area

comes under the purview of tribal lands. The Forest Survey of India states that 63 per cent of the forests today are located in the 187 tribal districts. It is an irony that these forest lands are getting converted for industrial purposes. Singh (2010) observes that between 1980 and 2004, 9.81 lakhs hectares of forestland was used for non-forest activities benefitting 11, 282 industrial units and development projects. The Forest Right Act 2006 has been looked as an instrument to overcome such persistent problems of the community living in forest habitats. The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 is stated as follows:

“An Act to recognize and vest the forest rights and occupation in forest land in forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional forest dwellers who have been residing in such forests for generations but whose rights could not be recorded; to provide for a framework for recording the forest rights so vested and the nature of evidence required for such recognition and vested in respect of forest land.”

The actual work relating to the act in fact commenced in the year 2011 prior to the amendment of the act in the year 2012. The State Government directed the panchayats to carry out the identification of hamlets or unrecorded or unsurveyed settlements or forest villages, formally not part of any revenue village. The lists of such hamlets were prepared by the panchayats and accepted through a resolution in the Gram Sabha by the respective panchayats. The list was then submitted to Sub Division Level Committee (SDLC). After the finalisation of the list, the process of recognition and vesting of rights in the hamlets was undertaken.

Table 6.4 indicates the status of claims received by the Department of Tribal Welfare, Government of Goa.

Table 6.4**Status of Claims under Forest Rights Act**

Particulars	No.
Total Villages	161
FRC constituted	147
Total claims received	10,040
Individual Claims	9672
Community claims	356
Facility Claims	12
Disposed claims	2 community claims of Dharbandora Block

Source: Department of Tribal Welfare

The list was then forwarded to the SDLC containing a total of 161 villages having forest land. However, not all villages could possess forest claims. As a result, there were only 147 villages with forestland having forest related claims. According to the act the Gram Panchayats are empowered to convene Gram Sabhas and constitute the Forest Right Committee (FRC). The Gram Sabhas are asked to initiate the process of receiving the claims, a list of which is prepared and a resolution is passed on the claims and forwarded to the SDLC. The process of receiving claims started in the year 2012. The total number of claims received was 10,040, of which 9672 were recorded as individual claims and 356 were community claims. The community claims include common lands for cultivation, play grounds crematorium, etc. While there were twelve facility claims, the number of disposed claims are only two (two community claims of Dharbandora block).

Table 6.5 indicates the number of claims in the talukas of Goa.

Table 6.5**Forest Claims received from taluka**

Sr. No	Taluka	Individual claims	Community claims	Facility claims	Total
1	Sattari	2620	16	--	2636
2	Ponda	255	2	--	257
3	Dharbandora	1704	62	11	1777
4	Sanguem	1082	157	1	1240
5	Quepem	1612	14	--	1626
6	Canacona	2399	105	--	2504
Total		9672	356	12	10040

Source: Department of Tribal Welfare

The table 6.5 indicates only six talukas showing claims of lands. The taluka of Sattari in north Goa possess the highest no. of claims (2636) followed by Canacona (2504). The taluka of Ponda owing to its urbanised character has a very less no. of claims (257).

The procedure involved in settling of the claims involves the mapping of the area claimed by the individuals and the community, which require the technical support from Directorate of Settlement and Land Records (DSLRL). The present situation suggests that there is a paucity of staff with the DSLRL to undertake the task of mapping of lands, which require station machines and surveyors. A few claims in the initial phases were surveyed and mapping was done with the help of PDA machines. It is expected that the settlements would take place by the end of 2016.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The comparative ethnographic account of the Velips in the villages of Gaondongrem and Cotigao reveals multiple aspects of tribal life. The key theme of the study, namely the livelihood system of the tribal communities suggests that while there are significant changes that have occurred during the post liberation era, there is continuity of traditional way of life too. The livelihood activities of the tribals are along the line of continuum. Comparison between the villages enables us to understand the varied nature of livelihood system existing in different geographical settings altogether.

It is observed that the Scheduled Tribe population in the state and also in the rest parts of the country are not at par with the non tribal population. Despite the fact that the constitutional means adopted to bring parity, the situation is not overall satisfactory. The programmes designed for the welfare need to be addressed more effectively to generate positive outcomes. Nevertheless, efforts undertaken to bridge the economic and social gap between the tribal and other areas has gathered a momentum in the State of Goa. The study offers the researcher to propose a number of suggestions as future directions for the hamlets under study as well for the tribal society in general in Goa. By and large, the suggestions are proposed to dispel the economic and social backwardness of the tribal population and thereby bring an improvement in the quality of life.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Need to protect and promote tribal culture

During the course of field research, it is learnt that participation of the younger generation is declining in the day-to-day routine livelihood activities, as well as in the

common celebrations such as festivals, etc. As a result, the younger generation is devoid of sufficient inputs of their rich cultural heritage. In fact, even the art of undertaking livelihood activities in a traditional manner has lost importance among the young masses. In the first instance, there is an urgent need to motivate and absorb the young individuals into traditional occupational pursuits, and educate them of the effectiveness of traditional means and methods used in undertaking those activities. They need to be informed about the knowledge systems used by their ancestors to raise their livelihoods. Such an understanding of the knowledge systems will help in knowing the scientific temperament once used by their ancestors. Tribal societies in India are known for their distinct culture and tradition. The experience of the researcher into the field reveals the fact that there is a need for learning and relearning of tribal culture. Many of the practices associated with the tribals hitherto, do not fully provide satisfactory explanations to their behaviour. It is understood that even the elders in the hamlets fall short of adequate explanations, and therefore, at times the understanding is less rational in character. In this direction, there is a need to interpret the traditions, beliefs, rituals, customs, ethics, religion or in other words a way of life of the tribal people in a holistic manner. Alongside this effort, considering the mainstay and effectiveness of the oral traditions prevailing among the community, due emphasis and attention should also be given for the documentation and preservation of tribal culture. Translation of the oral traditions may generate interests among people, not belonging to the community to study tribal society and thereby help in preserving their tribal culture.

Tribal culture can be significantly promoted by developing heritage tourism, through which the cultural kaleidoscope can be explored. The depiction of their food

practices and unique dance forms and other several traits of tribal life may be specifically included and highlighted through such an endeavour.

