

**Women, Body Politics and the Dominant Health
Discourses: A Sociological Study in Orissa**

**Submitted
by**

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**A Dissertation Submitted to the University of Hyderabad
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**



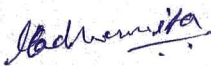
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the dissertation entitled *Women, Body Politics and the Dominant Health Discourses: A Sociological Study in Orissa* supervised by Dr. N. Purendra Prasad, is my original work in the Department of Sociology, University of Hyderabad, and has not been submitted for a degree or diploma or for publication elsewhere.

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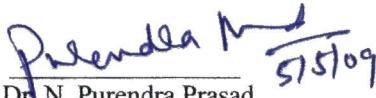
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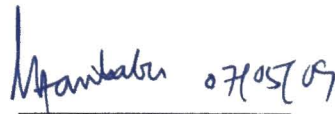
CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that *Ms MADHUMITA BISWAL* worked under my supervision for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology. Her dissertation entitled *Women, Body Politics and the Dominant Health Discourses: A Sociological Study in Orissa* is her own work at the University of Hyderabad, and has not been submitted for a degree or diploma elsewhere.


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Acknowledgement

This dissertation owes much to the generous support of many people over the years. These pages would have been impossible without the encouragement and support of my research supervisor N Purendra Prasad. Not only his engagement with the work, but his latitude, trust and stimulation has given me the energy to complete the thesis. I am indebted to him for inspiring me in many ways and for bearing with my anxieties and confusions during the crucial phase of writing the thesis. My sincere thanks also to the doctoral committee members for playing a crucial role in sharpening my research question. Sasheej Hegde's intellectual verve and stimulating questions have been instrumental in prodding me to think. I am also thankful to Sheela Prasad for all her support and for spurring me on.

I thank all the teachers in the department, Aparna Rayaprol, V.Janardhan, V.K. Jairath, E. Haribabu, K. Lakshmi Narayana, Nagaraju for their continuous support and encouragement during my PhD.

The support and cooperation of the department office staff, Madhusudhan, Tirupataya and Bhabani Shankar have made me relieve from all the administrative hassles. I thank them all for their support.

I thank CHC Bangalore for providing a short-term fellowship. The support and encouragement from Ravi and Thelma and Late Dr C.M Francis has been immeasurable. I am also indebted to all the friends at CHC, specially Neetha, Vinay, Amir, Naveen for their encouragement and stimulating discussions.

I am thankful to OVHA for their help me in establishing contact with the Baunsuni area. I also thank YCDA, Rajendra Meher for introducing me to the village and arranging initial accommodation in Baunsuni. I am also thankful to Sunita, Kunu,

Rashmi, Kalia, Karna sir and Mausii, Suresh Panda sir for making my days memorable in Baunsuni. A special thanks goes to Bidu didi for all her concern and for providing good home cooked food in Baunsuni.

I thank all my respondents for allowing me to study their world. more particularly I thank Malati mausi, Sarita, Mithila, Lili Didi, Satyabati, Khelani, Kunti, Taruni, Darshini and other women in the village for their warmth and for providing me access to study their daily life. I also thank all the frontline health workers for their cooperation and hospitality. My debt goes to them for generously sharing their experiences with me, which has been immense. My conversations with them are important for shaping the basic architecture of the work. I thank them all for enabling me to make this work possible.

The IGML library, Orissa state Archives, Utkal sahitya samaj, Anweshi research centre for women, Orissa state library, CWDS library at Delhi, ASRC library at Hyderabad, NIRD library, JNU library have been a great help in bringing this work to a fruition.

Although for a short period, the university research fellowships have been most helpful during the final stages of research work. I also thank the DSW's office of the University for granting the thesis submission grant.

My friends from the earlier days of political activism have been an intrinsic part of my research, though we have shared aggravation provisional triumphs, it has informed my thinking and galvanized my arguments. More particularly I thank Sawmya, Shalini, Reshma, Saravana, Comrade Sunitha and Mani, Bheem, Srikant, Rose, Sunitha M for rewarding me with their friendship.

I thank all my hostel friends for ensuring an energetic and supportive environment for my work to flourish. Without doubt I will look back with fond of

memories and nostalgia on the time I have spent in the hostel. The joyful energy of my hostel friends have sustained my research work, more particularly the refreshing poetry reading sessions with Sharmila, the fun time with Sushmita, Sudeshna, Asima, Sudhansubala, Sruti, Archana have sustained me during the writing of the thesis. The moral support of Amit, Sanjeev, Darashree, Tulika, Lakshyabhadra, Sudhansu, Satish and Shilpa has kept me going. Shyma's alacrity in the proofreading of the thesis has been a great help. I also thank manila for all her last minute help.

My parents have been my anchors of support; I thank them for patiently bearing all the transgressions of their "wayward" daughter. And my *Aja* for all the unconditional love that he invested on me. He would have been very happy to see that I have submitted the thesis. My brother Papu and sister Soni dei's unwavering affection, faith in me as well as their presence in my life and every day phone calls sustains me through my many ebbs. I thank my brother-in-law Lunabhai for encouragement and candid humor that has kept my spirit up during the writing of the thesis. It would be quite impossible to acknowledge all the members of my vast extended family who helped in myriad ways and has been the lasting source of affection. Though all my cousins have sustained me in their unique ways, I specially thank Butu dei for cultivating research interest in me, Mamuni dei for all her efforts of providing the comfort of home away from home, and Jhuna for all her attempts of organizing my life during my field trips to Orissa.

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Chapter-One

Introduction

The study attempts to explain how health discourses contribute towards maintaining the gender inequality by constructing women's body and reproductive roles in particular ways. In order to examine different health discourses, the study has focused on the state health discourse, as well as the community discourse of health. The focus of these discrete discourses not only provide different arenas for understanding health paradigms vis-à-vis women's body and gender roles, but suggests how these discourses are interlinked through their patriarchal hegemony.

The World Health Organization defines health "as a state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing and not merely absence of disease or infirmity". Though the need for such a comprehensive approach to health has been well acknowledged by the national and international bodies, the biomedical approach to health has remained as the dominant model of health intervention. Biomedicine by virtue of its scientificity is held privileged over other approaches to health care. The biomedical approach is believed to be based on scientific evidence, which operate in the realm of "facts". The realm of bodily fact is often perceived to be separate from other cultural and social domains. Originating from a Cartesian legacy, biomedical theory has developed out of a vision based on separation of physical body from mental and social aspects. Disease is perceived to be occurring in specific location within the body. Hence, physical reductionism remains central to biomedical approach. The body is thought to be knowable and treatable in isolation through scientific intervention (Rhodes, 1996). Though the supremacy of biomedical model is claimed on the basis of scientificity, objectivity and value neutrality, the gendered notions of the larger society seem to be influencing its approach to body. As

pointed out by some of the feminist scholars like Emily Martin (1987), the biomedical science contributes in creating a negative image of women's body. The image of negativity is attached to women's body in the scientific discourses through its description of women's reproductive functions in terms of negative metaphors.

The physical reductionism of the biomedical approach and its "isolated" view of the individual, being separate from the social and cultural context of the lives of people, have come under close scrutiny in the last few decades. Biomedical approach to health has been criticized by some of the social scientists as "a view from above" and an "isolated" approach to body and health. Hence, some of the alternative theoretical positions have developed within sociology and social anthropology, in opposition to the biomedical approach of studying health. Community study method of health and illness has been considered as one of the important theoretical alternatives to the biomedical approach to health and illness. This approach claims to be studying people's health from "below". This is considered to be giving a greater prominence to society's conceptualization of health, illness, the role of healers and the relationship between the concept of disease and cosmology (Rubel and Hass, 1996). This approach has emphasized on studying the way in which the knowledge relating to body, health and illness is culturally constructed and negotiated. Hence, it examines the relationship of cultural beliefs and practices in connection with health and illness to the sentient of human body (Lock and Schepers-Hughes, 1996). It has been argued by these theorists that the non-western societies lack a highly individualized or articulated conception of the body self. Consequently, in this context, the sickness is often explained in terms of malevolent social relations, the breakdown of social and moral codes or the disharmony within the family or village community. In such societies, the therapy tends to be collectivized. There is emphasis on order, harmony, balance and hierarchy within the context of mutual dependence. The

health of individuals depends on balance in the natural world; the health of each organ depends on its relationship to all other organs. In such societies the logical distinction between body, mind and self is not made prominently. Therefore, illness is perceived to be situated not in the body or mind alone. Social relations are understood as key contributors to individual health and illness.

In such socio-centric health discourse, greater emphasis is given to community's cultural construction of health, whereby the illness is articulated in terms of breaking up of social and moral codes and disharmony in the family and the community. As this discourse articulates illness in terms of social disharmony, the question arise, does this discourse prescribe preservation of prevailing power structure in the society? As the moral codes for women in the family and community are clearly carved out in most of the societies, does this health discourse try to sustain the gender subordination by leaving less scope for women to deviate? By articulating illness in terms of breaking up of moral codes, does this discourse often result in blaming women's deviant behaviour as the cause of illness in the family and the community? As there is often a tendency to conflate women's morality in terms of reproductive sexuality, does this discourse ultimately result in articulating women's health and the health of the society in terms of women's sexual and reproductive conduct?

Posing these research questions, the study tries to examine the way women's body and reproductive roles get constructed in the dominant discourses of health. In order to examine the dominant discourses of health, I have focused on the Indian state health discourse (which has largely conformed to the biomedical approach to body and health) and the community discourse of health (which gets produced and reproduced in the everyday lives of people in the village community). In the study I have used the concept discourse as synonymous with the social system, in which discourse literally constitutes

the social and political world. I have used the concept discourse as derived from Laclan and Moufee's conceptualization, whereby the discourse includes all the practices and meanings shaping a particular community of social actors. In this perspective, discourse constitutes symbolic system and social order (cited in Howarth, 2002: 5).

In scrutinizing the health discourse through a gender lens, the study tries to examine the contribution of health discourses in constructing gender roles or defining "what it is to be a woman or a man". Given the fact that the prescriptions of gender roles are culturally and historically variable, the study also makes an attempt to understand how at different historical junctures the gender roles get defined and redefined through different reformist interventions as well as the state intervention. Particularly situating the study in the social context of Orissa, the study tries to scrutinize the attempts that were made through the reformist discourses to conflate health and hygiene with woman's morality and spirituality. The state interventions in the post colonial era also seem to be playing a crucial role in redefining and informing the gender roles. As the state is claimed to be the custodian of social justice, the state health discourse is expected to serve all sections of the society equitably and overcome the gendered notions of the community. The question remains whether the state moulds the community notions of women's body and sexuality while introducing its own notion of gender in its health discourse? As state is one of the key actors involved in addressing the health needs of the people, does the state carry out its social justice endeavor effectively through its health service interventions? With these basic research questions, the following objectives have been formulated for the purpose of the study.

Objectives of the study:

1. To map out how the community's notions of health and illness informs the day-to-day bodily practices of women.

2. To explicate how the socio-religious reforms and nationalist reform in Orissa have contributed towards constructing the notions of womanhood.
3. To examine the manner in which Indian state health discourse has been engaged in defining and redefining gender relations.
4. To enquire into the connections and contradictions between these different health discourses in their approach towards women's health and body politic.

Methodology:

Broadly keeping the above objectives in mind, I conducted my field work in Boudh district of Orissa, in two phases during 2006-2007, i.e. from July-December 2006 and March-September 2007. As per the research design, the study employed ethnographic method for collecting data. At the same time, the study does not conform to the conventional anthropological kind of ethnographic method. Departing from the classical ethnographic method, the study judiciously mixes the quantitative and qualitative data collection techniques both at the PHC field site as well as the community field site. Given the theoretical and methodological focus, I have relied on the four important sources of data.

1. Village study at Tikirapada of Boudh district in Orissa.
2. Historical account of socio-religious reform movements particularly with a focus on women's issues.
3. Study of PHC field site with a focus on frontline health functionaries who are the mainstay of state health programmes.
4. Health policy documents.

To comprehensively grasp the diverse and critical issues involved in informing the community notions of health and women's bodily practices, I conducted an ethnographic study in a village called Tikirapada in the Boudh district of Orissa. The village consists of 152 households, mostly consisting of middle level caste groups and lower caste groups

and two tribal households. My initial study in the village was structured around conducting a household survey in the village, in course of which I collected socio-demographic data regarding the educational levels, age, size of family, land holdings, occupation of family members, health care and other household data. This household survey was used as the entry point for opening up conversations with the villagers as well as a strategy to build rapport. During the study my interactions with the people mostly centered around women in the village. A deep and intense interaction with women was seen to be culturally more acceptable than the interactions with men in the village. As my main concern revolved around enquiring about the bodily practices of women, the strategy of focusing on women did not affect my study.

In order to study the construction of women's body in the reformist movements in Orissa, I have mainly relied on the data collected from the archival sources. With regard to the religious reform movement's concern on women's bodily practices, the literature on *Bhakti* reform is scrutinized. More particularly, the religious text *Oriya Lakshmi Purana*, has been used as the primary material for my analysis. Literature on the reformist agenda of *Mahima dharma* is also examined. With regard to studying the contribution of the nationalist reform movement in Orissa in constructing the notions of "ideal womanhood", I have examined the available documents in colonial Oriya literature. *ASHA* the first Oriya women's monthly magazine (published from 1888 to 1890, again it got republished in 1892) was sourced in a local library and its contents were tracked. Another prominent Oriya journal, *Utkal Sahitya* (published from 1897 till 1949), which provided the platform for many intellectual discussions for the literary class in Orissa was tracked and the articles discussing women's issues have been used as the primary source material.

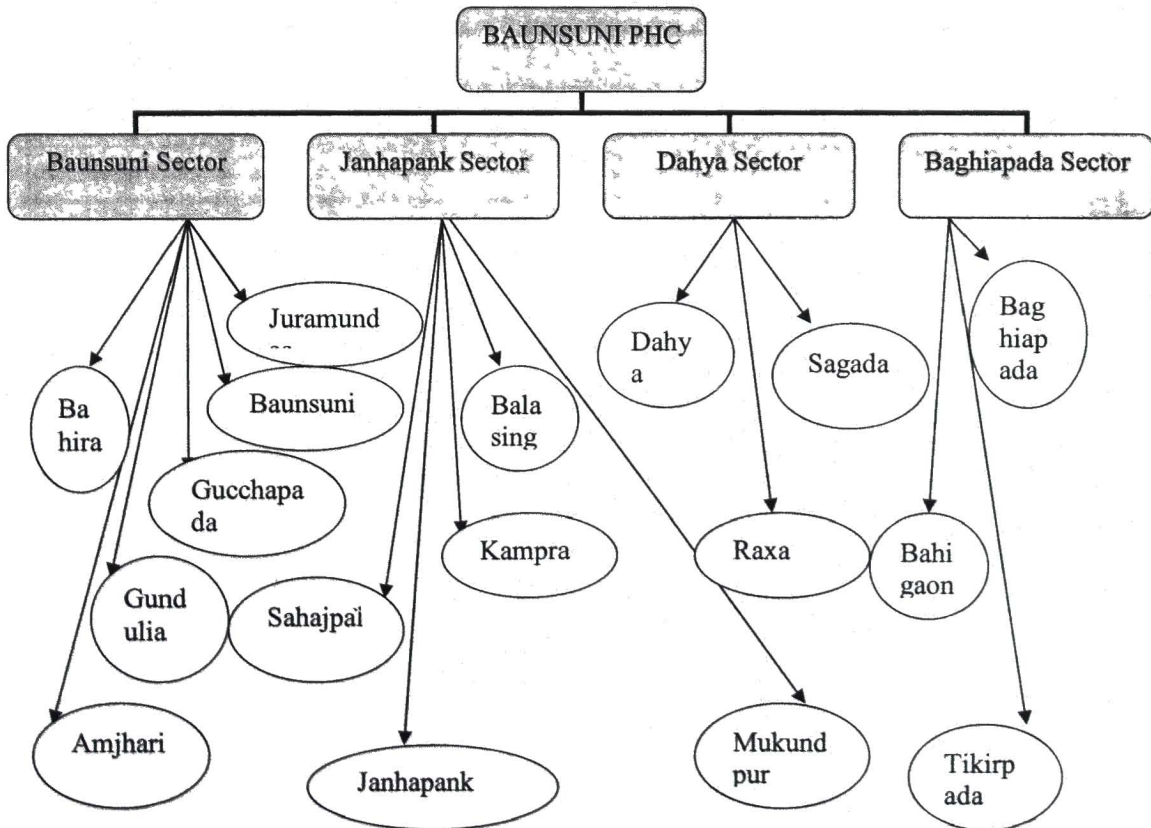
For understanding the state health discourse and its construction of women's health and body, the health policy documents, more particularly the Reproductive and Child Health Policy Phase-II (RCH-II) documents as well as the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) Policy document were scrutinized. Along with the scrutinization of the health policy documents, the study of Baunsuni PHC (Primary Health Centre) has been taken as a case in point. An investigation has been undertaken into the functioning of the PHC through its frontline health workers. The way the health policies have been translated into the real life situations have been examined by conducting in-depth interviews with the frontline health workers in the Baunsuni PHC area in the Boudh district. The frontline health functionaries are considered to be the key translators of the state health programme, and infact the state health programmes gets introduced to the villagers mainly through the frontline health functionaries. For the rural people, the state health programme means the health services provided by these frontline health functionaries. In short, for the local communities, it is frontline health workers who represent the state. Therefore the study focused on the frontline health functionaries in order to understand the state health discourse from the grass root level.

Though Baunsuni PHC is located as the prime site for understanding state health intervention, the ICDS programme also plays a crucial role in channelizing as well as supplementing the state health agenda at the grassroot level. The village level functionaries of ICDS, the Anganwadi workers, are considered to be one of the key health functionaries of the state. Hence, I conducted in-depth interviews with the frontline health workers, which included both the grass-root level PHC staff as well as the Anganwadi workers.

Extensive interviews were taken with the field staff of the Baunsuni PHC, which included both the Auxiliary Nurse-Midwives (ANMs) as well as the Multi-Purpose

Health Workers (MPHWs). In-depth interviews were also conducted with all the 21 Anganwadi Workers of the Baunsuni sector of ICDS programme. The interviews were conducted in two to three sittings, in the homes of the respondents.

The Primary Health Centre (PHC) comes under the administration of district health services. A PHC caters to the needs of approximately one lakh population. The PHC is headed by the chief medical officer. The Baunsuni PHC is divided into four sectors, such as: Baunsuni sector, Janhapank sector, Baghiapada sector and Dahya sector. Each sector is headed by either the Lady Health Visitor or the Male Health Supervisor. The Baunsuni sector consists of six sub-centres, Janhapank sector consists of five sub-centres, Baghiapada sector consists of three sub-centres and Dahya sector consists on four sub-centres. An organogram of Baunsuni PHC, its sectors and sub-centres has been provided below.



The sub-centre is managed by a female health worker (ANM) and a male health worker (MPHW), who are supposed to serve about 5,000 population. In few cases, due to vacancy of posts, the sub-centres are managed by only a female health worker or a male health worker. Although I intended to collect data from all the 30 field staff in Baunsuni PHC, I was able to cover only 28 health workers, because two health workers could not be reached during my field work as they had gone for refresher training programme. Out of 28 health workers, 12 of them are Multi-purpose Health Workers and 16 of them are Auxiliary Nurse-Midwives. In order to grasp the social profile of the frontline health workers, caste composition of the ANMs and MPHWS has been provided below.

Table-1: Caste composition of ANMs and MPHWS

Caste Status	Numbers	Percentage
Upper Castes	10	37.71
OBCs	8	28.57
Scheduled Castes	6	21.42
Scheduled Tribes	3	10.71
Christian	1	3.57
Total	28	100

Source: primary data collected during field work for this study.

Out of 28 ANMs and MPHWS, 10 of them are from *Brahmin, Karan* and *Khandayat* castes, categorized as the upper caste group. Again, within the upper caste category, four ANMs and MPHWS were the natives of coastal Orissa, the prosperous region. The ANMs and MPHWS belonging to the OBC category are the second largest group in Baunsuni PHC. The ANMs and MPHWS belonging to *Sundhi* caste, *Mali, Dumbal, Patera, Gudia, Chasa* caste group have been included in the category of the OBC. Six of the ANMs and the MPHWS belong to the Scheduled Caste category, more particularly

belonging to the untouchable *Ganda* caste, the occasionally impure *Bhandari* (barber) and *Dhoba* (washerman) caste as well as the touchable *Keuta* caste. Three ANMs belong to the Scheduled Tribe category, all of them belong to the *Kandha* tribe. All the ANMs belonging to the ST category are the natives of Phulbani (also known as Kandhamal), the neighbouring district of Boudh.

Anganwadi Workers:

ICDS programme was launched in Orissa in the year 1975. There is an ICDS programme in every community development block, which is headed by a child development project officer (CDPO). Each ICDS project is divided into 5 to 6 sectors; each sector is headed by a supervisor, who oversees the work of 20 to 25 Anganwadi centres. Anganwadi centre functions at the village level. It covers a population of about one thousand in non tribal areas and seven hundred in tribal areas. Anganwadi centres are run by Anganwadi workers, who are assisted by Anganwadi helper. (Govt. of Orissa, 2002-2003)

The ICDS project had started in the Boudh district in the year 1993. Boudh district is divided into three blocks viz, Kantamala, Harabhja nad Boudh sadar. I have conducted the study in the Boudh sadar block. The Boudh sadar ICDS programme is divided into nine sectors, which includes 163 Anganwadi centres. For my research purpose I have conducted an in-depth study in Baunsuni sector of Boudh sadar block. Baunsuni sector consists of 21 Anganwadi centres. In many cases, Anganwadi centre caters to the needs of one revenue village, when the size of the village (taking the population into consideration) is considerably big. In some cases one Anganwadi centre serves two neighbouring villages, when both the villages have less than one thousand population. In the present study an in-depth interview has been conducted with all the twenty one Anganwadi workers (AWW) of the Baunsuni sector. All the respondents of my study are

married women between ages twenty eight to fifty six. All the AWWs are Hindu by religion. The caste composition of the AWWs is provided below:

Table-2: Caste composition of Anganwadi Workers

Caste of AWWs	Numbers	Percentage
Brahmin	5	23.80
OBCs	13	61.90
Keuta, SC	1	4.76
Ganda, SC	2	9.52
Total	21	100

Out of the 21 AWWs, five of them are from *Brahmin* caste. Thirteen of them are from other backward caste groups, more particularly belonging to the castes like *Dumbal*, *Hatua*, *Teli*, *Sudo*, *Bhulia Meher* and *Bania* castes. And three AWWs are from Scheduled Caste categories, out of which two AWWs are from *Ganda* caste and one AWW is from *Dhibara* caste. The minimum qualification for an AWW is class eighth. Out of the 21 AWWs, seven of them have studied till class eighth, two of them have studied till class ninth and ten AWWs have studied till class tenth. One AWW has studied till intermediate and one AWW is a graduate.

Field Encounters:

As a field researcher it was not possible for me to figure myself as an objective observer, who is supposed to “conquer gaze from nowhere”¹. Rather, my engagement with the villagers in Tikirapada was more of “situated”² than detached. I also experienced my cultural identity as shifting, fluid and oscillating between the identity of an “insider” and “outsider”. The identity of an “insider”, as an Oriya woman, studying a village in

¹ Positivist “scientific” research universally claims for “conquering gaze from no where”, see Elizabeth Enslin (1994).

² According to Donna Haraway (1988) the feminist objectivity emphasizes on situated knowledge. Further, she points out that feminist objectivity is about limited location and situated knowledge, not about transcendence and splitting of subject and object. The situated knowledge is about communities, not about individuals. The only way to find a larger vision is to be somewhere.

Orissa, was subject to question under many circumstances. The “insider” status gets fragmented under the given circumstances, through the splitting identities within the geographical space of Orissa, into-the coastal developed Orissa and the western marginalized Orissa. Within Orissa, the hegemony of coastal Orissa has been perceived by the other regions, consequently this has given rise to resistance and assertion of Western Orissa identity politics. Given the coastal-western divide within the broader regional space of Orissa, the choice of working in the academically “unexplored” underdeveloped western Orissa, is not only made on the basis of geographic nostalgia, but also the choice to work in western Orissa is a kind of political engagement. My “insider” status was subject to question when I was seen as a woman from the developed coastal Orissa, who spoke the coastal Orissa dialect, “the bookish language”, different from the dialect the villagers used. The insider status was also subject to change from time to time and space to space within the village. For example while I was seen as an insider in the upper caste cluster in the village at one moment, the other moment my identity was shifted to an outsider, through my identity as a woman of a different caste group within the upper caste category. While I was poised as the “insider” and placed under the unified category of woman at one level, simultaneously my identity was exploded into fragments and I was seen as an “outsider”, an urban, upper caste, educated woman.

My encounters in the field as a woman researcher is not merely the “fables of rapport”³, rather, they are in many ways a constant engagement with the question as to how the gender relations are central to the understanding of social organizations. The moment I stepped into the village community as a researcher, engaged in observing people, simultaneously I was also observed and was a subject of close scrutiny. My experiences in the field were determined by my gender identity. Conforming to the

³ Kamla Visweswaran (1996) points out that the first person’s narratives have been consigned to the margins of anthropological discourse. The proponents of experimental mode of writing ethnography have dismissed the first person’s narratives by calling them as “fables of rapport”.

dominant gender norms and bodily practices served as the entry point for the interaction with the women in the community. At the initial stage of the field work, the stranger status was accompanied with some suspicion; I was seen as a woman, roaming in and out of the village, independently without being chaperoned by anyone. Conforming to the dominant gender norms was seen the way through which I could be acceptable to the community. The nonconformity to the gender norm could have stiffened the suspicion by adding moral meaning to it. Through my efforts of conforming to the gender norms in my daily interactions with people, I was engaged in a process of relearning the gendered bodily practices. This was accomplished by an exercise on how I talk, how I walk and speak, my conscious effort of looking down while walking etc. This experience of mine reaffirmed my attention that woman's body is the prime site through which the gender inequality takes an actual course.

Even after I developed a close rapport with the villagers, my independent approach in the field often remained a matter of concern. I often encountered the questions from my respondents, whether my parents were concerned about me, how could they let me move around freely without being escorted etc. Though initially I took a house on rent and continued staying without being accompanied by anyone, on many occasions I was persuaded to stay in the company of a woman, for my safety. Later an arrangement was made, so that I could share the house with another woman. Sharing the house with a Brahmin woman further brought my bodily practices under close surveillance. This in turn made me realize and experience how people's ideas of hygiene are derived from their notions of purity.

Section- II

Introducing the Field in Orissa Context:

The research is undertaken in Orissa, not primarily because of my identity as an Oriya. The backwardness of the region as well as its under researched status, the way the region has been starving for serious academic research, drove me to choose Orissa as my field site. Nevertheless, the familiarity with the dialect in the field was an added advantage for conducting the study. Despite the rich natural resources, Orissa remains as one of the most backward states in India. The backwardness gets demonstrated through its low human development indicators, with as high as 47.15 percent of its rural population living below poverty line. While over 76% of the population is dependent on agriculture, only 18.79 hectares of agricultural land are irrigated out of 87.46 hectares of gross cropped area⁴. Manoranjan Mohanty (1986) also points out that in Orissa only 16 percent of the area under cultivation is irrigated as against 75 percent in Punjab and 25 percent in the country as a whole. This fact demonstrates that in Orissa, not much transformation or progress in agricultural productions has happened. This probably could be cited as one of the reasons for the backwardness of the state.

Agriculture does not remain as the only area where one finds lack of remarkable change in relation to the colonial period. In terms of social structural relations also, Orissa society demonstrates a relative continuity with the past. What is more striking in case of Orissa is that, even though it is geographically situated in the middle of two states, viz. Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal, where radical left movements, assertive caste movements and women's movements have taken place, contrastingly Orissa society bears

⁴ Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/orissa>

a print of relative order and cohesion. There is an apparent continuity in terms of the feudal social structure, with all aspects of dominance, where power is monopolized by certain sections of the population. The continuity with the feudal social structure, order and cohesion in the society, does not mean that Orissa society has remained in a complete static form. One can also find mild streams of consciousness arising against the dominant power structures. As Bailey (1960, 2002) points out in his study in Bisipara village, there is growing consciousness and latent assertion of the *Khandayat* caste group against the *Brahmins*, the assertion of the untouchable *Pan* caste against the upper castes. But, even though there is growing consciousness, as Sahu (1994) points out, such consciousness and social structural tensions did not assume and take violent forms. Most of such social structural tensions have remained in fragments rather than taking an organized form.

One finds that two of the upper castes such as the *Brahmins* and the *Karanas* have dominated the society and the politics in contemporary Orissa. These castes are found to be exercising their political power from the coastal region (Mohanty, 1990). On the other hand, in the inland regions, the structural domination is centered on the *Gauntia* institution, which originated in the period of feudatory kings. *Gauntia* was essentially a local tax collector and a village headman, designated by the king. We can find the domination of certain sections of population not only at the local levels but also at a broader regional level, by which these structural power relations gets played out in the form of regional disparity. The coastal districts of Orissa, pocket a large share of development, leaving the inland districts of Orissa into a manifest sense of deprivation. Though the inland districts are rich in natural resources, and these resources are used for national industrial development, these developments have failed to sufficiently integrate the economies of the coastal area and the inland hilly districts economy. The coastal districts thereby remained economically well off and shared a large chunk of development

funding, while the inland hilly districts bore the burden of the poor economic condition. This has given rise to the politics of ethnic identity in Orissa. Further, while some of these streams of consciousness have been generated among the deprived groups, the dominant groups have adjusted to the situation by co-opting some of the potential challengers. This in turn has helped the dominant groups to sustain and legitimize their domination.

