CHAPTER VII

CHILD REARING

In the previous chapter the Yanadi conception of the world and their characteristic outlook towards life and world view were discussed. In the present chapter, an attempt will be made to describe the child rearing practices and associated beliefs of the Yanadi.

The researches to understand as to how culture influences personality led to the study of child rearing practices. As discussed in chapter I, the studies of Mead (1928), TuBois (1944), Gorer (1938, 1943 and 1949), Benedict (1946), and Whiting (1963) supported the view that the child rearing practices determine the way an adult develops a personality type acceptable in that culture. The cross-cultural study conducted by Whiting (1963) was an effort in this direction to understand "the degree to which the treatment a child receives in his first five years of life determines his behaviour and in adult life influences his perception ..." (Whiting 1963:1). According to Whiting the child rearing practices include "chronologically beginning with pregnancy and child birth and continuing through pre-adolescence" (1963:8).
Following Whiting's descriptive model, the child rearing practices of the Yanadi have been analysed. While analysing child rearing practices, the age categories as conceived by the Yanadi are utilised. It has been done so in order to provide an analysis of child rearing practices in the Yanadi terms.

The Child and the Yanadi

The birth of a child among the Yanadi is considered as natural as the birth of a baby among other animals (janthuvulu). This comparison is well expressed verbally by the Yanadi. For a newly married Yanadi woman to bear a child is most natural and desirable. The expression "hut (indlu) without children is devils' hut" strongly reflects this sentiment. As marriages take place just after attaining menarche, within two to three years almost all women become mothers. Regardless of its sex, the birth of a child is welcome as it adds a human being in the couple's life and hence happiness which is exclusively shared between them. With an exception of a barren woman, there was no couple without children. Even this barren woman had children from her second husband's first wife. As the birth of a child is considered natural the barreness could become an antecedent of divorce.
The Yanadi identify three periods in a human life from birth to death. They are childhood (pillalu), adulthood (kurrollu), and elderhood (peddollu). These periods are closely associated with the biological changes that take place in human body. The transition from childhood to adulthood is very marked, but same is not the case from adulthood to elderhood. A boy is declared adult after the appearance of the mustache and beard. A girl is declared adult after the attainment of the menarche. This transition is so conspicuous that the girl is referred to as 'big person' (pedda manishi) just after attaining menarche. The attainment of adulthood is conspicuous both for male and female but it is difficult to differentiate the age of a woman as compared to a man. The elderhood period is an extension of adulthood. There is no clear cut transition from adulthood to elderhood as it is observed in case of childhood to adulthood. Elderhood period essentially is a "bestowed status". It is bestowed upon a couple after they have three to four offsprings of various ages.
The observations indicate that the childhood period starts from birth to approximately fourteen years of age. From fourteen to approximately thirty years of age can be referred to as adulthood period. Beyond thirty years of age the Yanadi are designated as elders.

**Five Stages of Childhood**

The Yanadi recognise five distinct developmental stages in a child's life while growing to reach in the adulthood period. These stages are defined as 'birth', 'turning on stomach' (bālam paduta), 'sitting' (kooschunduta), 'crawling' (dogaduta), and 'walking' (naduchuta).

The birth (pasi pilla) stage covers approximately the first three months of the infant's life after birth. The turning on stomach stage covers from third to seventh month of the infant's life or nearly four months. The sitting stage covers about five months of the infant's life or from seventh to twelfth months. The fourth or crawling stage starts around twelfth month and extends up to eighteen months when the child learns to walk. Once a child starts walking and is able to move around with progressive freedom of movement and self reliance he/she continues to be in the childhood period until declared as adult.
The division of these five stages are based on the recognition of significant physical developments and increasing physical mobility in the child. The passing of each stage progressively increases the child's capacity to manipulate and control body organs. All the five stages and the associated child rearing practices are described separately.

The childhood period is an important milestone in the life of the Yanadi. It is in this stage that an effort by the elders is made to shape the Yanadi to become a meaningful member within the band and an acceptable spouse. At the same time, the child learns through self observation to live harmoniously with the non-Yanadi in the visible world and gods, devils, and deceased ancestors in the invisible world. In this learning the parents play an important role as it is considered their primary responsibility. And to some extent, the elder siblings and the peers also help initiate and guide in this learning process especially when the child has reached the walking stage.

