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RESEARCH ARTICLE

A STUDY ON TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE JARAWA IN THE ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS.

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Abstract

Through this secondary based research study on the Jarawa Tribe, other than looking into the changes and the way the lives of the tribe were affected on contact with the "mainstream" society, I look into four significant questions:

- 1) Is the concept of development necessary for the Jarawa?
- 2) (If yes to the above question) To what extent, is it necessary?
- 3) Has the development policies been adjusted and made suitable to the needs and wants of each tribal community?
- 4) Has the indifferent attitude shifted from the 'knowing the tribe' to the problems faced by them?

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Acknowledgement:-

I would like to extend my gratitude towards my Professor Dr. Ritu Sharma for assisting and guiding me throughout my research work. I would also like to extend my gratitude towards my friend, Mr. Kalita whose knowledge of the Jarawa has given a valuable insight into this study.

Aims and Objectives:-

- ~~ To understand the disjunction between policy and practice.
- ~~ To locate the non-textual information of the situation of the Jarawa.
- ~~ To find ways to question Development as an instrument of efficiency and improvisation in the lives of the Jarawa.
- ~~ To analyse the wrong doings suffered by the community and nurtured by the policy makers and policy misusers.
- ~~ To highlight effective and sustainable solutions to the problems being faced by the Jarawa community.

Methodology:-

Methodology is the systematic, theoretical analysis of the methods applied to a field of study. It comprises the theoretical analysis of the body of methods and principles associated with a branch of knowledge. Typically, it encompasses concepts such as paradigm, theoretical model, phases and quantitative or qualitative techniques. The *methodology* is the general research strategy that outlines the way in which research is to be undertaken and, among other things, identifies the methods to be used in it. These *methods*, described in the methodology, define the means or modes of data collection or, sometimes, how a specific result is to be calculated.^[4] *Methodology* does not define specific methods, even though much attention is given to the nature and kinds of processes to be followed in a particular procedure or to attain an objective.

Research Type:-

- The theoretical research based project is exploratory research which helps to identify and define a problem or question.
- The proposed research is developed from qualitative point of view.

Collection of Data: -

- For this research, Secondary Data has been used.

Secondary data, is data collected by someone other than the user. Common sources of secondary data for social science include censuses, organisational records and data collected through qualitative methodologies or qualitative research.

Location: -

The Andaman and Nicobar Islands

Subject: -

The Jarawa

Research Design: -

Firstly, I made attempts to make more sense of why I wanted to work on this and what I wanted to understand and explore. Through more detailed research, I found my research questions upon which I started locating literary content to help me find the underlying questions. Through the comparison between the perspectives of Modernisation and Development as freedom, I could visualise my tentative conclusion and also find more space for further research through newer ideas.

Hypothesis:-

The Jarawa (also **Jārawa, Jarwa**) are one of the Adivasi indigenous peoples of the Andaman Islands in India. Their name means "people of the earth" or "hostile people" in Aka-Bea. Their present numbers are approximated at between 250–400 individuals. Considering they have primarily avoided communicating with outsiders, many particulars of their society, culture and traditions are inexpertly recognised. The Jarawa since thousands of years have known to be the inhabitants of the Andaman Island along with other Andamanese People.

Since independence, the Government of India has undertaken several initiatives with the objective of developing tribal areas in the country. There has been established constitutional provisions and safeguards, representations in legislatures and panchayats, reservation in the service, administration of scheduled and tribal areas, formation of tribe's advisory councils, commissioner for the scheduled castes and tribes, educational facilities, economic opportunities, tribal research institutes and several other provisions. Influential figures in India, including government ministers, have often called for the Jarawa to be assimilated, believing that they are 'backward' or 'primitive'. This request, however, has not come from the Jarawa, who show no sign of wanting to leave their life in the forest.

However, the disjunction between policy and practice makes all of it inadequate. The fact that there is still some hesitance and lack of proper information in relation to the extent to which these mentioned above has been implemented; this showcases how the entire concept of 'tribal development' remains more of an idea in India and less of an actual reality.

The Jarawa people like most tribes have their own culture, language, food habits, hunting and gathering practices and their own way of living a daily life. A study of their nutrition and health found their 'nutritional status' was 'optimal'. They have detailed knowledge of more than 150 plant and 350 animal species.

There is no question about the fact that there have been initially temporary and erratic contacts with the outside world but they did not seem to harm this community as how during the later years it has turned out to be. The construction of the truck road is what has intensified the contact and changes after within the Jarawa. It has not only encouraged tourism but also interests of the local people itself. The road that cuts through their territory brings thousands of outsiders, including tourists, into their land. The tourists treat the Jarawa like animas in a safari park.

A clear evidence of a disjunction between policy and practice was seen when incidents such as bribery, alcoholism, drug usage, sexual abuse of the women and diseases outraged took place among the Jarawa. Despite of the order prescribed by the Supreme Court in 2002 that the highway through the Jarawa's reserve must be closed, it remains open utilised by tourists for human safaris to the Jarawa.