The feudal social structure of Orissa society is not only retained through legitimizing caste, class and regional inequality, the legitimating gender inequality also becomes an integral part of this domination. The subordination of women is maintained at different levels. The low health status of women can be considered as one of the indicators of the gender discrimination. According to NFHS-2 (1998-99) almost half (47%) of the women in Orissa suffer from problems of nutritional deficiency. This problem of nutritional deficiency is particularly serious among younger women, illiterate women and women belonging to the SC and ST communities. The prevalence of anemia among the women of 15-49 years of age group is very high. The NFHS-2 data also shows that, in the weight for height indicators, female children are marginally more malnourished than their male counterparts. One can also find that there is a clear bias against women in the family planning acceptance. According to NFHS-2 data, while the current contraceptive use rate is 46.8%, a major part of it (33.9%) is female sterilization. With regard to other temporary methods of contraceptive use also, the bias against women can be found.

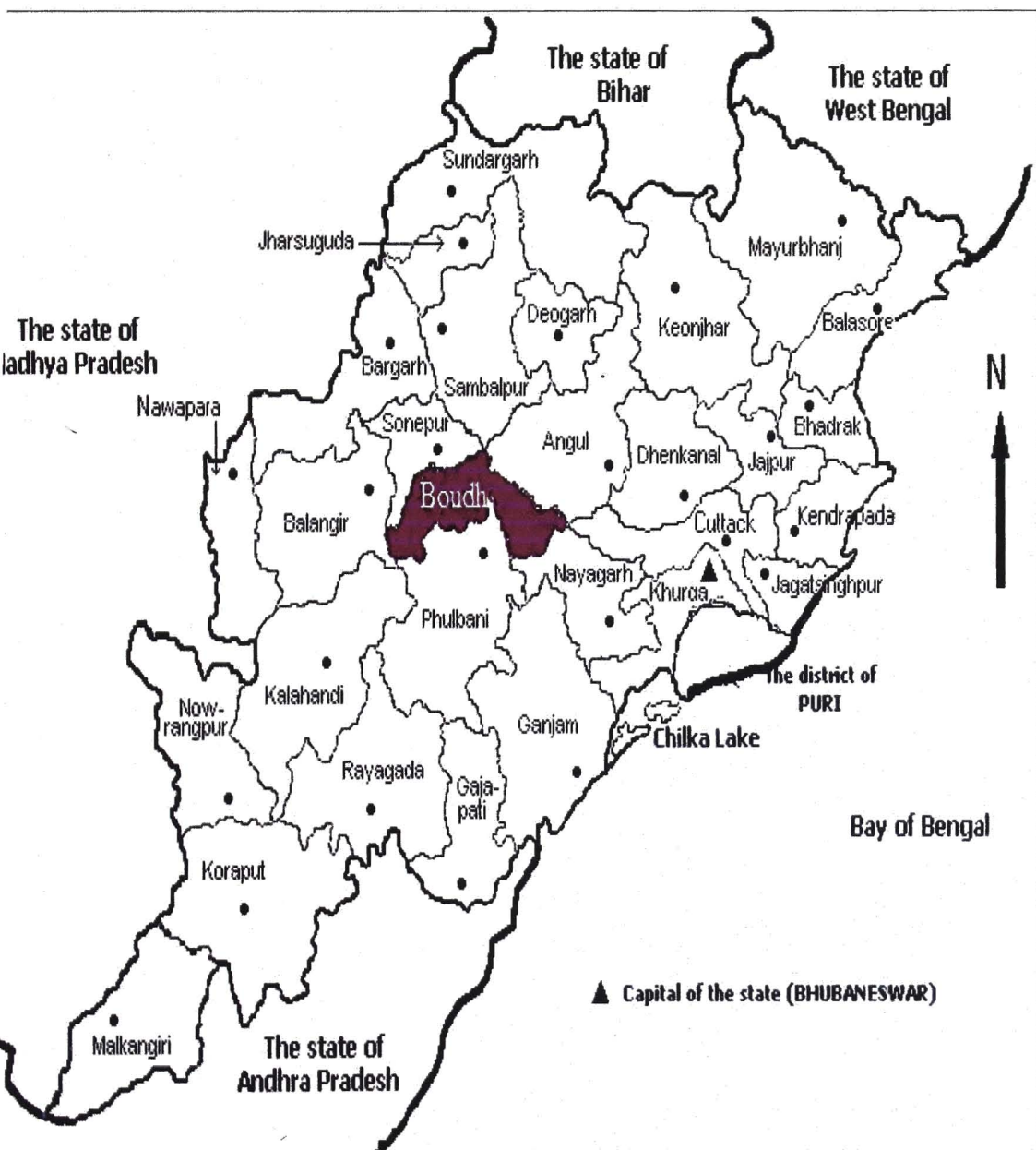
Given this condition of high gender discrimination in Orissa, the study was carried out to understand the gender inequality in the society from its roots and trace different actors contributing and sustaining this inequality. As women's body is considered to be the prime locus upon which gender inequality is based and carried out in a concrete form, I decided to study gender inequality in Orissa society, through studying women's body politics.

After deciding the broader region of Orissa as my field site, narrowing down the study and locating the study in a smaller region within Orissa took me a while. I did not want to conduct the study in the coastal districts of Orissa. The hesitation to locate my study in the coastal Orissa was primarily based on my understanding of the regional politics in Orissa. The hegemony of coastal Orissa is established over other parts of Orissa, due to which the coastal Orissa is often depicted as “the Orissa”. Being a native of coastal Orissa, I thought, by making coastal Orissa as the starting point of my study, I would be in a way conforming to the regional domination. On the other hand, nor did I want to carry out the study in a tribal dominated region, the most backward districts of Orissa, like the KBK districts of Orissa. This is often described as the “other face” of Orissa. And at the national and international level, the backwardness of the state often gets demonstrated through essentializing these marginalized districts and the marginalized people as “the true face of Orissa”, whereby some of these districts on most occasions turn into becoming mere fund draggers for the state. Keeping these regional dynamics in mind, I wanted to focus my study in an area which could be considered as mediation between these two regional poles.

Locating the Study in Boudh:

After a thorough study of the socio-economic aspects of different districts of Orissa, as well as the geographical location of different districts of the state, Boudh district was decided to be the most suitable site for the study. The geographical location of Boudh district as well as population composition was one of the criteria for selection of the field site. In Orissa, Boudh district is situated in the centre of the state (See Map-1). This could be seen as a transition between the coastal and the hilly districts.

Orissa Map



Though the district is situated in the centre of the state, the people of the district identify themselves with the western Orissa region rather than the coastal region. In the context of the ethnic movement of western Orissa, as opposed to the coastal Orissa domination, Boudh district is identified as one of the western Orissa districts. In the western Orissa movement, Sambalpur has emerged as the centre for articulating the regional identity. The close proximity to Sambalpur, sharing a similar regional dialect and cultural tradition, as well as sharing the same process of underdevelopment, makes the people of Boudh identify primarily with the western Orissa regional tradition rather than the coastal region of Orissa.

Along with the geographical location of the district, the composition of the population also makes it look like a mediating district between the two regional poles. While some of the hilly districts like Nabarangapur, Rayagada, Sundargarh, Mayurbhanj, Malkanagiri, Kandhamal and Gajapati have more than 50 percent of tribal population, some of the coastal districts like Puri, Kendrapada, Jagatsinghpur have less than one percent of tribal population. Given these variations, the population composition of the Boudh district was considered to be a kind of balancing between the two regional types. In case of Boudh district, while the ST population is 12.48% in comparison to the state average of 22.21%, the SC population of the district is 21.90%, while the state average is 16.20% (Census of India, 2001). As the 2001 census data demonstrates, the district has higher scheduled caste population than the state average. A close scrutiny of the district wise SC, ST population composition in the state reveals that, most of the tribal dominated districts have a lesser proportion of the SC population. On the other hand, the districts dominated by diverse caste population have higher proportion of scheduled caste population. With regard to SC, ST and other caste group population, Boudh district is

considered to be one of the districts of the state which has a heterogeneous population. In order to capture diversity and social dynamics, Boudh was chosen as the field site.

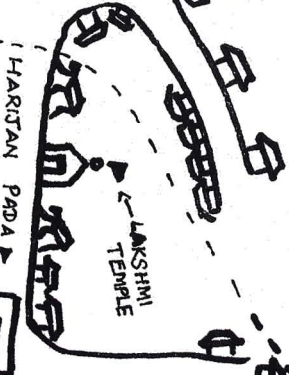
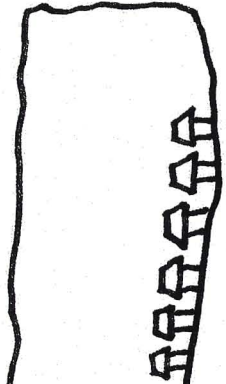
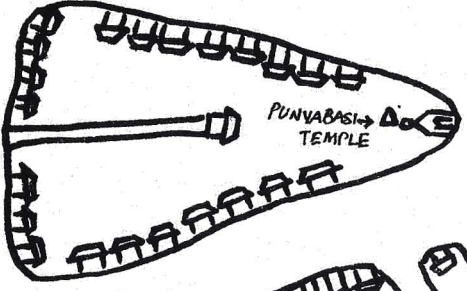
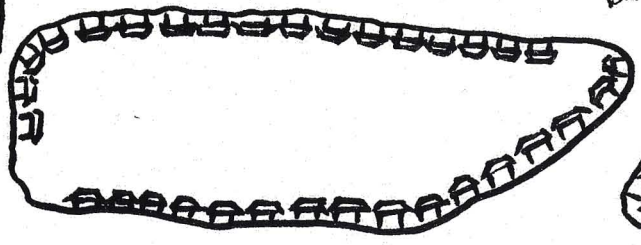
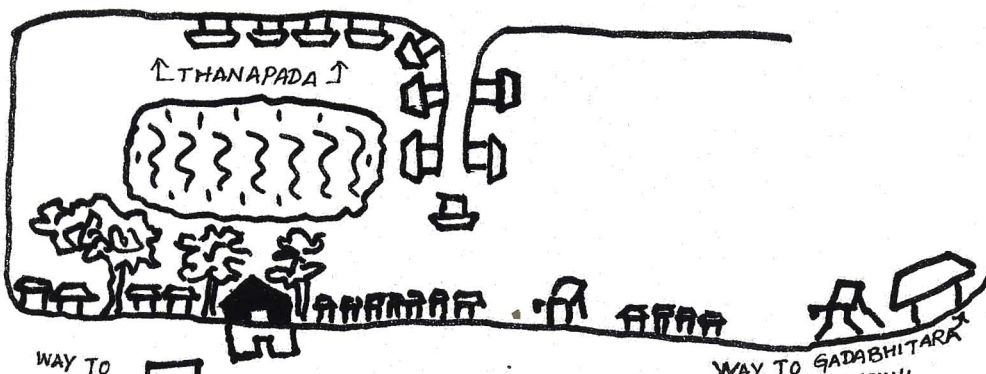
After choosing the Boudh as my field site, as per the research design, I located the study in the Baunsuni PHC area. Having selected my study in the Baunsuni PHC, I choose Tikirapada village after careful scrutiny of a couple of villages, for conducting the village study. The size of the population of the village, the diverse caste composition of the village and its proximity to the Baunsuni PHC made the Tikirapada village a suitable site for conducting the study.







An Overview of Tikirapada Village:

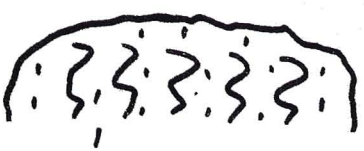
The field work was carried out in the Tikirapada village in the Boudh district of Orissa. If one were to describe the village geographically, the main village cluster is surrounded by two large water reservoirs on both ends of the village, all other sides of the village is surrounded by agricultural fields. Cutting through the agricultural fields, while one road from the village connects to the state highway, Baunsuni PHC (Primary Health Centre) and the local market area, the road in the other end of the village connects to the neighbouring village Gadabhitara-Baunsuni (See Map-2). A new hamlet of the village has also developed quite recently, adjacent to the front side water tank of the village. This new settlement is relatively closer to the main road, and the market area of Baunsuni. This hamlet is called as Thanapada, which consists of ten households; all the households are from *Bhulia* caste. All the inhabitants of the new settlement trace their origin to the mainland of the village. Goddess *Punyabasi* is considered to be the presiding deity of the entire village. At the same time the *Kandha* tribal deity, *Kandhunibudhi*, situated in the border of the village, is considered to be guarding the village against the evil forces. Though these village deities are considered to be the guardian deities of the whole village

MAP-2

TIKIRAPADA VILLAGE MAP



-  HOUSE
-  TEMPLE
-  WATER RESERVOIR
-  HAND PUMP
-  MANDAP (VILLAGE COMMON PLATFORM)
-  SCHOOL



cluster, protection and welfare of the whole geographical location of the village is considered to be the main concern of these deities, the “harijan” communities are denied access to these deities. As a result of which in the last decade a goddess Lakshmi temple has come up in the “harijan” cluster of the village.

If one were to go by the administrative categorization of the village territory, the village comes under the Baunsuni panchayat and the Boudh district. The village is situated at a distance of 30 kilometers from the district headquarter, Boudh. The village is divided into two wards, ward no 7 and 8. One primary school and an Anganwadi centre exist in the village. The village consists of 152 households. The caste composition of the study village has been provided below:

Table-3: Caste composition of the village

Caste	No of households	Percentage
Bhulia Meher	55	36.18
Dumbal	28	18.42
Teli	13	08.55
Badhei	5	03.28
Keuta	12	07.89
Dhibara	10	06.57
Dhoba	1	00.65
Kandha	2	01.31
Ganda	26	17.10
Total	152	100

Bhulia Meher caste group is numerically dominant caste group in the village, consisting of 36.18% of the households. Because of the numerical strength of the *Bhulia Meher* caste group in the village, one can find the *Bhulia Meher* caste domination in the village politics. In the Tikirapada village committee, 12 members out of 22 village

committee members belong to the *Bhulia Meher* caste group. All the important positions in the village committee, such as the president and secretary posts are also occupied by the *Bhulia Meher* caste men. The second largest caste group in the village is the *Dumbal* caste group, consisting of 18.42% of the households of the village. While the *Bhulia Meher* caste group is the numerically dominant caste group in the village, the *Dumbal* caste group is the ritually dominant caste in Tikirapada village. The third largest caste group in the village is the *Ganda* caste, consisting of 17.10% of the households. The *Ganda* caste group, the only untouchable caste group in the village, is located at the outskirts of the village. They are excluded from participating in the activities of the village committee.

Except the *Ganda* caste group and the *Kandha* tribal households, most of the caste groups of the village belong to the middle level caste categories. However, in my analysis I have referred these middle level caste groups as the upper caste categories because of their dominant, assertive position in the village social hierarchy. In the Boudh district the population of upper caste groups, as per the official categorization of the state is insignificant, and hence the entire district is identified as one of the backward caste regions. Some of the upper caste groups like *Karanas* and *Khandayats* are mainly based in the coastal areas (Mohanty, 1990) and their population is quite less in Boudh. The *Brahmin* caste population is also relatively less in Boudh district, in comparison to the coastal districts of Orissa. Because of the small proportion of *Brahmins*, on most occasions the *Mali* caste group ritually performs the worship in the village temples. Even though the *Mali* caste is a ritually pure caste, and officiate over the worship in the temples, they are categorized as one of the OBCs in Orissa. In the official categorization of the caste groups all the middle level castes of the village, except *Keuta*, *Dhibara* and *Dhoba*, fall under OBC category. *Dumbal* caste is also considered to be one of the ritually

pure caste and a dominant caste groups in the Boudh region. Most of the *Gauntias* (local tax collectors) in the Boudh district, appointed by the feudatory kings during the British period, used to be from the *Dumbal caste*. This caste group has also been officially categorized under the OBC category. On the other hand the *Keuta*, *Dhibara* and *Dhoba* caste groups are included in the category of Scheduled Castes. *Dhoba*, the washerman caste has been included in the list of Scheduled Caste categories since 1935 through Govt. of India Act. But the official inclusion of *Keuta* and *Dhibara* caste groups in the scheduled caste categories is a recent phenomenon⁵. The inclusion of *Keuta* and *Dhibara* communities in the Scheduled Caste category has remained as a contentious issue in the state. The *Keuta* and *Dhibara* caste communities are not considered to be ritually impure caste groups. On the other hand, the *Ganda* caste group is considered as the ritually impure, untouchable caste group in the village, which is also included in the Scheduled Caste category.

⁵ According to the report submitted by the Asprusya Dalit Sanrakshyana Samiti, to the government of Orissa in July 2006, the Keuta, Kaibartya and Dhibara caste (the touchable fisherman), were unconstitutionally enjoying the reservations meant for SCs in the name of "Dewar" since 1980s. But in December 2002 these caste categories have made a manipulative entry into the scheduled caste list of Orissa. The report gives an overview of the history of inclusion of these caste groups in the scheduled caste category. It mentions that 1935 Govt. of India Act included only "hereditary untouchable" castes like "Dewar" and not Keuta/Kaibarta/Dhibara in the scheduled caste list of Orissa. In 1962 and 1979 field survey report on socio-economic status of Keuta/Kaibarta/Dhibara by the Govt. of Orissa rejected their claim for inclusion in the SC list in the name of "Dewar". 1976 notification by Govt. of India rejected the claims of these castes for inclusion in the SC list. In 1978 Harijan Welfare Advisory Board recommended to the Govt. of India for exclusion of "Dewar" from SC list of Orissa, since the community does not exist in Orissa any more. The "Dewar" community used to be a nomadic community, whose occupations are begging, dancing, singing, tattooing etc., and they are now found in Madhya Pradesh. But the 1979 judgement of Orissa High Court ambiguously treated Keuta/Kaibarta/Dhibara as synonymous of Dewar without defining the caste "Dewar" which is an untouchable nomadic caste. In 1981, the Govt. of India gave direction to the Govt. of Orissa not to issue SC certificates to Keuta/Kaibarta/Dhibara unless and until a law is enacted by the parliament. In 1981 and 1991 the Harijan Welfare Advisory Board, Govt. of Orissa recommended for exclusion of Dewar from the list. And in 1996 the supreme court judgement superseded and invalidated all the previous judgements by stating that courts do not have any power to declare any caste as synonymous to any other caste. In 1998 judgement of Orissa high court rejected the claims of subcastes of Keuta/ Dhibara as synonymous with the Dewar. In 2001, proceedings of the national commission for SC recommended not to declare any caste as synonymous to Dewar. But inspite of all these, in August 2001, the Bill No. 84 was introduced in the Lok Sabha by the Social Justice Ministry, GOI to declare Keuta, Kaibarta, Dhibara as synonymous of "Dewar" and their inclusion in the SC list. Opposing the inclusion of the Keuta/ Dhibara/Kaibarta casts in the SC list, the ex-untouchable caste groups have started campaigning in Orissa.

Dhoba, the washerman caste is considered to be the “specialists” of impurity. Their professional intervention is considered to be essential for relieving the caste group people from their temporary impurity. Though the *Dhoba* caste is considered to be an impure caste by the villagers, the *Dhoba* caste people get access to all parts of the village. On the other hand, the untouchable *Ganda* caste people’s access to the main village cluster is restricted. Their access to the upper caste cluster is only confined to the upper caste street. The *Ganda* caste people are not even allowed to touch the tube-wells of the upper caste cluster; neither are they allowed to sit in the common *mandaps* of the upper caste cluster.

On the basis of residential arrangements of the caste groups, the main village settlement can be divided into two broad categories, such as the upper caste cluster and the “harijan”⁶ cluster. Apart from the *Ganda* caste groups, all other caste groups in the village live in a compact settlement. The residential pattern of the caste groups in the village reflects the societal organization as well as the level of interaction between different caste groups. The dominant *Dumbal* caste, which is considered to be enjoying a ritually higher status than the other caste groups in the village, reside in the central part of the village, nearer to the village temple. On the other hand, the *Dhibara* caste groups, considered to be one of the lower castes among the touchable caste groups, reside towards the margin of the upper caste habitation, which is closer to the “harijan” cluster. In some cases, most of the residents of a particular lane of the village belong to one caste group. In that case, the lane comes to be identified with the caste name, such as one can find *Dumbal* lane, *Teli* lane. The lanes are known as *khadu* in the local language.

⁶ The term “dalit” has been recently used to refer all the scheduled caste categories, which includes both the touchable scheduled caste groups and the untouchable scheduled caste groups, I have not used the term “dalit” in my analysis while referring to the untouchable scheduled caste categories. The term “dalit” homogenizes all the scheduled caste categories. As the untouchable caste communities in the locality identify themselves as the “harijans,” I have retained the same term while referring to the dalits belonging to “untouchable” caste categories.

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The cluster of the village where the *Ganda* caste group inhabits, is known as the “harijan” *pada*. The *Ganda* caste group is referred by the name “harijan” than their caste name *Ganda*. Referring the *Ganda* caste person with the original caste name is considered to be abusive, while the identity of “harijan” is considered to be more acceptable by the *Ganda* caste people in the post-independence era. The *Ganda* caste groups belong to the untouchable caste category in the village. Though the system of untouchability is banned by the Indian constitution, the practice of untouchability is an everyday reality for the *Ganda* caste people in the village.

The untouchable communities are ensured the rights of equal citizenship on par with the upper caste groups, by the constitution of India. Contrary to this, in the traditional village social structure, the *Ganda* caste group is still excluded and treated as untouchables. This contradictory situation has given rise to mild streams of consciousness among the *Ganda* caste group against the oppression of the upper caste groups in the village. This has also given rise to small scale caste conflicts and tensions between the upper caste groups and the *Ganda* population in the village.

For highlighting some such caste tensions, I shall bring the discussion on the caste dispute that happened during my stay in the field. In one instance, while a man from the upper caste group had gone for the latrine, keeping his spare clothes near the water reservoir, a person from the *Ganda* caste was accused to have mixed the upper caste person’s cloth with the *Ganda* caste person’s clothes. In another incident, a boy belonging to the *Ganda* caste tried to talk to a girl belonging to the upper caste group on their way to school. These two incidents had happened simultaneously, and with the occurrence of these two incidents a meeting was called by the village committee. The village committee consists of all the upper caste group people, the *Ganda* caste people are not the members of the village committee. The meeting *mandap* of the village is considered to be a shrine,

hence the *Ganda* caste people are not allowed to climb the meeting *mandap*, they are only allowed to stand outside the meeting *mandap* and listen to the proceedings and the judgments of the meeting. On the incidence of breaching of the caste codes of the village, the meeting was called by the upper caste village committee, whereby, the elderly leaders of the *Ganda* caste were called for the meeting. The *Ganda* caste people refused to attend the meeting. The message came back from the *Ganda* caste people that they would attend the meeting if it is held at the day time. The elderly of *Ganda* caste men gave the explanation that they do not trust the upper caste people. Since the meeting is to be held in the upper caste *pada* of the village, there was the possibility of upper caste group people indulging in physical violence against the *Ganda* caste men. If it is held in the day time and they are assaulted, the police intervention can be sought quickly. The meeting did not take place in the daytime, as the *Ganda* caste group's act of refusing to attend meeting and giving their own convenient timing was considered as offensive by the upper caste village committee. The tension in the village continued for some time, and the upper caste groups of the village united in the face of their perceived *Ganda* caste threat. The incidents of attempts to break the caste codes are most often perceived by the upper caste groups as an attack on the caste morality rather than the insult against individuals. The breach of the caste code by the *Ganda* caste people is perceived as attack on the social order of the village. Through the village committee, the upper caste groups try to establish an equilibrium in the village. On the other hand the political right of equality has given rise to a mild stream of assertion among the *Ganda* caste groups. As a gesture of this equal status and independence, they have constructed their own temple in their own *pada*. But, the economic condition of the *Ganda* caste people often stands as a stumbling block in terms of their group's caste assertion. However, during the agricultural peak season the, caste tension seem to get subsided. The casual labourers are hired by the upper caste

from the *Ganda* caste, the agricultural work continues in its usual way despite inter-caste tensions.

Village Economy:

Most of the villagers derive their livelihood from agricultural production. The agricultural activity in the region is mainly dependent on rainfall, rather than irrigation. There is usually a single major crop in the year. The land ownership data indicates that most of the villagers fall under the category of small scale land holders, having less than three acres of land. Most of the people having a small land holding, is not a rare phenomena in Orissa. Manoranjan Mohanty (1990) also points out that as per Agricultural Census of Orissa 1976-77, nearly quarter of all landholdings was of size of 0.5 hectare (1.23 acres) each and 87.7% of the holdings were no more than three hectares (7.41 acres). Though the data is almost three decades old, one can find that not much change has happened with regard to the landholding pattern of the people. The landholding pattern of the village also demonstrates this trend. In the village, only five households possess more than six acres of land. Out of five households, four households belong to the upper caste category, only one household from "harijan" caste possess more than six acres of land. Most of the landholding of the "harijan" households is situated at a distance from the village and considered to be less fertile than the upper caste land holdings, while the large chunk of land of the four upper caste big landholders of the village are situated at a closer distance from the village cluster and are very fertile by nature. Among all the caste groups the *Dumbal* caste group has more landholding compared to other caste groups in the village.

Though the village economy is mainly based on agricultural production, several caste groups in the village also get engaged in their traditional occupation apart from agricultural activity. For example, almost all the *Bhulia Meher* caste group people's main

occupation is weaving. *Badhei* caste group's main source of income is their traditional occupation, carpentry. The *Dhibara* caste people mostly get engaged in their traditional occupation i.e. fishing and related work, while the *Ganda* caste people mostly get engaged in the brick making work during the agricultural off season.

In most of these occupations, the household works as a unit of production. In case of *Bhulia Meher* caste groups, while the men of the household get engaged in the actual weaving work, the women of the household get engaged in the work of preparing the thread for weaving. The children's contribution to the weaving work also can not be undermined. Most of the time, the children of the household get engaged in lifting the *jala* (an instrument of the loom), while men of the household weave the borders and the *palu* of the *saree*. Much of the thread decorating work of a *saree* is concentrated in the *palu* and the border regions of *saree*. And thread decoration requires lifting *jala* of the loom more often. Hence, most of the time the school going children stay back at home mainly when their male relatives get engaged in weaving the *palu* part of the *saree*. Male children also learn weaving work from a very early age. As men start getting engaged in the weaving work at an early age, this also demands more labour power to prepare the thread. Hence, most of the times the *Bhulia Meher* men get married at a quite early age of 18-20. Consequently, the *Bhulia Meher* caste women also get married quite young as compared to men. According to the Bengal Gazetteers of feudatory states in Orissa by Cobden-Ramsay (1910), though the *Bhulia Meher* population is solely domiciled in the Oriya territories, many of the *Bhulia Meher* families speak Hindi in their own houses. They seem to have immigrated to this part of the region from Patna state with the first Chauhan Raja.

In case of *Dhibara* caste groups, earlier, most of the men from *Dhibara* caste used to go for fishing to the nearby *Mahanadi* river, while women of the household used to sell

occupation is weaving. *Badhei* caste group's main source of income is their traditional occupation, carpentry. The *Dhibara* caste people mostly get engaged in their traditional occupation i.e. fishing and related work, while the *Ganda* caste people mostly get engaged in the brick making work during the agricultural off season.

In most of these occupations, the household works as a unit of production. In case of *Bhulia Meher* caste groups, while the men of the household get engaged in the actual weaving work, the women of the household get engaged in the work of preparing the thread for weaving. The children's contribution to the weaving work also can not be undermined. Most of the time, the children of the household get engaged in lifting the *jala* (an instrument of the loom), while men of the household weave the borders and the *palu* of the *saree*. Much of the thread decorating work of a *saree* is concentrated in the *palu* and the border regions of *saree*. And thread decoration requires lifting *jala* of the loom more often. Hence, most of the time the school going children stay back at home mainly when their male relatives get engaged in weaving the *palu* part of the *saree*. Male children also learn weaving work from a very early age. As men start getting engaged in the weaving work at an early age, this also demands more labour power to prepare the thread. Hence, most of the times the *Bhulia Meher* men get married at a quite early age of 18-20. Consequently, the *Bhulia Meher* caste women also get married quite young as compared to men. According to the Bengal Gazetteers of feudatory states in Orissa by Cobden-Ramsay (1910), though the *Bhulia Meher* population is solely domiciled in the Oriya territories, many of the *Bhulia Meher* families speak Hindi in their own houses. They seem to have immigrated to this part of the region from Patna state with the first Chauhan Raja.

In case of *Dhibara* caste groups, earlier, most of the men from *Dhibara* caste used to go for fishing to the nearby *Mahanadi* river, while women of the household used to sell

fish in the local market. In the recent times, most of the *Dhibara* caste men have got engaged in small business. For example, some of them have opened petty shops in the village. But most of the *Dhibara* women still continue selling fish and dry-fish in the local market as well as in the neighbouring villages. Women's regular income from the fish trading business is considered to be a main source of household income for meeting everyday expenses of the family.

While the *Dhibara* women's income is considered to be the major income source for the family, in case of *Badhei* caste groups in the village, just the opposite trend can be found. The *Badhei* caste group are in a relatively economically well off position than the other caste group population in the village. While the *Badhei* men are engaged in their traditional occupation of carpentry work, the *Badhei* women generally get engaged only in household activities. For their engagement in carpentry work, the *Badhei* men often travel to the neighbouring towns and cities. The carpentry work is considered to be the most demanding work in the region. It is often told that, even though a person is not a carpenter by caste, if he acquires the skill he never remains jobless. For the demand of this job, some of the men from other caste groups have started getting engaged in the carpentry work. On most occasions, the new learners from different castes, work as assistants under the *Badhei* caste men.