Transition from Invisible to Visible World

As discussed in chapter VI, the Yanadi believe that a person enters the visible world through birth and
Invisible world through death. When a Yanadi dies, the life of heart reaches Lord Brahma in the invisible world and takes birth when it is put in the womb of a woman. The Yanadi consider that the period between the start of pregnancy and the child birth as the transition period when the life from invisible world transforms into a baby and thus appears into the visible world.

The pregnancy and child birth are discussed in the form of a case history which was observed very closely during the field work. Any deviation from this description are also described wherever necessary.

**Pregnancy**

At B.N. Road settlement, a couple, Pattabbi and Chenchaama were residing near to that of Pattabbi's married brother, Nagaiah and his wife Kannemma and elder sister, Polamma and her husband Jejaiah. The huts of these three couples were in a cluster separated from the rest of the clusters in the settlement. Pattabbi and Chenchaama worked in Forestry and Horticulture Section of SHAR Centre. Unlike many Yanadi couples they were regular to the work.
One morning, Chenchamma was sitting quietly at the hut, and on enquiry said, "my body is not good". This is the usual answer got from a Yanadi, thereby meaning that he/she was not feeling well. She did not feel like going to work and also showed disinterest to attend the household chores. As the huts are close to each other, Polamma asked her why she had not gone for work. Chenchamma informed that she was feeling uneasy and her body was warm. After a few days Chenchamma felt giddiness and also vomited. She was also indifferent towards her food. Polamma suspected that it could be due to pregnancy. After a few days Chenchamma resumed going to work regularly along with her husband. After four weeks the truth was unravelled that Chenchamma was pregnant because of cessation of menses.

Afterwards, Pattabbi asked Jejaiyah to conduct pangan for his wife. He gave him a coconut, benjoin and flowers. Jejaiyah offered them to the gods in the temple hut and started the pangan. In pangan, the goddess Kateravva was prayed and requested to 'stay' on Chenchamma and see that the pregnancy is protected from malign beings of invisible world. Pattabbi got pangan conducted now and then during the pregnancy, to pray the goddess to look after the child in the womb.
Pattabbi and Chenchamma went for work regularly to save some money which would be needed at the time of delivery and for post-natal ceremony. Pattabbi was always in the settlement as he would not know when the delivery would take place. As the Yanadi family is an independent unit by itself, the wife and husband should attend to each other during "emergencies" like delivery and disease. Therefore, during the pregnancy the couples move around together.

The pregnant Yanadi woman attends all household work till advanced stage of pregnancy. They bring water, cook food and also bring firewood from the forest. They also continue to work as wage labour and go along with their husbands for food collection. They believe that constant physical labour enables easy delivery. Chenchamma and Pattabbi continued sexual intercourse during the entire period of pregnancy since there is a belief among the Yanadi that sexual intercourse during pregnancy facilitates easy delivery.

The Yanadi believe that the variety of fish such as korrampenu, jella, and moyva and the fruits like papaya and cashew nuts are unsuitable (kāni vasthuvulu) for a pregnant woman. Therefore, they avoid these food
items during the pregnancy. Otherwise, they cause illness to the baby in the womb. The pregnant women eat only the suitable foods (ayye vaatadvulu) which are salubrious to the health. However, occasional starvation due to non-availability of food is not uncommon even during the pregnancy.

**Entering into the Visible World: Child Birth**

As usual, one day Pattabbi and his wife went for work. While watering the plants, Chenchamma started having labour pains and therefore they returned to their hut. While they arrived Pattabbi's elder sister Polamma and Kannamma, Nagaiah's wife were in their huts who also felt Chenchamma was having labour pains. Pattabbi requested an old woman (around fifty years of age) to attend to his wife.

The Yanadi in order to know whether the pains are real or false, pour warm water on the back over the buttocks of the pregnant woman. After this if the pains subside they are called small or false pains (sanna noppulu) and if the pains continue they are referred to as child pains or real pains (bidda noppulu).