Developing and strengthening the transport system

Poor transport and communication hampers the overall development of the tribal areas. Many of the tribal communities for a long time have been deprived of the benefit of transportation due to poor or absence of road connectivity. Connectivity to adjacent villages, markets, national highways, taluka place etc. are a far reality to some of the tribal members staying in the forest areas of Cotigao. Paucity of road connectivity and transport has left the community people to remain backward on several indicators. An adequate means of transport system can facilitate well the access of these people to places away from their settlements and instill in them an inspiration to develop along the lines of their fellowmen. All weather roads should be laid between the hamlets to enable a better connectivity.

As discussed earlier in the study, forests constitute the abode of tribal Gods and Goddesses. These places of worship are too far and involve steep terrains posing difficulties of walking. Livelihood activities, rituals, festivals are some of the important occasions for the tribals to visit these places. The constraints of commuting through the hills can be indeed lessened by laying pathways between the settlement and the sacred places in the forests. While accompanied on my way visit to the *Daando* by the chief Velip, he expressed the desire for such pathways, which will increase the enthusiasm among members of all ages to visit it and thereby reduce the strains of commuting.

Need to sustain cashew activities

Development in the tribal areas can be tapped by making use of the existing resources. The locales of tribes provide abundance of resources. Of the many resources, the

cashew plantations form an important source of tribal economy and livelihood. It is understood that the tribal families owing to typical geographical and other economic constraints are not able to venture into alcohol production. The hindrances occurring at various levels, could be overcome firstly, by setting up common distillery units which can save the cost of installing individual units by families. Activities related to cashew hitherto are by and large manually determined. With the help of modern technology required to perform the different tasks, the pain of handling the manual tasks can therefore be lessened. Thirdly, as cashew plantation is one of the dominant sources of livelihood small scale industries could be set up with the help of government support to generate employment and cashew business in the region. A group of three to four hamlets can come together to form a cluster for one small-scale industry.

Archaeological and anthropological surveys of sacred places (early settlements)

Ancestral settlements of the tribal population owing to their remote locations have remained away from the attention of the general populace. The researcher presumes that these ancestral tribal places are very old sites and have to be studied by archaeologists with the help of anthropologists, sociologists and social historians. Taking into account the heritage of tribal culture, such sacred sites perhaps could be declared as protected sites by bodies such as Archaeological Survey of India (ASI). These sacred places are not easily accessible to people of all age groups. In fact, the experience of the researcher to these places tells that the elderly are deprived of their visits, as the journey to these sites is dangerous and cumbersome to walk. The state government too can formulate a plan for the promotion of such sites by providing an easy and swift access to these places and also develop the surrounding areas around these sites.

Fulfilling the basic need of water

Tribal people residing in the villages of Cotigao and Gaondongrem continue to depend on traditional water resources for their livelihoods. The situation however, in recent times reveals that these sources are not adequate enough to satisfy their needs. Another difficulty which surfaces time and again is the quality of water, especially for drinking purposes. The chronic water related ailments in the regions have become issues of concerns.

During the summer, a drought like situation prevails in almost all tribal dominated areas. The researcher strongly proposes for an immediate water revolution to take place in the villages of Gaondongrem and Cotigao. Apart from the upcoming mini reservoir in Gaondongrem and the existing perennial springs, the villages need a healthy tapping of water resources for harvesting of water. The local waterfalls, construction of new *bandharas*, checkdams, water reservoirs can overcome water scarcity in the villages. Necessary research is to be undertaken by experts from the Department of Water Resources to identify possible alternatives of generating water. The tribal families should be educated about the importance of water harvesting and watershed management projects by professionals. The implementation of future strategies for overcoming water stress can possibly be overcome considering the area or topographic requirements of the hamlets. Specific socio-economic and physical attributes prevalent in the locale thus need to be accounted for ensuring water facilities.

After the development of a sufficient water base, new irrigation projects may be given due emphasis to strengthen agriculture in the region. Electrification of group wells and community based lift irrigation structures may be undertaken. In short, there has to be a scientific water use and water management by the tribal society.

The villages should be guaranteed of safe, assured and adequate drinking water. Tribal hamlets in the remote locations should get access to piped water supply. A team of experts from the Department of Health should take up a study of the existing water bodies such as river, wells and springs on which tribal livelihood is based. The concerned departments are required to conduct periodic tests to determine the quality of water and spread awareness of its utilisation in an appropriate manner. Adequate instructions are to be extended of non-consumption of particular water resource beyond the permissible limits that may deteriorate or harm their health conditions. Measures taken thereafter can culminate in a healthy society.

Aggrandizement of agriculture

Agriculture supports the livelihood of almost all Velip families in the two villages. It is seen that the influx of mechanised farming is taking shape in a steady manner. The situation seems to be a balanced one, wherein both traditional and modern farming methods are used. A majority of the tribal families however, produce mainly for their subsistence. Very few of them produce for the market. Limitations such as small landholdings, sharing of common produce, divided families, persistence of traditional methods, single season cropping, scanty rainfall, less participation from family members, expensive labour, poor rainfall and various other factors hamper the growth of cultivation. The farmers need to be provided training for enhancing crop productivity whereby they can produce for commercial purposes. The farming activity needs increased mechanised interventions, which can save time and the cost of labour.

Farming practices carried out in the mountain ranges particularly for shifting cultivation were solely undertaken with the help of organic fertilizers but not artificial fertilizers. The villagers in Gaondongrem and Cotigao, once well accustomed to these practices, however, in recent times have been increasingly make use of artificial

fertilizers as well. Considering the high productivity and market value of organic farming, the tribal community can revert to traditional organic farming practices. In addition to the cow dung manure, this method can further receive a fillip from the Self Help Groups (SHGs) which are engaged in preparing vermi compost fertilizers.

Providing good health for all

Health is an important element determining human development. Tribal societies in India have developed their indigenous health systems to meet their health requirements. These indigenous health systems are strongly impregnated into the tribal societies, as they are culturally determined. Traditional herbal or ethno medicines and the related practices however, do not prove effective for the treatment of modern day diseases and ailments. While protecting their knowledge of herbal medicines, alongside the tribal society should also be educated of the use of modern medicines in treating illnesses and diseases in a speedy manner.

Health infrastructure in the villages of Gaondongrem and Cotigao is not adequate. The existing health infrastructure i.e. a health sub centre cannot cater to the dispersed tribal hamlets. Velips living in hamlets located in the Cotigao Wild Sanctuary have very little mobility owing to their remote locations and absence of road connectivity and transport facility. Under such severe and odd conditions, these families cannot avail the benefit of the existing health care facilities. In this regard, the health care arrangements, sensitization programmes, immunisation programmes and other primary health care related facilities should also be extended to these families. Existing health infrastructures need to be updated with advanced modern health care facilities to meet the requirements of the tribal people. It is observed that the sub centres for health do not have adequate number of medical staff, and no regular doctors. In such a situation, the sub centres should be equipped with the

necessary regular staff including the availability of residential doctors. The taluka community hospital in the municipal town of Canacona also needs due attention to the fact that the infrastructure as well as health care facility can be improved and advanced.