In case of *Ganda* caste population, both the men and women get engaged in the labour force outside home. According to Cobden-Ramsay's "*Bengal Gazetters of feudatory states of Orissa*" (1910), the *Gandas* are servile and impure caste. They remove the dead bodies of both human beings and animals. They also act as watchmen, weavers of coarse cloth, and musicians. Further, it is described that the *Ganda* population for the most part are landless and indolent, live from hand to mouth. They used to furnish the larger proportion of jail population during British period. At present also, one can find

that particularly the *Ganda* caste men in the region are appointed as the watchmen of the village by the government. Only one *Ganda* caste person from the village gets appointed as the village watchman. In case of *Ganda* caste families, both men and women work outside the home. During agricultural season they mainly work as agricultural labourers within the village and in the neighbouring village. During the agricultural off season they get engaged in brick making work. Earlier, during agricultural off season, most of the *Ganda* caste families used to migrate to the coastal areas, mainly to Bhubaneswar. The contractors used to visit the villages and negotiate the price for the work, who used to arrange the transport for the people of the household. As the whole family works as a unit in the brick making work, the whole family used to migrate to the brick kiln site. Most of the children from *Ganda* caste used to remain absent from school during the agricultural off season. But in recent times, more number of construction work is taking place in the near by localities. Hence, the families prefer to work in the brick kilns in the nearby places, rather than traveling to distant places. Since, the work opportunities have opened at a short commuting distance, school dropouts also have reduced relatively during the agricultural off season.

The *Dumbal* caste group is a peasant caste. They are considered to be one of the dominant caste groups in Boudh district as well as in the neighbouring Sonepur district. The landholding of the *Dumbal* caste is comparatively more than the other caste groups in the village. During agricultural season, both men and women get engaged in agricultural activities. The *Dumbal* caste is considered to be ritually more pure than the other caste groups in the village.

In case of *Keuta* caste groups, though their traditional occupation is making flattened rice and puffed rice, in the recent times none of the *Keuta* families are primarily relying on their traditional occupation for their livelihood. Selling puffed rice has been turned

into the secondary occupation, which is mostly carried out during agricultural off season by some of the *Keuta* families. The *Keuta* caste families primarily rely on agriculture for their livelihood.

Though the *Teli* caste group's traditional occupation is oilseed grinding, at present none of the *Teli* families are engaged in the traditional occupation. During the agricultural season the *Teli* families mostly get engaged in agricultural work. Since, the *Teli* caste households possess very less land, they mostly work as agricultural labourers during agricultural season and they get engaged in various other non agricultural activities for their livelihood during agricultural off season. They mostly get engaged as labourers at various construction sites in the nearby locality. The *Teli* women's work at various construction sites, often brings them under moral suspicion by the other caste groups. The substantial income of *Teli* caste households is drawn from women's income.

Apart from all the above categories of population in the village, two *Kandha* tribal households as well as a *Dhoba* caste household reside in the village. While one of the male members from one *Kandha* tribal households has got employed in the government service, the other *Kandha* household in the village is primarily dependent on agricultural income. In case of *Dhoba* caste, only one *Dhoba* household resides in the village. The family continues to carry out the caste occupation of washing clothes, at the same time gets engaged in agricultural work during the agricultural season.

The village is situated at a distance of 30 kilometers from the district head quarter, Boudh. As Sonapur district head-quarter is situated at a closer proximity, a distance of 15 kilometers, the villagers seem to be transacting more with the market and other facilities available at Sonapur. For instance, the *Badhei* community men often frequent the neighbouring Sonapur town for their engagement in the construction work. The *Bhulia Meher* caste people often transact with the *Sahukars* (cloth merchants) of the Sonapur

market regarding purchasing their weaving material as well as selling their product. In a similar way most of the men from working class families frequent the neighbouring Sonepur town during agricultural off season in search of work.

In terms of educational status of the people, the village can be categorized as being one of the educationally backward villages. Only seven persons in the whole village have completed their graduation, out of which three persons are from the economically well off *Badhei* caste families. Out of seven graduates in the village, six of them are men and only one woman in the whole village has completed her graduation. One can find that most of the children in the village drop out from the village school before they reach seventh standard.

Type of Household:

In Tikirapada village one can find that a large majority of the households are nuclear by nature. There are only seven households in the entire village, where the hearth is shared outside the boundary of nuclear unit. Out of seven households, five of them are from the upper caste pada, where the household consists of: married couple sharing the hearth with husband's parents and unmarried siblings or the married brothers and their families living with the parents. In case of two households of the "harijan" pada of the village, who share an extended household are distinct from the other joint family houses in the village. In case of these two households, the common hearth is shared by the married daughters and their parents.

On many occasions the family breaks into separate nuclear establishments within one to two years of a person's marriage. Most of the time the old parents form a separate nuclear unit consisting of the unmarried children or, in cases where all the children are married the parents take turns and share food with each son's family for a fixed period of time. For example, the parents share food with one son's family for a month and move to

the next son's house and share food with his family for the next month. The expenses of the parents are shared by all the brothers. In case of *Bhulia Meher* caste group families, often there is more demand for the old parent's labour force. The old women also help in preparing the thread and the old men also help in weaving. Hence, the parent's long stay in a family is often desired by the son's family. In other caste groups also, when the children are small and both the husband and wife get engaged in the labour force outside home, the desire to accommodate the old parents is more.

The tendency towards preference for nuclear families by the villagers needs to be seen in the context of their poor economic status. Some of the families in the village outrightly acknowledge that lower economic condition is one of the main reasons behind separation of the families into nuclear units. Most of the people point out that in the condition of scarcity of resources, the young married couple often wants to labour hard and raise their resources, at the same time they do not want to spend the income on all the members of the family. On other occasions while a son abstains from work more frequently after marriage, the parents ask him to separate his hearth and form his separate household.

In most of the cases in the village the break up of the extended family unit is blamed on women. Maintaining a common hearth is seen as women's responsibility. Hence, for restructuring the family, the conflicts between women are sighted as one of the primary cause. Some of the social scientists like Grey (1982), Mandelbaum (1972) and Slade (1975) have preferred to view the explanation of blaming women as the primary reason for breaking up of the extended family unit, as a smoke-screen to hide the real tensions between men over their conflicting interests in property. These theorists explain that the men experience the stress of subordination to the authority of dominant elder brothers, fathers and mothers. But under cultural sanctions, they are curtailed from engaging in

open conflict and therefore voice their dissent through women. The relatively powerless husband does not voice dissatisfaction with those who control the family's economic resources. In that case, the woman and her husband strive for the same goal, but the blame for the break up of the extended household is thrust on women.

The upper caste households in the village follow the patrilocal form of residence, where the wife comes and stays with the husband and his family after marriage. On rare occasions when a married daughter faces problems due to economic crisis at her husband's place or does not possess enough of land to start her living independently from her in-laws, in such cases the parents of the girl give a patch of land in the village for her to settle her family independently. But, all the upper caste households in the village follow the principle of sending girls away to her husband's place after her marriage. Though this practice of patrilocal residence is followed by some of the *Ganda* caste families in the village, the system of inviting the groom to stay with the bride's family is also practiced among some of the *Ganda* caste households. The man who comes to stay with the bride's family is called as *ghara bara* (house groom). As part of marriage negotiation, the groom is invited by the bride's family to continue staying with them after the wedding ceremony. If one observes closely, it becomes clear that such a system is rooted in the poor economic condition of the *Ganda* caste people, where the men from a very poor economic condition agree to come and stay with their in-laws after marriage. The *ghara bara* is expected to contribute to the family economy, and in turn he gets a secure living condition with his in-laws. In most cases the parents who do not have male heir often go for *ghara bara* for their daughter. Or in few cases when the parents are slightly well off, in spite of having a male heir, invite a *ghara bara* for their daughter and give the daughter's family a patch of land to settle separately in the village. Hence, in the

“harijan” *pada* two sisters or brother and sister staying under one roof or in the near by houses after their marriage, is not an uncommon phenomena.

Endogamy is closely observed by all the caste groups in the village. All the caste groups in the village state that the dowry system was not part of marriage negotiations in the area until some ten to fifteen years back. Among the upper caste groups in the village, while the groom’s family had to present gold jewellery and *saree* to the bride during the wedding, the bride’s family had to present all the necessary cooking vessels and pots to the groom’s family during the wedding, which the bride was supposed to use at her new home. The practice of dowry was not prevalent in the area. Among the *Ganda* caste people, the bride price system used to be practiced, whereby, the groom’s party was required to pay to the girl’s family as a precondition to marriage. At the same time, the bride’s family used to send all the necessary cooking vessels and pots along with the bride after the wedding. Among the *Ganda* caste group, when a groom failed to pay the negotiated amount during the wedding, he used to stay at the bride’s place after the wedding and was required to pay the amount through working at the bride’s place. In case of the breakdown of marriage, the bride’s family was required to pay back the bride price amount, while the groom was required to return the gifted cooking vessels to the bride’s family.

In the recent times one can find that there is a shift towards dowry among all the caste groups in the village. The dowry system has come to be considered as more prestigious and as an indicator of higher social status. All the caste groups in the village accept that this form of marriage payment was absent in the region until some fifteen years back and because of the influence of the coastal region, the dowry system has got introduced in the western parts of Orissa. While the *Ganda* caste group used to practice the system of bride price, in the recent times the bride price has come to be considered as

a backward practice by them, and the dowry has come to be established as a status indicator, hence a more acceptable form of marriage transaction. This shift in the marriage payment among the *Ganda* caste groups can be explained through the cultural process of sanskritisation, where the shift is seen as an important way of consolidating the low caste group in the ritual hierarchy.

On the one hand, while the *Ganda* caste community tries to gain a ritually higher status through the shift in the system of marriage payment, on the other hand the poor economic condition often stands as a stumbling block in their attempts of claiming a ritually higher position. This can be well demonstrated through the marriage system of the *Ganda* caste community. For all the upper caste groups in the village, marriage becomes the precondition for cohabitation of a young man and woman. The village exogamy is strictly observed. The *Ganda* caste community seems to be tolerant of cohabitation of unmarried couple. Though the system of endogamy is strictly observed by the *Ganda* caste group, when a boy and a girl in the village decide to marry and resistance comes from the girl's family or the boy's family, this kind of situation often leads to elopement of the couple. When they come back after a period of time, the cohabitation of the couple is permitted, even without formal marriage ceremony. Since the marriage ceremony is accompanied by the system of giving feast to the whole "harijan" *pada* people, on many occasions the marriage ceremony gets postponed till the completion of the next harvesting season. Soon after the harvesting season the families are considered to be having some money by which they can afford to offer a feast to their own caste group people in the village and the relatives. On many occasions when the eloped girl becomes pregnant by the harvesting season, the marriage ceremony is further postponed until she delivers the child, because the pregnant woman's body is considered to be inauspicious and unfit for marriage ceremony. On some occasions the actual marriage ceremony takes place after

three to four years of the cohabitation of a couple. This system of cohabiting before the actual marriage ceremony is considered to be an impure practice by the upper caste groups of the village. Hence, the cohabitation of the *Ganda* caste people without a formal marriage ceremony is often cited by the upper caste groups as typical phenomena of the lower caste practice of *Ganda* caste. These notions of morality and immorality play a crucial role in defining people's notion of health and well-being.

Having provided the detailed account of the field site, chapterization of the thesis has been provided in the following manner:

Chapterization:

The second chapter begins with tracing larger trends in the sociological theory in conceptualizing human body. The discussion brings to the fore the idea that the subject matter of body was under-theorized in the sociological thought till 1980s. But within the sub-discipline, in sociology of health and illness, the human body has been placed as the main focus of the study. In this area of sociology, the biomedical approach has remained as the most predominant model of studying human body. The biomedical approach to body is criticized for conceptualizing women's body as a deviant and pathological body, and setting the male body as the norm. The contribution of second wave feminism in theorizing body in general and women's body in particular is highlighted in this chapter. Particularly the role of women's health movement in challenging the dominant biomedical approach to women's body and health is discussed. Taking the feminist theorization on women's body and health as the point of departure, the second section of the chapter scrutinizes the Indian state health discourse and its approach to women's body vis-à-vis health.

Drawing on the ethnography in the Tikirapada village in Orissa, the third chapter investigates how the community discourse on women's body gets reproduced and takes a

concrete form in the day-to-day lives of women. It examines the activities and the bodily practices of women in everyday lives as well as in different ritual spaces.

The fourth chapter examines the role of different reformist interventions at the pan-Orissa level in articulating their notions about bodily practices of women. The first section examines how the medieval *Bhakti* movement through *Lakshmi Purana* has resulted in producing the notion of normative womanhood in Orissa society, across the caste groups. The second section of the chapter would assess the impact of the Mahima dharma, the Hindu reform movement in colonial Orissa, in informing the bodily practices of women. The third section of the chapter discusses how the notions of ideal womanhood in general, and the notion of a normative Oriya womanhood in particular got articulated in the colonial period, in the context of Oriya identity movement and nationalist movement in Orissa.

Fifth chapter is based on the extensive study conducted among the frontline health functionaries in the Baunsuni PHC area. The chapter examines how women's body and women's roles have come to be constructed through the state health interventions. This chapter not only tries to raise the concerns on gender, but also focuses on the state's approach in dealing with the issue of double bind of the caste with gender.

Finally the concluding chapter tries to revisit the critical engagements of all the chapters and makes an effort to collate the arguments to get a holistic picture on the approach of different health discourses towards women's body.

Kovvada project

'Resettle Lakshmipuram tribals'

474. Rajahmundry, Sept 13: KR Puram Integrated Tribal Development Agency project director K Veeramallu today felt that in view of the dangers posed by the Kovvada reservoir project, the people of Lakshmipuram too should be provided with resettlement colony.

In a communication sent to West Godavari District Collector Sanjay Jaju, Veeramallu said that in view of the fears expressed by the villagers at a gram sabha held on August 11 in the presence of joint collec-

tor B Ramanjaneyulu, it was essential to resettle the tribals of the village.

It may be recalled that Reddygudem and Lakshmipuram, which come under the project

Express Impact

area are threatened with submergence. The project officials opined that only Reddygudem would be submerged and argued that Lakshmipuram would not be submerged.

However, tribals of Lakshmipuram have been staging a dharna at the project site arguing that their village too would be affected by the project.

Meanwhile, the tribals of Lakshmipuram today sent a representation to Chief Minister YS Rajasekhara Reddy to visit their village.

They asked him to see for himself their plight before inaugurating the project.

District Collector will hold a meeting on the Kovvada issue at Jangareddygudem on September 15.

New Indian Express daily,
dated: 14/9/2004.

Kovvada: Claim of Reddygudem, Lakshmipuram for relief and rehabilitation

Survey to inspect two villages for likely submergence

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE

Rajahmundry, Sept 16: Tribals of Reddygudem and Lakshmipuram, the two villages affected by the construction of Kovvada Reservoir Project, scored a major victory today when the district administration and irrigation officials agreed to their demand for a joint inspection of the areas likely to be submerged by the project.

According to District Collector Sanjay Jaju, who attended the general body meeting of the Kota Ramachandrapuram ITDA today, representatives of the tribals, revenue and irriga-

tion officials would take part in the joint inspection, which would be held on Monday. He told the tribals that of the 65 resettled families in Reddygudem, 45 had already been given 2 acre of land each. Each of the other 20 families would also be given 2 acre of land. Further, six acres would be allotted for constructing houses for Lakshmipuram tribals. The administration has also agreed to purchase land with TRICOR funds and give one and a half acres the villagers.

It may be recalled that the tribals of these two villages have been staging dharna at the pro-

ject site demanding implementation of Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R) package and extension of the same benefits to the tribals of Lakshmipuram, which the administration hitherto argued would not

director to study the problem. ITDA PO had written to the District Collector recommending allocation of houses to the people of Lakshmipuram also.

Kovvada Tribals Committee advisor M Rambabu told Expr-

ment. He also assured help in raising Eucalyptus monocultures in these villages

ELURU; Meanwhile, District collector Sanjay jaju said as many as 18 thousand acres would irrigate under the newly constructed Kovvada Project. Collector visited the project site on Thursday and inspected the on going works of project. Chief minister YSRajasekhara Reddy would inaugurate the Rs 52 crore project on 25 September, he stated.

SP K.Narasimhamurthi and Joint collector B.Ramanjaneyulu accompanied the collector. The collector and SP also inspected the helpad at Koratala village.

Express Impact

be affected by the project. This paper focussed on their woes in a three-part series (August 28 to August 30), following which Commissionerate of tribal welfare directed Kota Ramachandrapuram. ITDA project

ess that they were yet to be given a copy of the R&R package. He said that the collector had appreciated the tribals for successfully highlighting their problems and wanted them to now focus on economic develop-

IV. 27. Survey to inspect two villages likely to submerge, New Indian Express, dated 17-9-2004, Rajhamandry.

Resettlement of tribals under 'Velugu'

Kovvada (West Godavari), Sept 14: Resettlement Colony of Reddygudem village, one of the two tribal hamlets, which is affected by the construction of Kovvada reservoir project would be provided with boat and fishing nets under 'Velugu'.

This was stated by Velugu project director S Satyanarayana today during his visit to Reddygudem village of Rajanagaram panchayat in the Agency area of West Godavari district. The village would also be adopted under 'Velugu' project. The officials discussed the problems of Reddygudem resettlement colony with sarpanch S Gangaraju. Kovvada project victims committee convener Anil Kumar was present. •ENS

New Indian Express

dated: 15/9/2004.

9. Abstract of R&R package to Kovvada reservoir displaced tribal villages, dated 5-8-2004, I&CAD, Rajhamandry.

GOVERNMENT OF ANDHRA PRADESH
IRRIGATION & CAD DEPARTMENT

From
Sri K V.S.L.N.Raju, M.Tech
Executive Engineer,
Kovvada Kalva Project Division,
KOVVURU

Sir, NO. DB/ASTD/LA/NO.4/15MD/5-804

Sub: Kovvada Kalva Reservoir Scheme - Foreshore Map & List of R & R
Package - enclosed - Reg

Ref: Your Letter dated. 30.07.2004.

I herewith enclose foreshore submersion plan duly showing F.R.L Boundary along with a copy of R & R Package in respect of Kovvada Kalva Reservoir Scheme as desired by you in the reference cited.

Yours faithfully


Executive Engineer
Kovvada Kalva Project Division
Kovvuru

Encl: 1. Plan - 1 No
2. Statement of R & R Package - 1 No.

**KOVVADA KALVA PROJECT RESERVOIR SCHEME
DETAILS OF R & R PACKAGE**

	Description of item	Amount Proposed in Rs.lacks
1	LAND FOR LAND COMPENSATION for S T P A P's	101.40
2	COST OF HOUSE SITES and construction of Resettlement Colony	19.08
3	Cost of Infrastructure Such as approach Roads, Drinking Water, School Building, Community Hall, Health Sub Centre, Electrification Individual Sanitary Latrins etc.,	17.60
4	Economic Rehabilitation such as productive Assesment grant, maintenance allowance cattle maintenance etc.	31.49
	TOTAL:	169.57 lakhs

The above Provisions of R & R Package are excluding Land Compensation

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Order copy of fishing rights issued by ITDA to Kovvada Reservoir displaced tribal villages i.e. Reddygudem and Lakshmipuram, dated 29-9-2004.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE PROJECT OFFICER, ITDA, WG, K.R.PURAM
Present. Sri K.Veeramallu, M.A. LL.B.

Procs No E2/1985/2004

Dt 29-9-2004

Sub -TWD - ITDA -WG K R Puram - Fisheries - Convergence with Velugu
Implementation of N I P Action Plan - Kovvada Reservoir lease rights
To Reddygudem and Laxmpuram - Tribal organization - Velugu - Pasali
1414 to 1415 - Fixing of annual lease rights - Orders - Issued

- Ref -1) G O Ms No 10 AHDD & Fisheries (Fish-II) Department Dt 27-2-2004
2) Representation of the Kovvada Reservoir Badhitula Committee of
Reddygudem and Laxmpuram tribal village, Buttayagudem Mandal
Dt 17-9-2004
3) G O Ms No 776, Dt 31-12-1990

ORDER

In pursuance of the orders issued in the reference cited and powers delegated, and also as per the instructions of the District Collector, West Godavari, Eluru for implementation of NTFP Action Plan convergence with 'VELUGU', it has been ordered as follows "Empower the Kovvada Reservoir Badhitula Committee of both Reddygudem and Laxmpuram tribal villages under the control of 'VELUGU' APRPRP duly entrusting fish-culture for implementation to supplement the income levels as tribal in the habitations of Reddygudem and Laxmpuram tribals under Rajanagararam Panchayat Head Quarters. The Kovvada Reservoir Badhitula Committee of Reddygudem and Laxmpuram is hereby accorded permission for fishing rights for the Pasali 1414 to 1415 at the lease of Rs 25,000/- per annum per each Pasali in the Kovvada reservoir, Rajanagararam Panchayat, Buttayagudem Mandal as was done in the file No E2/71/2004 for Aliveru dam

The rental of the lease rights of the Kovvada Reservoir is payable at 30% to Gram Panchayat, Rajanagararam, Buttayagudem Mandal, 50% to Kovvada Reservoir Badhitula Committee of Reddygudem of Laxmpuram to keep under deposit in S.B.I account at Polavaram under the supervision of Velugu (APRPRP), West Godavari District, Eluru, and 20% to the ITDA, K R Puram towards maintenance as suggested by the fisheries department

The Assistant Director of Fisheries, West Godavari District, Eluru is hereby requested to prepare norms accordingly and implement the scheme immediately.

The Superintendent Engineer, Irrigation Circle, West Godavari District, Dowlatwararam is requested to follow the above orders and handover the Reservoir to the Kovvada Reservoir Badhitula Committee of Reddygudem and Laxmpuram tribals without detrimental to irrigation scheme

The District Panchayat Officer, West Godavari District, Eluru is requested to issue guidelines to the Rajanagararam Panchayat, Buttayagudem Mandal for Co-operating the Kovvada Reservoir Badhitula Committee of Reddygudem and Laxmpuram tribals for maintenance and guidance

The Project Director, DRDA VELUGU, West Godavari District, Eluru is requested to submit the list of Kovvada Reservoir Badhitula Committee and release the lease amount as directed

These orders will come into force with immediate effect


Project Officer,
ITDA, WG, K R Puram

To
The Kovvada Reservoir Badhitula Committee of Reddygudem of Laxmpuram Tribals
Copy Submitted to the District Collector, West Godavari, Eluru for favour of information
Copy submitted to the Director of Tribal Welfare, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad
Copy submitted to the Commissioner of Fisheries, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad for
information
Copy submitted to the Project Director, DRDA & VELUGU, West Godavari, Eluru
Copy to the Deputy Director Fisheries, West Godavari, Eluru
Copy to Superintendent Engineer, Kovvada Project Dowlatwararam

Beneficiaries under land to land compensation in the displaced tribal villages i.e. Reddigudem and Lakshmipuram, dated 23-9-2004.

186/2002-C

Revenue Divisional Office,
Jangareddigudem, Dt -9-2004

Provisional Order of Revenue Divisional Officer, Jangareddigudem
Present Sri MD H Sharff, B Sc , B.L .

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Sub Land Acquisition – Jangareddigudem division - lands acquired for Kovvada Kalva project – Resettlement & Rehabilitation package to project effected persons of Reddigudem and Laxmipuram villages of Buttayagudem mandal – allocation of agricultural lands - provisional orders issued

Read. R&R package 1996 of Govt.of Andhra Pradesh

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ORDER.

In pursuance of the above orders, provision of land for land to the extent of land acquired to Scheduled Tribe people of Reddigudem of Buttayagudem mandal, an extent of Ac 162-00 in R S Nos.432, 426, 625, 613 of LND Peta was acquired.

The land owners have given their consent in Form III and IV to fore-go their lands at Government rates and the same was handed over by the land owners to Mandal Revenue Officer, Polavaram and sub division work is being done

As per the norms prescribed in Resettlement and Rehabilitation plan, all the persons who have been physically displaced due to submersion of house holds and all the persons lost their lands due to acquisition has to be provided @ Ac 2 00 Cts., of land Therefore, I here by sanctioned the Agriculture land at Ac 2 00 Cts , to each 'Project Affected Person' The following beneficiaries are allotted Provisional Orders.

Sr No	Head of the Effected Family Person	Father Name/ Husband Name	Caste	Extent to be assigned
1	2	3	4	5
1	Nadapala Gangireddy	Dasi Reddi	ST	2.00
2	Kurla Lakshmi	Kommreddi (Late)	ST	2.00
3	Malchi Chinnareddy	Mukkareddy	ST	2.00
4	Kopala Mallireddy	Latchireddy	ST	2.00
5	Malchi Baddireddy	Chinnareddy	ST	2.00
6	Kopala Peda Kannamreddy	Mukkareddy	ST	2.00
7	Kopala Ramireddy	Mukkareddy	ST	2.00
8	Vetla Chinna Reddy	Kannamreddy	ST	2.00
9	Vetla Chinna KannamReddy	Chinnareddy	ST	2.00
10	Murla Pentareddy	Veerapureddy	ST	2.00
11	Murla Durgareddy	Pentareddy	ST	2.00
12	Dora Veeraraju	Pentalaiah	ST	2.00
13	Kurla China Lakshmi	Ramireddy (late)	ST	2.00
14	Vetla Yerramreddy	Ramireddy	ST	2.00
15	Vetla Rammireddy	Pandureddy	ST	2.00
16	Chundru Pentamma	Ramireddy (late)	ST	2.00
17	KurlaJogireddy	Subbareddy	ST	2.00
18	Vetla Venkamma	Veerapureddy (late)k	ST	2.00
19	Vetla ChandraReddy	Veerapureddy	ST	2.00
20	Vetla Chinna Parimreddy	Veerapureddy	ST	2.00
			480	2.00
		Butchireddy	ST	2.00
		Latchireddy	ST	2.00
		Butchireddy	ST	2.00
		Butchireddy	ST	2.00

26	Kopala China Kannamreddy	Latchireddy	ST	2.00
27	Vetla Bapireddy	Pandureddy	ST	2.00
28	Vetla Kannamreddy	Bapireddy	ST	2.00
29	Kopala Pentareddy	Kovvadaiah	ST	2.00
30	Vetla China Veerapureddy	Gangireddy	ST	2.00
31	Vetla Varalakshmi	Panmireddy (late)	ST	2.00
32	Vetla Srinivasa Reddy	Panmireddy	ST	2.00
33	Vetla Durga Reddy	Panmireddy	ST	2.00
34	Vetla Pothureddy	Bojireddy	ST	2.00
35	Vetla Mukkareddy	Bojireddy	ST	2.00
36	Malchi Butchamma	Latchireddy (late)	ST	2.00
37	Nadapala Rusumreddy	Dasu Reddi	ST	2.00
38	Nadapala Lakshmi	Chinnareddy (late)	ST	2.00
39	Nadapala Mangamma	Dasu Reddi	ST	2.00
40	Kopala Ramireddy	Kommireddy	ST	2.00
41	Kopala Latchireddy	Kommireddy	ST	2.00
42	Kopala Suramma	Kommireddy	ST	2.00
43	Kopala Bullireddy	Kommireddy	ST	2.00
44	Vetla China Chinnareddy	Mukkareddy	ST	2.00
45	Vetla Devireddy	China Chinnareddy	ST	2.00
46	Chipala Srinivasareddy	Subbareddy	ST	2.00
47	Kopala Durgareddy	Latchireddy	ST	2.00
48	Kopala Subbareddy	Mukkareddy	ST	2.00
49	Sundru Chinnareddy		ST	2.00
50	Sundru Subbareddy	Pandureddy	ST	2.00
51	Kopala Lachireddy	Tammireddy	ST	2.00
52	Vetla Lingareddy	Mukkareddy	ST	2.00
53	Vetla Prasadreddy	Kammireddy	ST	2.00
54	Kopala Varalareddy	Bhumireddy	ST	2.00
55	Vetla Gangireddy	Tammireddy	ST	2.00
56	Vetla Chinnareddy	Tammireddy	ST	2.00
57	Murla Venakatareddy	Ramireddy	ST	2.00
58	Mirthivada Chenchamma	Rammireddy	ST	2.00
59	Kurla Mallamma	D/o Rammireddy	ST	2.00
60	Kopala Atchamma	Lachireddy	ST	2.00
61	Raja Pentamma	Pothureddy	ST	2.00
62	Guruvinda Ramayya		ST	2.00
63	Kusini Veeraiah		ST	2.00
64	Kusune Suryarao		ST	2.00
65	Smt Tene Lakshmi W/o		ST	2.00
66	Sri Badisela Dharmayya		ST	2.00
67	Sri Jammula Dharmaraju		ST	2.00
68	Sri Kusume Sanyasi		ST	2.00
69	Tene Narsayya		ST	2.00
70	Tene Punrayya		ST	2.00
71	Tene Sanyasi		ST	2.00
72	Tene Venkatesu		ST	2.00
73	Tene Venkatesu		ST	2.00
74	Vadesela Veerabhadru S/o		ST	2.00
75	Vadisela Venkataswamy		ST	2.00

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 Revenue Divisional Officer,
 Jangareddigudem

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Revenue Divisional Office,
Jangareddigudem. Dated. 23-09-04

Proceedings of the Revenue Divisional Officer, Jangareddigudem

Present : Sri Md. H. Shariff, B.Sc., B.L.,

Sub:- Kovvada Reservoir – Implementation of RR Package – Buttaigudem Mandal – Lakshmpuram Village – Sanction of I.A.Y., Houses – Orders Issued – Regarding.