Warm water was poured on the back body above the buttocks of Chenchamma and the pains continued. After an hour the labour pains became severe. Chenchamma was groaning and
walking hither and thither inside the thatched enclosure (dadi) of the hut. On knowing this a few women and children of nearby huts gathered near the hut of Pattabbi.

After an hour Chenamma discharged some watery liquid (vammu neellu) and so she was escorted into the hut. It is because the Yanadi believe that this is an indication for early delivery. In the hut, a rope was hung from the top of the roof. Sand was put in a cloth and tied to make it into a pillow. It was placed in the centre of the hut and she was asked to sit on the pillow stretching her legs sideways and holding the rope for support. Polamma sat behind her, holding her waist tightly. Chenamma was asked to exert pressure to push the baby out.

For the Yanadi, a birth is perceived as "separation" of the baby from the mother to arrive in the visible world. This process of separation or what may be referred to as delivery is considered very critical as it endangers the very life of the mother. Hence, the Yanadi put great emphasis on the process of separation of the baby from the mother. So, when a normal delivery takes place, they feel greatly relieved. There are physical signs to indicate whether the delivery would be easy or difficult one. When Chenamma's labour pains became severe, the
women and children gathered outside the enclosure only hoped that the separation of the baby from the mother would not be difficult one.

Kannemma sat between the legs in front of Chencharma, padded the inner thighs gently. When the head of the baby came out of the vagina, Kannemma held it and slowly pulled out. Kannemma shouted that the infant was female. Pattabbi who was standing outside the hut within the enclosure heard this and relayed the same to the gathering outside the enclosure of the hut. The women commented "Whatever it may be, the child and the mother got separated. That is enough". The delivery took place at about noon.

After delivery, Chencharma was asked to lay flat on her stomach so that the placenta (māya) comes out easily. After the coming out of the placenta, she was asked to lie down on her back. Kannemma buried the placenta on South side of the hut, within the enclosure. In a few cases, the placenta takes longer time to come out, after the delivery. In such cases, the Yanadi get rangam conducted to pray to gods to see that the placenta is pushed out.
Kannemma cut the umbilical cord of the baby with a knife in the hut. She was paid one rupee by Pattabbi for doing this job. In order to stop oozing of the blood, the umbilical cord was tied with a piece of cloth. Then Kannemma applied ash on the wound. The Yanadi also apply of the ash/cow dung and pepper, to get cured the wound. The baby was given warm water bath by Kannemma. If the delivery takes place in the night as in the case of Pottemma discussed later, the baby is given bath in the morning.

Pattabbi brought two branches of musti plant and two pegs of permi plant from the forest. The branches were tucked on the roof of the hut and the pegs were fixed on either side of the entrance of the hut. A piece of cane tied with a few sticks of broom and a few margosa leaves, was placed by the side of the baby in the hut in order to safeguard the infant from the malign beings of invisible world.

Some times, the delivery takes place away from the hut in the forest because of their semi-nomadic life style. In all such cases, the husband assists the wife in delivering the baby. He holds the waist and the woman herself slowly pulls the baby out after the head comes out. The husband cuts the umbelical cord with his knife if he
has, or else he cuts it with a fine edge of the stem of the palmyra leaf. The wife and husband after the delivery return to their settlement. Similar thing happened to Kanalamma while she and her husband were returning from Rettamala to Kodaledu settlement.

Pottemma in advanced stage of pregnancy and her husband, residents of B H Road, went to Kalavagu settlement to attend a ceremony. She walked a distance of nearly eight kilometers to reach Kalavagu. In the night while the ceremony was in progress she started having pains. A vacant hut was lifted and brought just outside the settlement. She went inside the hut and delivered a male baby within a few minutes. This was a fourth delivery for her. Her father's sister Subbamma (55) who lived in that settlement, cut the umbilical cord. Then they went to Penubakaic where her parents stay as there was no close relative at B N Road settlement to help her in cooking food and help in the post-natal ceremony.

