CHAPTER - I

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1.1 THE PROBLEM

Yanadis are one of the major scheduled tribes of Andhra Pradesh and are a group of semi-nomadic hunters and gatherers. The modern world has widely witnessed vast change in the life of people in many ways and such change is the product of several factors like increase or decrease in population, alteration in geographical environment, natural and social catastrophes, accidental discoveries, and migration into new environment, innovative cultural contact, introduction of communications education and welfare measures and social movements. Migration is one of the important factors which influence the social change and economic development in the society.

It is said that migration is response of human beings to the environment, economic, social and political and other forces. People tend to remain in particular area until they are forced by some factors to move to another area. Thus, when any society migrates from its original or traditional habitat to a new habitat, its traditional culture, norms and values undergo a copious change to cope up with the new physical and social-cultural setting that acts with the society invoices. A process of cultural adjustment denotes the process and end results of such culture contacts, social scientists have used various terms such as assimilation, acculturation, adaptation, adjustment and integration.

The schedule tribes represent the most backward and disadvantaged group in the highly stratified caste-ridden ladder of Indian Society. The welfare of these vulnerable population groups has always featured prominently in India's plans and policies. In fact, these concerns are woven into the very fabric of the country's constitution and are contained in the Directive Principle of the State Policy laid down in Article 46 which calls for the promotion of the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and to protect them from gross social injustice and all forms of exploitation.
Sometimes when a society is coerced to migrate to another place, it undergoes immediate disorganization and disintegration. This migrant society with a definite physical and cultural background of its own faces the problem of adjustment or adaptation to the new environmental and cultural section. It cannot, however, totally be given up its traditional culture and adopt the new culture. Thus, according to Bogue (1969), whenever we observe population flowing out of one particular area into other, we should smell the rat that some major economic or social change is taking place and that people are making an adjustment. Similar changes took place among the Yanadis of Chittoor and Nellore District when they were forced to migrate to several new places.

The Yanadis are presumed to be Pre-Dravidian tribe who are found mostly in Nellore and Chittoor districts in the state of Andhra Pradesh and some pockets in neighbouring districts. They are divided into two groups, viz. the Manchi Yanadis, who belong to the small superior class and the Challa Yanadis whom the Government enlisted in the scheduled tribes category. Their main occupation is agriculture labour, fishing and hunting and often they indulge into domestic work like cleaning which is considered to be a menial job. Some among them still lead a semi nomadic existence.

According to a local level study initiative, 1, 27,000 acres of land assigned to landless Yanadi was encroached upon in Nellore District by the local land mafia most of whom belong to the feudal Reddy and other Communities. However, Yanadis is the most marginalized tribal community in the state of Andhra Pradesh.

Nellore district is the largest tribal populated district in Andhra Pradesh comprising total scheduled tribe population of 3, 51,676 according to 2011 census. Tribals are found in all the 46 Mandals of Nellore District. As per 2011 Census, 22 tribes were listed with 78,847 families and population of 3,51,676. Out of these, the Major tribes are Yanadis, Yerukula, Konda Kapu, Lambada/Sugali, Reddidora, Kammara, Chenchu and Mannedora. Among these tribes, ‘YANADIS form the second largest group and constitute one eighth of the total tribal population of the state within 100 years period (1901-1, 21, 549, 2001-2, 42, 225, 2011-3, 51,676). The Yanadis population is increasing by leaps and bounds. Yanadi tribe is found mostly in Nellore District and Chittoor Districts of Andhra Pradesh (Table 1.1).
Table 1.1
Yanadi Population in Nellore and Chittoor Districts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SL No.</th>
<th>Name of the District</th>
<th>Yanadi Population</th>
<th>Total ST Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Nellore</td>
<td>2,71,600</td>
<td>3,60,498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Chittoor</td>
<td>79,976</td>
<td>1,28,085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,51,676</td>
<td>4,88,583</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census 2011

They abandoned the colonies and migrated to different places where their kith and kin were already adapting themselves to new environments. Thus, after their resettlement in the new habitat, all the Yanadi started adapting themselves to the new habitat. This posed the problem of dynamics of social change among the Yanadi tribe.

1.2 AIM AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

With the growing urge to utilize the new technology for the speedy growth and development of the nation, the central and State Governments of India initiated Hydro-electric projects, steel projects and the like in tribal and other areas, following this the displacement of tribal populations from their traditional habitat and consequent exposure to new social and cultural milieu have necessitated certain changed in their traditional way of life particularly such changes appeared rapidly in the Central and Eastern parts of India that have heavy concentration of tribal population.

A few Anthropologists also made detailed studies of displacement, rehabilitation and employment of tribal promoted by the industrialization of Rourkela region of Orissa. To investigate into the conditions of tribals who were displaced owing to the establishment of industries and other projects and the consequences of this upon the displaced people. The present study has been conceived with a view to fill up this gap. It seeks to understand the social change in the environment, society and culture of the Yanadis.
1.3 OBJECTIVES

The present study has set the following objectives.

1. To know the distribution of Yanadis in both the Districts under study.
2. To appraise the characteristics and customs of the Yanadis.
3. To elicit the socio-economic conditions of the Yanadis.
4. To evaluate the social change in Yanadis.
5. To suggest remedial measure to uplift the Yanadi community.