Need for a study on occupational status

It is found that not all members are engaged in agricultural pursuits and cashew business. The inclination of the younger generation is to remain away and not get tied to these traditional occupations. At this strategic time, there is an urgent need to carry out surveys to ascertain the number of unemployed and the employed tribal members. In this connection, it is also vital to know the nature of employment they have taken to, and find out the implications of the process of migration on the society behind. Some of these surveys can be effectively undertaken by research organisations or nongovernmental organisations.

Limitations of the study

Defining the universe of study relatively in terms of geographically smaller or larger societies warrants more time, especially, for ethnographic study purposes. Observing societies, particularly the tribal ones require participation for a longer time intervals. Participation into the life worlds of the Velips hence, could not be designed for longer time period. Considering the ethnographic nature of the study and the availability of time, it became imperative to streamline the contours of the study according to the objectives laid down. By doing so, the study welcomes the possibility of further scholarly research in the area.

As the study covered a wide range of facets of livelihood activities of the Velips, it was not possible to indulge at length into microscopic nature of discussions of each of those aspects.

Though the quantum of literature on Indian tribes has been massive enough written by sociologists, ethnographers, anthropologists and scholars from different disciplines, however, there exists very scanty literature on tribes in Goa. The researcher therefore had to rely more on the field research to seek explanations from the respondents.

As an outsider to the communities under study, the researcher is bound to yield explanatory results, which may be superficially inadequate. In the absence of a social scientific literature and the dependence on oral traditions and responses there are possible chances of a few shortcomings being noticed in the study. During the course of interactions, the researcher came across some constraints pertaining to language spoken especially, by the elders. There is thus a likelihood of insufficient explanations of terminologies being reflected in the study. Yet another reason adding to the problem is the persistence of disagreements, lack of consensus or failure on the part of the respondents to disseminate vivid explanations.

One of the limitations cum adequacy of the study is that it does not purely generate qualitative explanations. The nature of inquiry into the livelihood system of the tribes also provides quantitative results, which became essential to understand the modern day complexities of tribal life. The blend of qualitative and quantitative explanations can enhance a better understanding of the tribal society. Quantification of data mainly focuses on the materialistic dimension of the tribal world.

While the study explores the changing nature of livelihood systems of the community, it was imperative to narrate the descriptions from traditional to the modern times. Explanations particularly confined to the understanding of the traditional nature of livelihood systems however, have not been referred to with particular historical dating as oral tradition fall too short for such dating exercises.

Appendix-1: Interview Schedule

No.: _____

Village: _____

Date: _____

Ward/Place: _____

(This is an interview schedule to study the tribal communities of South Goa. The information collected through this survey will be used for academic purposes only. This is not a government survey)

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE TO INTERVIEW THE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS**I GENERAL PROFILE**

1.	Is there any name to your household? If yes, please state.		
2.	Who is the head of your house?		
3.	Gender and age of the head:	a) Male b) Female	Age:
4.	Education of head of the household	Level	Standard/Class
		a) Illiterate b) Pre primary c) Primary d) Secondary e) Higher Secondary f) Graduation g) Professional h) Post-Graduation i) Any other - Specify	
5.	Marital status of head of the household	a) Married b) Not married c) Widowed d) Divorced e) Separated	
6.	Are you originally from this village?	a) Yes b) No	
7.	If yes, since how long your family is staying in this house?		
8.	If no, please tell the name of your earlier village/s. Also, please tell the circumstances that lead to your family's mobility.		
9.	Is the house owned by you?	a) Yes b) No	
10.	If yes, ancestral or made by you?		
11.	If no, who is the owner?		

12.	Whether the house is constructed with or without government assistance?	
13.	If constructed with government assistance, please explain the nature of assistance	
14.	How old is the present house?	
15.	Do you possess land ownership records of the house?	a) Yes b) No
16.	If no, why is it so?	
17.	Which language do you speak at home?	
18.	Languages known by you:	a) To speak, read, and write: b) To speak only:

II HOUSEHOLD AND RESOURCES

1.	Ownership status of the house	a) Owned b) Rented																								
2.	How many dwelling rooms are there in your house?	No. :																								
3.	Condition of the house	a) Good b) Liveable c) Dilapidated																								
4.	What is the main source of drinking water	a) Tap water b) Well c) Hand pump d) Tube well/ bore well e) Spring f) River/ canal g) Tank/ pond/ lake h) Other sources																								
5.	If tap water, mention the type of connection	a) Private b) Public																								
6.	What is the main source of lighting	a) Electricity b) Kerosene c) Solar d) Other oil e) Any other f) No lighting																								
7.	If electricity, mention the year of connection																									
8.	What is the fuel used for cooking	a) Firewood b) Crop residue c) Cow dung cake d) Coal, lignite, charcoal e) Kerosene f) LPG/ PNG g) Electricity/ induction h) Bio-gas i) Any other j) No cooking																								
9.	Household assets possessed	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 80%; text-align: center;">Assets</th> <th style="width: 20%; text-align: center;">No.</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td>a) Radio/ transistor</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>b) Television</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>c) Computer/ laptop- with internet</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>d) Computer/ laptop without internet</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>e) Telephone</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>f) Mobile phone</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>g) Telephone/ mobile phone- both</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>h) Bicycle</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>i) Scooter/ motorcycle/ moped</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>j) Car/ jeep/ van</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>k) Refrigerator</td><td></td></tr> </tbody> </table>	Assets	No.	a) Radio/ transistor		b) Television		c) Computer/ laptop- with internet		d) Computer/ laptop without internet		e) Telephone		f) Mobile phone		g) Telephone/ mobile phone- both		h) Bicycle		i) Scooter/ motorcycle/ moped		j) Car/ jeep/ van		k) Refrigerator	
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j) Car/ jeep/ van																										
k) Refrigerator																										