The Yanadi believe that the first delivery would be difficult and subsequent were found to be relatively easy. The first delivery may take place even a day after the labour pains start.
The mother is given a decoction made out of a few roots of the plants like nallapuvalu, manthraji, adiki and mulla mousti, kunkudo, kotingeru, kardaneredu and margosa root. This decoction is given whenever the mother feels thirsty. It is said that this decoction would relieve the body pains and stomach pains of a delivered woman. She is asked to avoid to drink water as the Yanadi believe that pus would form in the stomach if she drinks more water. Even if the water given, only hot water is given to the mother. On the second or third day, she is given cooked rice without salt and a mixture of curry leaves and pepper. It is believed that the wound of the child at the naval cord gets cured early if the food is taken without salt. The food is given to the mother only once in a day that too in the afternoons, for the first eight days. During these days the mother is given a hot water bath. However her head is not bathed.

Childhood

Birth: The Yanadi consider the infants are totally dependent and susceptible to malign beings of invisible world and diseases. If the infants are carefully guarded and protected from these difficulties upto the walking stage, they can survive on their own afterwards. Such a belief is well reflected in the child care and method of child rearing practices from birth to walking stage.
For the first eight days, after the birth the infant and the mother are confined to the hut. Most of the time, the mother lies close to the infant and gives breast feed. The infant is given warm water bath during these eight days by the old woman who had assisted in the delivery. For giving bath, the infant is protracted on the stretched legs of the woman and the hot water is poured over the infant's body. Powdered seckren leaves is used to clean the head of the infant. During the bath the legs and hands are stretched to avoid bending. The nose is massaged to avoid flattening of it. She presses the head to avoid long head. The infant is given bath at the same place where the placenta is buried, so as the water is absorbed on the same spot daily which is referred to as nalluganta. This is important because on the postnatal ceremony, the worship of goddess Katecharva is conducted at the same spot.

Red hot charcoal is placed in a plate and over it benjoin, which generates smoke. The infant is put over the smoke so that his entire body is touched with smoke. It is believed that this smoke avoids the evil effects of the malign beings. The infant is placed by the side of the mother wrapped in a dry cloth.
Such a bath is given regularly until the infant is able to sit. Afterwards, it becomes irregular and when the child begins to walk, the mother gives bath once in a while and after two years she discontinues to give bath. The Yanadi mothers believe that the regular bath to the infant helps the proper growth of the body in early stages.

The infant is susceptible to the malign beings. Therefore the infant is confined to the hut most of the time during the first eight days. The mother is also considered 'impure' during this time. The purification ceremony is conducted generally on the ninth day. The close kins of the couple are invited on this occasion. The invited relatives gather near the hut of the couple and women help heat water with a few leaves of takkedakku, vivilaku, and edagaku. The shampoo is prepared out of the roots of manga tree. The shampoo is used to wash the hair of the mother. Her body is rubbed with turmeric paste followed by bath. The mother then wears dry clothes. Red hot charcoal is placed in a plate. The husk of the garlic and rumu are dropped on the fire. It gives a lot of smoke which is inhaled by the mother until she started sweating. This is considered good for health.
The mother then worships the goddess Katerawa, referred as avva, and Chenchamma by offering food, coconut and camphor also. She prays and requests, "kindly see that the infant does not cry and sleep well". The piece of cane tied with broomsticks and margosa leaves is placed by the side of the idol of the goddess while worshipping. This is carried along with the mother wherever she goes with the infant. Then the infant is placed in a cloth, the both ends of which are held by the mother's brother and his wife. The infant is rocked and songs are sung by the infant's menamama and his wife.

Afterwards, mother worships the water goddess, Gangamma, near a water pond, offering coconut and camphor. She then dips her finger in the cold water, first time after the delivery. She says, "Gangamma talli (O Goddess Gangamma!) kindly save me from janni (too much cold)". After completing this ritual, she is allowed to touch cold water.