1.4 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In Indian Anthropology many number of prominent ethnographic studies has come out on tribals, scheduled castes and backward castes. The emphasis is even now continued. Although there are several detailed monographs on various tribes and castes in Andhra Pradesh, there is no full length ethnographic study on the Yanadi until now. The available literature on Yanadi community is also scanty. However, Thurston in this book ‘Castes and Tribes of southern India’ (Vol.II, 1909, 366-69) has given a brief ethnographic account on the community.

L.K.Ananthakrishna Iyyer (1930) gave a brief account of Yanadis, their social customs and traditions. Dube (1958) in his pioneering study of Indian village communities made an account on the Yanadi. M.N.Srinivas (1960) equated the caste on par with Golla (shepherd) in the social hierarchy, after agricultural castes.

K.V.Reddy (1989) in his published Doctoral thesis ‘An Anthropological study of Folklore Chittoor District, Andhra Pradesh’ (1989:37, 119, 1200) gave an account of this tribe. Sherring (1975) in his work on “The Tribes and Castes of the Madras Presidency”, made a mention of the Yanadi caste as palm cultivators of the Telugu districts. Neither of these studies thrown much light on the change and continuity aspects of the Yanadi caste. The present study is, therefore, made to fill in these gaps to possible extent.
In this book the traditional culture of Yanadi serves as a basis for a better understanding of the continuity of Yanadi culture. Further, the impact of various factors and forces of change such as science and technology on the different aspects of the Yanadi society and culture are also studied. Lastly, the patterns and process of continuity and change in the Yanadi culture in the present environment were discussed.

The primary data collected from the field centers together with secondary data from the available literature on Yanadi community were analysed in accordance with the objectives of the study. The analysis of the data is carried out in three phases: (1) in the first phase, data available on Yanadi in the existing literature are examined. This provides a base for further analysis, (ii) in the second phase, the data collected from the field on Yanadis are analysed and compared and (iii) in the third phase, the process and direction of change and continuity have been analysed and identified by using certain anthropological concepts.

In accordance with the pattern of analysis as suggested above, a starting point or base was selected for further analysis after screening all the existing literature. This is because a base line has to be taken since it is approximately from this point of time the changes were studied. These changes that have been brought in the organization, it is presumed will have taken roots some fifty five years ago and over a span of time have been incorporated into the structure, as it is seen today. It is on this presumption that the researcher has taken into account a period of about fifty five years.

After India became a republic in 1950, many welfare and development programmes were taken up by the new government. This is also the time when prohibition was introduced, which in turn drastically affected the Yanadi society and culture. So, it is approximately from this point of time that the changes which occurred with Yanadi society are studied. This has been done since as Cohn (1968:250) states "the anthropologist's model of change is based on the assumption of a baseline of zero point of change."

At any rate the researcher is well aware that this is not without its limitation. But, due to the absence of other alternative this is perhaps the most suitable conceptual approach available. One is also conscious of the fact that the society was
not at static equilibrium at the point of time from when changes are studied (Subramanyam, 1975:4). It is done only for the sake of convenience and as useful tool of research.

The data about the Yanadi society and culture approximately corresponding to 19\textsuperscript{th} and 20\textsuperscript{th} centuries provide a basis not only for the understanding of the starting point or beginning and subsequent phenomena of social and cultural change among the Yanadi, but also for knowing what still exists or continues. In other words, such data throw light not only on the tradition but also on the transition which implies change that occurred in the traditional social and cultural setting subsequently. The base line in this study is the point of time from which certain changes in the social structure are studied the baseline as useful considerations. In this study of changes in the Yanadi community after India became a republic have been taken into account. This land mark is a convenient gap of time in more ways than one. Fifty five years is not too large a period of time to stretch one’s memory and events and can be easily recalled with a fair degree of accuracy. Informants who were then twenty and twenty-five in age would be seventy-five and eighty now. This span enables them to be fairly competent to give the investigator an idea of the then society. Further, the author can as well depend on the still older members of the Yanadi society to get information. However, the author has to use his discretion at times so that the account might not be coloured or exaggerated.

Social change can be the product of a number of factors like innovations, external and internal influences and contact with a different way of life culminating in economic growth. Hence, multiple factors can be responsible for producing change. This is more plausible than designating a single factor as a change agent. Also change in one sphere leads to concomitant change in other areas, i.e. if a society has been subjected to economic change it is found that to a certain extent it affects the political and social fields as well.

This is because all these aspects of social structure are so interlinked that a shift in any of these is interlinked is reflected on the other inter-related spheres. The values of a society play a pivotal role in the acceptance or rejection of change. A tradition-bound society generally has more difficulties in accepting new ideas and innovations.
Defining traditional societies Hagen (1964: 5) says, "A society is traditional if ways of behaviour in it continue with little change from generation to generation, where traditionalism is present, certain other characteristics are also found. Behaviour is governed by custom but not by law. The social structure is hierarchical. The individual's position in the society is normally inherited rather than achieved. A traditional society, in short, tends to be custom-bound, hierarchical inscriptive and unproductive." This would fit in well with the Yanadi society in Chittoor and Nellore Districts, which is a caste society, with more or less inscriptive role and hierarchical in nature.