In 1999 and 2006, the Jarawa suffered outbreaks of measles. This disease has been knowing to wipe out many tribes worldwide after contact with outsiders.

This clearly demonstrated how the local police officers, the truck drivers, the bus drivers, tourists misused the chances they attained upon interaction with the Jarawa. The Jarawa became a source of entertainment and money making. The police officers earning from the tourists through promises of showing them Jarawa women dancing to taking them to observe their lifestyles is one example.

Even though there have been announced laws of prohibition of interaction and restricted usage of the truck road, the law in reality was just a law in word but it vaporised in practice.

There has been mistreatment not just to the environment be it ecologically, socially or culturally but also to their existence itself. If one wants to forbid the reappearance of how the Great Andamanese tribe disappeared from a number of 10,100 to 50 and now none at all then there must be a strong realisation. To keep this tribe extant and also in a state of good health and prepared for any danger or threat there must be a reformulation in the definition of development. The most important questions that has been neglected are in the following: -

- 1) Is the concept of development necessary for the Jarawa?
- 2) (If yes to the above question) To what extent, is it necessary?
- 3) Has the development policies been adjusted and made suitable to the needs and wants of each tribal community?
- 4) Has the indifferent attitude shifted from the 'knowing the tribe' to the problems faced by them?

The questions which are attached to each question necessitate explication and detailed ministration as well. We cannot ignore the possibility of newer questions being formed independently or branching from these questions as well.

It is obviously not sufficient to explore the answers to these questions especially when it has not been interrogated yet in an acclaimed platform.

One has to discern and envisage the strong disjunction between policy and practice and how the game protruded from it is only impeding and threatening tribal communities such as the Jarawa.

It is important to take into consideration the development and improvisation laws and rules in accordance to the benefits of the Jarawa and their welfare. Also, it is important to acknowledge that the Jarawa must have their voice and participation when it comes to making policies/laws/rules/programs. They have their rights to express their demands and their problems and being the duty and obligation of the tribal advisory and tourist companies, they must respect and function and elaborate their initiatives and workings in an honest and tactful way. The approach to dealing with tribes who have been from the beginning dubious to come in contact with the mainstream life, must be sensitive and cautious. The indifference and the delay to solving the problems and paying heed to the complaints of the Jarawa must be eradicated.

Introduction:-

In 1975, the late prime minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, addressed the people of the Andaman and Nicobar, and said: "Neither resettlement nor development should be made an excuse to uproot tribal groups, or cut down forests. The tribals are the original inhabitants and any disturbance may threaten their survival."

The Jarawa did not capitulate to the British administration's efforts to persuade them over; perhaps the rapid extermination of the Andamanese agitated them off. After the establishment of the second (penal) settlement, the Jarawa started moving west, south and north, obviously unable to face the new and alien situation. But even as they kept their distance, they were repeatedly punished by the British administration. M.V. Portman records in his History of our Relations with the Andamanese (1899), "On our arrival the Jarawa were quiet and inoffensive toward

us, nor did they disturb us until we took to continually molesting them by inciting the coastal Andamanese against them. After a few years of this disturbance the life of the Jarawa became very hard and in retaliation they began to attack us."

In desperation, the Jarawa reciprocated by raiding the settlements, which soon sparked a battle between them and the outsiders. This unequal war continues to the present day. Each raid was followed by drastic measures from the British in the form of search parties and punitive expeditions. One year, when the Jarawa killed four convicts and a policeman, in return 37 Jarawa were killed.

Today, approximately 400 members of the nomadic Jarawa tribe live in groups of 40-50 people in chaddhas – as they call their homes. Apart from the fact that they use rafts, live in oval huts and are excellent swimmers. The Jarawas, approximately 320 in number, live in the thick forests of the Middle Andaman, were totally isolated from the outside world till very late. The word Jarawa is a term, neighbouring tribes use for them. It means "the other people". While anthropologists have so far been unable to decipher the language of the Jarawa or its origin, the tribesmen have now picked up Hindi and other languages through their contact with people outside their forest home.

They hunt pig and turtle and fish with bows and arrows in the coral-fringed reefs for crabs and fish, including striped catfish-eel and the toothed pony fish. They also gather fruits, wild roots, tubers and honey. The bows are made from the chooi wood, which does not grow throughout the Jarawa territory. The Jarawa often have to travel long distances to Baratang Island to collect it.

Both Jarawa men and women collect wild honey from lofty trees. During the honey collection the members of the group will sing songs to express their delight. The honey-collector will chew the sap of leaves of a bee-repellent plant, such as Ooyekwalin, which they will then spray with their mouths at the bees to keep them away. Once the bees have gone the Jarawa can cut the bee's nest, which they will put in a wooden bucket on their back. The Jarawa always bathe after consuming honey.

In 1998, a few Jarawa started to emerge from their forest for the first time without their bows and arrows to visit nearby towns and settlements.