The Yanadi believe that the infant develops sickness when touched by a menstruating woman. Therefore, the menstruating women do not touch the infants of other couples. The menstruation of unmarried girls are considered even more harmful. When touched by such girls, the infants are considered to become sick and become very lean.
The Yanadi avoid kissing on the cheeks of the infants but kiss only on other parts of the body like stomach. According to their belief, the gods become angry as the cheeks are meant for the gods to kiss and to express their affection for the infant. Jejaiah had to conduct rangam to know the cause for crying of his two months old son. The personal god of the infant told that it was due to the mistake committed by one of his elder sons by kissing the infant on his cheeks. Therefore, Jejaiah had to pray the god to pardon the child as he would see that such a thing does not happen in future. The mother avoids taking the infant outside the hut or from one hut to another in the night. They believe that these places are haunted by malign beings called Granule in the night, which inflict diseases to the infants.

The infant is regularly given water of végé to avoid indigestion and thereby stomachache. The mother also avoids to consume food items such as kernel of palmyra, a few varieties of fish and cashew nuts as they cause the milk of the mother indigestible to the infant. Tolissama, a resident of B N Road settlement was working with Forestory and Horticulture Section. She had three months old daughter. One day, while collecting the forest produce, she ate a few seeds of cashew nuts. For the next
two days, the infant had no motion and started crying. Therefore, the infant was given water of \textit{vamu} and herbal medicines like \textit{eesara veru}. By the evening, the infant had motion twice and stopped crying. The Yanadi mothers give the infant the powder of \textit{tharingadga}, which is considered helpful in "getting flesh" on the infant's body.

The infant is mostly looked after by the mother, during birth stage in which father has little role to play. The infant is made to lie down in the hut on a cloth and made to sleep. The mother cooks food and attends other works like bringing water. Sometimes, the infant is watched by the elder siblings.

The infant is fed whenever it cries. The mother believes that the infants cry whenever they feel hungry. Otherwise, they remain quiet. In a squatting position, the mother holds the infant on the lap and feeds the infant. During nights and also when she feels tired, the mother lies close to the infant and slightly bend so that the breast remains very close to the infant's mouth.

The mother is expected to start working after the postnatal ceremony. However, it takes ten days to about six
months before the mother returns to work depending upon her health and whether other help is available to her. If the infant has an elder sibling, the mother goes to work within a month. Otherwise, she goes to work almost after six months.

The infant wrapped in a cloth, is carried by the mother on her arms. She goes to work with her husband and one of older children who has to look after the infant. Before starting the work, the mother feeds the infant and keeps it in a cradle like thing, saree tied to a branch of a tree. The elder sibling of the infant rocks the cradle until the infant falls asleep. If the infant continues crying, the mother is called. The mother feeds the infant and resumes the work. While the infant sleeps, the elder sibling observes the adult Yanadi working. If there are other children, he/she talks and or plays with them.

**Turning on stomach stage:** The mother carries the infant on her right side of the chest, resting the head on her shoulder, and holding with her two hands. The infant is given bath regularly. One evening, Chenchaamma was giving bath to her infant after returning from work. Warm water was kept ready in a pot. She sat facing South and the
infant was put on the stretched legs. She rubbed the body with turmeric paste and poured the water. She used soap for cleaning the head. She dried the body with a dry cloth. She requested Polamma to bring a plate and camphor and lit it in the plate. She moved the plate round the infant thrice. This is to avoid the bad effects of the evil eye. When the plate was put near the enclosure of the hut, the flame became extinguished. Chenchamma went inside the hut and put the infant on her legs and poured the yamu and kept the infant on a cloth in the hut. She asked her three years old son to watch the infant and started preparing the evening meal.

Sitting stage: When the infant attains the sitting stage, he/she is carried by the mother on the waist. Father also carries the infant in this stage to help mother. At the work spot, the infant is left under the care of the elder sibling and the infant is left to sit on the bare sand most of the time and quite often falls asleep on the sand itself. In general, the parents become seriously concerned if the infant falls ill until it reaches the walking stage. When they are ill they do not go to work forgoing their wages. Immediately rangam is conducted to find out the reason of illness and also treat the infant with the herbal medicines. Until the infant is completely cured, the couple does not return to work.
Crawling stage: The child by this time, learns to suck mother's breasts on its own. It is observed that the child in this stage, while sitting on mother's lap uncovers the mother's breasts for sucking milk when it feels hungry. Even while the mother is standing, the child in her waist fondles with mother's breast and sucks it. The mother accepts the child's adventures casually and does not resist or avoid it.