		l) Washing machine m) None of the specified assets	
10.	Type of television connection	a) Antenna b) Dish c) Cable	
11.	Do you have latrine facility in the premises?	a) Yes b) No	
12.	If yes, whether in working or non-working condition?		
13.	Is it constructed by you or provided by the Government?	a) Government b) Private	
14.	Does the village have public latrine facility?	a) Yes b) No	
15.	Do you defecate out in open space?	a) Yes b) No	
16.	Predominant material of roof	a) Grass/ thatch/ bamboo/ wood/ mud, etc. b) Plastic/ polythene c) Handmade tiles d) Machine made tiles e) Burnt brick f) Stone/ slate g) G. I./ metal/ asbestos sheets h) Concrete i) Any other material	
17.	Predominant material of wall	a) Grass/ thatch/ bamboo, etc. b) Plastic/ polythene c) wood d) Mud/ Unburnt brick e) wood f) Stone not packed with mortar g) Stone packed with mortar/ partly plastered/ fully plastered h) G. I./ metal/ asbestos sheets i) Burnt brick j) Concrete k) Any other material	
18.	Predominant material of floor	a) Mud b) Wood/ bamboo c) Burnt brick d) Stone e) Cement f) Mosaic/floortiles (mosaic, marble, ceramic, vitrified) g) Any other material	
19.	Is there a road connecting your village or house?	a) Yes b) No	
20.	If yes, what is the type of road?		
21.	Is the village connected by	a) Yes	

	a transport system?	b) No
22.	If yes, is it public or private or both?	a) Public b) Private c) Both

III IDENTITY AND SETTLEMENT

1.	Name the social category (community/caste) you belong to		
2.	Are you aware of the constitutional recognition of your community as a 'Scheduled Tribe'?	a) Yes b) No	
3.	Is there a social classification or any form of hierarchy existing in the community?	a) Yes b) No	
4.	If yes, name the strata:	a) b) c)	
5.	What are criteria adapted for the classification of members?	Position	Criteria
		a) b) c)	
6.	Do the names/ surnames of members indicate their social status?	a) Yes b) No	
7.	If yes, give some examples.		
8.	Is the tribal society similar to the non-tribal society?	a) Yes b) No	
9.	If yes, what is/ are the similarities?		
10.	If no, what are the differences?		
11.	Are there any prominent physical characteristics among the members of the tribe?	a) Yes b) No	
12.	If yes, what are the features?		
13.	What are the unique cultural features of the community?		
14.	What are the distinctive linguistic traits of the community?		
15.	What are the basic food habits of the community?		
16.	Mention the type of food consumed	a) Only vegetarian b) Vegetarian and non vegetarian	

17.	Are there any taboos relating to food?	a) Yes b) No
18.	If yes, what are the taboos?	
19.	Consumption of chicken	a) All eat b) Some eat c) All do not eat
20.	Do you observe any days for vegetarian food?	a) Yes b) No
21.	Does the dress pattern reveal an identity of the tribe?	a) Yes b) No
22.	If yes, explain its uniqueness.	
23.	What are the traditional ornaments of the tribe?	
26.	Is the settlement a new or old one?	a) New b) Old
27.	If new, mention the age of the settlement	
28.	If new, which was the earlier settlement?	
29.	Explain the nature of earlier settlement	
30.	What are the factors favouring the selection of the present settlement?	
31.	Was there any Portuguese influence on the tribal settlements in this region?	a) Yes b) No
32.	If yes, explain the influence.	
33.	Does the location of the settlement make livelihood difficult?	a) Yes b) No
34.	If yes, what are the hardships that you encounter?	
35.	How does the ecology and environment support your livelihood?	

IV FAMILY AND GENDER

1.	Name the clan (<i>Kula</i>) you belong to				
2.	Family name or surname	a) Gaonkar b) Velip			
3.	What is the type of family you live in?	a) Single b) Joint c) Joint and divided by kitchens i) No. of kitchens:			
4.	What is the total no. of members in the family?	No.			
5.	Sex composition of members in family	a) Males: b) Females:			
6.	Age group of members	Age range	Male	Female	Total
		a) 1-17			
		b) 18-40			
		c) 41-60			
		d) 61 and above			
7.	Marital status of members	Marital status	Male	Female	Total
		a) Married:			
		b) Not married:			
		c) Widowed:			
		d) Divorced:			
e) Separated:					
8.	Are all members permanent residents of the village house?	a) Yes b) No			
9.	If no, how many do not live in the village house?	No.:			
10.	Where do they live?	Place	Male	female	Total
		Outside the ward and in the village			
		Outside the village and in the taluka			
		Outside the taluka and in the state			
		Outside the state			
		Abroad			
11.	Mention the age and sex of members of 61	Age		Sex	

	and above age group		
12.	Do any elder members engage in any form of a social responsibility in the village?	a) Yes b) No	
13.	If yes, mention the type of responsibility.		
14.	What is the type of marriage practiced by the community?		
15.	Does the community entertain any inter-caste marriages?	a) Yes b) No	
16.	Are there any incidents of inter caste marriages in the village?		
17.	If yes, how many inter caste marriages have taken place so far in the village?	No. :	
18.	Decision making	a) Wife decides: b) Husband decides: c) Both decide:	
19.	Who handles monetary affairs of the family?		
20.	Explain the role of women in the political domain		
21.	Are any members part of Self Help Group (SHG)	a) Yes b) No	
22.	If yes, mention the no. and gender of the members	a) No.: b) Male: c) Female:	

V RELIGION

1.	What is your religion?	
2.	Who is your village God/ Goddess? Mention the place of worship.	
3.	Who is your family or clan God? Mention the place of worship	
4.	How often do you visit the aforementioned place or places of worship?	
5.	Which other prominent deities do you worship?	
6.	Are there any sacred places nearby?	a) Yes b) No
7.	If yes, what are they called?	
8.	Is there a sacred place inside the house?	a) Yes b) No
9.	If yes, what is it called?	
10.	Do you light the lamp before the God?	a) Yes b) No
11.	If yes, who lights the lamp?	
12.	Do you believe in the worship of spirits and ancestors?	a) Yes b) No
13.	Which are the major religious festivals you celebrate?	
14.	Which are the major village festivals you take part?	
15.	What are the day-to-day domestic religious rituals observed by you?	
16.	Who undertakes the religious rituals of the community?	
17.	Have all the religious practices remained intact in nature?	a) Yes b) No
18.	If no, what are the changes and elucidate the possible reasons	
19.	How do you intend to revive your age old religious beliefs?	