Ref: 1) D.M. Housing, Eluru Roc.No.1134/2004(A)/APSHCLWG, dated.23.09.04

The Collector, West Godavari, Eluru has sanctioned 63 I.A.Y., Houses to Project affected persons of Lakshmpuram Village as per the Assurance given in the public meeting held on 17.9.2004 at Lakshmpuram.

The following beneficiaries have sanctioned Rs.22,500/- towards the construction of house sanitary, latrine, and smoke less chullahs and also sanctioned Rs.2,500/- towards cost of providing infrastructure common facilities.

In view of the above, I here by allotted the 63 I.A.Y., houses under special program. The list of I.A.Y houses shown here under..

Sl.No.	Name of the Beneficiaries	Husband Name	Caste.
1	2	3	4
1	Tene Bharathi	Venkaswara Rao	Nayaka
2	Vanam Pothu raju		Nayaka
3	Vadisala Seethamma	Venkataswamy	Nayaka
4	Tene Saraswathi	Lakshmanaswamy	Nayaka
5	Guruvinda Venkanna	Ramanna	Nayaka
6	Guruvinda Vujunamma	Ramanna	Nayaka
7	Guruvinda Achamma	Pothuraju	Nayaka
8	Guruvinda Rajalah	Ramanna	Nayaka
9	Kusine Mahalakshmi	Raghavulu	Nayaka
10	Kusine Chinnaveeramma	Sahadevudu	Nayaka
11	Kusine Peda Veeramma	Subba Rao	Nayaka
12	Kusine Peda Durga	Narasayya	Nayaka
13	Kusine Surya Rao	Chandrayya	Nayaka
14	Kusine Malathi	Chandrayya	Nayaka
15	Guruvinda Durga Lakshmi	Satyanarayana	Nayaka
16	Tene Somamma	Kanayya	Nayaka
17	Vanam Seetha	Veeraju	Nayaka
18	Tene Seethamma	Ponaiah	Nayaka
19	Tene Ganga	Veera Raghavulu	Nayaka
20	Tene Suramma	Narasayya	Nayaka
21	Guruvinda Rajamma	Chinavenkanna	Nayaka
22	Guruvinda Lakshmi	Kanayya	Nayaka
23	Kusine Venkateswari	Swamy	Nayaka
24	Kusine Durga	Ravibhaskar	Nayaka
25	Guruvinda Venkateswari	Korraiah	Nayaka
26	Guruvinda Kovvadamma	Ammiraju	Nayaka
27	Pasam Venkamma	Pothuraju	Nayaka
28	Kusine Venkatalakshmi	Venkaeswara Rao	Nayaka
29	Guruvinda Venkamma	Chinna Ramayya	Nayaka
30	Guruvinda Muthamma	Venkateswara Rao	Nayaka
31	Vonumula Savitri	Dharmaya	Nayaka
32	Chikkala Venkamma	Durgayya	Nayaka

Chapter-Two

Women and Body Politics: A Review of Literature

The mainstream sociological theories which grew out of the eighteenth century enlightenment project, were mostly preoccupied with the notions of progress, reason and rationality. Sociology neglected the experiences surrounding the lived bodily relationships and focused more on the themes like culture, economics and social mobility. The sociological discussion of culture, belief and ideology, dominated by the enlightenment belief, claimed that the mind is more important than the body. The very fact that people's knowledge of themselves, others and the world around them are shaped by their senses was overlooked in the sociological theories (Mellor and Shilling, 1997). The primacy of western knowledge system was established through enlightenment project; hence sociology being a product of enlightenment project was guided by the most influential western thought, the Cartesian world view. Being influenced by the Cartesian thought, sociology has followed the tradition of accepting the mind/body, nature/culture dichotomy and emphasized on the fact that the mind defines humans as social beings (Shilling, 1993).

The philosopher-mathematician Rene Descartes (1596-1650) provided a highly influential conceptualization of mind/body/senses relationship. His statement 'I think, therefore I am', was based on the concept of reflexive "I", a mindful self independent of the body and nature at large. At one level, this conceptualization was linked to the complete devaluation of body's senses. Such an approach says much about western philosophy's inability to deal comprehensively and consistently with the human body. Descartes further argued that two classes of substance together constituted the human organism: palpable body

33	usine Balamma	Ramayya	Nayaka
34	Tene Pentamma	Jan ama a	Na aka
35	Chikkala Narasamma	Polaiah	Na aka
36	Bethina Adilakshmi	A a Rao	Na aka
37	Kusine Kumar	Kana a	Na aka
38	Vadisala Saralamma	Veerabhadrudu	Na aka
39	Vadisala Dur a	Veeraiah	Na aka
40	Vadisala Chandramma	Veeraiah	Na aka
41	Pu ala Kanamma	Na eswara Rao	Na aka
42	Guruvinda Peda Venkanna	Koraiah	Na aka
43	Kusine Sat avathi	San asi	Na aka
44	Kusine Kovvamma	Nelabaludu	Na aka
45	Jammula Lakshmi	Narasa a	Na aka
46	Kusine An'amma	Veera a	Na aka
47	Vadisela Lakshmi	Dharma a	Na aka
48	Vadisela Adilakshmi	China a	Na aka
49	Kusine Sndevi	Kana a	Na aka
50	Kusine Revathi	Baburao	Na aka
51	Tene Lakshmi	San asi	Na aka
52	Vanam Ramulu	Chuka a	Na aka
53	Maratam Chandrika	Ra endra	O.C.,
54	Maratam Lakshmi	Vi a kumar	O C ,
55	aratam Na amani	Arunkumar	O C ,
56	Marata H mavathi	Madhanakumar	O.C.,
57	Marata Lakshmi	Mohana Kumar	O C ,
58	Kudi udi Lakshmi	Dur a Rao	B.C.,
59	Guduri Dur a	Chiran ivi	B.C.,
60	Narala Anasua	Trimurthulu	B.C.,
61	a Kamalavathi	Go ala Krishna	O.C.,
62	K iavai Kumari	Hari	O.C.,
63	Tene Kovaddamma	Narasa a	Na aka

All the beneficiaries are directed to complete the construction of houses by contributing their self man power.

M. J. Jangareddigudem
 Revenue Divisional Officer,
 Jangareddigudem

M. 24/10/04
DO

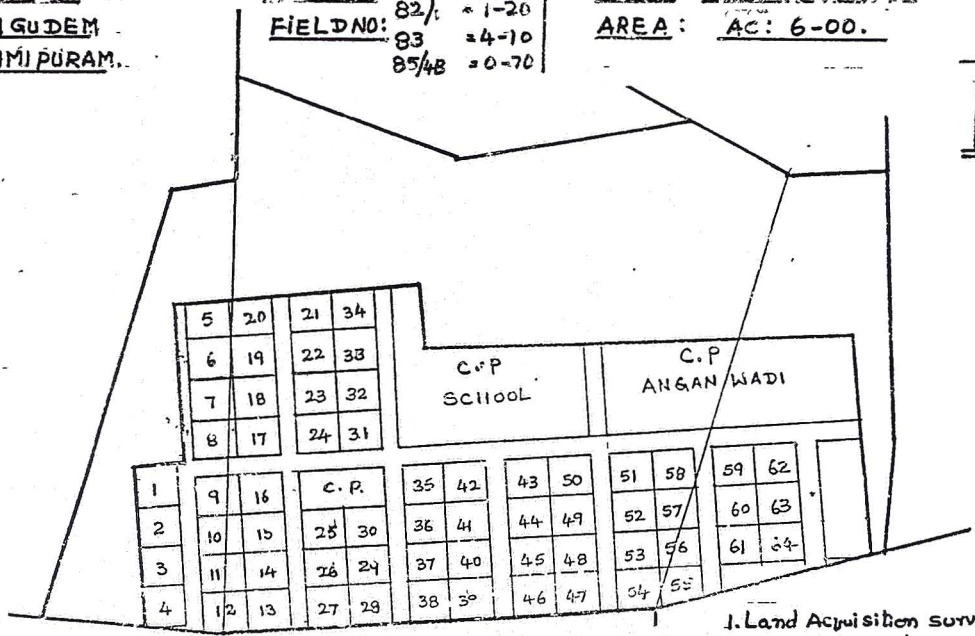
DISTRICT: WEST GODAVARI
 MANDAL: BUTTAIGUDEM
 VILLAGE: LAKSHMI PURAM.

NO. NO: 2
 FIELD NO: 82/1 = 1-20
 83 = 4-10
 85/48 = 0-70

NAME: "LAKSHMI PURAM"
 AREA: AC: 6-00.

169
 N

484



1. Land Acquisition survey

NO. 1: 82/1 = 1-20
 83 = 4-10 = 6-00
 85/48 = 0-70

2. Each plot 70x70 = 0-5 Cents
 3. Total plots = 64

3. 1000 S = 30 links

prepared by
 V. Kesava
 19/9/04
 M.D.S.

Non-tribals reap Kovvada project

BY K RAKA SUDHAKAR RAO

Kovvada (West Godavari) Aug 30: Who will be benefited by Kovvada reservoir? The tribals, say officials. But, only three of the 16 command area villages - Reddynagampalem, Gudavaram and Jillelagudem - which will be benefited by the project have tribal population. The rest are non-tribal villages.

"Even in these villages, tribals have been dispossessed of their lands by non-tribal settlers. As much as 1,400 acres have already been alienated by the settlers in these villages," says M Rambabu, a research scholar studying tribal land alienation in the Agency areas of West Godavari district.

The irrigation officials and contractors have quarried sand from the reservoir beds and used stones and boulders from the nearby hills for bund construction. They did not pay anything to the local tribal panchayat.

"Thanks to the denudation of the Reddygudem hill, the hill is an ecological disaster waiting to happen any time. A heavy

rain can wash off the top soil and cause flash floods," said G Anil Kumar, convener of the Kovvada Reservoir Badhitula Committee.

The tribals are demanding that the Left Canal of the Kovvada reservoir, which is being dug up at Reddynagampalem, be extended up to Tanalakunta tank. "This would bring an additional 10,000 acres under the command area. All this is tribal land. The tribals can get some real benefit only by extending the Left Canal," said

Kusine Ravi Bhaskar, member of the committee. When contacted, irrigation officials, who refused to identify themselves, admitted that no seldnerage was paid to the local panchayat for quarrying sand and using boulders. They said the R&R package money has already been deposited with the revenue officials in 2002.

Meanwhile, West Godavari District Collector Sanjay Jaju today said he would convene a special meeting on September 4 at Jangareddygudem on the issue of rehabilitation of the tribals.

EXPRESS CAMPAIGN

పరిష్కారం

గొప్ప కేసుకాటి

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ద్యామే లేదు.. కాలువలా?

కాలువల అలైన్మెంట్ కు జలసంఘం
అనుమతులు తప్పనివరి
గరిజనుల్ని పోలవరం ప్రాజెక్టు జలాల్లోనూ...
ఆరుకట్టులోనూ
పట్టుబడి దారులుగా నిర్దీపించండి
మంత్రి పాపాల లక్ష్యయ్యతో
నమరేకమైన మేధాపాటు

Environmentalists meet Major Irrigation Minister, P. Le...
startat in Hyderabad on Sunday. Expressphoto

**Govt assures help to
Polavaram oustees**

Express News Service

తగ్గిన పోలవరం ముంపు పరిధి

మునిగేది ఆరు మండలాల్లోని 117 రెవిన్యూ గ్రామాల్లో

అక్షయ, డిసెంబర్ 19, ప్రభాతపాఠ్ర

పోలవరం ప్రాజెక్టు ముంపునకు గురయ్యే గ్రామాల సంఖ్య తగ్గింది. గతంలో పేర్కొన్న విధంగా 64 జిల్లా లోని ఏజెన్సీ ప్రాంతంలో 205 గ్రామాలకు బదులు కేవలం 117 గ్రామాల్లో ముంపునకు గురయ్యాయని తాజా సర్వే ద్వారా తేలింది. గత సేల కోటల, సుందీ పోలవరం ప్రాజెక్టు అవకాశాలు గ్రామాల్లో తిరిగి వాస్తవంగా ముంపునకు గురయ్యే గ్రామాలను గుర్తించారు. గిరిజనులు అందోగో చేసివచ్చడంతో కొన్ని అవకాశాలను మర్యాద సర్వే బృందం తప్పి మండలాల్లో ముంపునకు గురయ్యే ప్రాంతాల్లో మాల్వోగో చేసి వాస్తవంగా మునిగిపోయాయి. పోలవరం గుర్తింపడంతో గతంలో పేర్కొన్నవినికంటే నిర్మాణము సంఖ్య తగ్గిం దు చేసింది. ప్రాజెక్టు డిజైన్లో మార్పులు చేర్పులు చేయవలసింది. ఎవ్వరు తగ్గించడంతో ముంపు గ్రామాల సంఖ్య తగ్గింది. ఏ మండలం పూర్తిగా ముంపునకు సుదీ కాదనడం లేదు. కొన్ని గ్రామాల్లో భూములు మునిగిపోతుండగా, మరికొన్ని గ్రామాల్లో నివాసీతులు ప్రాంతాలు మాత్రమే మునిగిపోతున్నాయి. ప్రాజెక్టు డిజైన్లో మొదట బుద్ధిపాడు మండలంలో

9 గ్రామాలు ముంపునకు గురవుతున్నట్లు ప్రకటించినప్పటికీ తాజా సర్వేలో ఆ మండలంలో ఒక గ్రామం కూడా ముంపునకు గురికావడం లేదు. గతంలో ఏడు మండలాల్లో 205 గ్రామాలు ముంపునకు గురికాయని అప్పట్లో అధికారులు ప్రకటించారు. తాజా సర్వే ప్రకారం కేవలం 117 రెవిన్యూ గ్రామాలు (162 పక్కటిపేను) మాత్రమే మునిగిపోతున్నాయని జిల్లా కలెక్టర్ రాజేంద్ర సర్వేదేవ్ నిష్పే సోమవారం జిల్లా ప్రకటించారు. మొదట్లో విలీనం, కునవరం, కుక్కనూరు, వేలేరుపాడు మండలాలు పుత్తూరు, భద్రాచలం, బుద్ధవనపేట, రెండు మండలాలు పాక్షికంగా బెల్లూరిలయిన ప్రకటించారు. కాని ప్రస్తుతం ముంపు ననున్న సుందీ బుద్ధవనపేట మండలానికి పూర్తిగా విముక్తి లభించడంతో ప్రాంత వాసులు ఉబిచీబుల్లుకు స్వాధీనమిచ్చిన ఆరు మండలాలు సైతం పాక్షికంగా ముంపునకు గురికానున్నట్లు తాజా అధికారులు గుర్తించారు. గతంలో ప్రకటించిన విధంగా భద్రాచలం, కునవరం, కుక్కనూరు, వేలేరుపాడు మండలాలు పూర్తిగా కాదనడం కేవలం పాక్షికంగానే ముంపునకు గురికా న్నాయి. అయితే మొత్తం ఆరు మండలాల్లో 77 పక్కటి పేను పుత్తూరు, 85 పక్కటిపేను పాక్షికంగా

ముంపునకు గురయ్యాయి. మిగిలిన 336 పక్కటిపే నుకు పోలవరం సుందీ ఎలాంటి ముంపుకేదని సర్వేలో తేలింది. అవేరంగా గతంలో 22,830 కుటుంబాలు నిర్మాణములకు అనుకూల ప్రకటించగా తాజా ఆ సంఖ్య 21,636కు తగ్గింది. వీరిలో గిరిజనులకుంబాబాయి కేవలం 10,838 మాత్రమే ఉంది. గిరిజనేతర కుటుంబాలు ఆరు గ్రామాలు ముంపునకు గురి అవుతుండగా వీరిలో నాలుగు పక్కటిపేను పుత్తూరు, మూడు పక్కటిపేను పాక్షికంగా మునిగిపోయాయి. కునవరంలో 37 గ్రామాల్లో 16 పక్కటిపేను పుత్తూరు, 26 పక్కటిపేను పుత్తూరు, విలీనం మండలంలో 34 గ్రామాల్లో 24 పక్కటిపేను పుత్తూరు, 17 పక్కటిపేను పాక్షికంగా, రెండు మండలంలో 13 గ్రామాల్లో 6 పక్కటిపేను పుత్తూరు, 8 పాక్షికంగా వేలేరుపాడు మండలంలో 15 గ్రామాల్లో 15 పక్కటిపేను పుత్తూరు, 23 పాక్షికంగా, కుక్కనూరు మండలంలో 12 గ్రామాల్లో 12 పక్కటిపేను పుత్తూరు, 8 పాక్షికంగా ముంపునకు గురికానున్నాయి. నిర్మాణము లందరికీ ఘోరంగా నిర్మాణం జరిగి దుమ్ముగూరిం ఎవ్వరెవ్వరు వకటం కింద సాగు భూమిని తీయించుకున్నట్లు కలెక్టర్ నిష్పే తెలిపారు.

ప్రత్యామ్నాయ మార్గాలు ఆలోచించాలి

20/12/05

'పోలవరంపై ఎమ్మెసీపీల రాష్ట్ర కార్యదర్శి

పోలవరం, డిసెంబరు 19 ప్రభాతపాఠ్ర:

పోలవరం ప్రాజెక్టు నిర్మాణం విషయంలో ప్రభుత్వం ప్రత్యామ్నాయ మార్గాలను ప్రతిపక్షితులకు గిరిజనుల కనికీకీ ప్రమాదకరమైన ప్రాజెక్టు వనులను చేపట్టడం తగదని ఎమ్మెసీపీల రాష్ట్ర కార్యదర్శి ఎమ్మె.వి.రెడ్డి విమర్శించారు. తమ పార్టీ బృందంలో కలసి ఆయన సోమవారం పోలవరం మండలంలోని మునిగిపోయి, దేవరగోంది, రేగోండపల్లి, నిర్మాణ పూర్తిగా ముంపునకు గురికావడంతో, తన సందర్భంగా స్థానిక రెవిన్యూ సభలో ఆయన విలేకరులతో మాట్లాడుతూ పోలవరం విషయంలో రద్దరాష్ట్ర ప్రతిపాదనలను ప్రభుత్వం పరిగణనలోకి తీసుకోవాలన్నాడు. కేవలం అనుమతులు లేకుండా వసులు చేస్తున్నారని ఇవకేవలం ప్రజల సొమ్మును కాంట్రాక్టర్లకు అప్పగించడమన్నారని నిర్మాణ గిరిజనులలో సెలకొన్న ఆరోపాలను తొలగించడం భయంకరమని గురికేని గ్రామాలను తాళి చేయించడం భయంకరమన్నారని ఆరోపిస్తున్నారని తాము ప్రాజెక్టుకు వ్యతిరేకంకాదని, నష్టపోతున్నామని నిర్ణయించుకు ప్రత్యామ్నాయ మార్గాలు ఆలోచించాలన్నాడు. పార్టీ జిల్లాకార్యదర్శి కె నాగభూషణం మాట్లాడుతూ పోలవరం నిర్మాణంపై గిరిజనులు కట్టడం భయంకరమని ప్రమాదం వుందన్నాడు. సమావేశంలో పార్టీ జిల్లా కార్యదర్శి వద్ద సభ్యులు జి సాంబయ్య కె వెంకట్రావు, గారపాటి సత్యనారాయణ, ఎమ్మెల్యేపి గిరిజన సంఘం కన్వీనర్ ఎమ్మెల్యేపి పాల్గొన్నారు.

పోలవరం ప్రాజెక్టును

135 హెక్టార్ల అటవీభూమి

విడుదలచే, డిసెంబరు 19 (సాక్షివార్త): జిల్లాలో పోలవరం ప్రాజెక్టు నిర్మాణ పనులకు అటవీ భూమి కేటావడం 135 హెక్టార్ల భూమిని జరగాలన్నట్లు ముని జిల్లా అటవీ భూమి అధికారి (విడుదలచే) జి.ఎన్.ఎస్. ముక్కలెనిపి అధికారి ప్రకారం ప్రాజెక్టు ప్రయాణం అటవీ భూమిని కేటావడం అటవీ భూమిని యాజమాన్య పట్టికలో అటవీ భూమిని కేటావడం ప్రాజెక్టు 63, 64 హెక్టార్లలో మునిగిపోయి, దేవర గోంది గ్రామాలను తాళి చేయించడం ప్రాజెక్టు కేటావడం కట్టడం భయంకరమని ప్రమాదం వుందన్నాడు. సమావేశంలో పార్టీ జిల్లా కార్యదర్శి వద్ద సభ్యులు జి సాంబయ్య కె వెంకట్రావు, గారపాటి సత్యనారాయణ, ఎమ్మెల్యేపి గిరిజన సంఘం కన్వీనర్ ఎమ్మెల్యేపి పాల్గొన్నారు.

జరగాలని అటవీ భూమిని అధికారి జిల్లాలో పోలవరం, బుద్ధవనపేట మండలాల్లోని 35 ప్రాంతాల్లో 1150 హెక్టార్ల భూమిని అధికారి వెంకటేశ్వర్ గుర్తించామని చెప్పారు. జిల్లాలో వాస్తవానికి 135 హెక్టార్ల ప్రత్యామ్నాయ భూమిని కేటావడం చేయించడం ప్రాజెక్టు ప్రాజెక్టు విస్తృత ప్రయోజనాలను రక్షించే అంశమని జిల్లాలో అటవీ ప్రాంతం విస్తరణకు విధ్వంసం కుట్రమన్నాడు. మూడు రోజులు గుర్తించేందుకు గల అటవీ భూమిని కేటావడం ప్రాజెక్టు ప్రయోజనాలను రక్షించే అంశమని జిల్లాలో అటవీ ప్రాంతం విస్తరణకు విధ్వంసం కుట్రమన్నాడు.



ఆంధ్రప్రదేశ్ కౌలువ్య నియంత్రణ మండలి

ప్రాంతీయ కార్యాలయం : కాకినాడ.

టెలి.నెం.2-532 రహదారిపట్టణం, కాకినాడ-533005, హాగ్స్ లైన్ ఫోన్ 0884- 2374066

వందల సంవత్సరాల ప్రాచీనత (వందల సంవత్సరాల) నికరణ తరఫున

వ్యవసాయ మరయు అదనము, కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వ మంత్రిత్వ శాఖ క్రమం సం 10-4-1997 ప్రకటనలో 318 (అ) తేదీ 10-4-1997 నువనంది ఆంధ్రప్రదేశ్ ప్రభుత్వము నీటిపారుదల శాఖ వారికి ప్రతిపాదించబడిన ఐదిరా సాగర్ ఎడమ ప్రధాన కాలువ పక్క ప్రతిపాదనకు సంబంధించి ప్రకాశిప్రాణు సేకరణ గురించి ఈ ప్రకటన జారీ చేయబడినది. ఈ పక్కం కార్యకలాపాల యొక్క వివరములు ఈ క్రింద వివరించబడినవి

1. కంపెనీ పేరు మరియు రిజిస్ట్రేషన్ : ఐదిరాసాగర్ ఎడమ ప్రధాన కాలువ మరియు అయకట్టు అభివృద్ధి శాఖ, ఆంధ్రప్రదేశ్
2. కార్యకలాపాల ప్రదేశము : ప్రధాన కాలువ ప్రారంభం నేలకొట్ట గ్రామం, దేవీపట్నం మండలం, రూర్య గోదావరి జిల్లా, ప్రధాన కాలువ ప్రవహించు మండలాల దేవీపట్నం, గోదావరి, కోరుకొండ, రాజానగరం, రాజమండ్రి రూరల్, అనవర్రె, దిట్లపాడు, మండపేట, కడియం, రంగంపేట, గంజేపల్లి, బగ్గంపేట, ఏలేశ్వరం, పెద్దాపురం, కిడ్లంపూడి, గొల్లపూడి, ప్రత్తిపాడు, శంభవరం, కొండలూరి, కోటనందూరు మరియు తుని
3. ఏర్పాటు అవసరమైనవో : Sri .K.V.S.N.Raju, సూచించబడినట్లు అంబెల్డ్, ISLMC సభ్యుడు, కౌలువ్య, హెచ్.సి.గ్యాస్ కంపెనీ డిర్లెక్టర్, తుని. ఫోన్: 08854-251196
4. ఈ పక్కంనుకు పెట్టబడి : రూ. 1853.00 కోట్లు
5. ఈ కార్యకలాపాల క్రమము మరియు సామర్థ్యము : ఐదిరాసాగర్ ఎడమ ప్రధాన కాలువ ద్వారా 127.71 TMC మీటర్ల గోదావరి నది నుండి ప్రధాన కాలువకు ముగింపు పై 21 మండలాలలో 2,49,872 ఎకరాల అయకట్టు భూములకు సాగునీటిని సరఫరా చేయు ప్రధాన కార్యక్రమం.
6. తేదీ : 10.10.2005
7. సమయం : 10.30 AM
8. అనుబంధ వివరాలు : గుమ్మూర్లపల్లి గ్రామం, కోరుకొండ మండలం, రూర్య గోదావరి జిల్లా
9. ఈ పై పక్కంనుకు సంబంధించిన వివరాలు : 1) జిల్లా కలెక్టర్ వారి కార్యాలయం, కాకినాడ, తూర్పుగోదావరి జిల్లా
2) ఏర్పాటు కేంద్రీయ కార్యాలయము, రాజమండ్రి, తూర్పుగోదావరి జిల్లా
3) సూచించబడినట్లు అంబెల్డ్ వారి కార్యాలయము, ISLMC సభ్యుడు, కౌలువ్య, హెచ్.సి.గ్యాస్ కంపెనీ డిర్లెక్టర్, తుని, తూర్పుగోదావరి జిల్లా
4) ఆంధ్రప్రదేశ్ కాలువ్య నియంత్రణ మండలి ముఖ్య కార్యాలయం, ఎ.ఐ.ఎ. నవరేషన్, హైదరాబాద్.
5) ఆంధ్రప్రదేశ్ కాలువ్య నియంత్రణ మండలి జనరల్ కార్యాలయం, ఉదా కాంప్లెక్స్, విశాఖపట్నం.
6) ఆంధ్రప్రదేశ్ కాలువ్య నియంత్రణ మండలి ప్రాంతీయ కార్యాలయం, 2-532 కాంతి సగర్, రహదారిపట్టణం, కాకినాడ, తూర్పుగోదావరి జిల్లా
7) వ్యవసాయము, అదనము, విద్యుత్ శాస్త్ర మరియు సాంకేతికత విభాగము, రాష్ట్ర సచివాలయము, హైదరాబాద్, ఆంధ్రప్రదేశ్ హెచ్ఐఎం మండల రెవెన్యూ కార్యాలయములు దేవీపట్నం, గోదావరి, కోరుకొండ, రాజానగరం, రాజమండ్రి రూరల్, అనవర్రె, దిట్లపాడు, మండపేట, కడియం, రంగంపేట, గంజేపల్లి, బగ్గంపేట, ఏలేశ్వరం, పెద్దాపురం, కిడ్లంపూడి, గొల్లపూడి, ప్రత్తిపాడు, శంభవరం, కొండలూరి, కోటనందూరు మరియు తుని
8) వందల సంవత్సరాల కార్యాలయం, నేలకొట్ట గ్రామం, దేవీపట్నం మండలం, తూర్పుగోదావరి జిల్లా

వ్యవసాయ మరయు అదనము, కేంద్ర మంత్రిత్వ శాఖ తేదీ 10-4-1997 ప్రకటనలో వివరించబడిన పెద్దాపట్టణ IV పరమ క్రమం 2(II) నిర్ణయ ఆ ప్రకారంలో వివరించబడు వ్యవసాయ సంరక్షించు బ్యూరాలు ఈ ప్రాజెక్టు ప్రాంతంలో ఉన్న మిగిలిన వారు దీని చలన స్థానభ్రంశం కలుగు వారు. తమ అభిప్రాయాలు, వ్యాఖ్యలు వివరాలు అభ్యంతరములు ఏర్పాటు అన్నిటినీ ఈ ప్రకటన క్రమంలో 30 రోజులలో ప్రాధికారముగా ఆంధ్రప్రదేశ్ కాలువ్య నియంత్రణ మండలి కాకినాడ ప్రాంతీయ కేంద్రీయ పంచవర్షపు అభివృద్ధి పై సలహాపడిన తేదీన ప్రదేశములో వివరంగా ప్రకాశిప్రాణు సేకరణలో వాల్చి రకు అభిప్రాయములు సేదలు, అభ్యంతరములు తెలుప వచ్చును

సం/ 491 ఏర్పాటు మొదటి అంబెల్డ్
ఆంధ్రప్రదేశ్ కాలువ్య నియంత్రణ మండలి
ప్రాంతీయ కార్యాలయం కాకినాడ

Indira Sagar Paryavarana Sambanda Prajabhipraya Sekarana Karyakramam Vaida Veyali (Postpone EPH programme). A copy of the representation, presented by the Sarpanch of Chegondapalli Grama Panchayat to the MRO, Polavaram mandal, dated 5-10-2005.

మహారాజశ్రీ పోలవరం మండల రెవిన్యూ అధికారి
పోలవరం వారి దివ్య నముఖమునకు.

పోలవరం మండలం చేగొండపల్లి గ్రామ సర్పంచ్ వ్రాసుకొను విన్నపములు

విషయం- ఇందిరా సాగర్ (పోలవరం ప్రాజెక్టు (Public Hearing)
ప్రజాభిప్రాయ సేకరణ వాయిదా గురించి.