The Jarawa face many threats:-

~Outsiders, both local settlers and international poachers enter their rich forest reserve to steal the resources which the tribe needs to survive.

~They remain vulnerable to outside diseases to which they have little or no immunity. In 1999 and 2006, the Jarawa suffered outbreaks of measles – a disease that has wiped out many tribes worldwide following contact with outsiders. An epidemic could devastate the tribe.

~Jarawa women have been sexually abused by poachers, settlers, bus drivers and others.

~There is pressure from some, including the island's MP, to force the Jarawa to integrate into the 'mainstream' of Indian society.

~The fate of the Great Andamanese and Onge peoples serves as a vivid warning of what may happen to the Jarawa unless their rights to control who comes onto their land and to make their own decisions about their ways of life are recognized.

~The role of the police is to protect tribespeople from unwelcome and intrusive outsiders. But on this occasion the officer had accepted a £200 bribe to get the girls to perform. "I gave you food," he reminded them at the start of the video.

~At the Vyas Brothers shop in Port Blair, capital of the Andamans, various Jarawa items were on sale: handicrafts and some small wooden figurines. Rajesh Vyas stood behind the counter. He was happy to lay out the price of a day out with the Jarawa: up to 15,000 rupees (£185) to buy off the police, another 10,000-15,000 rupees on top of that for a car, a driver, gifts for the Jarawa, and biscuits and snacks. Contact is guaranteed, he promised.

In an attempt to reduce contact, the authorities have cut the number of convoys to eight a day, but they will not close the road completely – as the Supreme Court ordered in 2002 – because they say too many people rely on it. Instead they are playing for time, apparently uncertain what to do next: shut the Jarawa off from the world for their own good, or allow those who want to make contact to do so?

"They are humans and they are a race which is looking at us and they are at a crossroads and we are not sure what is on their minds," says Ajai Saxena, secretary of the Andaman Adim Janjati Vikas Samiti, the island administration's tribal welfare office.

Anthropologists think the Jarawa are descendants of some of the first humans to move out of Africa. Theirs is a simple life. Men hunt pigs and turtles with bows and arrows; women gather fruit and honey. They have no gods and when people die they are left under a tree until only the skeleton remains. Then the tribe ties the bones to their bodies to bring luck during the hunt.

It was only in 1998 that they started to venture out of the jungle in any numbers. Two years earlier a young member of the tribe, Enmai, had broken his leg while raiding a settlement on the edge of the reserve. He was taken to hospital and treated; on his return, he spoke enthusiastically of the outside world. It was enough to convince some in the tribe to drop their traditional hostility towards outsiders. Some began to regard the road as a new place to forage, somewhere they could easily pick up treats.

But that is not all they were picking up. Like many previously uncontacted tribes, the Jarawa are vulnerable to unfamiliar diseases. They started succumbing to measles and mumps and even malaria, to which they previously appeared to have some sort of immunity. Some have also adopted the vices of the outsiders: tobacco, alcohol and betel nuts (a mild stimulant).

Those responsible for the tribe's welfare think the only solution is to keep them apart from outsiders for as long as possible. "Forced coexistence would be total genocide for them," says Dr Anstice Justin, head of the Anthropological Survey of India in Port Blair. He points to the case of Enmai, who became something of a minor celebrity before his interest waned and he stopped coming out of the jungle. Most of the Jarawa feel that way, Justin says. "The inner core feeling is not to have interaction with outsiders."

In 2007 the government established a buffer zone around the reserve, hoping to protect the tribe from further interaction with the outside world, in particular a luxury resort being constructed on the very edge of the reserve by the Barefoot India tour company. The company hired lawyers to fight the zone and the case is currently with India's supreme court: in the meantime, the resort stands abandoned in a clearing near the shore of Constance Bay, on the west coast of the island. But the safaris go on, four each way, day in, day out, and the police admit they are powerless to prevent some contact between the tribe and the tourists.

"It is not a foolproof arrangement, but we are making the effort," says SB Tyagi, superintendent of police for South Andaman. "People have to understand that if there is a policy of non-interaction there has to be a list of rules. But still some of the drivers and tourists slow down."

He admits some officers are breaking the rules. "The moment we come across any misdemeanour on the part of our police officers they are dealt with swiftly," he says. "The tour operators and police are local, so there may be situations where they look the other way. There may be incidents where our officers are negligent, and we have taken action."

He cites an incident in which an officer was censured for allowing two bus drivers to take Jarawa girls into the jungle. "Who knows why they wanted to?" he says. "Some people will have the urge to look at Jarawa women as sexual objects. Humans will be humans. One can only try to educate them."

That particular policeman's punishment was to have his future promotion delayed by six months.