20.	Highlight the participation of women in the religious domain	
21.	What is outlook of the youth towards religion?	
22.	Do you bury the dead or cremate?	
23.	Explain the nature of final rites practices performed in the past	
24.	Have any members joined any religious organisation?	a) Yes b) No
25.	If yes, please explain.	
26.	Are any members part of Self Help Group (SHG)	a) Yes b) No
27.	If yes, mention the no. and sex of the members	a) No.: b) Male: c) Female:
28.	Mention the activities undertaken by the SHG	

VI EDUCATION

1.	The number of literate and illiterate members in the family	a) Literate: b) Illiterate:			
2.	Mention the present age and sex of the literate persons	Sex	Age		
3.	Mention the present age and sex of the illiterate persons	Sex	Age		
4.	Possible reasons for illiteracy among the members				
5.	Indicate the sex and level of education among the literates	Level	Sex wise Standard/Class/stream		
			Male	Female	Total
		a) Pre primary: b) Primary: c) Secondary: d) Higher Secondary: e) Graduation: f) Professional: g) Post- Graduation: h) Vocational: i) Any other specify:			
		Total			
6.	Is there a school in the hamlet?	a) Yes b) No			
7.	If yes, please mention the level of the school and the type of undertaking	Primary: Secondary: Government: Private:			
8.	Have all members completed their primary education from the ward school?	a) Yes b) No			
9.	If no, where did they pursue their primary education, and for what reasons?				
10.	Are there any school dropouts?	a) Yes b) No			
11.	If yes, mention the no. of drop outs	No.:			

12.	Mention the possible reasons for dropping out from the school				
13.	When did they drop out?	Level	Male	Female	Total
		Primary			
		Secondary			
		Total			
14.	Do any youngsters pursue education away from their village?	a) Yes b) No			
15.	If yes, where do they pursue their education?	Place:			
16.	Mention the type of school where they pursue their education	a) Residential: b) Non residential:			
17.	How many educated members are employed?				
18.	Please give details of the persons employed	Person		Job	

VII OCCUPATION

1.	What is the present primary occupation of the household?	
2.	Is it your traditional occupation?	a) Yes b) No
3.	If yes, since how long you or your ancestors practice the occupation	No. of years:
4.	If no, what was your traditional occupation?	
5.	Do all family members participate in the primary occupation?	a) Yes b) No
6.	If yes, explain the nature of participation and the division of labour.	
7.	If no, mention the no. of non-participating members and the occupations (secondary) that they perceive.	a) No.: b) Secondary occupations:
8.	Does the family rely on any external support of members in the occupation?	a) Yes b) No
9.	If yes, mention the reasons	
10.	Did the family follow hunting of animals?	a) Yes b) No
11.	Do you presently engage in hunting even now?	a) Yes b) No
12.	If yes, explain the practice in detail	
13.	Which are the seasons preferred for hunting activities?	
14.	Do you still use the traditional tools for hunting?	a) Yes b) No
15.	If no, what are the modern techniques/ tools of hunting?	
16.	Do you engage in food gathering?	a) Yes b) No
17.	If yes, please explain the nature of the practice	
18.	Do you rear cattle?	a) Yes b) No

19.	If yes, what is the no. of cattle you possess?	a) Cow: b) Ox: c) Buffaloes:
20.	What are the uses of cattle?	
21.	Do you own cashew plantation?	a) Yes b) No
22.	If yes, what is the no. of cashew trees that you possess?	No.:
23.	How much cashewnuts do you produce every season?	Quintals:
24.	Do you produce alcohol?	a) Yes: b) No:
25.	If yes, do you produce <i>Urrak</i> or <i>Feni</i> ?	Urrak: Feni:
26.	Please explain the quantity of <i>Urrak</i> and <i>Feni</i> produced	Urrak (in litres): Feni (in litres):
27.	Whether the youngsters like to continue their traditional occupations?	a) Yes b) No
28.	If no, which modern occupations do they prefer?	
29.	Are there any collective occupations undertaken by members in the village?	a) Yes b) No
30.	If yes, which are those occupations? And explain their nature	

VIII CULTIVATION

1.	How old is the practice of settled agriculture in your region?	
2.	Are you engaged in agriculture?	a) Yes b) No
3.	If no, what are the reasons for not engaging in agriculture?	
4.	If yes, do you own any land for cultivation?	a) Yes b) No
5.	If no, on whose land do you cultivate?	
6.	Is the land sufficient for cultivation?	a) Yes b) No
7.	If no, what are the alternative means used?	
8.	What is the size of the landholding?	
9.	What is the actual area that is brought into cultivation?	
10.	Do you possess agricultural land records?	a) Yes b) No
11.	What is the source of landholding?	a) Inherited from father's side: b) Given from wife's side: c) Purchased: d) Acquired : e) Allotted by Government:
12.	Which crops do you cultivate?	a) b)
13.	Do you cultivate paddy during monsoon and winter season?	a) Yes b) No
14.	If no, what are the reasons?	
15.	What are the main sources of water for cultivation?	
16.	Do you follow the traditional methods/practices of cultivation?	a) Yes b) No
17.	If yes, explain its nature	
18.	Do you also follow modern methods/practices of cultivation?	a) Yes b) No
19.	If yes, explain its nature	
20.	Do you use organic or	a) Organic:

	inorganic fertilizers for cultivation?	b) Inorganic: c) Both:
21.	Do you rely on any form of government help for agriculture?	a) Yes b) No
22.	If yes, explain the nature of help.	
23.	Explain the nature of cultivation roles performed by men	
24.	Explain the nature of cultivation roles performed by women	
25.	Mention the crop wise produce every year	a) b)
26.	What is the agricultural produce used for?	a) Only for self consumption: b) Self consumption and sharing with relatives: c) Self consumption and selling: d) All of the above:
27.	Explain the role of youngsters in the agricultural domain?	
28.	Do you have any pattern of common land for cultivation?	a) Yes b) No
29.	If yes, explain the nature of the practice of common cultivation	
30.	Do you engage in kitchen gardening (<i>porsu</i>)?	a) Yes b) No
31.	If yes, explain its nature	
32.	What are the major agricultural challenges faced?	
33.	How do modern occupations affect agriculture?	

IX SHIFTING CULTIVATION

1.	What is shifting cultivation locally referred as?	
2.	Do you practice shifting cultivation?	a) Yes b) No
3.	If no, what are the reasons for stopping the practice?	
4.	When did you stop the practice?	
5.	If yes, mention the location of the cultivation sites	
6.	How many shifting cultivation sites do you possess?	
7.	What is the distance of the sites from your place of residence?	
8.	Do you still continue with the traditional approach of cultivation	a) Yes b) No
9.	If no, what changes have taken place?	
10.	Also, kindly explain the traditional method of shifting cultivation	
11.	In your opinion, why was shifting cultivation important for your ancestors, and why is it important even to this day?	
12.	Is shifting cultivation associated with any rituals?	a) Yes b) No
13.	If yes, what is the ritual called? Explain its nature	
14.	Name the crops cultivated through shifting cultivation, then and now	
15.	What are difficulties encountered in undertaking the practice?	
16.	What are the restrictions imposed on shifting cultivation?	