Talking in terms of change it would be interesting to mention that drastic changes in the social structure of society have always been considered harmful. This is because the social system is unable to adjust itself and its cultural roots are torn apart. Tradition forms an immensely important part in maintaining a social system and its values, and a total destruction of these can cause normlessness and anomie. Social change among Yanadi has been gradual and not a sudden and shattering type.

Changes have taken place in certain spheres, and these in turn have caused changes in other spheres since changes will be discussed with reference to the traditional structure of Yanadi. While talking of change, one should be constantly aware that continuity and change are well integrated in the social sense and the student of society can study the changes only in comparison with the traditional. What continue today in concurrence with the image of the past are part of the traditional and the rest, in tune with the changed pattern.

The baseline data thus obtained were compared with the data of Yanadi of Chittoor and Nellore District, and then the data collected to have an understanding of the Social Change and Economic Development.

Srinivas (1966:6) defines Sanskritisation as a process by which a low Hindu caste, tribal or other group changes its customs, rituals, ideology and way of life in the direction of a high, frequently, twice-born. The word is associated with the Brahmin community in India. After the biological birth, an individual undergoes some ritual performances like wearing of sacred thread etc. usually at the age of 14 or after. This rite refers to second birth, according to the tradition. Henceforth he is
called twice-born (Dwija). Generally such changes are followed by a claim to higher position in the cast hierarchy than that traditionally conceded to the dominant caste by local community. The other term westernization used by Srinivas is, however, a broaden one and cannot be understood as easily as to former term. This is because of its all embracing nature and the whole gamut of issues it covers.

Westernization (Srinivas, 1966:55) has been referred to as inclusive, complex and many layered concept. It covers a wide range from western technology at one end to the experimental at the other”. There is however, a degree of vagueness in the delineation of this concept which Srinivas himself admits. He later explains why he prefers the term Westernization to Harner’s term modernization. He says the former is more ethically neutral than latter.

Dube (1967:35) prefers the term modernization to depict the changing social and cultural phenomena in India. He holds that it is “essentially a process- a movement from traditional, quasi-traditional order to certain desired types of technology and associated forms of social structure, value orientation and motivations and norms”. He has listed some of the attributes of modernization such as (i) empathy, (ii) mobility, (iii) high participation, (iv) interest articulation, (v) interest aggregation, (vi) institutionalized political competition, (vii) achievement orientation, (viii) rational end-means calculations, (ix) new attitudes to wealth, work saving and risk taking, (x) faith in the desirability and possibility of change, (xi) social economic and political discipline and (xii) capacity to put off immediate and short-run satisfaction for higher satisfaction in the long run from the works of different behavioural social scientists. The term modernization seems to conceptualize change more clearly than Srinivas’s term Westernization.

However, both the terms discuss changes caused generally by external influences on the system. It also means a trending away from traditional ways of thinking and behaviour. Sanskritization, however, envisages change within the traditional frame work.

Redfield (1956:72) proposed the concepts of Great Tradition and Little Tradition to explain cultural change. He conceived of civilization as consisting of fabric of interdependent Great Tradition and Little Tradition. The Great Tradition is
represented by the Pan-Indian Sanskritic - Hinduism while the Little Tradition is represented by the unofficial, folk-accepted cult institutions. The relationship between the Great Traditions and Little Traditions is, however, not at variance and contradictory, following Redfield, two other anthropologists, viz. Mckim Marriot (1955, 1961) and Milton Singer (1955, 1959) analysed the interaction between the Great Tradition associated with higher castes and Little Tradition with lower castes. Mckim Marriot discerned the two processes of change, namely Universalization and Parochialization. By Parochialization he means the downward devolution of the elements of the Great Tradition and their integration with the elements of Little Tradition. On the other hand, Parochialization is process of localization, of limitation upon the scope of intelligibility, of deprivation of literacy form, of reduction to less systematic and less reflective dimensions. According to him, the Universalization stands for the upward movement of elements belong to Little Tradition and also the process of culture change in Indian communities (Marriot, 1955:1972-218).

Dube has spoken of hierarchy of Indian traditions (i) the classical tradition, (ii) the emergent national tradition, (iii) the regional tradition, (iv) the local tradition, (v) the western tradition and (vi) the local sub-culture traditions of social groups. He holds that it is only a complete understanding of this hierarchy of traditions can give a sober picture of the total change in India (1965, 421-423).

G.S. Ghurye (1943) argued that the tribals were nothing more than backward caste Hindus. They should be treated on par with the Hindus.

D.N. Majumdar (1944) suggested that the cultural identity of the tribals as far as possible should be retained. He feared that if the isolation was broken the tribals would lose their ethnic identity. To maintain it, he hypothesized that there should be 'selected integration' of the tribals. While spelling out, he argued that not all the elements of civilization should be allowed to enter the tribal area. Only those which have relevance with tribal life should be permitted into such area. Such a policy would keep the tribals away from the vices of urban life.

The scientific study of tribal economy in India was first undertaken by two scholars, D.D.Nag and R.P.Saxena. Nag (1958) made an extensive field tour in the areas of Madhya Pradesh like, Mandla, Bilaspur, Durg and Balaghat and studied the
Baiga economy in the context of general economic theories laying emphasis on the sources of economy of Baigas. Saxena followed a model of Nag and studied the tribal of Western Hills in Madhya Pradesh and presented the economy of five tribes. These two studies have some limitations like, exclusion of socio-cultural conditions of the tribes on their study areas.