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వచ్చిమగోదావరి జిల్లా పోలవరం మండలం నందు ఇందిరా సాగర్ ప్రాజెక్టు (పోలవరం ప్రాజెక్టు) రైణమునకు ప్రభుత్వం పూను కున్నది. దీని నిర్మాణము కొరకు (Public Hearing) ప్రజాభిప్రాయ సేకరణ కమిషన్ చేపట్టినట్లు తెలిసినది. ది 10.10.05 న పోలవరం మండల రెవిన్యూ అధికారి వారి ఆఫీసు నందు దీనికి సంబంధించిన అధికారులు పాల్గొంటున్నట్లు తెలిసినది.

కాని ఇక్కడ ప్రజలకు గాని, సర్పంచ్లకు గాని, ప్రాజెక్టు జిల్లా కమిటీలకు గానీ, ప్రభుత్వము దిన గ్రామ కమిటీ సభ్యులకు గాని, ప్రజలకు గాని, ఎటువంటి సమాచారము లిభింప పూర్వకంగా అందలేదు. ప్రజాభిప్రాయ సేకరణ కార్యక్రమము నెల రోజులు ముందుగా సంబంధిత ప్రాజెక్టు ముంపు బాదిత ప్రజలకు అధికారులు తెలియ చేయవలసిన అవసరము ఉన్నది.

కనుక ది. 10.10.2005 న జరగవలసిన ప్రజాభిప్రాయ సేకరణ (Public Hearing) వాయిదా సి. నెల రోజులు (గడవు) ఇవ్వవలసినదిగా సంబంధిత అధికారులను కోరు చున్నాము. నదరు అధికారులు ప్రజాభిప్రాయ సేకరణకు సంబంధించిన (Public Hearing) పూర్తి సమాచారము, D.P.R. Report ప్రజాభిప్రాయ సేకరణకు సంబంధించిన సమాచారము అందరు గ్రామ సర్పంచులకు, మరయు ప్రాజెక్టు జిల్లా కమిటీలకు గ్రామ కమిటీ సభ్యులకు మరయు ప్రజలకు లిభింప పూర్వకంగా తెలియ పరచవలెను.

ఇట్లు

శ్రీమతి విధేయుడు
Mr. గొ. గాంధేయ
సంపాదక
చేతులు
23/10/05

Copy to the Environmental Engineer
with Acknowledgment.

Copy to the District Collector,
With Acknowledgment.

Copy to the Revenue Divisional Officer
with Acknowledgment

40. A copy of minutes of the EPH held at Polavaram MRO's office on Indira Sagar Project, dated 26-10-2005, organized by APPCB, Eluru.



A.P. POLLUTION CONTROL BOARD

REGIONAL OFFICE, ELURU

P. RAVINDRANATH M.Tech.,
ENVIRONMENTAL ENGINEER

11-19, K.S.R.Thota,
Sanivarapupet Road,
Eluru - 534 003.
Ph: 08812-249668

Lr.No. 12-26 /PCB/RO-ELR/2005- 1172

Dt. 26-10-2005

To
Sri M Sita Rama Swamy
Hon'ry President
Rythanga Samkhya
Panugantivari Street
R R Pet, Eluru.

Sir,

Sub: APPCB-R.O.-ELR-Request for issue of copy of the minutes
of the Public Hearing held on Indirasagar (Polavaram)Project-Copy
communicated -Reg

Ref: Your Lr No Nil dt24-10-2005 along with D D for Rs 100/

With reference to the above , Please find enclosed a copy of the minutes
of the Environmental Public Hearing held on 10-10-05 at M.R.O Office premises
Polavaram(V&M),W G Dt on Indirasagar (Polavaram)Project


ENVIRONMENTAL ENGINEER

Encl As above

NOTES OF PUBLIC HEARING CONDUCTED BY AP POLLUTION CONTROL BOARD ON THE PROPOSED INDIRASAGAR (POLAVARAM) PROJECT AT M.R.O. OFFICE PERMISES, POLAVARAM VILLAGE AND MANDAL, W.G.DI ON 10-10-2005 AT 11:00 A.M

The following Panel members attended the Public hearing

Sri Lavkumar Agarwal, I A S

Collector & District Magistrate, West Godavari

Sri B Rajsekhar, I A S Director Godavari Basin I & CAD Dept ,

Representative of State Government

Sri A Surender Raj, Joint Chief Environmental Engineer, APPCB, VSP

Representative of State Pollution Control Board

Sri J. Someswara Rao, Z.P.T.C., Denduluru, Representative of local bodies

Sri B Bhaskar Reddy, Gunnampalli, Representative from Sr Citizens

Sri P Ravindranath, Environmental Engineer - Convener

The Environmental Engineer welcomed the panel members and the public to the public hearing and informed that as per the notification no.S.O. 60 (E), Dt 27-01-1994 issued by the MoEF, GOI, the public hearing notification was issued on 09-09-2005 and the same was published in Vaartha and Deccan Chronicle news papers on 10-09-2005 and the EIA report, R & R package report and the executive summaries of the project are displayed at 20 different Government offices as notified in the notification, for the accessibility of general public.

The Joint Chief Environmental Engineer, A P Pollution Control Board explained about the importance of public hearing which is a prerequisite for certain projects and industries for obtaining Environmental Clearance. He also informed that 18 representations were received regarding the project and they were addressed with appropriate replies

The Collector & District Magistrate, West Godavari informed the meeting about the outlines of the Indirasagar project (Polavaram) for which the headworks are to be located at Ramaiahpet village and the right and left canals passing through four districts viz right canal - West Godavari and Krishna districts. Left canal - East Godavari and Asakhapatnam districts. He also informed that 29 villages of Polavaram mandal would

and intangible mind. In his essay, "*Passions of the Soul*," Descartes sought to reconcile material body and divine soul by locating the soul in the pineal gland; hence it directed the body's movements like an invisible rider on a horse. In this way Descartes, a devout Catholic, was able to preserve the soul as the domain of theology, and to legitimate the body as the domain of science. This separation of mind and body as suggested by Descartes is called as Cartesian dualism, which freed biology to pursue the kind of radically materialist thinking (Lock and Scheper-Hughes, 1996, Lock, 1993).

Plato's legacy of the distinction between mind and body, Christianity's identification of the body as a repository of sin and the Cartesian dualism have had a crucial impact on the western systems of thought (Freund, 1988). Privileging mind over body is highly prevalent in the formulation of the "progressive civilization" of western bodies. This is well reflected in the context of the protestant reformulation of the body and the promotion of associational patterns of sociality. The protestant reformulation encouraged people to experience their minds as separate from and superior to their limited and limiting bodies. Knowledge became increasingly mental phenomena in which the mind, experienced as divorced from the prejudices of the body's passions and senses, provided valid knowledge. Mental reflection has become more important than physical prowess to many modern persons (Mellor and Shilling, 1997).

Social sciences in general and sociology in particular, while trying to establish its autonomous discourse, ignored the bio-physical properties of the subject. Sociology has traditionally tried to adopt a "disembodied view" of human beings. The subject of Sociology, the rational actor was disembodied in the sense that rational thought was believed to be located in the mind, conceptually disconnected from the body (Howson, 2005). Part of this

submerged due to construction of the project and he detailed out efforts of the district administration for implementation of the rehabilitation and resettlement package

The Superintending Engineer, ISRM explained the salient features of the project. He explained that the project is intended to irrigate 7.2 lakh acres in the 4 districts with a power generation capacity of 960 MW. This project also facilitates supply of drinking water to 28.5 lakh population in 4 districts. He also informed that around 2.58 lakh acres would be irrigated in 17 mandals of West Godavari District. The project also intends to supply 80 TMC of water to Krishna delta and 23.4 TMC to Visakhapatnam for industrial usage. He also informed that around 277 villages would be submerged in 3 districts and around 1,75,000 population would be displaced. The forest area of 3223 hectares would be coming under submergence. The Agricultural Finance Corporation Ltd, had prepared Environment Impact Assessment report and Environment Management Plan and the rehabilitation and the resettlement package report. He also informed that 29 villages would be submerged in West Godavari district displacing around 2010 families in West Godavari District.

The Collector & District Magistrate requested the public to bring forward the environmental issues pertaining to the project and declared the public hearing open.

Sri M Sitaram, Secretary, CPI (M), West Godavari District informed that majority of the people are not against the construction of the project, but are requesting for proper implementation of project and R & R package and do justice to the displaced tribals and nontribals by resettling the tribals duly ensuring the protection of their rights.

Sri B Balaram, Secretary, A P Rythu Sangham, West Godavari District felt that the government should have given the public hearing notifications in all the news papers instead of two news papers for further wider publicity and requested for implementation of R & R package.

Sri V Veerabhadra Rao, Vice President, Devaragondi hamlet, a submergence village informed that their village is the first to get submerged even for a small flood in the West Godavari and undertaking this project will solve their problem of floods permanently. He highlighted that the government is implementing the R & R package since they are happy about the resettlement facilities that are being provided by


ENVIRONMENTAL ENGINEER
A.P.P.C.R. B.A. ELURU

MINUTES OF PUBLIC HEARING CONDUCTED BY AP POLLUTION CONTROL BOARD ON THE PROPOSED INDIRASAGAR (POLAVARAM) PROJECT AT M.R.O. OFFICE PERMISES, POLAVARAM VILLAGE AND MANDAL, W.G.Dt ON 10-10-2005 AT 11:00 A.M

The following Panel members attended the Public hearing

Sri Lavkumar Agarwal, I A S

Collector & District Magistrate, West Godavari

Sri B Rajsekhar, I A S Director Godavari Basin, I & CAD Dept.,
Representative of State Government

Sri A Surender Raj, Joint Chief Environmental Engineer, APPCB, VSP
Representative of State Pollution Control Board

Sri J Someswara Rao, Z.P.T.C., Denduluru, Representative of local bodies

Sri B. Bhaskar Reddy, Gunnampalli, Representative from Sr Citizens

Sri P. Ravindranath, Environmental Engineer - Convener

The Environmental Engineer welcomed the panel members and the public to the public hearing and informed that as per the notification no.S.O. 60 (E), Dt 27-01-1994 issued by the MoEF, GOI, the public hearing notification was issued on 09-09-2005 and the same was published in Vaartha and Deccan Chronicle news papers on 10-09-2005 and the EIA report, R & R package report and the executive summaries of the project are displayed at 20 different Government offices as notified in the notification, for the accessibility of general public.

The Joint Chief Environmental Engineer, A.P. Pollution Control Board explained about the importance of public hearing which is a prerequisite for certain projects and industries for obtaining Environmental Clearance. He also informed that 18 representations were received regarding the project and they were addressed with appropriate replies

The Collector & District Magistrate, West Godavari informed the meeting about the outlines of the Indirasagar project (Polavaram) for which the headworks are to be located at Ramaiahpet village and the right and left canals passing through four districts viz right canal - West Godavari and Krishna districts, Left canal - East Godavari and Vasaknapatnam districts. He also informed that 29 villages of Polavaram mandal would

MINUTES OF PUBLIC HEARING CONDUCTED BY AP POLLUTION CONTROL BOARD ON THE PROPOSED INDIRASAGAR (POLAVARAM) PROJECT AT M.R.O. OFFICE PREMISES, POLAVARAM VILLAGE AND MANDAL, W.G.Dt ON 10-10-2005 AT 11:00 A.M

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ENVIRONMENTAL ENGINEER
A.P.P.C.R. B.D. ELUH

the government. He expressed that he and his village people do not have any objection for construction of the project and complimented Government officials for their work.

Smt G Venkata Lakshmi, President, Velugu Mandal Samakhya Devaragondi hamlet expressed that they do not have any objection to the project, and the place where the rehabilitation is being taken up is acceptable to them and expressed confidence over the measures being taken up by the district administration for implementation of R & R package.

Sri P Singannadora, Ex MLA, Polavaram has pointed out that on several occasions he has supported the project and was requesting the district administration for proper implementation of R & R package and protection of the rights of the tribals.

Sri K Dorababu, Project Committee member, Pydipaka village while welcoming the project requested the people and authorities to understand the sacrifice of the displaced people. He expressed that out of the 29 villages, which are due for submergence, 7 villages are coming under immediate evacuation for spillway construction and requested the authorities for proper implementation of rehabilitation package and consider their request for payment of compensation, so that the people of the other 22 villages also will have confidence about the implementation of R & R Package.

Sri Lakshmana Rao and Sri M.Gangajalam, Rashtra Girijana Sangham expressed that the project is involving submergence of 277 villages through out the state and requested the authorities for protection of rights of the local tribals who are liable for displacement.

Sri G Anil Kumar, Convener, Polavaram Project Andolana Committee, expressed that much more publicity should have been given to the public regarding the conduct of public hearing and more copies of the EIA reports should have been made available at more places.

Sri V Rajendra Nath, President Rythu Samakhya, while welcoming the project requested the authorities to examine the designs of this project in correlation to the Tadipudi lift irrigation.

Sri J Someswara Rao, ZPTC, Denduluru, Panel member representing local bodies complimented that none of the people are against the project and it is a welcome note and noted that emphasis of administration should be for proper rehabilitation of the displaced tribals and nontribals and implementation of R & R package.

Sri B Baskar Reddy, Panel member representing senior citizens welcomed the project. While appreciating the R & R package report he requested the authorities to prepare a similar package for the farmers who are losing their entire land due to construction of the canal in the canal alignment area for rehabilitation. He also expressed that there are certain rumors about the tax that is going to be levied on the compensation amounts and requested the District Collector for bank loans for rehabilitation of land losers.

Sri D Venkata Satyanarayana Raju, MPP, Polavaram while welcoming the project requested the authorities to examine the effects due to decrease of green cover due to submergence which is likely to effect the environment. He also requested the officials at lower levels i.e., at mandal level to interact more with the local people to remove the communication gap.

Sri B Rajasekhar, IAS Director, Godavari basin, Panel member representing the State government expressed happiness over the active participation of the local people in the public hearing and informed that the government has issued G.O.M.S no 68 clearly defining the R & R package. He informed that earlier the R & R packages used to be different for each project. Now with the above G.O. the R & R package being taken up for this project is considered to be the best in India. He also informed the public that the Agricultural Finance Corporation Ltd. has recommended amount of Rs 603 crores for the environment management activities like Catchment Area Treatment, restoration of wild life and Rs 2656 crores for implementation of P & P.

The Collector while summing up the discussion in general the public opinion is for implementation of the project and the environmental issues raised in the hearing have been recorded and would be addressed by the competent authorities. He also expressed that the district administration would be continuously interacting with the people for proper implementation of the R & R package, for rehabilitating all the displaced people.

The meeting concluded with the vote of thanks to the chair

Sd/-

Sri J Someswara Rao,
Z P T C, Denduluru
Representative of local bodies

Sd/-

Sri B. Bhaskar Reddy,
Representative from Sr Citizens

Sd/-

A Surender Raj,
Joint Chief Environmental Engineer,
A P Pollution Control Board,
Zonal Office,
Visakhapatnam

Sd/-

Sri B. Rajsekhar, I A. S.
Representative of state
Government

Sd/-

Sri Lavkumar Agarwal, I A S
Collector & District Magistrate,
West Godavari

T.C.F.B.O /


ENVIRONMENTAL ENGINEER
A P C B, R O Eluru

COMMON COUNTER AFFIDAVIT IN W.P. NO. 17368, 19717,
17705, 18020, AND 19067/2005

BETWEEN:-

Prof. Kodanda Rama Reddy,
And others,

.....PETITIONER.

AND

The Union of India, Ministry of Environment and
Forests, Rep. By its Secretary, Paryavan Bhavan,
C.G.O. Complex, Lodi Road, New Delhi, and others.

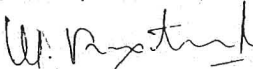
.....RESPONDENTS.

COMMON COUNTER AFFIDAVIT FILED BY THE RESPONDENT NO.4

I, M. Venkateswara Rao, Son of M. Appala Swamy, aged about 46 years, Resident of Dowlalswaram, E.G. District, do here by sincerely and solemnly affirm and state on oath as follows:-

1. I am the Chief Engineer, Indira Sagar Project Dowlalswaram, East Godavari District and the 4th respondent, herein as such I am well acquainted with the facts of the case. I have read the Affidavit filed by the Petitioners in support of Writ Petitions and I deny all the allegations/averments made there in except that those are specifically admitted here under.
2. It is submitted that the entire State is reeling under severe drought for the past 5 years and several poor families are migrating to other places, in search of livelihood leaving their lands To over come the above said problems, to stabilize the Ayacut under Krishna Basin, to provide Irrigation facilities to upland areas of East Godavari, West Godavari,


SUPERINTENDING ENGINEER
I S P HEADQUARTERS CIRCLE
POLAVARAM


Chief Engineer
INDIRA SAGAR PROJECT
DOWLAISWARAM

IV. 41. Counter affidavit submitted by the GoAP of East Godavari district in compliance with the order of Hon'ble High Court in WP Nos 17368. 19717, 17705, 18020, and 19067/2005 (Kodanda Rama Reddy and others vs MoEF)

Visakhapatnam by utilizing the waters of river Godavari, which is going waste into the sea due to lack of irrigation infrastructure facilities (approximately 3000 T.M C per year), the Government of A.P has decided to take up number of Irrigation Projects to provide irrigation facilities to an extent of about 80 Lakh acres, besides providing drinking water facilities and production of Electricity.

3. It is submitted that the Indira Sagār-Project (Polavaram) is one of the prioritized projects, which is under contemplation since 1943. This project is intended to utilize 300 TMC of water from river Godavari by constructing a reservoir of 195 TMC of gross capacity and 75 TMC of live capacity and the objectives of the Project are:-
- 1) To irrigate 7.20 Lakh Acres in East Godavari, Visakhapatnam, West Godavari and Krishna District.
 - 2) To divert 80 TMC of Godavari water to Krishna Delta.
 - 3) To supply 23.44 TMC of water for industrial and drinking purposes in Visakhapatnam District and
 - 4) To generate 960 MW of Hydro Electric power.

It is submitted that it is also under contemplation to utilize flood water going waste into sea for supplementing the existing / new water sources available at a higher elevation to an extent of about 16.00 Lakh Acres spread over in East Godavari, Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram and Srikakulam Districts on left side and West Godavari, Krishna and Khammam Districts on right side.

4. It is submitted that this project was originally mooted way back in 1943 with FRL of +198 Ft. with a live capacity of 529.254 TMC to irrigate 27.5 Lakhs Acres of new ayacut in addition to stabilization of 21 Lakh Acres of Godavari & Krishna Deltas in addition to generation of Hydel power of 150MW. At that time, due to financial constraints and other reasons the construction of project could not materialized. Since then, it under went several changes. After formation of the states on linguistic basis, there were certain disputes in sharing of river waters and GWDT was constituted to resolve those disputes to share water among the basin states, which has given its award on 7th July 1980


 ATTESTOR
 01/08/80


 Chief Engineer
 INDEPENDENT PROJECT
 DOWLAISWARAM

It is submitted that as per the award the scope of the project is reduced and presently reservoir is proposed with reduced FRL of +150 Ft. to cater the needs as already explained above. The proposed project involves submergence in Madhya Pradesh (Chattisgarh) and Orissa states. It is submitted that at that time there was no procedure of obtaining Environmental clearance from Ministry of Environment & Forest (MOEF). However, as per the procedure prevailing at that time, the steps to be taken and funds required for the cause of preserving environment were obtained from relevant bodies like (i) Director of Fisheries (ii) Deputy Director General, Observatories Climatology and Geophysics, Pune (iii) Director General of Water Department (iv) Chief Engineer, Public Health (v) Deputy Director General, Southern region G.S.I and (vi) Director Archeological department.

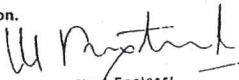
It is submitted that in 1994, the Environment Impact Assessment (EIA) notification dt.27.1.1994 was issued by Ministry of Environment and Forests (MOEF), Government of India, according to which Environment clearance is to be obtained from MOEF. There after for assessing environmental impact and formulating Environment Management Plan (EMP), the work/task was entrusted to a reputed agency in the field i.e., Environmental Protection Training and Research Institute (EPTRI) in 1996. The EPTRI had conducted detailed studies in the project area and in submergence area, submitted the reports of the EIA and EMP for obtaining clearance from MOEF. Further the proposals for site clearance were submitted to MOEF and after inspection by the Central Team, the clearance was given by the Ministry of Environment & Forests vide Procs. No., J-21019/18/2004-1A.1, dated. 19-09-2005. For obtaining No Objection Certificate/Consent letter from APPCB, application was made to APPCB, which conducted Public hearing on 10.10.2005 in 5 Districts.

It is further submitted that after obtaining the consent letter from Andhra Pradesh Pollution Control Board, the report was sent to the Ministry of Environment & Forests with all the relevant documents as desired by it and after being satisfied, the Ministry of Environment & Forest has accorded environmental clearance vide proceedings. No. J-12011/74/2005-1A, dt.25.10.2005 imposing certain conditions. All the conditions will be complied without any deviation.

ATTESTOR

HEADWORKS CIRCLE

INDIA



Chief Engineer
INDIA
REBENT PROJECT
DOWLAISWARAM

disembodied tradition stems from the cautious move by sociology against the “biological determinism”, and its concern with identifying and establishing a disciplinary field distinct from the natural sciences. In order to resist against the biological determinism, sociology followed the Cartesian dichotomous world view of the mind/body and tried to give primacy to the mind in its knowledge claims, assuming that the mind defines humans as social beings. Though the primacy of mind over the body was taken for granted by the sociological theories, the body was not totally absent from the sociological analysis. Sociologists deal with meanings that cultures “bestow” on bodies. The physical body is seen as the screen upon which social and cultural concerns are projected (Freund, 1988). While describing this cryptic presence of body in the classical sociological theories, Shilling (1993) states that sociology has displayed a dual approach to the body. The body has historically been something of an “absent present” in sociology. It has rarely focused on the body as an area of investigation in its own right. While it rarely focused explicitly on the body, its concern with the structure and functioning of societies and the nature of human action has led it to deal with aspects of human embodiment. The classical sociology’s concern with body has been implicit, rather than explicit, under theorized and taken for granted. There was reluctance among the sociologists to incorporate the aspects of human embodiment in their studies, which was thought could be explained by the disciplines of biology or psychology. The classical sociological theorists conceptualized body as “natural” and pre-social phenomena, which did not warrant serious sociological analysis. The dichotomous world view of western epistemology such as the dichotomy between mind/body, nature/culture, passion/reason, individual/society was treated as inevitable and universal categories by the classical sociological thinkers such as Durkheim, Marx and Weber.

7. It is submitted that the Government of Andhra Pradesh had announced R&R Policy in G.O.Ms.No. 68, I&CAD (Project Wing-LA.IV-R&R) Dept, dt.8.4.2005. It is submitted that Government of Andhra Pradesh policy of Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R) of Project Affected Families and Project Displaced Families will be applicable to the projects as defined in this policy and upon notification under this policy. It is submitted that the Administrator for R&R shall implement this policy in letter and spirit, in order to ensure that the benefits envisaged under the policy reaches the Project Affected and Displaced Families, especially poor sections including SCs/STs.


It is submitted that the main objectives of R&R policy are as follows.

- 1) To minimize displacement and to identify non-displacing or least displacing alternatives.
- 2) To plan the Resettlement & Rehabilitation of Project Affected and Displaced Families (PAFs/PDFs) including special needs of Tribals and vulnerable sections.
- 3) To provide standard of living to PAFs and PDFs and
- 4) To facilitate harmonious relationship between the Requiring Body and PAFs through mutual cooperation.

R&R benefits as described in R&R Policy for PAFs of Scheduled Tribes as per clause 6.19 and 6.20 are as follows.

6.19 R&R BENEFITS FOR PROJECT AFFECTED FAMILIES OF SCHEDULED TRIBES :

- a) Each Project Affected Family of ST category shall be given preference in allotment of land.
- b) Each Tribal PAF shall get additional financial assistance equivalent to 500 days minimum agriculture wages for loss of customary rights/usages of forest produce.
- c) Tribal PAFs will be resettled close to their natural habitant of their of choice, to the extent possible, in a compact block so that they can retain their ethnic, linguistic and cultural identity.
- d) Tribal PAFs resettled out of the district or outside tribal area will get 25% higher R&R benefits in monetary terms.


SUPERINTENDING ENGINEER
ISP HEAD WORKS CIRCLE
HOLAVARAM

Chief Engineer
INDEPENDENT PROJECT
DOWLAIWARAM

9. It is submitted that the Avagghana Sadassu has been conducted at Gonduru (V) in Devipatnam Mandal of East Godavari District on 14.6.2005. The Joint Collector, East Godavari District, Project Officer, I.T.D.A, Rampachodavaram have attended the meeting and they have appraised the people attended from various villages regarding the implementation of R&R package. On 21.6.2005 another meeting was conducted at Devipatnam Village in Devipatnam Mandal of East Godavari District. The Project Officer, I.T.D.A, has presided over the meeting and apprised the people, who have attended the meeting. Another meeting was conducted in the village Kondamodalu on 2.7.2005, which is not accessible by road and the Project Officer, I.T.D.A, appraised the people who attended the meeting.
10. It is submitted that a meeting with the youth of the villages coming under submersion has been conducted in the office of the Project Officer, I.T.D.A, Rampachodavaram on 30.8.2005 and the area of submersion and the villages coming under submersion on plans are shown to the youth and the post project conditions and the R&R package details were explained to them.
11. It is submitted that a detailed report is sent to National Commission for SC's and S.T.'s, New Delhi, on 29-10-2005 informing about the construction of project, its benefits and R.R. package given by the State of Andhra Pradesh for the project affected persons.
12. It is submitted that the length of Right main canal is 174 KM which is divided into 7 packages and the land required for excavation of canal is acquired as per the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act. The details of Land Acquisition are filed along with the counter affidavit, which may be read as part and parcel of this affidavit. Out of 174 KM Length, only 1 KM length is running through the Forest area for which the details sought by the Forest Department are submitted and the permission will be given very shortly. In any event, the department will not enter or use the forest area/land till the clearance is granted by the forest department. With regard to the forest land that would come under submergence, would be required only after the completion of the project which would take minimum 2 years.


 CHIEF ENGINEER
 RAMPACHODAVARAM
 EAST GODAVARI DISTRICT
 14/11/2005

Chief Engineer
 RAMPACHODAVARAM
 DOWLAISWARAN

For the reasons stated above, it is prayed that the Hon'ble Court may be pleased to dismiss the W.P. Nos. 17368, 19717, 17765, 18029 and 19067/2005 and pass such other order or orders as this Hon'ble Court may deem fit and proper in the circumstances of the case.

[Handwritten Signature]
Chief Engineer
INDRA SAHAY PROJECT
DOWLAISWARAH

Sworn and signed his name

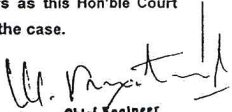
On this the day of November 2005

In my presence.

[Handwritten Signature]
SUPERVISING ENGINEER
IS P-HEAD WORKS CIRCLE //ATTESTOR//
PULAVARAM

2.

For the reasons stated above, It is prayed that the Hon'ble Court may be pleased to dismiss the W.P. Nos. 17368, 19717, 17705, 18020 and 19067/2005 and pass such other order or orders as this Hon'ble Court may deem fit and proper in the circumstances of the case.


Chief Engineer
INDRA'SHAKTI PROJECT
DOWLAI SWARAM

Sworn and signed his name
On this the day of November 2005
In my presence.


SUPERVISING ENGINEER
ISP HEAD WORKS CIRCLE //ATTESTOR//
PCLAVARAM

2.

2. I hereby deny the contents of the affidavit filed by the petitioner herein and deny all the averments made therein, except that those which are specifically admitted by me hereinafter

3. In reply to Para 1, it is submitted that the averments therein are formal, hence, needs no reply.

4. In reply to Para 2, it is submitted that the averments therein are reasons for filling the writ petition.

5. In reply to Para 4, It is submitted that the Godavari is a major inter-state river. At present, the basin lies in 6 States, i.e., Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra and Karnataka. A memorandum of agreement was reached in July 1951 between the States of Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad, Madhya Pradesh and Mysore on sharing of waters of this basin which was ratified by the above states. However, Orissa which is also a co-basin State, was not a party to the agreement.

6. In reply to Para 5, It is submitted that the Polavaram project reports of 1978 mentioned in this para have not been examined in CWC. Clause VI of the final order of GWDT reads as follows-

(1) In accordance with the statement dated the 3rd April, 1980 submitted on behalf of the Govt of India, annexed hereto and marked Annexure "H", we direct that-

(i) the Polavaram Project shall be cleared by the Central Water Commission as expeditiously as possible for FRL/MWL+150 feet'

(ii) the matter of design of the dam and its operation schedule is left to the Central Water Commission which, it shall decide, keeping in view all the Agreements between the parties, including the Agreement dated the 2nd April, 1980 as far as practicable, and

(iii) if there is to be any change in the operation schedule as indicated in the agreement dated the 2nd April, 1980 it shall be made only after consultation with the States of Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. The design aspects shall, however, be left entirely to the Central Water Commission.

(2) The State of Andhra Pradesh shall observe all safeguards, including the safeguards mentioned in sub-clause (1) above, regarding the Polavaram Project, as directed by the Central Water Commission

A. Nagaraj

K. Subbarao

Deputy Director

Office of Chief Engineer (RGOB)
Central Water Commission
Hyderabad

A. Rao 21/11/05
Executive Engineer
Lower Godavari Division,
C. W. C. HYDERABAD

However, the report for techno-economic appraisal of the project was received in Central Water Commission subsequently in two parts. The project report proposing construction of a dam across river Godavari and Left Bank Canal was received from the State Govt. in April, 1983 followed by a separate report for construction of Right Bank Canal in March 1985. These reports were examined in CWC and other Central agencies and in view of various deficiencies in the project proposal as presented in the report the project was sent back to the State Govt. in December 1987 with the request to submit a modified report after complying with the comments on various aspects including resolution of interstate and environment issues.