Literature Review:

CSQ Issue:

10.2 (Summer 1986) Land Rights: Strategies for Survival

Author:

Whitaker

Romulus; Whitaker

Zai

Country:

India

Issues:

Languages and Cultures

The Andaman Tribes- victims of development

Romulus and Zai talk about the most serious threat to the Jarawa which is the ever increasing human pressure on the islands and the continued encroachment on their territory, which is prime fishing and hunting land. The authors talk about the history of the Sentinelese, Jarawa, Onge and the Andamanese in focus on how the colonial power started affected their lives. The post-independence policy expresses similarity with the British administration's efforts to lure in the Jarawa and commodify their friendship.

A centre to formulate for integration of tribes with developed society

Written by Anurag Dey, Port Blair 22nd October, 2015

Anurag Dey discusses The ANTRI(Andaman and Nicobar Tribal Research and Training Institute) which works towards locating solutions to questions that emerge from the field. Here, He gives insight into the details of the formulation of a new policy for the integration of tribals with the developed society. This policy will be sensitive to the tribe's distinct identity and unique culture.

Draft Policy on Jarawas framed by Shri K.B. Saxena : one of the Members of the Expert Committee on Jarawas. With reference to the noting at page 149-150 of the Report of the Expert Committee on Jarawas of Andaman Islands submitted to the Hon'ble High Court of Calcutta, Government of India and Andaman & Nicobar Administration, the draft policy as framed by Shri K.B Saxena one of the Members of the Expert Committee is circulated by placing it in the Andaman & Nicobar Administration's website: www.andaman.nic.in. (S.A.Awaradi) Director (TW) 09.10.2003. F.No. 11-27/AAJVS/2003(PF-III)Shri K.B. Saxena informs us of the reasons for making a policy for the Jarawa's inter-face with the outside world. He also provides the objectives of the policy which assists a better understanding of the reasons given.

The Struggle for Dignified Livelihood by Tribes of India: A Study on Jarawa Tribe in Andaman and Nicobar Hariharan Kumar

By R. Ajitha, Christ University School of Law

Hariharan Kumar on a study on Jarawa Tribe in Andaman and Nicobar done by R. Ajitha through his editing process highlights briefly of the usually lifestyle of the Jarawa. The main component here is the constitutional provisions especially discussing Article 56, 15, 16 and 19. We are also given a brief display of the problems faced by the Jarawa. We are not merely left with the problems faced by them but also solutions which could bring in a noticeable amount of improvisation.

The Jarawa Tribal Reserve Dossier--- Cultural and biological diversities in the Andaman Islands

Editors Pankaj Sekhsaria Vishvajit Pandya A Dossier prepared for UNESCO by Kalpavriksh In the framework of UNESCO Action on Cultural and Biological Diversity Pankaj Sekhsaria and Vishvajit Pandya through a Dossier prepared for the UNESCO by Kalpavriksh simplifies the complex structured matter and takes us through a journey of the factors surrounding the Jarawa reserve with the basic but firm intention to create a dramatic attention on the situation of the Jarawa.

Development and Ethnocide: -

--Sita Venkateswar

Colonial Practices in the Andaman Islands Sita Venkateswar gives us an illustration of an ethnographic account of colonialism in the Andaman Islands analysing the connection between colonialism and development under British

and Indian administrations. In Conclusion, she looks at the current situation of the Jarawa who were during the earlier times avoided any little contact with the outsiders.

Evaluation-

Sita Venkateswar found in her understanding that in the earlier British period, the specific situation of the Jarawa presented a set of conjunctures that was not as readily resolved. The 340 km construction of the Andaman Trunk Road through South Andaman, linking Diglipur in North Andaman with Port Blair, brought large numbers of labourers into Jarawa territory and disturbed the area by way of felling of trees, blasting by explosives, the construction of labour camps and so on. The increase in poaching happened as well. She refers to the information given by Whitaker and Whitaker 1984:16 who mentioned about how in the last twenty years, the Andamans have been increasingly ravaged for resources and used as a dumping ground for the landless. Since 1969, the population has expanded from 50,000 to about 180,000 and over 100,000 hectares of forest have been cleared and 600 km of road constructed. Whitaker goes on to assert that the most serious threat to the Jarawa in the present is the increasing human pressure on the islands, and the continued encroachment into their territory which is prime hunting and fishing land. She mentioned two opposing considerations which holds very interesting speculation. The AAJVS (Andaman Adim Janjati Vikas Samiti) is engaged in a task which shows that the Jarawas can be befriended providing easier means to protect their health and life. Their living conditions gradually developed into an economic pattern which can merge with the economic and living patterns of these islands. In the coming years, they will survive, attain confidence and a will to love and become useful citizens.

The former Prime Minister Moraji Desai's message declares my contradictory opinion as well. He said that it should be our very own duty to let these tribes live their lives as they wish to. We must offer them basic amenities like all the citizens are entitled to. The Jarawas are not ethnological exhibits. If they lose their distinctive personality it shall be a major loss to our Indian driverless culture. Moraji makes the important statement which requires immediate calculation and implementation- "We need imaginative policies rooted in wider sympathetic knowledge of the tribes." She also talks about the welfare system how its intention to benefit the islanders assuring them of health and gently assimilate them into the dominant population has become more of a disillusionment in application in the years since the program's commencement. Sita Venkateswar strongly states how the failure of the welfare system only creates massive space for more discussion and strict consideration.