Vema (1959-1960) discussed the socio-cultural organizations of the Sanria paharias, Mal-paharias and Kumarbhag. He examined various phases of the tribal life, pregnancy and birth, puberty, widow remarriage, place of women in the society, religion, village council and institutions.

N.N. Yyas (1967) presents the historical, social and economic life of the Baniyas of Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab and Gujarat States. Yyas thus points out the differences in customs and practices of the Baniyas of different States. This study has a good comparative background yet it has a limitation like unsuitability of the methodology.

Vimal Shah (1969) studied the tribal economy of Gujarat based on the All India Rural Development and Investment Survey of the RBI (1961-62) and the study was undertaken by the Gujarat State. Shah selected a sample of 1120 rural and 424 households selected from 28 villages. This study very effectively brought out the tribal economy in Gujarat. He points out that there is very little diversification in occupation. Agriculture continues to be the mainstay of tribal population, very little investment is made to modernize it, very few inputs are made to increase the productivity of land, and many people mostly depend upon traditional agencies for their credit requirements. All these are obviously the characteristics of a subsistence economy.

L.P. Vidyarthi (1970) attempted to examine the impact of urbanization on tribal culture. He studied the impact of the emergence of a heavy engineering complex in a tribal belt of Chotanagapur and by analysing the pattern of socio-economic changes that occurred in this region owing to large scale industrialization.

Speaking about the process of modernisation among the tribal people in India's borders, Roy Burman (1973) rightly maintains that tribals live among the non-tribals but hardly share a common life. Their contacts are few and formal. In fact,
according to him, the tribals in urban areas are in neither of the two worlds fully. Many of them adopt the technology, skill of the modern world, still retaining the emotions of the tribal world. At the primitive level of aspiration, tribals were not concerned with the fact that they were a minority at the regional level. Now, with political and occupational aspirations at the twenty five regional and national levels, tribals began to feel themselves as a significant minority. This is the gift of modern education in particular and the modernisation in general. Through his study he expresses his dissatisfaction regarding the strategies for tribal's modernisation.

Dean Joros (1973) in his study presents his views on the relation between political socialisation of the tribals and integration process or the effect of tribal welfare programmes on their political socialisation. He reveals that by analysing the political socialisation process of tribals, a more complete evaluation of tribal welfare programmes would be ensured.

P.R.G.Mathur (1977) points out that induction into political culture and integration into the mainstream of national life are part of one and the same process and without political socialization being achieved, tribal integration into the national social life is impossible. Political socialization must precede their integration into national life. Motivation and objective underlying the tribal welfare programmes and political socialisation are common.

Nirmal Kumar Bose (1977) gives some insight into the tribe's social life. "Tribes differ from others in their social system. They have retained their own marriage regulation. Almost all marry within their restricted local group, and are sometimes guided by their own elders or political chief in internal and external affairs. In other words, they form socially distinct communities who have been designated as tribes and listed in the schedule for special treatment, so that within a relatively short time they can come within the mainstream of political and economic life if India".

S.L. Joshi (1978) takes a case study of Bhils on the process of unification and integration. He said that a sort of integration is achieved by the tribals' with the wider society as a result of political unification. They are aware of the working of
democracy, democratic institutions and identification with the level of values. This study has limitation like neglecting the economic aspects of tribals.

Gopala Rao, N. (1978) examines the process of transfer of land from the tribals to the non-tribals and the various factors influencing such transfers by taking a case study of Mondemkhal, a mixed village of tribes and castes at Parvathipuram taluk of former Srikakulam District. Data were collected by canvassing schedule and by holding prolonged personal interviews with the tribal elders and village officials. Land has been alienated by some people to finance agricultural operations. Cultivators require cash to buy cattle and to pay the labourers. It is clear from the study that credit being taken on pledging land led to land alienation. Land has a tremendous prestige value in the rural context and it could stand as a security for both borrowing and lending.

Roy Burman (1978) speaking about the tribal integration process, points out that present context integration means four things: independent thinking, democratic style of life, secularism and planned economy. These are urgently needed for the tribals to integrate themselves into the mainstream.

R.S. Sharma (1980) discussed the status of tribals in India during ancient times. The epistemological theoretical perspective about the tribals of this period is very clear. It was the time when the Aryans and, at a later period, the high caste Hindus make all the efforts to have their hegemony over the tribals. Sharma applied material approach to the study of history. This study of tribals is based on the assumption that the mode of production involving the theory of surplus leading to class formation continues to the best working hypothesis, not withstanding countless assertions to the contrary.

Jaganath Panday (1981) analysed the classes and class relations in three villages of Orissa and considers the particular mode of production operating in the economy. The study covered predominantly a tribal village, characterised primarily by feudal relationships and a village mainly showing signs of capitalist development in agriculture.
Pradeep Kumar Bose (1981) in his paper questions the validity of observing stratification pattern among Indian tribes on the basis - of caste hierarchy or 'sacred' hierarchy or division on class basis. This is observed in the context of Gujarat tribes. Tribal population in modern market and production systems and their incorporation into modern political systems are shown regional variations in occupations, use of modern machinery etc. Data were collected from seven districts of Gujarat, through survey method and random sampling, identifying four distinct classes: rich peasant, middle peasant, poor peasant and agricultural labourers.