Sometimes, the child cries and would not sleep in the night. The parents try to frighten the infant by saying "the devil is coming, and would take you away". If the child still continues to cry, they threaten him/her by saying "if you do not stop crying, we will throw you out. The devils will snatch you away." The elder siblings shake the wall of the hut made of palmyra leaves, to produce noise and shout "See, the devil is coming". This is done in order to create fear in the child to stop him/her from crying.

Walking stage: The child's dependency on the mother decreases as soon as the child is able to walk. Now the child's dependency shifts to the elder siblings and as he/she grows in age he/she moves towards gradual independence. The child is left at the hut while the parents go for work.
In this way, day time contacts with parents reduces and the interaction with the elder siblings and other children of the settlement begins to intensify. The child starts interacting with the environs of the hut and gradually explore the entire island as he moves to adolescence.

Weaning starts in this stage. If the mother becomes pregnant by now the child is weaned. A few mothers apply the paste of margosa leaves on the nipples to discourage the child from suckling her breasts.

**Early childhood:** By about five years of age, the Yamadi children are expected to cover their genitals. The male children cover with a loin cloth and female children with a cloth around their waist. The grown-up boys and adults ridicule the children who have no loin cloth. They say "catch hold of him and cut the penis." The child runs away and starts covering his genitals with a cloth.

The food is served to the child in the morning before the parents leave for work in an aluminium plate especially given to the child for his/her exclusive use. The child is asked to bring his/her plate when food is served by the mother and made to eat the food by himself/herself. It is also instructed to keep the plate in the
but who is also expected to clean it. The child is told that he/she should not eat in other's plates nor he should give his/her plate to others. The Yamadi believe the personal god punishes the child if he/she takes food in a plate not belonging to him/her. As the plate is effected by salaiwa (engili) while eating food in it. The mother hardly bothers whether the child cleans his/her hands or plate after meals. The mother thinks that on occasions, when a child eats 'liquid food' there is no need of cleaning the hands.

When the Yamadi have no food they sometimes borrow rice from their close kins if they have, and prepare the food. The prepared food is distributed proportionally among the family members. If they could not get the rice, all the family members go without food for the day. Thus, the child in an early age, starts experiencing occasional 'starvation' and therefore learns to search for food, fruits and roots. The child while growing in the early stages cannot procure food independently. At the same time others do not offer food. Thus, he/she feels quite helpless and when cries for food he/she is passified by giving false hope by the parents who would say "do not cry, we will go into the forest and collect food and also fish in the ponds". Quite often it is said to divert the child's attention. As the child grows older he/she learns about the reality, and begins
to accept it by simply keeping quiet on such occasions. So the child stops demanding food from the parents and also crying. The children's comments, "we will not have food for the evening" indicate that there is no rice in the hut. When he/she has no food he/she simply lies down on the sand in the hut or outside the hut without talking to anyone and saying nothing.

Children form a part of food gathering, fishing, hunting or honey collection expedition. On such occasions they not only get the opportunity to observe and participate in these activities but also learn about various tubers and roots, fish, animals from the parents as well as elder siblings. The children roast the fish or roots in the forest and eat there itself. When they come back also it is quite often observed at any hut the children roasting the fishes or tubers and eating. While the preparation of the food the children gather around the hearth waiting for the food. The children are also observed along with the elders and siblings cutting the palmyra seeds with a knife and eating.

The younger children accompany elder siblings and watch them playing and learn them. They are free to go to the malam, and listen rangam along with elder siblings or
parents. The adults encourage the children to sing and dance along with them. The children therefore are seen dancing and singing along with adults and adolescents in the mālam. Often, a group of children were found conducting mālam with an aluminium plate and an old tin. The rest of the children sing and dance imitating the mālam performance.

The children start sleeping with their elder siblings in a separate hut by the time they reach the fifth year. If there are few children of the same age group in a cluster they sleep together in a hut. Here they get influenced by the older siblings and the playmates. These siblings act as 'educators' of riddles and provide the knowledge about gods, devils and the deceased ancestors.