The report as submitted by the State Govt. in July 1990 was mainly an updated estimate and did not contain compliance to the issues/ deficiencies as conveyed to the State Govt. in December 1987. Accordingly, the State Govt. was again requested in August 1990 to submit the modified DPR after due compliance.

7. In reply to Para 6, it is submitted that Policy Statement for allocation of funds and description regarding policy statement. No information is available. Hence, no comments. However, as regards the techno-economic appraisal of the project is concerned it is stated that correspondence on the project has been continuing and the latest letter reiterating our earlier position on the project was sent to the State Govt. in October 2004 which stressed on the need for submission of modified DPR after resolving various issues, the major ones being Interstate, Basic/Irrigation Planning, updation of Hydrology, incorporation of Hydro-electric component besides statutory clearances of MOEF and MOTA. The State Govt. thereafter submitted a report in February 2005 but examination of the same indicates that it is incomplete on a number of aspects and cannot therefore be considered as a modified DPR. This position was conveyed to the representatives of Govt. of Andhra Pradesh in the meeting held with them on 26.4.2005. The report submitted in February 2005 indicates that Polavaram project is contemplated as a multipurpose project envisaging irrigation benefits for the upland areas of East Godavari, Visakhapatnam districts under left canal and West Godavari, Krishna districts under right canal and generation of Hydro-electric power. In addition, this project under its left canal envisages water supply for Industries in Visakhapatnam township and Steel Plant, besides domestic water supply to villages and towns enroute. It also envisages diversion of 80 TMC ft. of water through the right canal to Krishna river to augment the supplies of Krishna basin, indirect benefits such as development of Pisciculture and providing recreation and other benefits. As indicated in the above report the annual irrigation envisaged by the project is of the order of 4,69,064 ha of which 2,75,055 ha (2,44,945 ha by flow and 30,110 ha by lift) falls under the left main canal and 1,94,009 ha (1,81,969 ha by flow and 12,040 ha by lift) falls under the right main canal. Installed capacity for generation of H E power is 960 MW

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The State Government has submitted another Report on the Project recently (October 2005) Which has been taken up for examination

As regards the Tadipudi and Pushkara Lift Irrigation Projects it is stated that based on preliminary reports submitted by the State Govt "In -Principle" consent for preparation of DPR in respect of these projects has been accorded by CWC. These two projects envisage lifting-of water from Godavari river to provide irrigation to a part of command already proposed under the Polavaram Project. The reports also state that since the Polavaram project has not been taken up and is likely to take some more time, the present schemes have been proposed to draw early benefits Accordingly, the water utilization by both the projects is out of total utilization proposed under Polavaram project. The DPR on Pushkara and Tadipudi Lift Irrigation Schemes received in CWC in August 2005 and October 2005 respectively are under examination.

As per the DPR the Tadipudi Lift Irrigation Scheme envisages lifting of 39.56 cumec of water (1397.16 cusec) to provide annual irrigation to an area of 83, 599 ha. (2,06,600 acre) in West Godavari district. The Pushkara Lift Irrigation Scheme envisages lifting of 42.82 cumec (1512.19 cusec) of water to provide annual irrigation of 75,235 ha. (1,85,906 acre) in East Godavari district

8. In reply to Para 7, it is submitted that the clause VI of final order of GWDT award 1980 has been stated correctly.

9. In reply to Para 8 it is submitted that no information in respect of construction of project is available.

10. In reply to Para 9 it is submitted that the issues pertaining to the impact on environment and rehabilitation is required to be considered by the Ministry of Environment and Forests and in respect of rehabilitation of the tribal oustees, by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs for clearance. MOEF has accorded environment clearance to the Project vide their letter No. J-12011/74/2005-IA.1 dated 25.10.2005.

11. In reply to Para 10, it is submitted that this issue Pertains to Ministry of Environment & Forests. No comments. However, obtaining clearance from MOEF is a statutory requirement MOEF has accorded environment clearance to the Project vide their letter No J-12011/74/2005-IA 1 dated 25.10 2005.

12 In reply to Para 11, it is submitted that Issues pertaining to acquisition of forest land and its use by the Project is required to be considered by the Ministry of Environment & Forests for clearance

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he extracts (Para 1.3) of the "Guidelines for submission, appraisal & clearance of irrigation & multipurpose projects-2002" issued by Central Water Commission (Respondent No 6) has been quoted correctly.

13 In reply to Para 12, it is submitted that no information in respect of construction of project is available. Concerns of the petitioners associated with proposal to construct the project without obtaining necessary permissions from the Authorities concerned have been discussed.

14. In reply to Para 13, it is submitted that as per the Report submitted by the State Government in February 2005 (Report dated November 2004) the capacity of the Right Main Canal of Polavaram Project is 347 cumec (10,866 cusec) envisaging to provide annual irrigation to an area of 1,94,009 ha. in West Godavari and Krishna districts. As regards duplication of command already covered under Nagarjanasagar project mentioned in this Para this aspect will be taken into consideration during detailed examination.

15. In reply to Para 14, it is submitted that as indicated under para 6 the Tadipudi and Pushkara Lift Irrigation schemes have been proposed to draw early benefits. As regards redundancy of the canals pertaining to these two projects on completion of the Polavaram project, the State Govt. has been advised to take into consideration this aspect while evaluating the economics of the Polavaram project.

16. In reply to Para 15, it is submitted that it is interalia mentioned that ".....the hydraulic clearance permission was granted by the 6th respondent for only 3.2 lakh acres and 84 TMC water to Krishna delta....". In this context it is clarified that the 6th respondent i.e. CWC has not granted any permission as mentioned above. It is also clarified that the techno-economic appraisal as carried out by CWC is for the project as a whole and not piecemeal for any component. In this para the requirement of land acquisition, the likely impact of the reduction of the dam height in the alignment of the canal and on the land to be acquired have also been discussed. The report of the Committee to examine the scope for reducing the height of the project (dam) mentioned in this para is not available. Hence no comments.

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17 In reply to Para 16 it is submitted that, as indicated under para 15 the techno economic appraisal as carried out by CWC is for the project as a whole and not piecemeal for any component As regards the statutory clearances from MOEF and MOTA the position has been indicated under para 9

18. In reply to Para 17, it is submitted that, Examination of Hydrology/Water availability for the Project and the proposed utilization as per intended benefits form a part of the techno economic appraisal of the Project. This exercise will be carried out at the appropriate stage so as to ensure proper planning of the Project.

19. In reply to Para 18, It is submitted that no information in respect of construction of project is available.

20. In reply to Para 19, It is submitted that the Issue raised in the para pertains to the impact on environment. It is required to be considered by the Ministry of Environment and Forest(MOEF). MOEF has accorded environment clearance to the Project vide their letter No. J-12011/74/2005-1A.1 dated 25.10.2005.

In this connection, it is stated that the Indira Sagar (Polavaram multipurpose project) which includes the Right Main Canal has not yet been put up to the Technical Advisory Committee(TAC) of Ministry of Water Resources(MOWR). Projects are put up to the TAC of MOWR only after techno-economic viability is established by the State Government. The Planning Commission considers a project for Investment clearance after it is accepted by the TAC of MOWR.

It is, therefore, prayed that this Hon'ble Court may be pleased to pass appropriate orders in the interest of justice.

Sworn before me on this 21st day of November 2005 and signed in my presence

H. N. S. Rao
21/11/05

H. N. S. Rao 21/11/05
Executive Engineer
Lower Godavari Division,
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Deponent
Office of Chief Engineer (R&S)
Central Godavari Division
Deponent before me

ADVOCATE
HYDERABAD

STATEMENT

SHOWING THE HYDRAULIC PARTICULARS AS PER APPROVED AND BID DOCUMENT OF INDIRA SAGAR (POLAVARAM) PROJECT RIGHT MAIN CANAL FOR REVISED DISCHARGE (ORIGINAL DISCHARGE + ADDITIONAL DISCHARGE) FROM KM 0.000 TO KM 174.000

Sl No	Packages	Reach From Km	Reach To Km	Required Discharge Cumecs	Designed Discharge Cumecs	Canal Bed Width M	F.S.D in M	Bed Fall in	Side Slopes	Co-Efficient of Rugosity n	Velocity In m/sec	Critical Velocity in M	Critical Velocity Ratio (CVR)
1	Package-1	0.000	6.100	496.208	497.550	85.50	5.00	20000	1.5:1	0.018	1.070	0.945	1.132
2		6.100	11.000	478.568	479.024	86.70	4.85	20000	1.5:1	0.018	1.051	0.929	1.131
3		11.000	14.500	475.588	478.722	77.50	4.85	14000	0.25:1	0.018	1.254	0.929	1.350
4		14.500	14.800	474.578	475.456	86.00	4.85	20000	1.5:1	0.018	1.051	0.929	1.131
5	Package-2	14.800	38.199	468.638	469.999	86.50	4.80	20000	1.5:1	0.018	1.045	0.924	1.131
6	Package-3	38.199	56.300	390.343	391.348	77.25	4.60	20000	1.5:1	0.018	1.011	0.903	1.120
7		56.300	71.500	376.803	378.367	77.50	4.50	20000	1.5:1	0.018	0.998	0.892	1.119
8		71.500	91.300	367.553	368.823	78.50	4.40	20000	1.5:1	0.018	0.985	0.881	1.118
9	Package-4	91.300	105.100	356.963	358.531	77.75	4.35	20000	1.5:1	0.018	0.978	0.875	1.118
10	Package-5	105.100	110.865	347.553	349.119	78.75	4.25	20000	1.5:1	0.018	0.965	0.85	1.117
11		110.865	121.657	342.023	343.213	79.00	4.20	20000	1.5:1	0.018	0.958	0.859	1.115
12		121.657	133.800	338.433	339.840	78.25	4.20	20000	1.5:1	0.018	0.957	0.859	1.114
13	Package-6	133.800	145.969	344.093	335.821	77.25	4.20	20000	1.5:1	0.018	0.957	0.859	1.114
14	Package-7	145.969	156.500	318.943	320.744	73.75	4.20	20000	1.5:1	0.018	0.954	0.859	1.111
15		156.500	163.500	317.133	318.741	73.25	4.20	20000	1.5:1	0.018	0.954	0.859	1.111
16		163.500	163.800	317.133	318.082	65.50	4.20	14000	0.25:1	0.018	1.138	0.859	1.325
17		163.800	174.000	317.330	318.741	73.25	4.20	20000	1.5:1	0.018	0.954	0.859	1.111

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P. Madhava Rao
Asst. Executive Engineer 23/10/05
I & CAD Dept.
ISRM Circle, ELURU

Sd/- 8.10.2004
ENC (IRRIGATION)
HYDERABAD

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for submission of the design
R.S.
p. 10

The interest on body as a central object of academic scrutiny in the social sciences has emerged since 1980s. A series of empirical and theoretical works in the sociology of body tried to integrate the body fully into the sociological discourse. The most prominent works during this period of time are Turner's "*The Body and Society*", O'Neill's "*Five Bodies*", which attempted to develop a systematic theoretical basis for the sociology of body (Cregan, 2006, Freund, 1988, Shilling, 1993). Along with these pioneering works, certain journals like "*Body and Society*", "*Theory Culture and Society*" have played an important role in the promulgation of sociological theorization on body. Bryan Turner's book "*The Body and Society*" is often identified as the point of departure in Sociology which moved towards theorizing body, by generating a broad framework for conceptualizing the relationship between body and society. The theorization of body to some extent represents a conceptual space to transcend the recurring binaries between natural/social, subject/object and structure/agency (Howson, 2005).

"Body" in sociology of health and illness:

While the mainstream sociology rarely explicitly focused on body as its subject matter of enquiry before 1980s, body has been the main thrust and the centre stage of attention within the sub-discipline of Sociology, "Sociology of Health and Illness". However, in the field of Sociology of Health and Illness, the western biomedical model of health remained the dominant approach to health and the body. Biomedicine by its virtue of "scientific" nature was held privileged within sociology of health and illness for a long time.

Much of the debates on the "body" within Sociology of Health and Illness, focused on the ways in which the medical knowledge has come to be created and produced. There is a tendency to cherish the assumption that the medical science describes the "real" natural body.

21/12/2017

ద్యామే లేదు...

పొందుతున్నామో గ్రామం వారీగా వివరాలను వెలు
 డించాలని కోరారు రాష్ట్ర ప్రభుత్వం పరిశీలించామని చెబు
 తున్న 13 ప్రత్యామ్నాయాలను కూడా తమ ముందు
 లాని అమె కోరారు. పోలవరం ప్రాజెక్టు వ్యతిరేక ఉద్యమ
 సోషల్ డెమోక్రటిక్ ప్రతినిధులు ఎన్ కేవేకేమార్, పి.శ్రీనివాస్
 రావు, యి. రెప్పానగరం, ఉమాశంకరి, కేవలంకొండం,
 ఆజయ్యకుమార్, కొప్పల కోటయ్య తదితరులతో కలిసి
 టీడీపీలకు అధికారం సామంత్రిం సంపాదించుకో
 లారీ నీటిపారుదలగాం మంత్రి పొన్నూరి లక్ష్మయ్యతో
 సమావేశమయ్యారు ఈ సమావేశంలో సాగునీటి కాళి కా
 ర్యదన్ని పరిశీలించడం కూడా పోలవరం వద్ద
 7.20 లక్షల ఎకరాల కొత్త అయిక్లెయిట్ పాటు రుమ్ము
 గురించి ఎత్తిపోతలం ప్రాజెక్టుం వల్ల మరో 4 లక్షల ఎకరాల
 కొత్త అయిక్లెయిట్ సాగులోకి వస్తుందని వారు ప్రతినిధి బృం
 దానికి తెలిపారు వ్యవసాయక గిరిజన నివాస ప్రాంతాలు,
 గిరిజనుల సంక్షయ ప్రభుత్వం తప్పదు లెక్కలు కూడా
 తోందని తిరిగి ఇంటి వద్ద నిర్వహించాలని అమె డి
 మాండ్ కోరారు. వర్షా, వర్షా వరల్వర్ ప్రాజెక్టు, బాక్సా
 నంగల్ ప్రాజెక్టు నిర్మాణం వల్ల అన్యాయమైన గిరిజ
 నులకు నీటి వ్యయం జరగలేదని అదే పొరుగు పోల
 వరం ప్రాజెక్టు విషయంలోనూ జరిగే అవకాశాలు ఉన్నా
 యని అమె అందోగన వ్యక్తం చేస్తూ, కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వం
 నుతన పునరాచార విరానాన్ని రూపొందిస్తోందని, దాని
 ప్రకారమే పోలవరం పునరాచార ప్యాకేజీని అమలు చే
 యాలని కోరారు నిర్వాహకుల పునరాచారానికి సంబంధించి
 ఏ జారీ అయిన కేజీ 84నే అమలు చేయాలని ఇటీవల
 జారీ చేసిన కేజీ 88 లోపడాలయ్యవ్వగా ఉంది అన్నారు

ఇదిలా ఉండగా పోలవరం ప్రాజెక్టు నిర్మాణం వల్ల బాక్సా
 వాటర్ ఎస్టేట్, ముంపు తీవ్రతల రాష్ట్ర ప్రభుత్వం రూ
 పొందించిన నివేదికపై అమె డి అనుమతాల వ్యక్తం
 చేశారు మంత్రి పొన్నూరి, పరిష్కారంలను ఇప్పటి వరకు
 వల్ల ప్రతినిధి బృందం పంపిస్తే తెలలేక పోలవ రం
 ఎగువన ఏయే ప్రాజెక్టులను నిర్వహించాలో వాటి వివరాలను
 అందించాలని పొన్నూరి కోరారు చాలామంది డి.ఎం.టి
 ఎంకో విలువైన పెట్టుబడిని నిజమను పెడతనమైన
 కాబట్టి పోలవరం ప్రాజెక్టు జలాల్లోనూ, అయిక్లెయిట్
 వారికి పొక్కులు బొమ్మల పెట్టుబడివారూగా గుర్తించాలని
 అమె ప్రభుత్వానికి నొక్కి చెప్పారు పోలవరం ప్రాజెక్టు వల్ల
 గోదావరి, కృష్ణా రైల్వోలో నీటి ఉట ప్రమాదంతో పాటు పె
 డైవర్ల ప్రమాదం ఉండవచ్చు అందోగనను వ్యక్తం చేశా
 రు పోలవరం ప్రాజెక్టుకోసం కొత్త డ్రైనేజీ వ్యవస్థను ఏర్పా
 టు చేయించడంపై ప్రతినిధి బృందం విషయం వ్యక్తం
 చేసింది. ద్వారాకో పాటు కాలు అభివృద్ధి కోసం కూడా కేంద్ర
 జం సంఘం అనుమతులు తప్పవనియి. అదే లోకంబా
 కాలువలు ఎలా తవ్వకమన్నాడు ప్రతినిధిం మార్గదర్శన
 నివేదికలో పేర్కొన్న వివరాల జరకంగా ఉంది.. వా
 స్తవంగా జరుగుతున్నది మాత్రం లిప్తంగా ఉంది. ఒక
 ప్రైవేటు పార్టీ లాగా ప్రభుత్వమే నియంత్రించు ఉన్నామిస్తే
 ఎలా అని ప్రతినిధి బృందం అభ్యంతరాలను వ్యక్తం చేసింది.
 నిర్వాహకులను పోలవరం ప్రాంతాలకు తరలిస్తే వల్ల
 జరుగుతోంది, అదే జరిగితే గిరిజనులు చేరు పెట్టడం,
 పోలవరం వ్యవసాయంపై పొక్కులు కోల్పోతారు అందోగన
 వ్యక్తం చేసింది. ప్రాజెక్టుకు నిరూప ఎక్కడి నుంచి వచ్చాయి!
 ప్రపంచ బ్యాంకు నుంచి తెస్తేవారా? అని పొన్నూరి ప్రశ్నిం
 చారు. ప్రభుత్వం స్పందించే తీరును బట్టి కాదు. కూడా స్పం
 దిస్తేను, ప్రభుత్వం మొండిగా వ్యవహరిస్తే కాదు ఉద్య
 మపాలు మట్టార్చి వస్తుంది అమె హెచ్చరించారు

IV. 47. Anumathulu Vachedaka Panulu Aapandi: Medhapatkar (Stop all the works until the project gets all clearances: Medhapatkar), Eenadu (Telugu daily), dated 5-12-2005, Hyderabad.

ఈనాడు

అనుమతులొచ్చేదాకా పనులొపండి: మేధా

★ కొనసాగిస్తాం: సర్కారు

★ ప్రోలవరంపై చర్య

అన్నదే మధ్యకేక కాం అందారామని కేక పడి. ప్రాజెక్టులో కార్గిల పాల్గొని పని వదిలించుకుంటే పనిపూర్తిగా నిలువబడుతుంది అని ప్రకటించింది. ప్రాజెక్టులో పని చేస్తున్న 80 మంది చాలా మందిని అరెస్టు చేసింది. ప్రాజెక్టులో పని చేస్తున్న 80 మంది చాలా మందిని అరెస్టు చేసింది. ప్రాజెక్టులో పని చేస్తున్న 80 మంది చాలా మందిని అరెస్టు చేసింది.

వేముల అశ్వనాథం వద్దకు వెళ్ళిన వెంటనే అందుకున్న సమాచారం ప్రకారం ప్రాజెక్టులో పని చేస్తున్న 80 మంది చాలా మందిని అరెస్టు చేసింది. ప్రాజెక్టులో పని చేస్తున్న 80 మంది చాలా మందిని అరెస్టు చేసింది.

ప్రారంభ ప్రాజెక్టు పనిలోకి వచ్చినట్లు ప్రకటించారు. ప్రాజెక్టులో పని చేస్తున్న 80 మంది చాలా మందిని అరెస్టు చేసింది. ప్రాజెక్టులో పని చేస్తున్న 80 మంది చాలా మందిని అరెస్టు చేసింది.

ప్రాజెక్టులో పని చేస్తున్న 80 మంది చాలా మందిని అరెస్టు చేసింది. ప్రాజెక్టులో పని చేస్తున్న 80 మంది చాలా మందిని అరెస్టు చేసింది.

అనుమతి 5/12/05

అనుమతులొచ్చేదాకా పనులొపండి: మేధా
 ప్రాజెక్టులో పని చేస్తున్న 80 మంది చాలా మందిని అరెస్టు చేసింది. ప్రాజెక్టులో పని చేస్తున్న 80 మంది చాలా మందిని అరెస్టు చేసింది.

వేములవరంపై మేధా, వాటిల్ల కుట్రా
నిజాలు చూడలేకపోతుంటేదు : కోనేరు
 ప్రాజెక్టులో పని చేస్తున్న 80 మంది చాలా మందిని అరెస్టు చేసింది. ప్రాజెక్టులో పని చేస్తున్న 80 మంది చాలా మందిని అరెస్టు చేసింది.

Ponnala promises fair deal to tribals facing displacement

Polavaram project works can wait till final nod comes: Patkar

Special Correspondent

HYDERABAD: Major Irrigation Minister Ponnala Lakshmaiah has promised the best resettlement and rehabilitation package for affected tribals under the Polavaram irrigation project.

"Any decision on rehabilitation and compensation will be taken only after the consent of displaced people, particularly tribals," Mr. Lakshmaiah told reporters after a lengthy three-hour-long meeting with Narmada Bachao Andolan chief organiser Medha Patkar at the Secretariat here on Sunday. "There will be no harassment of villagers by the police," he added.

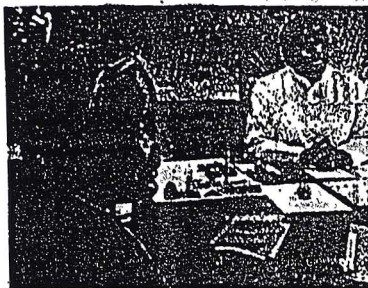
First meeting

It was the first meeting between the Minister and the social activist and representatives of the Solidarity Committee for Anti-Polavaram Agitation and both sides expressing their views on the project. Ms. Patkar was here on the Minister's invitation.

Responding to a question from activists, Irrigation Secretary Satish Chandra said the Central Water Commission had given clearance in principle and the final nod was awaited.

Ms. Patkar said without getting all clearances it was not ideal to go ahead with the project and referred to ongoing canal works.

She also quizzed the Minister about the funding pattern, R&R



ON A MISSION: Narmada Bachao Andolan leader Medha Patkar with Irrigation Minister Ponnala Lakshmaiah in Hyderabad on Sunday. - PHOTO: MOHD YOUSUF

package and alleged harassment of villagers by the police.

She insisted that revenue teams should extensively tour villages and interact with people before finalising the compensation package.

Statistics on the number of families to be displaced was not in tune with those gathered by people's organisations.

Fear over villages

Expressing serious concern at the large-scale displacement of villagers, Ms. Patkar wanted the project design to ensure that

fewer villages got submerged. The Government should respect decisions taken at gram sabhas and implement the same. She also voiced concern over heavy police presence in villages.

Mr. Lakshmaiah provided two volumes of the environment impact assessment to the delegation.

He asked her to come back for second round of dialogue and promised to accept the suggestions. Speaking to reporters after the meeting, Ms. Patkar said she was satisfied with the first meeting.

State tries to woo Medha

By OUR CORRESPONDENT

Hyderabad, Dec. 4: In a bid to take environmentalists into confidence while undertaking the controversial Polavaram project, the irrigation department on Sunday tried to convince environmentalist Medha Patkar on the need to take up the project.

Major irrigation minister Ponnala Lakshmaiah and irrigation secretary Satish Chandra held a two-and-a-

half hour meeting with Ms. Patkar and members of Committee against Polavaram at the Secretariat and answered their queries.

Speaking to mediapersons later, Ms. Patkar said she would express her views only after going through the documents provided by the government on the package proposed to be given to the tribal evacuees, environmental impact and backwater effects of Polavaram project.

Major irrigation minister Ponnala Lakshmaiah and irrigation secretary Satish Chandra held a two-and-a-

In these debates the western epistemological assumptions underlying the theory and practice of biomedicine, remains as the guiding principle. Nettleton (1995) points out that the biomedical model is based on five basic assumptions such as: Cartesian dualism of mind/body, mechanical metaphor of body, technological imperative, reductionism and the doctrine of aetiology. The biomedical model claims to be scientifically neutral, objective, rational and value free, which is the result of the impact of lingering Cartesian heritage on it. It propagates for the Cartesian model of mind/body dichotomy and suggests that the mind and body can be treated separately. Body can be repaired in the same way as a machine can be fixed. It also adopts the mechanical metaphor of the body, suggesting that the doctors can act like engineers to mend the disfunction of the body. For mending the disfunctions of the body, the technologies like drugs or machinery can bring solution to the problem. Biomedicine adopts a reductivist approach to the disease, by which it assumes that health and disease are neutral phenomena which exist in the individual body, rather than in the interaction of individual with the social world. The biomedical model also advocates the doctrine of specific aetiology, by which a single specific factor is held responsible for disease. It fails to account the multifactorial effects of the broader social environment on susceptibility to disease (Annandale, 1998, Nettleton and Gustafusson, 2002). The objectivist perspective of biomedicine also assumes that 'the entire range of human explanations and practices regarding health, illness, disease and death, from evil eye beliefs to the chanting of sutras in a temple, can be rendered superfluous through universal education in public health and human biology and through the availability of affordable Western medical care (Lock and Scheper-Hughes, 1996: 43).'

Patkar, social worker and environmentalist, meets Major Irrigation Minister P Lakshmaiah to submit a memorandum on Polavaram project at the Secretariat in Hyderabad on Sunday. -Expressphoto

Govt assures help to Polavaram oustees

Express News Service

Hyderabad, Dec 4: The State Government today promised necessary help to those who are likely to be displaced by Polavaram project but was non-committal on the demand for stoppage of work on the dam put forth by the Solidarity Committee for Anti-Polavaram Agitation.

Speaking to reporters after the three-hour meeting with National Alliance of Peoples' Movement (NAPM) convenor Medha Patkar and others, Major Irrigation Minister P

Lakshmaiah said that the government has formulated the best rehabilitation and resettlement policy in the country but would welcome any suggestion to do justice to the affected people.

He made it clear that police force would not be used to shift the project oustees (mostly tribals) as the government has not acquired even a cent of private land without consent of the owners. "We are open for a dialogue and will continue in the best interests of the tribals," he said.

Medha Patkar said that it would have been ideal had the government stopped the work on the project as it is yet to get clearances from the Central Water Com-

mission, Planning Commission and others. "The displacement should be either nil or minimum and the tribals, who are stakeholders of the project," she said.

Medha Patkar said that the villages to be affected adopted a resolution in their gram sabhas opposing the project and the government should hold meetings with them and present the full project report to them.

Police force would not be used to shift the project oustees, assures Minister

To a question on the outcome of the meeting, she said: "We are satisfied but the final consent for the project has to be obtained in the gram sabhas."

Clarifying that the NAPM was not against Irrigation projects, she said that they can be taken up without disturbance to the locals. She also wanted the government to hold another meeting to consider technical aspects and also a one-day seminar to discuss various issues relating to the projects.

Earlier, Secretary (Irrigation) Satish Chandra replied to most of the queries pertaining to salination, water logging of the fields raised by the Committee leaders.

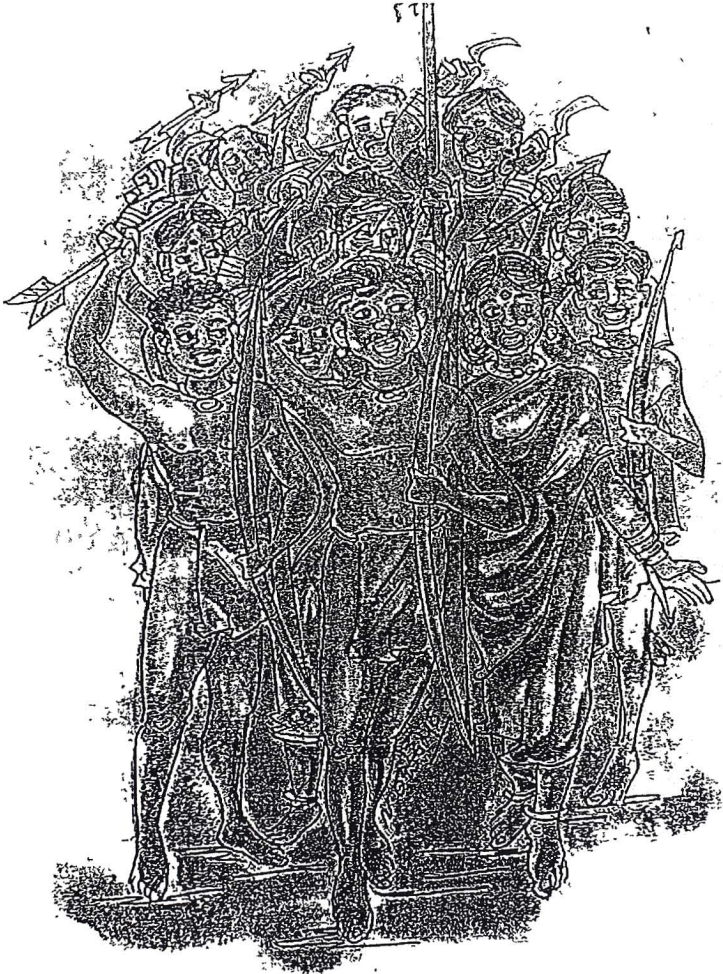
"The government considered 13 options before finalising the Polavaram project at that site," the official said.