Renuka Pameche (1985) studied political aspects of the Bhils and the process of the formation of elite in Bhil Society - Elaborate accounts of the traditional political system of Bhils and the impact of the modern system on them is also given. A serious limitation of this book is that it is has not taken into consideration the socio-economic aspects of the poor tribals.

Alock Kumar (1986) attempted to analyse and interpret the socio-cultural organisation and economic structure of Mal-paharias tribe, Santalparganas District of Bihar in the light of regional geographical complex. Based on his extensive field work, he examines the land use, income expenditure pattern, size of the families and its geographical ratification. This book provides an innate glimpse on the habit of Mal-paharias in regard to their dress, religious ceremonies, customs, hunting, agricultural instruments and musical instruments. Finally, the author observed the major requirements of their settlements and opined that paying adequate attention to the facilities lacking in their settlements can hasten emerging of Mal-paharias in the mainstream of Indian life.

Devendra Thakur (1986) made an elaborate study about the Santhals in Bihar. The study highlights their socio-economic conditions. It has been observed to what extent they were responsive to the projects and programmes undertaken during the different developmental plans. Before the introduction of Five Year Plans, during the colonial rule, the tribals in the country as a whole remained in an isolation. If the problem of untouchables in pre-independent India was that of pollution, vis-a-vis purity, the problem of tribals or adivasis was that of isolation. They were considered backward and savage lamenting on such an approach to the study of Indian tribals.
Yogendra Singh (1986) observes the colonial ethnographers, for instance, took a placid, even a synchronic view of the tribal society. The conceptional framework development by the British administrators-turned ethnographers and by anthropologists was inspired by the then prevailing model in anthropology. Tribal communities were treated as isolates and the primitive condition was described as a state of Arcadian simplicity.

Geetha Menon (1987) observed that the impact and the loss of common property resources are very severe on tribal women. She shows that the hardships of the tribal women have been increasing. Thus tribal women are the major thirty victims of the deprival of the traditional rights of the tribals in common property resources.

V.S. Ramamani (1988) presents a descriptive analysis of the main features of tribal economy. She also postulates in this study the gap between the tribals and non-tribals and the protective and promotional measures in order to reduce this gap.

Christopher Von Furer - Harnendarf (1988) discussed the pattern and causes of disintegration of the traditional tribal system, failure of welfare programmes by taking the example of two tribes, Apa Tanis of Arunachal Pradesh and Gonds of Andhra Pradesh. He found that the two tribes stood at opposite ends of a spectrum today. While Apa Tanis tribes were clearly set on upward path, the tribes of Gonds were threatened by an apparently irreversible decline in their fortunes. He claims that Apa-Tani tribe of Arunachal Pradesh numbered about 15000, achieved development and integration without losing their identity because of protection given by the Government of India are facing today.

Ranakant Prasad (1988) in this book deals about the tribe of Bihar which has little population and living in different ecological settings. This tribe represents variations within a culture due to various ecological settings. It depicts the total way of the tribe name 'pabhaiya'. This book further illustrates how a small tribe exists with its socio-ecological conditions and the problems the Indian continent.
L.C. Mohanthy (1989) reminded us of the urgent necessity of evaluating how far tribals have improved their economic-conditions and how far they have been integrated into the larger Indian society. He believes that giving tribals full freedom to manifest their genius will help their integration.

S.L. Doshi (1990) conducted researches on the Bhils of south Rajasthan and argues that in ancient India the tribals did not constitute the core of society. They were always marginalized. Though there are no accounts of their collective identity, it is stated that they practiced a pastoral life characterized by animism. They were, by and large, a classless and stateless society.

Nirmal Sengupta (1990) maintains that the process of rapid industrialization since independence has added dimension to the problem of the tribals, as the majority of the tribal concentration in the country is in the areas endowed with rich natural resources. He suggested that the establishment of resource-based industries in such areas will inevitably lead to the displacement of the tribals.

Madhusudan Trivedi (1991) presents his views regarding the entrepreneurship among the tribals. He took the case study of Bhils in Rajasthan. According to him, entrepreneurship is an unorthodox venture for the tribals. In the wake of development they have to take new crops, commercialization and mechanization in their agricultural practices. The economic transformation which the tribals witnessed today led them to a capitalist economy. Capitalism has created class stratification among the tribals. This book focuses on the emergence of capitalism among the tribals and its social consequences on class formation.

Buddudeb Chaudhudi’s (ed.) (1992) book on ‘Tribal Transformation in India’, is a collaborative effort of Indian scholars to capture the changing tribal scenario and a whole diversity of issues related to tribal economy, agronomy, politics, ethnicity, ecology, education, technology transfer, social political movements, religious faiths and rituals in an indigenized, yet more articulate framework, with both diagnostic and remedial models. With the latest concepts research tools in anthropology and related disciplines, the authors make a fresh look at micro and macro level dynamics of the tribal situation in India vis-a-vis the socio-cultural relations.
S.G. Deogaonkar (1994) made a research work on the origin and growth of the efforts for the development of tribal population in India. Apart from examining various approaches to tribal development, he enumerates the administrative structures and organisational strategies adopted during the last many years of planning, the outlay on tribal development during the plans and the priorities adopted have also been indicated. The Tribal Sub-Plan strategy and its implementation have been examined elaborately. The personal policy adopted in tribal development finds a special and critical treatment.