In the Dossier for Unesco by Kalpavriksh, the editors and other contributors have repeatedly brought to the fore the very complex issues of hostile borders and the intricate issues of territory around the area inset in field by outsiders as the 'Jarawa Reserve' an entity not necessarily recognised by the Jarawa themselves. It is clearly mentioned of the recent change in Jarawa relations with the outside world which now threatens the integrity of the reserve. It is a compulsory initiative to understand the complex interactions between the Jarawa, their environment and the increasingly intrusive cultures surrounding the reserve. Here also the poachers are brought into the light who exploits the rich reserve for economic benefits. The editors also bring up the 'Jarawa incidents' which showcases the threats the reserve has experienced and also affecting the lives of the Jarawa. Settlers along the fringes of Jarawa territory were wary of Jarawa incursions. They hold the belief that the Jarawa community needs to integrate themselves in the mainstream society and develop their traditional lifestyles. It also discusses the bribery method wherein the Jarawa people assist the poachers to hunt in exchange for food items, alcohol and drugs. This also happens in other cases such as tourism and resource accumulation. The Dossier aims for resolving cultural difference through understanding which is such an essential factor behind policy making processes.

The editor Hariharan Kumar acknowledges the framers of the constitution in their efforts to safeguard the interests of the various minority groups whether based on religion or language, culture or socio-economic factors. One cannot help but raise their eyebrows to it as there are evidences and real illustrations of its poor importation and misleading constructions. Article 46 promotes special care for the educational and economic interests of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and protect them from social wrong doings and all forms of exploitation. The study has located the clear ineffective change among the Jarawas. No proper attention has been in their economic and educational status. Article 15 prohibits discrimination against any citizen on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. The clause (4) enables the State Government to arrange special provisions for advancement of members of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

Article 16 provides for opportunities for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment or post in favour of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

Article 19 grants the rights to freedom of speech, assembly, association, union, movement and residence throughout the country practice of any profession, occupation, trade or business. Clause (5) permits reasonable restrictions on the exercise of rights of free movement, residence and settlement in any part of the territory if India for the protection of the interests of schedules tribes.

The questions are raised here such as 'Where is the freedom of speech and expression for these people?' and most importantly the question regarding the privacy of these schedules tribes.

The clear disjunction between policy and practice is seen here as no complete conformity towards the policies has been performed. In fact, the policies are loosely structured and not made in way which is applicable for all the tribes.

In this study, the problems faced by the Jarawas are discussed as well. From the challenges brought in by the truck road, poachers misusing and taking advantage of the resources on which the Jarawas depend upon for their livelihood, to the diseases brought in by contact with outsiders, sexual abuse of the Jarawa women. There is a very important point made here which must be understood by people looking at the Jarawa community. In the name of modernisation and development the government wanted to change their lifestyle and change them. This is not possible. They have to live their own life. They have a different culture and tradition which should be respected.

The solutions given here may appear basic but are very important to adhere to. The solutions dictate the maintenance of peace in the territory and non-obstruction of their livelihood, strict punishments and penalties must be lashed at the law breakers and sexual abusers, the tribal people should be educated and a person from their own community should be in a higher position so as to understand their situation and work for them. A team of their members should be formed for administration so that they can understand their problems and work accordingly. Special Schemes and provisions are to be formed for the development and welfare of these people. The state and the central government should concentrate more on the welfare of the tribes.

Shri K.B. Saxena states reasons for making a policy for the Jarawas. The reasons also represent the problem as well. To punish law breakers, misusers of their resources, to maintain the reserve's exclusivity, to protect them from bad influences, to avoid further ecological degradation, to ensure they don't become targets and victims of certain policies and programmes undertaken by the government for the development of the islands and/ or meeting the social and economic needs of the neighbouring population and to protect their heritage and culture are the reasons.

Anurag Dey talks about the ANTRI (Andamna and Nicobar Tribal Research and Training Institute) which has been set up with the purpose of finding solutions to questions that emerge from the field. Neethi Dhas, the Tribal Welfare Secretary G.T. clarified the intention in terms of providing a scientific analysis on issues like what will be the effect of a particular policy or programme on the Jarawas (and other tribes). It will formulate a new policy for the integration of tribals with the developed society but in their own way and own environment without disturbing their distinct identity and unique culture. The main agenda is that to enable the Jarawas to decide their future for themselves and not impose our decisions on them. This is the chief indicator of actual realisation of what the Jarawa needs. The writer has made observations of the regular infiltration by poachers and the exploration of the tribals including the women highlighting the 2012 video showing Jarawa women dancing to entertain tourists in return for food. Even NGOs working in the island for tribal welfare also advocate that the Jarawas independence should not be infringed upon. The Andaman administration is working in developing an alternate sea route which will make a huge difference and ensure the protection and security of the Jarawas.