X FOREST

1.	Is your house located into the forest area?	a) Yes b) No
2.	If yes, what are the factors that determine forest as your settlement zone?	
3.	If no, how far is the forest?	
4.	Did your ancestors live at the same place	a) Yes b) No
5.	If no, mention the earlier forest settlement?	
6.	Why did your ancestors prefer to settle there?	
7.	Are the forest resources intact for your livelihood?	a) Yes b) No
8.	What are the forest resources that you make use?	
9.	Explain the nature of forest around your settlement	
10.	Are the nearby forests used for cattle grazing?	a) Yes b) No
11.	If no, why?	
12.	How were you using the forest resources before the governmental restrictions?	
13.	What are the present restrictions imposed by the forest laws?	

XI HEALTH

1.	In case of ill health what does your family do?	a) We straight away approach the doctor b) We make some medicine at home c) We approach the traditional medicine man d) We consult the traditional magical healer e) All of the above
2.	Do you personally have the knowledge of herbs in curing diseases?	a) Yes b) No
3.	If yes, please make a list of herbs and their use	
4.	Are these herbs available now?	a) Yes b) No
5.	If no, why in your opinion they are not found now?	
6.	In times of pregnancy and childbirth who is consulted?	
7.	Where does the delivery normally take place?	
8.	Does the community believe in traditional magical healing?	a) Yes b) No
9.	Is the younger generation also responding to traditional healing?	a) Yes b) No
10.	Are there an adequate number of health care centres available in the village?	a) Yes b) No
11.	If yes, what are they?	
12.	Is the quality of health infrastructure adequate to support the health requirements of the population?	a) Yes b) No
13.	What is your belief in modern medicine?	
14.	How can indigenous knowledge of medicinal plants be protected?	

GLOSSARY

- Aamot*: Gruel prepared from the mixture of red chilli, *toor daal*, cocum, salt and flour of finger millet
- Aangar javop*: Suffering from *leucorrhoea*
- Aaso kadop*: The practice of selecting grain by the Shaman
- Adimjati*: Original communities/primitive people
- Adivasi*: First settlers
- Ajgo*: A traditional variety of paddy seed
- Akes*: Food (unboiled grains dipped in water) offered to Gods
- Alai*: A wooden instrument used for levelling the ploughed land in the fields
- Almi*: Termite hill mushrooms or *Asparagus*
- Aloo maadi*: *Colocassia esculenta*
- Aloo*: *Colocassia* species
- Alsaande*: Cow pea or *Vigna unguiculata* (L.) Walp
- Ameel*: Gruel prepared from ingredients such as salt, water and flour of finger millet
- Ameta*: *Elaeagnus conferta*
- Anganwadis*: Pre primary schools or kindergarten schools
- Apone*: Invitation given by brother to his newly married sister
- Aradrachea*: A star position treated conducive for rice cultivation
- Arecanut*: *Areca catechu* L.
- Asadi punav*: A tribal festival celebrated on the full moon day in the month of July
- Ashram* school: A residential school
- Asnaache* (tree): *Pterocarpus marsupium*
- Avaale*: *Phyllanthus emblica*

Badla soirik: The system of exchanging mates in marriage between villages or hamlets for maintaining demographic balance

Bandharas: Small dams constructed across the river canal or tributary that holds water for longer periods

Bandi or *kungi*: A small fragmented agricultural land holding

Bapsheche: A type herbal medicine

Barepon: Goodwill

Betel nut: Areca nut

Bhaan: A huge copper vessel used for boiling rice

Bhaar: Over load or overweight

Bhaati: A traditional cashew distillery plant

Bhat: The Priest

Bhav-Bandhu: Like brotherly

Bhekro (wild goat): Barking deer

Bhendo: Ladyfinger or *Abelmoschus esculentus*

Bhirand: *Garcina indica*

Bhowdi: Animal or game hunting

Bhuti: Tiffin carried to the place of work

Bisons: Wild gaur

Bora: *Ziziphus mauritiana*

Bowlo or *gudi*: The harvested crop arranged in the form of a circular heap like structure

Budavant: The Wiseman or chieftain

Budavantache ghar: Wiseman's house

Cashew: *Anacardium occidentale*

- Chaadi*: Gossiping, backbiting or malicious reporting
- Chaakar*: Servant
- Chaaktaa*: Small spheres of cultivable lands
- Chaara*: *Buchanania lanzan*
- Chaayi* (tuber): *Dioscorea oppositifolia*
- Chapera*: *Flacourtia montana*
- Chayel* (creeper): *Dioscoreaceae*
- Cheetal*: Spotted deer
- Chimto*: A small metal tool used for pricking and removing thorns
- Chirko* (tuber): *Dioscorea bulbifera*
- Chitki*: Cluster bean or *Cyamopsis tetragonoloba* (L.) Taub.
- Chonio* (bulbil): *Dioscorea bulbifera*
- Choru*: Holy food (prepared from rice and jaggery) offered to Gods
- Chougulo/Chougule*: Leader of the group
- Chullas*: Hearths
- Churni* plant: *Ziziphus rugosa*
- Coconut: *Cocos nucifera*
- Cucumber: *Cucumis sativus* L.
- Daando*: An early-uninhabited sacred settlement
- Daataachi kid*: Tooth decay
- Delpon*: To seek explanation from the Shaman for ones well being
- Detli*: A peculiar traditional dressing style of Velip women
- Deva ghar*: Home belonging to God
- Deva karya*: Religious acts
- Devachi bhowdi*: Hunt undertaken to please the Gods

Devak vhovar ghalop: The first meal offered by newly married bride to the *gharvai*

Devaspon: Religious act or duty

Devli: Worker of a temple

Dhaanio wagh: Tiger

Dhaatuiche: Herbal medicine administered for curing pain

Dhalio: *Dahlia variabilis*

Dhalo: A dance festival popular among women in north Goa

Dharna: Protest

Dhavi pudiya: A traditional attire of unmarried girls wearing a white dress

Dhedo: Assistant for the groom

Dhilllo: A festival of dance by women

Divaj: A celebration of lighting lamp by women

Doleat ful padop: Cataract

Eetan or *Masan* or *Masnat*: Burial place

Eetanamol: A common place selected for burying the dead persons

Eteleale: Name derived from an ancestor who tied a cloth around the waist by putting a knot