Rudolfe Heredia (1995) viewed that "if the developmental dilemma that confronts our tribals is to be successfully addressed, tribal integration will require their mobilization not just to preserve their cultural autonomy but to redress their minority status as well', so that, they can participate in their own development. For this, tribal education will have to play a major role.

P. Sudhakara Reddy (1995) in his doctoral thesis discusses the processes and problems of displacement, rehabilitation and socio-cultural changes occurred among the displaced Scheduled Tribe, Yanadis of the Shriharikota Island in Andhra Pradesh where the rocket launching station was established by Indian Space Research Organisation, Government of India. The author also tries to portray the traditional social and cultural fabric and adaptation of the Yanadi islanders prior to their displacement, which serves as the basis for understanding the continuity and change in the environment, society and culture. He analyses the rehabilitation programmes and the resultant factors and the forces behind the system of forced migration and adaptation of the Yanadis to the new environment, outside the rehabilitation centers. He also described the patterns and processes of continuity and changes on the socio-cultural set up of Yanadi islanders.

Bhujendra Nath Panda (1996) made sincere attempt to study the personality adjustment, mental health, attitude and academic achievements of more cultured Saora tribes. Through an in-depth analysis, this book gives practical suggestions to teachers, and policy makers to realise the pros and cons of tribal categorization. Thus, the findings have obvious implication for policy makers in tribal education and development.
A.K. Pandey (1997) presents an important correction to the tendency of western researchers and conservative scholars. He successfully tried to investigate the problem of underdevelopment, the culture of powerlessness and culture of poverty among tribals vis-a-vis the Indian society.

Amita Baviskar (1998) studied the erosion and destruction of environment in her study of Narmada valley and argues that positivism has failed to comprehend the tribal conflicts over the developments in the valley. She says that in such researches positivism is in conflict with the epistemological situation of the tribal people. The methodology of 'critical enquiry' postulated by Baviskar argues that there are two important variables: (1) the perspective of the tribals on the life as they live and (2) the perspective of the researcher who 'interprets' the meaning of life given by the objects of study. Here it is very clear that the researcher becomes a strong variable. It is his ideological bias, his values and his definition of life which interpret the life of the tribal. Perhaps the authentic perspective of the tribals remains unexplained or not properly represented by the researcher.

The book of S.N. Tripathy's (1999) contains eleven selected contributions of eminent authors relating to various issues and problems of tribals along with policy options. The role of financial institutions and co-operatives in mitigating the tribal economic problems, the impact of development plans and poverty amelioration schemes etc. have been discussed at length. Based on secondary as well as field data collected through survey, this work portrays the evaluation and analysis of tribal problems and policy paradigms to tackle the problem ofbackwardness in tribal regions.

P.C. Jain (1999) gives some insight into the Bhils and Manas of Rajasthan. The objective of the study is to find out the development attained by these two tribal groups. The development is through various sources. In the First Year Plan, the State government committed on constitutional ground to bring the tribals on par with the other tribal groups who are economically and socially advanced.

S.R. Bakshi and Kiran Bala (2000) present the socio-economic status of several scheduled tribes inhabiting in various regions of Indian sub-continent. Their life-style, customs and traditions are quite different from the population in rural and
urban areas. In fact 'they live in their own world'. Their social backwardness has been assessed at various levels and schemes have been launched for the education of their children, to provide them health facilities and jobs for their daily needs.

Prakash Chandra Mehta (2000) presents an overall review of the tribal development measures adopted during the 20th century. According to him, the government failed to provide them basic minimum needs for their subsistence. The first half of the century was administered by the British government and the local rulers. They were not bothered about their needs and welfare. Hence, during the first half of century they were exploited by the then rulers. Tribal Studies in Kerala indicate that the tribals of Kerala are living at different stages of economic development. Still some are in the stage of hunting and food gathering and leading a nomadic life. Some are still practising shifting cultivation and a few are settled agriculturist. A microscopic minority is working in plantations. The tribal communities who are generally educationally more advanced are at a higher level of economic development than those who are educationally backward. There were a few tribal studies in Kerala.

Anantha Krishna Iyer, L.A. (1909) in his book on The Cochin Tribes and Classes, concentrated his study on the hill tribes which were fast dying out or were deteriorated. In the first volume (1937), he discussed seven hill tribes, namely the Kanikkaran, the Mala Kurumbans, the Malapandaram, Malapulaya, the Malavetan, the Malayarayan and the Maison. The second and the third volumes (1961) deal with the accounts of the tribes of Travancore. In a later study (1961) he described the hill tribes of Kerala as pre-Dravidian. Iyer also undertook the ethnographic survey of the hill and jungle tribes of Cochin and published its result in four volumes. The first volume of his work 'Cochin Tribes and Caste' (1909) includes description of the tribes like 'Kadar, the Malayan, the Nayadi, the Ulladon, Paniya 'and others.