Comparison between the Perspectives**** Modernisation and Development as freedom

Looking at the Jarawa situation through the perspectives of Modernisation and Development as Freedom brings in interesting linkages between the two. Modernisation demands development and development leads to the road to modernisation.

For the Jarawas to develop themselves and their lifestyles it connotes that they will be allowing themselves to be modernised as well; to bring them at the level with the mainstream. However, it must be important to clearly distinguish between developing themselves and their lifestyle as there is a limitation as to how much of it they require it. This indicates also how much of the outside intervention is essential for their beneficial development and improvisation.

Understanding the seriousness of the fact that the Jarawas do not require complete modernisation will also bring in the realisation to not voice their opinions and their wants but to give them the space to actualise their voice to the world. Getting them modernised will only remove their own identity and culture. They will lose their tribal roots and memories. Most importantly it will diminish the erudite knowledge of their history, culture and their existence itself.

The Andamanese Jarawas are portrayed as 'friendly' or 'hostile' depending on the nature of the contact that defines them, and of the outsider's perception of their passage across or existence within imposed boundaries. Jarawas have always been connected to an outside world by sporadic intrusions and attempts to establish settlements. These moments have been contested and marked by violence. As meanings have been variously assigned to the Jarawas, they too have been constructing the meaning of the other and their 'anthropological knowledge' of the outsider. 'Friendly contact' over almost 200 years is encapsulated in non-verbal communication reinforced by gifts of food, iron, bits of glass, mirrors, nails, knives, etc., and by the 'exchange' of gifts. No new acts have been added to the events of contact and no new meanings of contact with the Jarawas have been deciphered. In the continued practice of contact events, the relationship between various contact experiences and subtle perceptual transformations has been ignored. While the meaning of contact on the western side of the island has remained largely unchanged, however, contact regarded as 'hostile' on the eastern side of the forest has been given new meanings. The contact situations, continued over a period of time, tell us something about non-verbal communication between groups of people with different constellations of customs, manners and language. Contact events have not brought Jarawas and non-Jarawas together in a shared discourse; rather, they have created different misunderstandings, at least from the outsiders' perspectives. For the Jarawas it is neither the variation in contact events nor outsiders' distinct divisions of space and boundaries that creates the meaning of contact. For them, since space or landscape is not divided by boundaries but is 'unbounded', acts such as 'taking things' and 'going away' have remained constant, whereas for outsiders they appear unpredictable and meaningless. For the outsiders it seems logical that meanings of acts as well as contacts should remain specific to areas bound in and separated by boundaries.

Modernisation refers to a model of a progressive transition from a 'pre-modern' or 'traditional' to a 'modern' society. Modernisation displays obvious images of advancement and efficiency in daily lifestyles. The question here is 'Is the complete enactment of modernisation a necessity for the Jarawas?' This must be complemented with another question 'Does the entire Jarawa community want to be modernised?' attached with 'To what extent, the community requires the offerings of modernisation for their benefits and improvisation in their daily life?'

Recent media reports claiming there are audio clips of a Jarawa man alleging poachers encroach on the reserve and chase and hurt girls and sleep with them has prompted the administration to order a probe. Media comes hand in hand with modernisation. Although this is helping us by informing us of the wrong doings and it is in a way giving voice to the Jarawas. However, the fact that modernisation itself brings in poaching, tourism, ecological degradation and removal of a distinct identity is what connotes modernisation in a negative light especially for the Jarawas.

In 2011, a Jarawa youth was allegedly attacked and seriously injured by poachers from neighbouring Myanmar who often illegally cross the international maritime border to smuggle timber and wildlife from Andaman Islands. There have been similar reports of attacks on Jarawas in the past.

Jarawa rights activists also allege that while the foreign poachers are often dealt with seriously by Indian law enforcement officials, the local poaching activity often goes unpunished which has resulted in serious depletion of food reserves of the Jarawas who are solely dependent on the forest for their survival.

Every day hundreds of tourist cars line up on the Andaman Trunk Road, which winds through the reserve. Signs at the entrance warn them of the rules; no pictures, no contact, nothing to disturb the tribe members. Most are already struggling to come to grips with the diseases of the outside world which have beset them since they started to make forays out of the jungle 14 years ago.

This is the result of the construction of the trunk road. Even if the intention of it was for the sake of efficiency, this has only led to the 'unfreedom' of the Jarawas, restricting their peace keeping, their security, their freedom itself. The Andaman Trunk Road that the 1965 report offered as a good way of extracting resources from the forests of the Jarawa had been ordered shut by a Supreme Court order of 2002.

In 2010 the Andaman Islands' member of parliament called for 'quick and drastic steps be taken to bring the Jarawa up to the basic mainstream characteristics' and for children to be sent to residential schools in order to 'wean' the children away from the tribe. He described the Jarawa as being 'in a primitive stage of development' and 'stuck in time somewhere between the stone and iron age'.

Jarawa people at risk from disease, predatory sex and exploitation as tourist convoys crowd the road through their jungle.