The parents disapprove of the children going to others' hut and touch their belongings. The parents say "do not go to others' huts. They would abuse you". Therefore, the children try to keep themselves away from others' huts. The parents strictly avoid beating the children, even when they fail to their instructions. Some times, the parents ask their children to bring firewood or water. But they bother little even if the children fail to bring them. The parents quite often comment "what can we do? We have asked them to do the work. But they have not done it". It seems
that parents exert very little pressure on the child and feel that their responsibility is over, after directing the child to do the work as in the later stages of the life the child will have to do the jobs for his/her own survival. Hence why force it now.

Beating of a child in any form is taken seriously by the Yanadi parents. They strongly disapprove the child if he/she gets beaten by others. They chide the child and instruct not to go other's place and get beaten. The mother questions the parents of the child who has beaten her child. The mother disallows, beat or control the behaviour of her child. She further would ask "Why should anybody beat my child? Who will cure if the child gets sick?" Therefore, the children in all their activities learn to maintain harmony with other children and try, as far as possible not to come into conflict. Whosoever cannot compromise, leave the scene, so as to avoid the conflict.

The children after attaining the age of about eight to nine years start their search for food in the interior of forest along with their playmates where they eat the fruits to satisfy their hunger. They also start catching rats and squirrels, roast them and eat in the forest. The children amuse themselves by climbing the trees, dipping in
water ponds, and fishing with anglers. When they gather in a hut in the night, they share their day's experiences with the younger siblings, which centres round their encounters in the forest.

The children of this age are offered liquor, arrack or toddy by the parents irrespective of sex. When the parents go to the villages outside the island or Sullurpet for weekly purchase they drink together. The father also offer cigars and beedies to his sons and the children start smoking by now.

The children by the age of ten would become completely independent and self reliant. They work along with their parents and help them in earning. The children try to procure the knives and fishing tools which would belong to them only from now on. The parents are not held responsible for the mistake of their children. For instance a boy or girl borrows a rupee from any body, it should be paid by himself/herself. If the parents are asked to repay, they say "Did you ask us before giving him/her the money. You take it from him/her only". Clear division of labour between male and female begins to emerge early in life. The boys are expected to procure food and help their parents in the forest works. Whereas, the girls are expected to attend the household duties
like bringing water, cooking the food, apart from assisting
the parents in the forest works.

The children are initiated into sexual knowledge
through the observation and imitation. The sexual play
between a man and woman or couple is known to the children.
The Yanadi couple indulge in sexual intercourse in the hut
or in the bushes. When some extra marital relationship
comes into the light, it can be easily identified by other
couple with the help of the foot prints on the bare sand.
Such news circulates in the entire settlement through gossip.
When the children meet in the night, it forms the talk of
the day. On such occasions the children mention other such
incidents which they know to the younger siblings.

Malam is another source which makes the children
aware of the sex. In the malam during interludes, two male
adult Yanadi act as couple (wife and husband) and do various
amorous activities like kissing and touching the breasts to
make others laugh. As the children irrespective of age and
sex observe these performance, they become aware of the
sexual behaviour at an early age.

The gossip of the children in this stage centres
around the sex life of the Yanadi. The boys say, "see the
breasts of the girl. She is coming of age for marriage. I want to 'drive the cart' (want to indulge in sex with her)" and so on. The girls also talk about the boys. As they know who are their potential spouses, they tell other girls whom she would like to marry. Thus the boys and girls dream about their future spouses.

The foregoing analysis shows that the child rearing among the Yanadi put pressure on the children to be self-reliant and independent in all activities of life. The parents give complete freedom to the children and they strictly avoid beating and punishing them in the visible world. The children's behaviour is disciplined with the help of the beings of invisible world. In other words, the dependency on the invisible world begins at an early age. The children are induced to participate in all the socio-cultural and economic activities irrespective of sex and age at the walking stage. The learning of skills and cultural behaviour is mostly by observation, participation and initiation in the natural settings. The children therefore, acquire all the skills and knowledge needed for survival in the forest, including sexual behaviour.