Logan William (1951) mentioned the 'adima' system prevailed among the aboriginals and untouchable classes of Malabar. The exploitative attitude of the feudal lords towards adima was vividly explained by him. Logan's pioneering work has shed light on the exploitative system of feudal landlordism in Malabar in the Nineteenth century made several systematic studies on the various tribes of Kerala, 'Nayadis of Malabar' (1937) and 'Erulas of Kerala' (1944) are the important studies.
Later he conducted a subsequent study on Erulas in 1965 and the results were published which gave an insight into the socio-economic changes which took place in the Emla community.

Luiz (1962) made a detailed study of all the 48 tribes of Kerala. He discussed their mode of living, occupation, diet, religion, taboos, marriage and rituals. He provides an insight into the changing pattern of the tribal's social life in the context of the socio-economic conditions of the State as a whole.

Thurston's (1966) study was a systematic study and a detailed ethnographic survey on the whole of South India tribes and we find an account of the changing pattern of the hill tribes of Kerala. He noted the settled way of life adopted by Paniyas of Wayanad as a result of their contact with the outside world. He also focuses attention on the way of life, customs and traditions of other communities in the region.

P. Mathur (1971) traces the socio-linguistic evolution of the tribes of Kerala. In addition to giving some valuable statistical information, the author describes some of the important problem facing the tribals like land alienation, bonded labour, indebtedness, status of tribal women etc. This book also mentions briefly some of the recent political development among the tribals like the formation of tribal organisations and the influence of naxalite movement on them etc.

M. Kunhaman (1982) in his book examined the inter-regional variations in the level of socio-economic development of the hill tribe of Kerala and the underlying causes. Though there are studies on various tribes in Kerala, the Paniya community in Wayanad and their socio-economic development on the basis of human development indices has not been analysed so far. So the researcher hopes that the present study will fill the gap in the literature.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

To achieve the objectives of the study, the Yanadi community of Chittoor and Nellore Districts, the southernmost part of Andhra Pradesh is chosen for the present study. The study is based on empirical data collected through an intensive field-work for a considerable length of time, in and around Chittoor and Nellore districts, which
are inhabited by Yanadi community. Major conventional Anthropological tools and techniques were employed for the collection of data. A structured schedule was administered to collect relevant statistical information. The historical data were also obtained from the available published sources.

The field-work carried out at intervals, facilitated the researcher to record the data in different seasons and of important activities such as fairs and festivals, since the web of the folk in the areas under study was subject to seasonal fluctuations. To start with, a house to house anthropological census was taken. Besides, a few key informants and a variety of formal leaders were also interviewed to obtain information on the past and present patterns of their life styles. There was not much difficulty in getting the relevant data from the respondents because the researcher knows their mother tongue, Telugu.

In this study, mostly the non-participant and wherever possible the quasi-participant methods of observation have been resorted to, in order to obtain first-hand information. Fully-participant observation method could create an element of bias in the minds of the researcher and hence was avoided. To make this study more exact, precise and first-hand, the data was collected by personal visits to the field. It was sought to peep into human relations of the people living in this region through change and continuity. The work has been mostly a ‘shot-gun-collection’ from as many informants as possible within a limited time, and on a ‘pick-and-choose’ basis. The knowledge and performances of the informants were observed from them in ‘as-it-is’ condition. The policy of weeding out was adopted during the analysis and only the relevant material was picked up from the total stock collected, in this study, the problem obviously required a descriptive and analytical treatment. The material collected, therefore, comprises mostly the ‘qualitative data’.

For obvious reasons and practical advantages, it was not possible to base this study on any technique other than ‘purposive sampling’. In selecting the respondents, due care was exercised so that almost all the characteristics of age, sex, surname, education, occupation, income, political awareness and status were fairly represented, including males, females and children, as deemed important from change and continuity point of view. Stress was mostly laid upon the social setting of the informants.
Besides the primary data actually collected from field studies, the main source of secondary information has been census reports, monographs and the District Gazetters of the region. In these records enough information pertaining to the general background of the field area was available. Certain of the available research works on the Yanadi community submitted to the Universities by different scholars, were also consulted.

Visits to the Yanadi villages were planned according to the time and facilities available with the researcher and the convenience of the informants. Repeated visits and frequent night halts were necessary for establishing rapport. The first round enabled the research to acquaint himself with the preliminary background of the Yanadi people. Mostly in the second and third visits markets, the recreation centers, the worship-spots and the common fairs and festivals also served the researcher’s purpose to a great extent. The initiative and interest of the scholar could often remove the informants’ shyness and hesitation.

In contacting the Yanadi, the ‘provocative’ as well as ‘critical’ approach was also adopted at times. They were tactfully handled on delicate matters and prestige-issues. These queries were cleverly answered and suitable pretence was used wherever needed. The same techniques could not serve the purpose everywhere. Different approaches, mostly, milder, submissive and persuasive ones were used. To deal with the informants successfully, chances for all sorts of their misapprehensions and suspicion were avoided. Tackling the men folk and the children was practically speaking, not as difficult as the strata of women informants. Help was sought from the influential local men or the elder members in approaching the married women, especially the orthodox and conservative ones. To establish rapport with old widows or other elderly women was relatively easier and helpful too. There were relatively fewer problems in dealing with the men folk, except their occasional non-availability during busy agricultural and toddy-tapping operations.