He also said that fishing rights in 25 lakh acres of the project area would be given to tribals only.

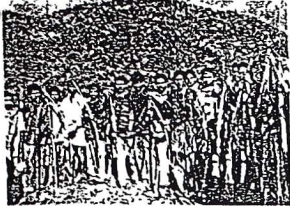
2. Polavarani Vythirekanga Maro Girijana 'Pituri' (A proclamation of tribal war against Polavaram dam) Andhra Jyothi (Telugu daily), dated 9-12-2005, West Godavari district.

శివరాత్రి 9/12/05
పోలవరానికి వ్యతిరేకంగా

మరో గిరిజన 'పితురి'



9/12/55 వోలవరానికి వ్యతిరేకంగా



పోలవరం ప్రాజెక్టును వ్యతిరేకంగా విల్లంబులు వచ్చినట్లు గిరిజనులు

మరో గిరిజన 'పితూరీ'

విల్లంబులు ఎక్కువైట్టిన ఆదివాసీలు

9-5-55

వోలవరానికి వ్యతిరేకంగా 9/12/55

మరో గిరిజన 'పితూరీ'!

విల్లంబులు ఎక్కువైడుతున్న ఆదివాసీలు

(ఏజెన్సీ నుండి ఆఫీస్లో ప్రచురించి) పోలవరం ప్రాజెక్టుతో ముంపునకు గురికానున్న ఎవ్వరూ, వచ్చినాగోరావరి, తుంగభద్రగోదావరి జిల్లాలలోని ఆదివాసీలు మరో 'పితూరీ'కి సిద్ధులు పడవు. 172లో గోదావరి ఏజెన్సీలో మొదటి పితూరీ జరగగా... దీనివల్ల 1894-97 మధ్య నిమ్మలూ పాడు గిరిజనులు తిర్లూ కంపెనీలకు వ్యతిరేకంగా ఉద్యమించారు. మళ్ళీ జిల్లాల పోలవరం ప్రాజెక్టు నిర్మాణాన్ని ఆడ్డుకునేందుకు పోలాటాకి సిద్ధమవుతున్నారు. రాము వుట్టి పరిగిని కొండలు, కోనేలు మునుగురుంటి సహాయకపోతున్నారు. 'మా తాత ముత్యారలు గోదావరి పైకి కొండము చుట్టూ వెళ్ళి వెళ్ళిపో' అనికోట్ల. మేము జిల్లాలమేదీ అని, లాగునేమీ కుని పిల్లల్ని సందికొస్తున్నం. పోలవరం పైజిల్లు పేరు పెట్టి మమ్మల్ని మళ్ళీ కడిగివేస్తున్నారం అంటే మేము మళ్ళీ కొండముచుట్టూ 'రెవల్యూషన్' అని కొండెడ్లు ప్రశ్నిస్తున్నారం అనుచుండే ఆయుధాలైన పిల్లల బా, కత్తులు, గొడ్డళ్ళను పోలాటానికీ సిద్ధం చేసుకుంటున్నారం వచ్చే జనవరి మూడవ వారంలో పోలవరం ప్రాజెక్టు నిర్మాణ స్థలంపైకి రంకెక్కడో ఉన్నాయి.

సర్వే అధికారులకు ప్రాసేసం నిషేధం

జిల్లాలలోని లూరపాడు, భద్రాచలం, పశ్చిమగోదావరి జిల్లాలలోని పోలవరం అంటే నిర్మాణకార్యాలలోని గిరిజనుల లాభిప్రయోలు తెలుసుకోవడానికి ఏమీం రాష్ట్ర కార్యదర్శి వి.వి.రామస్వామి, భద్రాచలం ఎమ్మెల్యే రాజయ్య తదితరులు బుధ, గురువారాల్లో ఆ ప్రాంతాల్లో వచ్చి దించారు. 'హైదరాబాద్ సుందీ మీడియా ప్రతినిధులు కూడా వారివెంట వెళ్లారు. గోదావరి పరివాహక ప్రాంతంలోని బూగంపాడు, కుకునూరు, అత్తిగూడెం, బువనేగిరి, ఠాపేరు, రేచెట్ల, నల్లగూడెం, అరవల్లి, రెడ్డి పాలెం, వెంకటాచారం, పెదవాయి గుంజం, రుద్రమకొండ, ఏలేరుపాడు, కూనవరం, శబరికాళ్ళగూడ, కొలూరి గమ్మి, పాచిపాడు, ఇప్పుడు, పోలవరం, కొల్లూరు లంక, టాకూరు, వాడపల్లి, రేగోంపల్లి తదితర గిరిజన గ్రామాలు మిడియా బ్యూరో సంరక్షించండి అక్కడి ప్రతి గిరిజనుడు. మనకే కూడా పోలవరం నిర్మాణాన్ని వ్యతిరేకిస్తున్నారం. ప్రాజెక్టు నిర్మాణ స్థలంలో రాష్ట్ర ప్రభుత్వం 14 పెక్టన్ ఏజెన్సీ; ఆ ప్రాజెక్టు వల్ల జన్మించిన కోల్పోతున్న గిరిజన గ్రామాలపై ఎమ్మెల్యే వారావరం బువ్వపేటి పోలవరం ప్రాజెక్టు గురించి సర్వే చేయడానికి వచ్చే ఆదివారం వచ్చే నిడ్డం అన్న పోర్టు ప్రాజెక్టు గిరిజన గిరిజన ప్రాజెక్టునూ బువ్వపేటి

వివిధ రూపాల్లో వస్తున్న అధికారులు అధికారానికి కావలసినా, రెవెన్యూలు పెట్టి గుడికి వచ్చే పోయే వ్యక్తులను పట్టి పట్టి చూస్తున్నారు. రోజుకొక నయం...! 'పోలవరం పైజిల్లు వచ్చే వచ్చు. అట్టి దేవు డబ్బులూ వచ్చు. ఈ రెట్టు కింద రాజైనా సరే కానీ మా భూమి వదిలేద్దామ' అని కూతుంటా చెబుతున్న గిరిజనులు 'అక్కడ బూము తిక్కం. ఇల్లిక్కం అని నర్సూరు మమ్మల్ని ఉన్నాగోడకొంది. ఆ మాటల్ని నశ్చే నమ్మం. యిక్కడి వనం, గొడ్డు, చెట్లు, ఆడవి గడ్డలు, తుమ్మకూడలు అడుంటాయి...! అక్కడ నేం బాగుండలే లేదో... నీళ్ళ వడతయో ఇన్న ఇంకా బాగు చేసుకుని మా భూములను గారంట్టిన భూములు గా మార్చుకుంటాం అంటే ఈ ప్రభుత్వం కంటే రజాకార్లే నయం రజాకార్లు దంపెత్తి వచ్చుతున్నారం గుట్టల మీదకు పోయి డాక్యుమెంట్, వాళ్ళ పోగానే వెళ్ళు వచ్చే వాళ్ళం పోలవరం వచ్చు ఏదైతే? అదిజు వచ్చే రు అంటే కదా! వాళ్ళను రుపాకలుంటే మాకు మా ఆయుధాలున్నాయి అని అంది...! గారు ప్రజలు తెలిసే చెయ్యకున్నారు తిరిగిబడ్డ అడవిపెట్టలు పోలవరం మండలంలోని మా

రు, వాడపల్లి గ్రామాల ప్రజలు కొలుకు మంది పునరావాస పరకాన్ని ఆశించారు. ముందుగా తమకు రావాల్సినవన్నీ చెల్లించిన తర్వాత మనులు చేసుకోవాలి చెప్పారు. అయితే రాష్ట్ర ప్రభుత్వం కోలుకున్నా ప్రవర్తించే ప్రకారం మాకే ఎప్పుడూ సింగిల్ సింగిల్ లో మనలకు అనిరతుమారేలే పాటు మనీ వెంటమంది అధికారులతో అనుభవం 120-0 పెక్టన్ కింద 'పోలవరం' కేసు పెట్టడంలే... అయితే ప్రాంతాల గిరిజనులు క్షేప్ ఆగ్రహం నికోటి ప్రాజెక్టు నిర్మాణాన్ని వ్యతిరేకించాలని తీర్మానించుకున్నారు. ఇప్పుడు ఎంతమంది పునరావాసాన్ని ఇచ్చినా ఒప్పుకునేది లేదని వాడపల్లి గ్రామానికే చెందిన కుంజం బాలమ్మ మనీ వెంటమమ్మ, కుంజం మారమ్మలు, టేకూరు గ్రామానికే చెందిన అమర కృష్ణ కొలి చిన్నారెడ్డి, నంకం రు రాంబెడ్డి తదితరులు వ్యాఖ్యానించారు గిరిజనులతో మాట్లాడుతూ రామువల్లు, 'మనం కుక్కలకు భయం పడే పోలిపోతే అని వెంటబడతాయి. మనం నిజాబాద్ కక్కలు పోలిపోతాయి మీరు పోలిపోతున్నామంటే తరిమిస్తారు నిజాబాద్ ఎవరు వచ్చే రేయిలేరు చిమ్మలులు ముంపునా పోలవరం కట్టాలని ప్రభుత్వం అనుకుంటే ప్రభుత్వమే మునిగిపోతుంది మరోసారి వచ్చినా ప్రాజెక్టు వచ్చదు వచ్చే మనులు ఆ పోలవరం

విందుకెన్ని ఆటంకాలు?

2/12/05

పునరావాసమే అసలు సమస్య □ అందరికీ ఆదర్శం చైనా పోలివరం: వీరికి క్షణమొక యుగమే

త్రీ గోర్డెస్: వారి బతుకు బంగారం

నైలు, టెహాజ్ వరం రహస్య ప్రపంచంలోని అతిపెద్ద వన దానాగ్రహించిన నిర్మాణం. అందరికీ ఆదర్శం చైనా పోలివరం: వీరికి క్షణమొక యుగమే

పోలివరం: వీరికి క్షణమొక యుగమే

□ పెద్దపల్లి-అందుకాలు మధ్య హెబ్బాల్ కాసు నిర్మాణం మొదలై ముందర చివరకే అందుకాలు వసతికి అందుకుండును

అందరికీ ఆదర్శం చైనా

□ పెద్దపల్లి-అందుకాలు మధ్య హెబ్బాల్ కాసు నిర్మాణం మొదలై ముందర చివరకే అందుకాలు వసతికి అందుకుండును

అందరికీ ఆదర్శం చైనా

□ పెద్దపల్లి-అందుకాలు మధ్య హెబ్బాల్ కాసు నిర్మాణం మొదలై ముందర చివరకే అందుకాలు వసతికి అందుకుండును

పునరావాసమే అసలు సమస్య

□ పెద్దపల్లి-అందుకాలు మధ్య హెబ్బాల్ కాసు నిర్మాణం మొదలై ముందర చివరకే అందుకాలు వసతికి అందుకుండును

□ పెద్దపల్లి-అందుకాలు మధ్య హెబ్బాల్ కాసు నిర్మాణం మొదలై ముందర చివరకే అందుకాలు వసతికి అందుకుండును



పాఠశాలలో నిర్వహించుతున్న రోజువారీ పనులకు ప్రోత్సాహం

నిపుణులకు ప్రోత్సాహం

ప్రభుత్వం వారు నిర్వహించిన ప్రాజెక్టులో పాఠశాలలో నిర్వహించిన పనులకు ప్రోత్సాహం ఉండాలని కోరుకుంటున్నారని తెలుపుతున్నాయి. ప్రాజెక్టులో పాఠశాలలో నిర్వహించిన పనులకు ప్రోత్సాహం ఉండాలని కోరుకుంటున్నారని తెలుపుతున్నాయి.

నిపుణులకు ప్రోత్సాహం ఉండాలని కోరుకుంటున్నారని తెలుపుతున్నాయి. ప్రాజెక్టులో పాఠశాలలో నిర్వహించిన పనులకు ప్రోత్సాహం ఉండాలని కోరుకుంటున్నారని తెలుపుతున్నాయి.

నిపుణులకు ప్రోత్సాహం

ప్రాజెక్టులో పాఠశాలలో నిర్వహించిన పనులకు ప్రోత్సాహం ఉండాలని కోరుకుంటున్నారని తెలుపుతున్నాయి. ప్రాజెక్టులో పాఠశాలలో నిర్వహించిన పనులకు ప్రోత్సాహం ఉండాలని కోరుకుంటున్నారని తెలుపుతున్నాయి.

IV. 55. Polavaram Nirvasitulaku Punaravasampai Prabhutvanni Nammedela...? (How to believe the GoAP on its commitment to implementation of R&R package...?), Praja Shakti (Telugu daily), dated 8-12-2005, West Godavari district.

9/12/05

జూరు మాకావాలి

'పాకిలవరం' ముంపు ప్రజల నినాదం

ప్రకృతి సాయుగా వడమ వరకడ రెక్క గొర్రెమా...!
 దిండుకు నంరం వనక కేళ...
 వీరకట్ట రేలిం నుర్రాళగ ప్రసిద్ధినింకే సావిగాండలు...
 రోడువల్లెళ్ళ మాది మాది వచ్చులు...
 రేం పాటల వరేపాపాక ప్రాంబుడి...!!
 బద్దాడు అగ్రహారాంటి ప్రాణాల్లరొంది, బద్దేళ్ల వద్దేళ్ల
 బుద్ధకు మాంబే, గోరూ వరక వాలగ నవవళ్ళ వారు...
 కాసి... వేరేపాపాకే అడుగు... కాసి... అరారం చేపవని
 అబ్బడివల్లెళ్ళ గుండెల్ని, పాపవరం కచ్చెల్లోకి వైసైరావచ్చి,
 పొర వానెచ్చి, బొంబుకాకకే పోతున్నాడు. పాపవరం ప్రాణాల్కు
 నొసాం కోసం అక్క వచ్చే వేరుదానికి వచ్చిస్తే అధికారంప
 గ్రామాల్లోకి రావీనుకాకడని తిర్రావిందువచ్చారు అక్కడ
 గింపుతలు... అల్లెపాంపే అధికారంబాక బీదలు తప్పవని

నవరాలు...48



జనం మాట వింటే

పాపవరం వద్ద కరువుతో
 జరిగి ముంపున ఆ ప్రాంత ప్రజలు
 వీరంగా కుట్రకొన్నాడు. దానివల్ల
 అవదంబి రిమారం చేస్తున్నారం
 ప్రకృతి సాయంప వారుంటాడు
 ముంపు తరువాత వారుంటాడు
 కమిషన్ ముంపు ప్రాజెక్టు
 అంగీకరిండ్డట ప్రసిద్ధులకక
 నిర్వహణకు రెండు రోజుల వే!
 వచ్చునదే ప్రజల వాడే ఆ మరూ య
 ప్రజల అభిప్రాయాన్ని గొర్రెదాకా
 ముంపు ప్రజలను దీనివల్ల వీరం
 జనం ప్రజలను వచ్చుతూ దాని వాక
 అక్కడ ప్రజలను వచ్చుతూ దాని వాక

IV. 56. Mavuru Makkavali (We want our villages), Praja Shakti (Telugu daily), dated 9-12-2005

వరం కాదు.. మాకు శాపం!

హైదరాబద్ పట్టణం, నవంబర్ 24

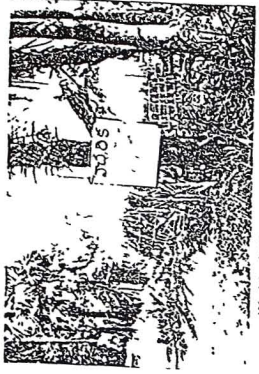
హైదరాబద్ ప్రాంతీయ వర్షం వల్ల మౌలిక సౌకర్యం దుర్బలమైంది. దుర్బలమైన వర్షం వల్ల నగరంలోని వాతావరణం మౌలిక సౌకర్యం దుర్బలమైంది. దుర్బలమైన వర్షం వల్ల నగరంలోని వాతావరణం మౌలిక సౌకర్యం దుర్బలమైంది. దుర్బలమైన వర్షం వల్ల నగరంలోని వాతావరణం మౌలిక సౌకర్యం దుర్బలమైంది.

- ★ పోలవరంపై ఆందోళన పథాన గిరిజనం
- ★ నేడు ఖమ్మం, పశ్చిమ కర్ణాటక నుట్టడి

గోదావరి నది పర్యాటక ప్రాంతం అయిపోయింది. గోదావరి నది పర్యాటక ప్రాంతం అయిపోయింది. గోదావరి నది పర్యాటక ప్రాంతం అయిపోయింది. గోదావరి నది పర్యాటక ప్రాంతం అయిపోయింది.

— అనిల్ కుమార్, తణుకు

గోదావరి నది పర్యాటక ప్రాంతం అయిపోయింది. గోదావరి నది పర్యాటక ప్రాంతం అయిపోయింది. గోదావరి నది పర్యాటక ప్రాంతం అయిపోయింది. గోదావరి నది పర్యాటక ప్రాంతం అయిపోయింది.



పాలవరం ప్రాంతం నుండి తీసుకువచ్చిన అభివృద్ధి. అది హైదరాబద్ పట్టణం.

పాలవరం ప్రాంతం నుండి తీసుకువచ్చిన అభివృద్ధి. అది హైదరాబద్ పట్టణం. పాలవరం ప్రాంతం నుండి తీసుకువచ్చిన అభివృద్ధి. అది హైదరాబద్ పట్టణం.

పాపికొండలు.. ఇక చరిత్రే

పాపికొండలు వెనుక చివరికి మిగిలిపోయాయి. పాపికొండలు వెనుక చివరికి మిగిలిపోయాయి. పాపికొండలు వెనుక చివరికి మిగిలిపోయాయి.

పాపికొండలు వెనుక చివరికి మిగిలిపోయాయి. పాపికొండలు వెనుక చివరికి మిగిలిపోయాయి. పాపికొండలు వెనుక చివరికి మిగిలిపోయాయి.

IV. 58. Papikondalu... Ika Charitre (Papikondalu .. will remain as history), Vaartha (Telugu daily), dated 23-11-2005, West Godavari district.



Since late 1970s the biomedical model of body and health has come to be increasingly challenged. It has been criticized by the social scientists that the biomedical model fails to locate the body within socio-environmental context, it does not take into account the social inequalities in health. A need for a more comprehensive approach to study health and body has been advocated by the social scientists. The “social model” of health and body has emerged within sociology of health and illness out of the critique of the biomedical model. This model challenges the mind/body dichotomy of the biomedical model and undermines the very idea that the physical body can be treated or “fixed” independently. Rather, it suggests that the whole person should be considered and cared for. This model proposes that the health, disease and illness are not just related to biophysical changes, but are also influenced and shaped by the wider socio-economic context. Hence, it suggests that for a deeper understanding of health, illness and disease, there is a need for a clear knowledge of power relations and social inequalities (Nettleton and Gustafsson, 2002).

While advocating for a comprehensive model to study health and body, Turner (1995) proposes that a comprehensive sociology of health and illness must involve the study of health and illness in society at three levels: the “individual level”, which examines the person’s conception of health and illness, the “social level”, which examines the social creation of disease categories and health care organizations, and the “societal level”, which examines health care systems within their political context. Lock and Scheper-Hughes (1996) suggest for a “critical interpretive perspective” to study health in order to have a holistic view of health and body. Rather than simply studying the “alternative” medical systems, this model tries to study the way in which all knowledge relating to the body, health, and illness is culturally constructed, negotiated, and renegotiated in dynamic process through time and

HYDERABAD

THE HINDU, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 3, 2005

Tribal groups oppose Polavaram

Submit memorandum to Union Minister

Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI: Tribal groups have opposed the Indira Sagar (Polavaram) multipurpose project of the Andhra Pradesh Government saying that it will adversely affect the indigenous population and endanger the livelihood of two lakh people in 276 villages of three districts in the State. They have asked the Centre not to give permission for the construction of the project and stop the ongoing work immediately.

In a memorandum submitted

• Say two lakh people will be affected

• Ask Centre to stop the work immediately

to Union Tribal Affairs Minister and Chairperson of the National Commission for Scheduled Tribes, the tribal groups, supported by members of Parliament, Panumalli Madhu and Midiyam Babu Rao, have pointed out that of the 276 villages to be sub-

merged 274 were notified under the Schedule V of the Constitution. The nature of the villages would be altered and the displaced people would be deprived of the protection conferred on them by the Constitution. Only the President has the power to change or alter the Scheduled Area and since the State Government has not sought any Presidential order, it is a violation of the Constitutional provisions.

No TAC advice?

Pointing out that law stipulat-

ed that the Tribes Advisory Council (TAC) would advise the Government on the matters related to the welfare and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes, the tribal groups said no such exercise was undertaken and neither was the Gram Sabha or Panchayat consulted before acquiring the land.

The State Government also does not seem to have undertaken studies on alternative models that would obviate submerison, which is against the rehabilitation policy.

All-party meet on Polavaram, Pothireddypadu projects soon

Government to make power-point presentation on the controversial projects

Special Correspondent

HYDERABAD The standoff between the Government and the Opposition ended on Tuesday with the latter attending the business Advisory Committee meeting, paving the way for assembly to take up the day's business.

The Government has invited the Opposition to convene an all-party meeting on the Pothireddypadu and Polavaram projects and to discuss the way forward. It would make a power-point presentation on the controversial projects. The Opposition delegation accompanied

- Standoff in Assembly ends
- TRS, MIM members stage dharna
- Stormy meet of BAC

by Major Irrigation Minister and technical experts, to the two projects. Finance Minister K. Rosaiah, who made this offer, said the Chief Minister and technical experts would be present at the all-party meeting. If the members were not sat-

isfied with details presented at the meet, the Government had no hesitation to arrange a visit to the sites of the two projects.

He, however, rejected the demand for stopping work, and sought to assure protection of riparian rights of all.

Earlier, MIM and TRS members disrupted question hour after their respective adjournment notices on rebuilding Babri Masjid and Polavaram project were rejected by Speaker K. R. Suresh Reddy.

Members of the two parties, holding aloft placards, rushed into the well and raised slogans

forcing the Chair to adjourn the House on two occasions.

The TRS members led by former Ministers T. Harish Rao and N. Narasimha Reddy also staged a sit-in near the Speaker's podium.

Walkout at BAC meet

In a bid to ensure the smooth functioning of the House, the Speaker convened a meeting of the BAC, which was marred by a walkout by TRS members and fiery exchanges between Legislative Affairs Minister K. Rosaiah and TDP deputy leader T. Devender Goud. Chief Minister Y. S. Rajasekhara Reddy and Mr

Rosaiah also asked Leader of the Opposition N. Chandrababu Naidu to see that the decorum of the House was maintained.

When the House re-assembled, MIM members staged a walkout over the issue of Babri Masjid's demolition.

They accused the Government of showing lip sympathy after the Chief Minister did not accept their demand for adoption of a resolution seeking reconstruction of the mosque.

Dr. Reddy pointed out that the House had passed a resolution in 1992 and the matter was sub-judice.

52. FIR and remand report pertaining to criminal case on tribal activist, dated 9-11-2005, Polavaram.

REMAND REPORT

To

The Hon'ble II Addl. J. First Class Magistrate,

KOVVUR.

Sir,

Sub. - Cases - criminal - request to grant 15 days remand to the accused and to take him into judicial custody - remand report - submission of - reg.

Ref. - Cr.No.84/2005 U/s 124(A), 353 1/w 34 IPC of Polavaram P.S.

Accused:

A1: **GANGU ANIL KUMAR,**
S/o Rangarao, 30 years, C/Koya,
Kondrukota(v), now at Kothapeta,
Bapuji Colony, Polavaram.

I submit that the accused noted above is the resident of Kondrukota village and now he is residing at Kothapeta, Bapuji colony in Polavaram, and he is Koya by caste having no respect towards law

Sri B.V.S.Sai Kumar, Mandal Revenue Officer, Polavaram is the complainant in this case.

The offence took place is at Kondrukota of Polavaram Mandal, which lies within the jurisdiction of this Hon'ble Court.

On 08-11-2005 at 8-00 PM the above noted Complainant presented a report stating that the Village Secretary of Kondrukota village reported that the above noted accused along with A2 Medenkada Filoman S/o Samuel, 32 years, C/Mala, Kondrukota (v), Polavaram (M) caused sedition by giving words to the villagers of kondrukota village who rehabilitation people under Indira Sagar Project to excite disaffection towards the Government and caused obstruction to the legitimate duties of the village Secretary and other Govt Officials while they are surveying the house holds, families and agricultural fields, which involving in Indira Sagar Project habitations in Kondrukota Gram Panchayat in between 04-11-2005 and 08-11-2005

In this connection, the above-referred cases registered and investigated into



During the course of investigation, examined witnesses and recorded their statements

On 09-11-2005 at 12 noon the above noted AI was arrested at his house in Kothapeta, Bapuji colony of Polavaram, after explaining him about the reasons of his arrest and he was brought to the Police Station at 12-30 PM and handed over to sentry PC for safe custody at 12:45 PM after due search.

The above arrested accused did not complain any ill treatment at the hands of Police. His arrest intimation was given to his blood relatives and he was also explained about the bail procedure

As the investigation in this case is not yet completed for collecting some more evidence, I am forwarding the above arrested AI to the Hon'ble Court for judicial custody.

Hence, I pray that the Hon'ble Magistrate to grant 15 days remand to the above accused and to take him into judicial custody, so as to enable me to complete investigation and lay charge sheet

Be pleased to consider.

Yours faithfully,

[Signature]
SUB-INSPECTOR OF POLICE,
POLAVARAM P.S. 9/11/05

Encl

- 1) Part-I CDs Dt. 8-11-05, 9-11-05. Along with part-II statements
- 2) Arrest card & ack.

Received Copy
B. Prabhakar

09.11.05 at 8:00pm:- The accused in former through P.O. 876's 1698. He did not complain any ill treatment at the hands of Police. Please see copy of first CD as remand report. The Accused is well bonded against the accused. He is to be kept in custody till 23.11.05

M. R. 09

Sir,
Received warrant and one Prisoner by Prabhakar P.O. 876's 1698

Xerox CF of Rs 11/- Paid
True Copy of Original
Taken Down in Mechanical
Process by Xerox Machine
537

EXAMINER

1st ACB
11/5/05
9/11

IP Form Order No



FIRST INFORMATION REPORT
(Under Sections 154 Cr.P.C.)

1 Dis. **WG** P S **Polavaram** Year **2005** File No **84** Date **8-11-2005**

2 (i) Act **SK** Sections **124 (A), 353 v/w 34 IPC**

(ii) Act Sections

(iii) Act Section

(iv) Other Acts & Sections

R355
9 11 05

(a) Occurrence of offence Day Date from **4-11-05** Date to **8-11-05**

Time Period Time from Time to

(b) Information received at P.S. Date **8-11-2005** Time **8 P.M.**

(c) General Diary Reference Entry No. Vol. **V** Time **8 P.M.**

4 Type of Information:

5 Place of Occurrence: (a) Direction and Distance **P.S. North, 1.5 KM.**

Beat No

(b) Address **Kandrukota Village, Polavaram Mandal.**

(c) In case, outside the limits of this Police Station, the Name of P.S. District

6 Complainant/Informant:

(a) Name **Sri B.V.S. Sai Kumar.**

(b) Father's/Husband's Name

(c) Date/Year of Birth (d) Nationality

(e) Passport No. Date of Issue Place of Issue

(f) Occupation **Mandal Revenue Officer.**

(g) Address **Polavaram.**

7 Details of known/suspected/unknown accused with full particulars (Attach separate sheet, if necessary)

(1) **Sangu Anil Kumar. Kandrukota Village Polavaram Mandal.**

(2) **Filonray, Kandrukota Village, Polavaram Mandal.**

(3)

8 Reasons for delay in reporting by the Complainant/Informant

1/2

TRUE COPY
EXAMIN

Particulars of property stolen/involved (Attach separate sheet if necessary)

10 Total value of property stolen/involved

11 Inquest Report/UD Case No if any

12 First Information contents (Attach separate sheet if required)

ROC. NO. 270/2004/Dy M.R.O.

From:-

Sri B.V.S Sai Kumar,
Mandal Revenue officer
Potlavaram.

Mandal Revenue Office,
Potlavaram, Dated 8-11-2005

To
The Station House Officer
Potlavaram

Sir

Sub:- Indira Sagar Project - West Godavari District - Potlavaram Mandal -
Kondrukota Gram Panchayat - Enumeration of House holds and
Agriculture field survey - Obstructed by Sri Gangu Anil Kumar
and Filoman of Kondrukota Village - Action Requested.

Ref:- Report of the Village Secretary Kondrukota Gram Panchayat, dt 8-11-05

Contd Page 4

13 Action taken Since the above information reveals commission of offence(s) u/s as mentioned at Item No 2

(1) Registered the case and look up the investigation or

(2) Directed (Name of I.O.), Y.B.P.T.A. Prasad, Rank SI, No 601 to take up the investigation or

(3) Refused investigation due to or

(4) Transferred to P.S. District, ... on point of jurisdiction

F.I.R. read over to the Complainant/Informant, admitted to be correctly recorded and a copy given to the Complainant/Informant, free of cost.