There have been these incidents which are at risk to be repeated again in the near future. These incidents have occurred as a result of the policies based on development without sensitive pondering on how it will affect the community. These incidents are also downplayed by the filtered media hence once again questioning the conjunction between modernisation and development.

The Jarawa people—victims of development

The Jarawa are vulnerable to exploitation by outsiders, and poachers are known to lure young Jarawa women with alcohol or drugs to sexually exploit them. Tourists are still flocking to the Jarawa reserve, treating the tribe like animals in a safari park.

We often see the conflict of interest between the national development and the tribal development, though tribes make the integral part this nation. though various constitutional and legal provisions are there, yet the executive action and corporate interest prevails. Corporate industry is equally important, as they are believed to be the job generators. How far it is ethical to alienate one section of the society always in the name of economic development? The Supreme Court of India ordered in 2002 that the road running through the Jarawa's reserve should be closed; yet it remains open. The road brings the tribe into regular contact with settlers and tourists who treat the Jarawa like animals in a human safari park. Poachers are also entering the Jarawa's forest, hunting the animals the tribe relies on. Both tourists and poachers risk bringing disease, violence and exploitation to the tribe. Such contact could have devastating consequences for the Jarawa, putting their survival as a tribe at risk. The Andamanese Government must ensure that the alternative sea route is put in place as soon as possible; that the road is closed and the Jarawa reserve is protected. The Jarawa must be allowed to make their own decisions about their future, in their own time.

The gaudy videos taken by tourists broadcasted the Jarawas dancing has blatantly captured the media conscience. The video shows the local tribe dancing for food and money in front of some tourists. This felony by the tourists who torment them to dance is heinous and saps the image of our country. The Jarawa tribe is a natural heritage and an indigenous group of the Andaman since aeons; and rigging them for the sake of enjoyment is a serious offence. Those who have practised such crimes have to be chided on legal grounds. Tearing the vernacular parlance has malicious ulterior. Mal exploitation and taunting someone's culture doesn't show righteousness but only depravity.

Although the intention upon which the construction of the trunk road was based on expressed sincere development efficiency but it has only brought in threats and exploitation of the Jarawa reserve and the people. They have become the victims of development instead of beneficiaries.

They certainly require health and certain basic facilities which must be understood as the limitation of outsider's intervention in helping them. Our contact with them must be limited to providing them the basic essentials for their survival hood. Extending the contact beyond that is simply causing chaotic troubles for them.

Extending research work must be performed and also negligence on it must be wiped out. The policy makers in the related fields on this case must be dealt with and given a conspicuous view into their research and process of making newer and firmer policies.

The Jarawa people do not need to be pushed into the life of mainstream and adjust to it but the mainstream life must adjust to their requirements of privacy and isolation. Respecting their culture, their way of life and their freedom must not be done through media spying, tourism business, insensitive curiosity, banned intervention and misusing their innocence. Rather abiding by the rules and laws, giving them their own space and privacy, letting them decide to the limit they want to have contact with the mainstream and strengthening the protection and security implemented for them.

Conclusion:-

The Jarawa tribe consists of tribals who are trusting, innocent and hugely vulnerable to exploitation, living in a jungle reserve on South Andaman.

For starters the Jarawas are no longer hostile to outsiders and have begun shunning their traditional way of life for perks that come from being a tourist attraction. According to eyewitness accounts, the tribesmen who have for generations survived on hunting and fishing now often ask for food and tobacco from tourists passing through their reserve forests.

The tribe is being thrust into ever closer proximity to the tourists and other islanders. They believe the police are protecting them but the reality is that the police are using them. The police have taught the Jarawa to beg; the police take the money they collect and in return give them tobacco, which they never previously used, and food. The possibility of abuse is obvious and there have been cases where Jarawa women have given birth to children fathered by outsiders. The babies are not accepted by the tribe and are killed.

In 1990 the local authorities revealed their long-term 'master plan' to settle the Jarawa in two villages with an economy based on fishery, suggesting that hunting and gathering could be their 'sports'. The plan was so prescriptive it even detailed what style of clothes the Jarawa should wear. Forced settlement had been fatal for other tribes in the Andaman Islands, just as it has been for most newly-contacted tribal peoples worldwide.

Following a vigorous campaign by Survival and Indian organisations, the resettlement plan was abandoned, and in 2004 the authorities announced a radical new policy: The Jarawa would be allowed to choose their own future, and that outside intervention in their lives would be kept to a minimum. This was an enormous success for the international and Indian campaign.

The human rights group Survival International, which has been campaigning for the Jarawa for nearly 20 years, believes the current situation is precarious. "The Jarawa could easily be decimated or reduced to a state of dependency, as has happened to so many other tribes worldwide," says spokeswoman Sophie Grig. Survival argues that closing the road would at least allow the tribe to decide whether it has contact. Not everyone agrees; the local MP has argued strongly that trying to keep the Jarawa apart is abortive. However what everyone wants to avoid is the Jarawa going the way of the Great Andamanese, who once lived around Port Blair. From 10,000 in the late 18th century, their numbers have now fallen to about 50 and the tribe is drifting out of history. The government gave them all facilities, it gave them jobs, but they started drinking and begging. They lost their self-respect and their language and their culture. Implementing Policies into Practice is very different from visualising it to applying it.