Fatios: Bunches of onions

Feni: Local alcoholic beverage distilled from cashew juice

Fonaro: A small pit dug into the bed of the river canal to extract water

Foro: Tax

Fudlik: Initiative undertaken by the *Budavant* or *Velip* of commencing any activity

Fugdi: A folk dance performed by women

Gaantvol: Tying the dress of bride and the groom together by putting a knot

Gaar: Monitor lizard

Gaath marop: The traditional pattern of dressing of Velip women

Gallon: A container used in storing alcohol

Galo: *Catunaregam spinosa*

Gaon or *Ganv*: A village

Gaonkar or *Budavant*: The chieftain or the Wiseman

Gaoponn or *Gaothan*: Village matters

Ghaadi or *Jaan*: Shaman or soothsayer

Ghaatyalo: A forest shrub used as a broom for cleaning the sacred place

Ghar: House

Gharpuris or *Dhaann*: A sacred totem of the house

Gharvai: Sacred totem of a group of families or clan

Ghatan: A traditional assembly place for conducting meetings

Ghodear marop: The practice of shouldering the bride by the maternal uncle

Ghodo: Horse

Ghosali: Ridge gourd or *Luffa acutangula* (L.) Roxb.

Ghosheache: Intestinal ailments appearing in small children

Ghudulo: Men singing folktales in a peculiar rhythm throughout night

Ghury: An act of stealing or running away with the bride

Godkaatli khavop: Engagement ceremony

Goneachi bhakri: A thick pancake made from the flour of finger millet

Gono or *Nachne*: Finger millet or hill millet

Goto: A cattle shelter

Goval: A conical shape hut like shelter generally made of coconut leaves and touching the ground, having no mud walls

Gramsabha: A general body meeting of village Panchayat

Gudi ghalop: The activity of collecting and stocking the dry crops in the form of a circular heap like shape

Gudi pavovap: A pre marriage ritual permitting a boy to enter into marriage

Holi: A festival of colours celebrated on the full moon day of *phalgun* (February-march) month

Hom: A purification ritual

Irville (vaal): Yard long beans or *Vigna sesquipedalis* (L.) Verdc.

Jaagor: To remain awake throughout the night/ a folk play of Goa

Jaan bhaas: One who can understand, predict and explain

Jamla: *Syzygium cumini*

Jana: An agglomeration of people

Jatra: Fair

Jaya: A variety of paddy seed

Jogon: A post harvest ritual

Jot kasap: An activity of ploughing the field

Jot: A traditional method of tilling the field with a pair of oxen tied to the plough

Jovli: The marriage custom of purchasing and gifting clothes to the members of the hamlet and close relatives

Jyoti: A variety of paddy seed

Kaajal: Collyrium

Kaan vovop: Ear disorder

Kaangu (millet): *Setaria italica*

Kaanop: The process of dehusking grains

Kaaro: *Strychnos nux-vomica*

Kaas: Hunting carried out during nighttime

Kaat kanga: Dioscorea esculenta

Kadde vaayo or *Kevnicho vaayo*: A string made out of the bark of a plant

Kadu: A bitter extract prepared from the leaves and bark of plants and trees

Kairos: Entada scandens

Kajuwado: Land or ward occupied with cashew plantation

Kalje vaijapon: For fever, blood vomiting and blood deficiency

Kaljeache: Common cold and fever

Kamin: Jaundice

Kamod, kumeri or *Raan maroon khavop* or *Raan shinop* or *Jhum*: Shifting cultivation

Kanera: Ziziphus oenoplia

Kanja: Carrisa carandus

Kanki: Dendrocalamus strictus

Kanulo: A small metal tool used for cleaning the ear

Kapod: A traditional cloth used by Velip women

Kar: A marriage custom allowing the groom's party to gift a sum of twelve rupee and fifty paisa to the bride's party

Karande: Dioscorea bulbifera

Karjat: A variety of paddy seed

Karo: A vessel made of bamboo

Karret: A mode of transportation used during the colonial period

Kasam tree: Schleicheria oleosa

Kashin: A dressing style practiced by Velip women

Katandor (wildcat): Civet cat

Katchha: Made of mud

Kato: A small metal tool used for pricking or removing thorns

Kaul: Blessing

Kawaal baandop: Herbal medicinal used for bone fitting

Kayar karop: A method associated with the practice of shifting cultivation for increasing soil fertility

Kevon (small plant): *Helicteres isora* L.

Kevon modop: Curing wound injuries in cattle

Khaalla: Preparing a miniature seed bed before the process of transplanting

Khaar: Ash water

Khair (a tree): *Acacia catechu*

Khal: A place selected for thrashing the crops

Khalacho dis: The day on which the bride and the groom visit the *Daando* soon after the marriage

Khani: A traditional measure

Kharif: Cultivation undertaken in rainy season

Kharsang (a tree): *Radermachera xylocarpa*

Khastache fala: *Hydnocarpus pentandra*

Kheer: A sweet dish

Khete: Red mouthed monkey or Bonnet macaque

Khute Velip: Priestly member of the community

Khuti: A wooden stick or stone marker planted into the ground

Kidiche: Toothache

Kill: Bamboo shoot or *Dendrocalamus spp.*, *Schizostachyum spp.*

Kokud khalar sodap: A post harvest ritual of offering chicken to Gods in the field

Kolio (paddy variety): *Oryza sativa*

Kolmi: A wooden vessel used for feeding the cattle

Kolwa ghar: Traditional house made of mud, bamboo and thatched straw grass

Komo: Cock

Koytee: A tool used for cutting

Krishi card: Agricultural card.

Kuddukke: *Celosia argentea*

Kudo: *Holarrhena antidysenterica*

Kudovon: A hand plough or a traditional tool used for tilling land in the mountains

Kudwaali or *Kulwaadi*: Terms also referred for the Kunbi tribal community

Kukad or *kokud*: Chicken

Kuldev: Clan God

Kungi: A fragmented small cultivation land holding

Kuno: Husk

Kurin javop: Paralysis occurring among cattle

Kuring: Four horned antelope

Kutari (wild hen): Jungle fowl

Kutumb: Family

Laddoo: A sweet dish

Luvop: Cutting the harvest

Luvpacho veelo: Sickle used for cutting the harvest

Maalo or *Maashi*: A small watchtower erected in the middle of cultivation site to supervise and protect entry of wild animals

Maand: A common open space generally appearing like a courtyard where people assemble for meetings or to perform dances

Madakar: Location of house nearby coconut plantation

Madeshe: House or houses located in central place of the hamlet

Malni or *molap*: Thrashing of crops

Mandri: A mat

Maneli: Elderly persons entrusted with important roles in marriage

Mani or *Mangalasutra*: A sacred ornament put around the neck of the bride by the bridegroom

Mantra: A sacred word

Maze corn: *Zea mays* L.