However, in the above description, the research aims at providing a clear idea about the methods of collection of data used in this study. The materials so collected have been analysed according to the methodology of anthropological study. The data were analysed mainly by examining the factors responsible for changing the
traditional patterns of life of the Yanadi and at the same time, the factors responsible for continuation of the Yanadis traditional culture.

1.5.1 Area of Study

A few of the Yanadis of Chittoor and Nellore Districts in the rehabilitation Centers, unfortunately could not adapt themselves to the rehabilitation centers and they chose to live in the places where most of the Yanadis of Chittoor and Nellore districts resettled on their own. As a result, 320 families of the displaced Yanadis of Chittoor and Nellore Districts are now living in habitat.

1.5.2 Collection of Data

A field trip was made to Chittoor and Nellore Districts with the twin purposes of getting some preliminary information about the displaced Yanadis of the Chittoor and Nellore districts and preparing a tentative plan for the collection of data the consultation with the personnel who handled the displacement and rehabilitation programmers of the Yanadis revealed the present places of habitation of the displaced Yanadi Chittoor and Nellore districts.

As a second step some secondary data were obtained from the revenue records and ethnographic accounts of the Yanadis of Chittoor and Nellore districts.

The information relating to the compensation provided to end head of the household that had been evacuated from the Chittoor and Nellore districts and a few details of living conditions and rehabilitation of the Chittoor and Nellore districts were collected from the revenue records in the office of the sub collector. Interviews were also conducted with the officials who were concerned with the displacement and rehabilitation of the Yanadis. After the collection of secondary data was completed, a tentative design was prepared.

According to the modified research design, a preliminary distribution of the displaced Yanadi families outside Chittoor and Nellore district was found out to make a selection of field work.
Initially, all the 320 families which settled in the zone were identified with the help of village revenue officials and casuarinas contractors so that an idea of the society and culture of the Yanadi could be obtained based on the numerical concentration of the Yanadi in each zone.

The places were selected for the residence of the investigator. Accordingly, Chittoor and Nellore district were selected for the stay of the investigator during his field work. First the investigator stayed at Chittoor district village amidst the Yanadi from 2008 to April 2011. The data were collected by Anthropological Techniques such as observation, group discussion and construction of genealogies case histories and ethno-history. The key informants were interviewed for information about the traditional ways of life and life experiences. An Interview guide was also maintained for this purpose.

A structured schedule was also supplemented for collecting the quantitative and qualitative information on the social change and economic development of the Yanadi before and after displacement and the rehabilitation. Thus using different instruments, the investigator collected data from the Yanadis.

1.5.3 Analysis of data

The data are presented in a systematic way the secondary data obtained from several sources are integrated with the primary data acquired from the field in so pertinent away as to understand social change and economic development of Yanadis then the data are analysed to comprehend and account for the patterns processes and direction of the change and the basis of a repertoire of concepts and procedures.

Some anthropologists have analysed change in society by using the concepts linked 'social change' while some other have used the concepts of 'culture change' in this connection the concepts of 'Socio-cultural' change is used instead of the concepts of social or cultural change because what is presented with reference to the Yanadis in Chittoor and Nellore Districts.

Foster says that ‘contact’ is the single determinant of change. Contact change may be of two categories selective contact change and directed contact change or planned change. The selective contact change occurs when outsiders accidentally
or spontaneously in filters. The new ideas were communicated to members of society resulting in the diffusion of selected ideas. The present era is characterized by planned change everywhere and the resultant change is called directed contact change or planned change. It should, however, be remembered that contact may not always result in change and that the various changing agents, both endogamous and exogamous operate together at a given time in a society. Besides the primary data actually from field studies, the main source of secondary information has been census reports, monographs and the district Gazetters of the region.

In these records enough information pertaining to the general background of the field area was available contains of the available research work on the Yanadi community submitted to the universities by different scholars. Visits to the Yanadi villages were planned according to the time and facilities available with the researcher and the convenience of the informants. Repeated visits and frequent night halts were necessary for establishing rapport.

The first round enabled the researcher to acquaint himself with the preliminary background of the Yanadi people. Mostly in the second and third visits the desired information could be collected. The village markets, the recreation centers, the worship-spots and the common fairs and festivals also served the researcher’s purpose to a great extent. The initiative and interest of the scholar could often remove the informant's shyness and hesitation.

The data were analyzed mainly by examining the factors responsible for changing the traditional patterns of life of the Yanadi and at the same time the factors responsible for continuation of the Yanadi traditional culture.
1.6 CHAPTER SCHEME

The data collected has been analyzed and presented in six chapters

Chapter I: Introduction deals with the aim and scope, objectives, Review of Literature and methodology

Chapter II: Area under Study appraises the spread of Yanadis in both Nellore and Chittoor Districts.

Chapter III: Social Organisation elicits community type of family, genealogical composition, interpersonal relations patterns, of marriage, betrothal etc. of Yanadis.

Chapter IV: Economic Development covers occupation, agriculture, livestock, income, expenditure, debts etc.

Chapter V: Social change evaluates the environmental, cultural and technological social change in Yanadis.

Chapter VI: Summary and Conclusion presents the summary of findings and suggestions.