Hundreds of tourists continue to pass through the reserve on a daily basis, disturbing the game the Jarawa hunt for their survival, and effectively treating the Jarawa like animals in a zoo.

In India, 'mainstreaming' refers to the policy of pushing a tribe to join the country's dominant society. It has a devastating effect on tribal peoples. It strips them of their self-sufficiency and sense of identity, and leaves them struggling at the very margins of society. Rates of disease, depression, addiction and suicide within the tribal community almost inevitably soar. Denis Giles is the campaigning editor of the islands' *Andaman Chronicle* newspaper. He told the *Observer* it was principally the young who had come out of the jungle, fascinated by outsiders and what they have to offer. As they grow older, they lose interest, realising that the outside world is not for them.

One of the main reasons for the changes in Jarawa lifestyle has been the construction of the Andaman Trunk Road (ATR), a two-lane highway that connects parts of Middle and South Andaman and passes through the heart of Jarawa territory. Though the Indian government has never formally allowed outside contact with the Jarawas, critics argue that construction of the trunk road has led to free mixing with the tribe, often with disastrous consequences.

India's Supreme Court has banned all tourism activity around the Jarawa territory and has ordered the creation of a buffer zone with a radius of five km around the Jarawa reserve where no commercial activity can take place.

In addition, the apex court in its judgment in earlier this year also directed the local administration to restrict the number of visitors travelling through the trunk road and also strictly monitor and prevent any tourism activity related

to the Jarawas. The Andaman administration in its 2004 Jarawa policy has called for maximum autonomy and minimum interference for the tribe. Although such measures may have come a little too late and experts argue that the damage is irreversible already even as questions remain on the efficacy of hastily implemented protective measures.

Some do question 'Who are we to decide that the Jarawa children should wander around naked and grow up without any access to basic offering of modernisation such as education? However, at the same time can we risk to attempt anything which may jeopardise their existence?

The Jarawas do not need truckloads of goodies for their development. They need to be left alone. The argument that the road is indispensable to the development of the locals seems to imply that it is the locals only who need development and protection of interests, while the Jarawas are shunted to second place.

Secondly all tourism should be stopped at least for a decade or so to allow the fragile island to recoup itself. Tourism has made a mess of that beautiful island. Andaman has one of the highest rainfall in the country and yet people get potable water once in 5 days during summer. This is the result of "Development".

Recently a lawyer operating in the Andaman island, has brought a petition to the high court in Calcutta, calling for government intervention to assist the Jarawa to transform themselves into settled agriculturalists; to settle the Jarawa on another island to prevent them interacting with the settler population, lack of effective government channels of communicator with them.

It is essential to maintain an active interest in the indigenous inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands so as to not waver upon the realisation of how serious the situation of the Jarawa community is. There have been many tribes and some of them are still going through the exploitations of the so called "mainstream" society. Although I do not ponder on this, it is important to question the definitions of "mainstream", "civilization" and "development." These are human constructed definitions and hold no natural claim hence to define another group of people in this case, the Jarawa in accordance to the definitions upheld by people in power is unfair and in no way justified. We must keep questioning the policies and the policy makers and how they are judging and formulating their definitions. Not doing this places vulnerable groups of people in the hands of exploitative and insensitive members of what is considered "mainstream" society.

Suggestions and Scope for Future Research

- Through this research, there were certain 'why not' ideas which requires either to be revived or to be enquired about.
- ~ The questions must be explored in the purest form and not be modified or simplified. To exaggerate it or to understate a question only conceals the perception of the situation of the Jarawa people.
 - ~ Research work must be transcended from the 'problems' to 'the problem'. This indicated that there are multiple problems being faced by the Jarawa people but the real and the most intense problem must be located so as to create findings which can be applied in forming proper research questions.
 - ~ Research work must be done in a conspicuous way by both the sociologists/anthropologists/journalists and the like and also the policy makers. So both can assist and benefit from each other leading to efficiency and more profitable information towards the protection and betterment of the Jarawa.
 - ~ There must be research work done on the Tribal Advisory committee itself and the history of their working till date must be investigated without any form of negligence.
 - ~ Research must be done on how to help maintain Jarawa their own domain of privacy and security and at the same time remain in touch with certain developments so as to make their lifestyles easier and less riskier in terms of health and food habits.
 - ~ Research must be done on how certain educated Jarawa members can be part of decision making groups and policy enhancers so to make a better understanding of their requirements.
 - ~ Research must be done with the help of educated Jarawa people so as to make original and raw information hence helping the outsiders and the Jarawa themselves to find ways to cooperate and maintain civility and peace.

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