Mel kadop: Mobilising men to perform dances in the festival of *Shigmo*

Mer fodpachi: Cutting agricultural bunds

Mer marop: Preparing agricultural bunds

Meru: Sambar deer

Mharus: Malevolent spirits

Mirg: A star

Moddio: Grasslands located on the hilltops

Modovol or *Parit*: Washerman

Molache: herbal medicine used for curing intestinal worms

Moot karop: A ritual associated with harvesting of paddy crop

Morod (mordde): Fields, which are dependent solely on the rainwater

Mulo: Raddish or *Raphanus sativus* L.

Mundkar: Tenant

Muskmelon: *Cucumis melo* L.

Mussol: A stick used for dehusking grains

Mutkhado: Kidney stone

Nad: Misfortune

Nadne veelo: Sickle used for weeding out plants

Nageli kaado: Treatment used in curing intestinal disorder in children

Naka kadi: Nose stick

Nala: A river tributary

Nam: a ritual celebrated to commemorate dead ancestors

Naman: An invocation to Gods

Navwaari: Nine-yard cloth

Naye: A ritual of offering newly formed grains to the Gods

Nedduka: *Tali minor*

Nemachi bhowdi: Mandatory religious hunt

Nhaan or *Tandul lavop*: A post delivery ritual of showering rice grains over the head of the woman

Nivli: A flat wooden piece with a long stick used for levelling the tilled surface of the soil

Oap: Ritual performed to worship the tools used in agriculture

Ookde bhaat: Parboiled local rice

Orai: *Setaria italica*

Otamb: *Artocarpus gomezianus*

Paacha apone: A custom of inviting members of the groom's party to dine at the bride's place

Paai khutvop: Setting of leg bone

Paai kusap: Foot infection

Paal: Tool used for cutting purposes

Paan: Leaf

Paavot kadop: To treat gastric disorder

Pagdi: Turban

Pagin: Fisherfolk woman

Pahari: Hill dweller

Panio: A Traditional paddy seed

Pansachi bhaji: A dish prepared from raw jackfruit

Phirgus/furgus (a tree): *Alseodaphne semecarpifolia*

Pisoy: Mouse deer

Pod: A share of coconut and grains offered to Gods

Podvol: Snake gourd or *Lagenaria siceraria* (Molina) Standl.

Porbe maito: Preceding half day of any festival

Porob: Religious occasion or festival

Porsu: Kitchen garden or homestead farming

Prasad: Holy food

Pumpkin: *Cucurbita pepo* Duchesne

Puris: Also refers to *gharpuris*, see *gharpuris*

Raan dukar: Wild boar

Raan gholon khavop: Complete dependence on the forest for food requirements

Raan hamudop: A particular art of game hunting

Rabbits: Indian hare

Rabi: Cultivation undertaken in winter season

Raibari: A middleman

Rakshasya vivaha: A form of marriage wherein the woman is forcibly abducted from her home

Rayt: People who settled from other places

Reethe: *Sapindus laurifolius*

Ropap: Transplantation of plants

Rovap: Broadcasting seeds

Roza: Marigold flower or *Tagetes patula*

Saakharpudo: Engagement ceremony

Saal: Porcupine

Saatwaari: Seven-yard cloth

Saavod: Collective participation in cultivation on a common land

Saavol: A traditional organic fertilizer

Sarpeen: A disease called as *Herpes zoaster*

Sasan (a tree): *Alstonia scholaris*

Savo: Stage setting done by washer man in Velip marriage

Shastras: Rituals

Sheer divap: A ritual of offering blood of the animal hunt to the Gods

Sheer vaadop: Urinary infection

Sheermondoli: *Adenia hondala*

Shelea dis: The following day of any festival

Sheneache mhatan: A ritual performed to shave the head of a male person

Shevne: Face paralysis

Shigmo: A festival exhibiting various dance forms

Shinola: *Phoenix sylvestris*

Shitto: A traditional paddy seed

Supari: Areca nut

Surai: Refined rice

Tad marop: A ritual undertaken for the worship of dead ancestors

Taikilo: *Cassia tora*, Linn.

Tali: A marriage custom of offering five bananas, a betel nut and two betel leaves

Tambdi bhaji: *Amaranthus carentus* L.

Tamso: A traditional variety of rice

Tann: Act of garlanding performed before a totem consisting of two sticks joined with a string

Tela dis: A ritual undertaken on the preceding day of marriage

Tero: *Colocasia esculenta* (L.) Schott

Tikka: Vermilion mark

Toni marop: A dance played during the *Shigmo* festival

Tulsi: Basil plant

Turnip: Knolkohl or *Brassica rapa var. rapa* L.

Urrak: The first distillate of *feni*

Ushtan: A post harvest ritual undertaken for shifting cultivation

Utrache ganv or *utravele ganv*: Villages governed by words of person or persons

Vaadi: Food offered to Gods by the Velip

Vaan: A small whole dug at a central place into the mud floor for dehusking grains

Vaangi: brinjal or *Solanum melongena* L.

Vaanor : Black mouthed monkey or Common langur

Vaargot: The woman who dies at the time of childbirth

Vaijin: Midwife

Vanvasi: Inhabitants of forest

Vanyajati: Forest communities

Vel: Time

Velip: A person undertaking priestly duties of the community

Vengoe: Harvested paddy crop collected to form a small bunch

Vhorak vachap: A marriage custom of receiving the bride by the members of groom party

Vido: An offering of betel leaf and areca nut

Vilo: Sickle

Voktoli: A traditional medicine man or woman

Vole karop: Ritual undertaken to end the pollution period after three days of the death of any deceased person

Vole sutak: see *vole karop*

Vonny: A cluster of six to seven bunches of *vengoe*

Vovla flowers: *Minusops elengi*

Vuro: *Sapium insigne*

Waad: Cattle shelter raised in the field in non-cultivation season

Yajmans: A person who hires service

Yel: Time

Yelip: see *Velip*

Zaad kanga: *Solenostemon rotundifolius*

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