R.O.A. 0

14 Signature/Thumb impression of the Complainant/Informant

Signature of Officer in-charge, Police Station Potlavaram P.S. 8/11/05

Name Y B P T A. PRASAD

Rank SI of POLICE No 601

15 Date & Time of dispatch to the Court by 8-11-05 Hon'ble Jind AIFCMs Court, Kovvur

TRUE COPY

EXAMINER



Attachment Form 7 of First Information Report

Physical features, deformities and other details of the suspect/accused (If known/seen)

Sl No.	Sex	Date/Year of Birth	Build	Height (cms)	Complexion	Identification Mark(s)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Deformities/Peculiarities	Teeth	Hair	Eyes	Habit(s)	Dress Habit(s)
8	9	10	11	12	13

LANGUAGE/DIALECT	PLACE OF				
	Born Mark	Leucoderma	Mole	Scar	Tattoo
14	15	16	17	18	19

These fields will be entered only if complainant/informant gives any one or more particulars about the suspect/accused

TRUE COPY

EXAMINER

Contd

I wish to inform that it is reported by Sri S Venkatesh, Village Secretary of Kondrukota Gram Panchayat that the enumeration teams appointed for the purpose of house holds, families and agriculture field survey involving in Indira Sagar Project in eight habitations situated in Kondrukota Gram Panchayat are attending to the work entrusted since 4/11/2005. The villagers of the said Gram Panchayat are not co-operating the teams attending for the purpose with the backing of Gangu Anil Kumar and Filoman of Kondrukota Village.

It is also reported by him that the above persons are obstructing Government work purely with selfish and malibide intention against Government duty misguiding and cheating the innocent tribals.

The Village Secretary Kondrukota further reported that on 08-11-2005 while he was bringing Village level committee of Kondrukota Gram Panchayat to I.T.D.A. office, Kota Rama Chandrapuram to make them attend the meeting to held by the District Collector and Joint collector, Eluru in I.T.D.A. office, Sri Gangu Anil Kumar and Filoman stopped the vehicle carrying the above committee members forcefully and sent them back, with a warning not to attend the meeting. Thus these two persons are obstructing operations being performed by the Government. The Village Secretary finally requested to take action against them.

In view of the circumstances reported by the Village Secretary, Kondrukota detentive action may be taken as per law against Sri Gangu Anil Kumar and Filoman of Kondrukota Village for causing obstruction to Government work and also for acting against Government besides misguiding and cheating innocent tribals standing behind the curtain. A copy of the report of the Village Secretary together with the statement recorded from him are here with enclosed for taking necessary action.

I request report compliance in the matter

Yours faithfully,

Sd/- B.ES Sait Kumar
Mandal Revenue Officer
Polavaram

Copy submitted to the collector, West Godavari, Eluru for
follow up information

Copy submitted to the Superintendent of Police Eluru

Copy submitted to the Revenue Divisional Officer, T.G.

Copy submitted to the Sub-Divisional Police Officer J.G.

Copy to the Circle Inspector Polavaram.

Relieved report and registered the same as FIR in CR-NO-84/05 U/S 126(A),

353 W/34 9PC of Polavaram P.S on 8-11-05 at 8 P.M.

Sd/- Y.D.P. A. Asad
S.P. Police
Polavaram P.S 8/11/05

Original FIR along with complaints report submitted to the Honble Jmd ATFC Court Kovvur, Copies of FIRs submitted to the Inspector of Police DCES Eluru, Inspector of Police Polavaram Circle one to Constaint one for station file

Xerox CF of Rs 5/- Paid
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Process of Xerox Machine
EXAMINEE

Sd/- P.ES
Polavaram P.S
2/11/05

SENIOR CIVIL JUDGES COURT	
KOVVUR W.G.D.	
C.A No	3528/05
C.A File	13-12-05
Stamp	14-12-05

Rev No 270/2004/Dy M R O,

Mandal Revenue Office,
Polavaram. Dated 8.11.2005



From
Sri B.V.S. Sai Kumar,
Mandal Revenue Officer,
Polavaram.

To
The Station House Officer,
Polavaram.

Sir,

Sub:- Indira Sagar Project - West Godavari District - Polavaram Mandal -
Kondrukota Gram Panchayat - Enumeration of House holds and Agriculture
Field survey, - Obstructed by Sri Gangu Anil Kumar and Filoman of
Kondrukota Village - Action - Requested.
Ref:- Report of the Village Secretary Kondrukota Gram Panchayat, Dt 8.11.05

I wish to inform that it is reported by Sri S.Venkatesh, Village Secretary of
Kondrukota Gram Panchayat that the enumeration teams appointed for the purpose of
house holds, Families and Agriculture filed survey involving in Indira Sagar Project in
habitations situated in Kondrukota Gram Panchayat are attending to the work
started since 4.11.2005. The Villagers of the said Gram Panchayat are not co-
operating the teams attending for the purpose with the backing of Gangu Anil Kumar and
Filoman of Kondrukota Village.

It is also reported by him that the above persons are obstructing
Government work purely with selfish and malifide intention against Government duly
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he was brining Village Level Committee of Kondrukota Gram Panchayat to I.T.D.A.
Office; Kota Rama Chandrapuram to make them attend the meeting to held by the District
Collector and Joint Collector, Eluru in I.T.D.A. Office, Sri Gangu Anil Kumar and Filoman
stopped the vehicle carrying the above Committee members forcefully and sent them
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to take action against them.

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Kondrukota Village for causing obstruction to Government work and also for acting
against Government besides misguiding and cheating innocent tribes standing behind
the curtain. A copy of the report of the Village Secretary together with the statement
recorded from him are herewith enclosed for taking necessary action.

I request report compliance in the matter.

Yours faithfully,

Mandal Revenue Officer,
Polavaram

- Copy submitted to the Collector, West Godavari, Eluru for favour of information
- Copy submitted to the Superintendent of Police, West Godavari, Eluru
for favour of information.
- Copy submitted to the Revenue Divisional Officer, Jangareddigudem
for favour of information
- Copy submitted to the Sub-Divisional Police Officer Jangareddigudem
for favour of information

space. This perspective aims at retaining a constructive critical stance of biomedicine, at the same time it attempts to explore the notion of “embodied personhood”, the relationship of cultural belief and practices in connection with health and illness to the sentient human body. Further, Lock and Scheper-Hughes suggest us “three bodies” for a holistic understanding of body. For them the “three bodies” are the “individual body”, the “social body” and the “body politic”. For them the “individual body” refers to the lived experience of the body as self. The “social body” refers to the representations uses of the body as a symbol of nature, society and culture. By “body politic” they refer to the regulation and control of bodies (Csordas, 1994). According to them in the non-western cultures, the individual body self tend to be fused with the social body. And often the individual is believed to experience multiple selves. In the non-western cultures, sickness is often explained or attributed to malevolent social relations, or to the breaking moral codes or to disharmony within family or the village community. In such societies the therapy tends to be collectivized. There is a symbolic equation between healthy body and healthy society, as well as diseased body and the malfunctioning society. The biomedical model of individualized body and individualist treatment does not address the issues related to the social body. Hence, for a holistic understanding, a comprehensive model of health needs to take “multiple bodies” into account (Lock and Scheper-Hughes, 1996).

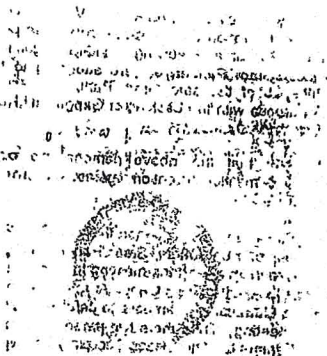
Hence, the concern with theorizing human body has taken a central place in the study of Sociology of Health and Illness. Though biomedical approach to study human body has remained as the predominant model, there have been attempts within the Sociology of Health and Illness to study human body from a holistic point of view. This increasing interest to study human body within this sub-discipline of sociology was one of the important factors in

Received report and registered
the same as FIR in no: 84/05

U/S 124(A), 353 & 34 IPC &

Polavaram P.S.M. 8.11.05 at 2 PM.

AL
S/O P. S. M.
Polavaram P.S.
8/11/05



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EXAMINER

SENIOR CIVIL JUDGES COURT	
KOVVUR W.G.D.	
CA No	3520/05
CA File	13.12.05
Stamps	14.12.05
Stamps	14.12.05
CA Recd. on	14.12.05
CA Delivered on	14.12.05
A. Srinivas Examiner	



IN THE COURT OF THE HONOURABLE II nd ADDL. JUDICIAL 1ST CLASS
MAGISTRATE: KOVVUR

Cri.M.P.No /2005
Crime. No 84/2005
Pdavaram. P.S

Between:

- C. PHILEMAN C*
1. Medenkala. Filoman S/o Samuel, 32 yrs, Mala, Kondrukota (V).
Pdavaram (M), Pdavaram P.S.Limits

.... Petitioner / Accused

- and
1. The state rep. through S.H.O. Pdavaram P.S., . Respondent / Complainant

PETITION FILED ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS/ACCUSED U/S 434 OF
CR.P.C.

1. The petitioner herein humbly submits that he is the accused in the above numbered crime and further submits that he is a law abiding citizen and has not committed any offence punishable under law much less the alleged offences charged against him.
2. The respondent / Complainant registered the case against the petitioner / Accused under Sections 124(A), 353 r/w 34 of Indian Penal Code.
3. The petitioner / Accused further submits that he is denying all the allegations levelled against him by the respondent / complainant. The petitioner humbly submits that he is illegally and highhandedly charged by the respondent having hand in glove with his enemies and absolutely there is no truth in the allegations made against him. The above crime is foisted against the petitioner.
4. The petitioner / Accused further submits that he approached the Hon'ble Dist.; Court anticipating an arrest and harassment in the hands of respondents and the Hon'ble Pr. Dist. & Sessions Court was pleased to grant him anticipatory bail u/s 438 of Cr.P.C.
5. The petitioner / accused further submits that as per the directions of the Hon'ble Dist., Court surrendering before this Hon'ble Court within one week from the date of the Order. As such, the petition is within the time.
6. The petitioner / accused further submits that the petitioner did not file any application of similar nature before any other court with regard to the above crime
7. The petitioner / Accused, therefore, prays that the Hon'ble Court may be pleased to accept his surrender and remand him to judicial custody, considering the above stated facts and circumstances and in the interests of justice

Stallion: Kowur
Dated 13-12-2005

Be pleased to consider

M. Phileman

Advocate for petitioner / Accused

Handwritten notes and signatures in the bottom left corner, including 'A.C.V.' and 'Kovvur'.

ASB

SURRENDER PETITION

Cr. No. 84/2005
P. Polavaram P.S.
124(A), 353, E.M. - 414
9/04 477 ord

12/12/05
CP-3520/05

A2 Medenkala Folan @
M. Phelanon,
S/o Samuel,
32 yrs, Koppunda,
Pellavore Mandal.

Suspect

Petitioner - A2...
The petitioner...
No. 2516...
A2...

The petitioner...
No. 2516...
A2...

ffo

13/12/05
Petitioner - A2 Present. He is shown as A-2 in the I.R. Petitioner - A2 is identified by his counsel. His surrender is accepted as per the directions of the Honorable District Court N.G., Eluru in Cr.P.C. 2516/2005 dated 12/12/2005. Hence, the petitioner A2 is remanded to the judicial custody till 26.12.2005. Inform police on payment of batta.

II. A. J. P. Kovvur
13.12.2005

ASB
IN THE COURT OF THE HONOURABLE IIND JUDGE, JUDICIAL 1ST CLASS MAGISTRATE



KOVVUR
Cr. P. No. / 2005
Crime. No. 84/2005
Polavaram. P.S

Between:
Medenkala Folan S/o Samuel, 32 yrs, M...
Polavaram (M), Polavaram P.S. Limits

Petitioner / 2nd Accused and
The state rep., through S.H.O. Polavaram P.S.
Respondent / Complainant

CP
JW
JMF

PETITION FILED ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS/ACCUSED U/S 431 OF CR.P.C

S.P. 97/5
13/12


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Kovvur-W G D!

SENIOR CIVIL JUDGES COURT
KOVVUR, W.G.D.
CA No. 3520/05
CA Filed on. 13.12.05
Stamps C.D. 11-10-05

IV. 63. Pidikedu Matti Tavvakundane Veyyi Kotlu (Disbursement of Rs.1,000/- crore towards mobilization advance without any earth work), Eenadu (Telugu daily), dated 4-3-2005.

వేయి కోట్లు



సాగునీటి ప్రాజెక్టుల నిర్మాణానికి రెండో కృష్ణులు రంగప్రవేశం చేయనున్నారు. టెండర్లు దక్కించుకుని ఒప్పందాలు కుదుర్చుకుని మొదలైతేనేనే నిర్మాణాలు కిను కోపడం వరకు రంగంలో ఉన్న మొదటి కృష్ణులు తెరచాటుకు వచ్చినారు. వాటా కినుకుని రెండవ కృష్ణులకు వసూలు అప్పగించే విధిలో నిమగ్నమయ్యారు. మొదటి కేటగిరిలో అర్హత పొంది వసూలు పొందిన కాంట్రాక్టర్లకు మళ్ళీ కూడా కియంకుం దానే నుమారు వేయి కోట్లు పొందనున్నారు.

-న్యూస్...డె, భూదరాజున్

పరిశోధన (14-3-2005)

పువరావాసం ఊసెత్తకుండా ప్రాజెక్టు పనులూ...

పాలవరం ఏప్రిల్ 18 (న్యూస్ టుడే). స్థానికంక ఏమీ చెప్పకుండా పనులు ప్రారంభించడం ఏమీటని పోలవరం ప్రాజెక్టు అందోగన సమితి సభ్యులు వెలుపురు. కాంట్రాక్టర్లు, ఇంజనీర్లు, పోలవరం నిర్దేశాలు, పోలవరం ప్రాజెక్టు పాట్వర్క్ల పనులను వెంటనే ప్రారంభించమని ప్రజావం అధికారులు టిఫోనీవంకో కాంట్రాక్టర్ల పాలవరం ప్రారంభించమని దింకో ఏవరికి సంబంధించిన వ్యవస్థాపక చూడడానికి కరలివస్తున్నారు. వారికపాటు యంత్రాలను రిప్పించడం ప్రారంభించారు. స్పెర్వే పనులకు సంబంధించిన యంత్రాలు రావడంకో వాటిని వచ్చిన స్థానాని, పనులను ప్రారంభిస్తే టిఫోనీవం లేదని సభ్యులు సాధ్యంవరంకో ఏమీ పాలవరం పరిశోధనలో వారు ఉన్నారు. అంతవరం ఏ అధికారి వచ్చి తమ ఉనికి, పువరావాసం గురించి మాట్లాడే ప్రయత్నం గ్రామస్థులకు తెలియకుండా పనులు చేపట్టారే, రేపు మా పరిశోధి ఏమీ ఉంది వారు నిర్దేశంకో ఇంజనీర్లు తప్పకుండా సమావేశం ఏర్పాటుచేస్తామని పోటీ అధికారులు అధికారులు పనులు ప్రారంభించడానికేవలం చేయడంకో గిరిజనులు తమ అందోగన కాల్క్షమాట్లాడి ఉద్వేగంవేసే దిశగా కాల్క్షమాట్లాడి ప్రారంభించారు. మంగళవారం కేటగిరి గ్రామంలో అందోగన సమితి అధ్యక్షుల సమావేశం ఏర్పాటుచేశారు.

contributing towards the development in the academic theorization of human body in the post 1980 scenario. Along with this, the rise of second wave of feminism also contributed significantly in bringing “body” to the centre of academic articulation.

Women and body politics:

Shilling (1993) points out that one of the important factors which contributed towards the growing interest in the academic conceptualization of body, is the second wave feminism in the 1960s. However, the second wave feminist engagement with body could not escape the Cartesian dualism, where the material body and immaterial are split. While the Western culture has a tendency to elevate mind over body, as feminists have observed, there is no transcendence over the material/immaterial dichotomy for women in Western discourse. A dominant approach to the female body within second wave feminism has been influenced by de Beauvoir’s claim concerning the limits of the body to women’s freedom and its transcendence status (Howson, 2005). The second wave feminism’s conceptualization of women was much influenced by the de Beauvoir’s “*Second Sex*”, which got translated into English in 1972. Even though de Beauvoir in her book “*Second Sex*” has tried to articulate the social construction of gender, Hughes and Witz (1997) point out that de Beauvoir’s analysis seems to be caught up in the mind body dualism. De Beauvoir writes, ‘one is not born rather becomes a woman’, through this articulation de Beauvoir tries to establish that gendering or becoming a woman or a man, is a product of social, thus biology is not the all embracing destiny for woman. In arguing that ‘biology is not the destiny’ de Beauvoir privileges social over the anatomical and explains that the biology of women can not explain their total situation. Hence, her view of female body is a socially inflicted body. For her, it is patriarchy which has reduced woman in terms of her body. Through her articulation, she

conceptualizes freedom as a project of mind, as a state of consciousness which transcends the immanence of embodiment, by which she gets trapped within the Cartesian dualism of mind/body (Witz, 2000).

The feminists inspired by de Beauvoir's analysis of how one is not born but becomes a woman conceptualized female sociality into the view of gender. The distinction between the corporal "sex" and the social "gender" was the enabling movement of the feminists in sociology. Feminist sociologists sidelined body matters and foregrounded gender matters, by which they tried to release theory from biological or natural determinism and subjected them to a theory of social determinism (ibid). In the feminist discourse, the dominant conceptualization of gender got articulated in terms of the social construction. Since body is seen through social interpretation, sex is not seen as something that is separate from gender, but rather that which is subsumable under it. Because of its implicit claim that the differences between women and men are rooted in biology, the concept of sex suggested the immutability of such differences and hopelessness of change. To undermine the power of this concept, feminists of the late 1960s drew on the idea of social construction of the human character. Most feminists during late 1960s and early 1970s accepted the premise that there existed real biological phenomena differentiating women and men that are used in all societies in similar ways to generate a male/female distinction. Gender was introduced as a concept to supplement sex, not to replace it. Sex seemed to be essential in elaborating the very meaning of gender. Biology is assumed as the basis upon which the cultural meanings are constructed. Physiological self was considered as the "given" upon which specific characteristics are "superimposed". The feminists acceptance of such views meant that sex

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horticulture programmes like promoting cashew orchids by tribal farmers and assets like school complexes and Project Monitoring Resource Center (PMRC) created as a part of the project (ITDA 2001 17-19)

The GoAP's thrust for construction of 'Indira Sagar' project in the West Godavari is going to displace large number of tribal people and this will add to those thousands, who have already been displaced by other development projects. Both the central and state governments are spending crores of rupees on tribal development through various components and projects, and one has to wait and see the impact of the programmes in improving the lot of tribals. This is because, the development efforts, so far have not succeeded in transformation of most of tribal groups and their socio-economic conditions. The benefits of tribal development are not reaching the poor tribals. The non-tribals are getting the tribal tag and in the process deriving the benefits of reservations and constitutional rights of the real tribals (Babu 2007 1-7)

1.7 Irrigation Projects Proposed in the West Godavari Agency

India is the third largest dam builder country in the world and it now has over 3,600 large dams and over 700 more are under construction. India's development policies and strategies have focused attention on indispensability of irrigation as important input for agriculture. Large-scale irrigation projects are important for higher agriculture growth, besides establishment of industries, power projects and reservoirs, etc. India gave tremendous encouragement to the large river valley projects or large multipurpose dams. The dominant ethos was 'big is the best' and the conviction is that large multipurpose projects are the panacea to all the problems of poverty and under development (Babu 2007 1-7)

West Godavari district has a potential for the development of irrigation sources, since it was located between Krishna and Godavari delta areas. According to basic data reports of West Godavari district administration (2006), there are more than 240 minor

still retained an important role. It provided the site upon which gender was thought to be constructed (Nicholson, 1994).

Shilling (1993) in his text "*The Body and Social Theory*" traces the trajectory in terms of sociology of body and implicates that the rise of second wave feminism as one of the factors in the emerging academic interest in the body. Shilling claims that feminist analysis of women's oppression brought the body into academic conceptualizations of patriarchy, which cited reproduction and biological body as the source of patriarchy. Witz (2000) criticizes Shilling for his attempt to establish the point that the feminist movement placed the body at the center of the explanation of women's oppression. According to Witz, while it is true that the feminist activists have put a new body politics onto the political agenda, it is not necessarily the case that feminist academic work placed the body at the centre of discussions of patriarchy and women's oppression. Much of the feminist work and feminist sociology in particular has displayed marked reluctance to make "the body" central to explanations of women's oppression. Although much feminist work has drawn attention to the ways in which women's bodies are exploited and managed under patriarchy, it has rarely taken embodiment as starting point. In feminist sociology too, the focus has been more on the ways in which women's bodies are lived, experienced, controlled under patriarchy, rather than problematizing embodiment per se. In spite of the criticism of Witz, the feminist theorist's contribution in bringing "body" to the centre of articulation can not be underestimated. Taking human embodiment as the centre of articulation can be found in the academic engagement of some of the feminists like Moria Gatens.

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Moria Gatens (1996) rejects the sex/ gender dualism on the grounds that it is a body/consciousness dualism. She argues that bodies were occluded by the feminist concept

of gender because this term obstructs from embodied beings. She argues that the sexual difference, not gender, should be the issue for feminism. According to Gatens biology is lived in a social and historical context. She redefines gender as power taking hold of and constructing bodies in particular ways, has effect of "embodying gender" by overwhelming the notion of gender by the body. The feminist theorization of body not only brought the human embodiment to the centre of social theorization, they also highlighted the andocentric nature of the mainstream social science theorization of the society.

The Construction of Women in the Classical Social Theories:

The seventeenth century liberal theorists such as Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau's conceptions of individualism, equality, freedom was based on distinctions and separation between "private" and "public" spheres as fundamental to liberal theory and practice. Carole Pateman (1983) indicates that the division of public and private underlies the complicated reality in the belief that women's natures are such that they are subject to men and their proper place is in the private and domestic sphere. Pateman's (1988) critique of the social contract of Lockean philosophy of liberalism is built on the assertion that the original contract is a sexual social pact, but the story of the sexual contract has been repressed. This sexual contract is both patriarchal, i.e., it establishes men's political right over women as well as sexual, in the sense of establishing orderly access by men over women's bodies.

The theoretical basis for the liberal separation of the public and private was provided in Locke's "*Second Treatise*". He argued against Filmer that political power is conventional and can justifiably be exercised over free and equal adult individuals only with their consent. Political power must not be confused with paternal power over children in the private, family sphere, which is a natural relationship that ends at the maturity, and hence freedom and

equality of (male) children (Pateman, 1983: 283-284)' According to Pateman, Locke's separation of the family and the political is also a sexual division. Although Locke argues that natural differences between men, such as age or talents, are irrelevant to their political equality, he agrees with Filmer's patriarchal claim that the natural differences between men and women entail the subjection of women to men or, more specifically, wives to husbands. He agrees with Filmer that a wife's subordination to her husband has a "Foundation in Nature". Hence, the husband's will must prevail in the household as the man is naturally "the abler and the stronger" But a natural subordinate cannot at the same time be free and equal. Being subordinate, women are excluded from the status of "individual" (ibid). Consequently, excluded from participating in the public world of equality, consent and convention. The growing separation of domestic and public sphere increasingly gave support to the biological explanation of male/female distinction as a binary one (Nicholson, 1994)

Rousseau also argued that the source of disorder of women lies in their boundless sexual passion. He further emphasizes that women are unable to subdue and sublimate their sexual desire in the same extent as men. Men are the active and aggressive sex and are "controlled by nature"; passive and defensive women have only control over modesty. Therefore, there must be a double standard of sexual conduct. Modesty is natural to women, but it provides a weak and uncertain control of their sexual desire. Rousseau provides many insights into the problem of the disorder of women. His political theory highlights the conflict between private interests of sectional associations and the general will or principles of justice that governs the political order. He fails to see that the family, too, is a sectional association that threatens justice. He pictures the family, the little commonwealth with father at its head, as the foundation of the state. Since family is the "foundation" of social life as it is the point of

“procreative origin” of society and because it stands directly at the border of nature, women are seen as guardians of order and morality as well as inherently subversive. Rousseau glorifies women’s tasks as mothers. He emphasizes moral implications of breast-feeding within the shelter of domestic life: women impose an order, a social pattern. Women are direct mediators between nature and society. Because women face nature directly and because, in giving birth in their other bodily functions, they appear as part of nature, they exemplify the ambiguous status of family as both natural and social. Women impose order and foster morality, at the same time because of the natural bodily process, which incurs dirt; they are seen as only partly under control. Hence women represent both order and disorder, both morality and boundless passion (Pateman, 1989, 21-25).

Elshtan argues in terms of the duality of morality and power, one way of formulating the separation of private and public, is the way this is located within civil society. Elshtan’s argument on duality of morality refers to the more fundamental separation of the private, domestic separation, from public life or civil society. The opposition between morality and power then counters the physical force and aggression, the natural attributes of manliness, which are seen as exemplified in the military force of the state, against love and altruism, the natural attributes of womanhood, which are paradigmatically, displayed in domestic life where the wife and mother stands as the guardian of morality (cited. in Pateman, 1983, 291-292). The liberal theorists conceptualize the male individual as “the individual.” The individual is the owner of the property in his person; he is seen in abstraction from his ascribed familial relations and those with his fellow men. In popular consciousness the duality of female and male often serve to encapsulate or represent the series of liberal separations and oppositions: female, implying - nature, personal, emotional, love, private,

intuition, morality, ascription, particular, subjection, and male implying - culture, political, reason, justice, public, philosophy, power, achievement, universal, freedom

The re-reading of the classical sociological heritage indicates that the sociality and rationality of the man-in-the-social was served the associativity and emotionality of the woman-in-the-body. It also served how the man was subjected to the sociological gaze while the woman was excluded from it. The critical readings of the textual strategies of sociology make us aware to the very fact that women have been over-invested with corporeality and under-invested with sociality. It also suggests that men have invested themselves with sociality while divesting themselves of their corporality (Witz, 2000). Durkheim's sociology clearly shows that his definition of the social involved the simultaneous exclusion of the corporal and of women. Durkheim's sociological project centered around establishing the social as a form of life sui generis distinct from the biological, the natural or the corporal- 'the more elevated it is, the more, consequently it is free of the body. It becomes less and less an organic thing, more and more a social thing' (cited in Witz, 2000: 13). The for-itselfness of the social is defined in contradiction to the in-itselfness of the "nature", "the body", the "instincts", and the profane. Men possess and women lack sociability. Durkheim's theory of social determinism insists that the individual is constituted with the social and has no existence outside it. Only men are subjected to the socializing, constitutive powers of the social, while women are subject to natural, not social determinism, living outside not inside society. Durkheim continually retrieves men from the possibility of corporal determinism and locates them squarely within the forces of social determinism (Witz, 2000: 13-14).

The feminist rereading of Max Weber by Roslyn Bologh (1990) suggest that the gendered subtextual strategy of Weber revolves around a struggle between rationality and

eroticism. For him the feminine is associated with the body and eroticism. Contrarily, the forms of social action and political struggle demanded in the modern world- the disenchanting world where reason prevails- are associated with a particular manly form of masculinity. There is an ever present tension in Weber's analysis of modernity between, on the one side, a will to power, where the presence of conflict, action and struggle means that there is dynamism, development and greatness and, on the other side, a will to sociability, where there are interpersonal pleasures, well-being, an absence of conflict and struggle, subjugation and impotence, and a lack of greatness. There is either the life of heroic "men", struggles for power, or the life of subjugated "women", peace and stagnation. Manliness - a strong version of masculinity functions as the metaphor of modernity. Weber opens up a world of men who struggle for power, men who strive to dominate their world, to give meaning to and find meaning in that world.

Spencer in his earlier days had supported women's rights, in 1850s he argued that the liberal doctrine of equal rights should be extended to women. But, by 1873 he was arguing against women's rights, specifically their right to vote, on the grounds that biology had made them charitable than men and thus more likely to interfere with the natural course of social progress by giving help to those who in the natural struggle for existence should not survive. Between 1850 and 1873, Spencer had developed a biological account of social progress. Spencer claimed that evolution dictated the character of the progress. According to him, "organic progress" consists in a change from the homogenous to the heterogeneous. Since this "law of organic progress" was in his view the "law of progress", biology had also dictated that progress would be marked by an advance towards greater heterogeneity. In the further development of his theory, Spencer concluded that the "organic law" as applied to the

social progress entailed a proliferation in and a "spontaneous evolution" of, the division of labour in society. This was spontaneous. He claimed that the division of labour between the sexes within his own society was the result of evolution. According to him biology must have fitted the sexes to their different social functions, and that, in turn, existing sex roles were therefore biologically prescribed. He argued that the existing psychological sex differences had been evolved to fit the sexes for their respective roles in sexual division of labour. He further argued that since men and women performed different roles in society this inequality must be justified on that basis alone. Nature must have fitted the two sexes for their current social roles- women as child rearers, men as workers in public domain. Women must have been fitted by biology with a "parental instinct" well adapted to child care since this was their role in society. According to him, biology had only ordained the fitness of men and women for their different social roles, it had ordained the very division of these roles in the first place, the sexual division of labour, an organic law of progress, the law of increasing heterogeneity. Social progress had in his view been inevitably marked by increasing differentiation of sex roles (Sayers, 1982)

In the dominant construction of western theorization, the masculinity was constructed in opposition to femininity. Men, in order to become fully men, were suggested to escape the female world of concrete daily life of the household into the masculine world of public life. In doing so, they come to see the public masculine realm as valuable, and come to see the private realm as useless and demeaning, though it is concrete and necessary. Women, in conjunction with their deep involvement in what are seen as bodily processes, such as menstruation, birth, childrearing, and housework experience their life as a natural process, which is concrete, bodily, real, and changing. Men strive for experience that are seen as

abstract, mental, ideal, eternal and unchanging (Martin, 1989). Hence, in the classical social theorization, the supremacy of man over woman was established. And, biology was seen as the basis for justifying the subordinate position of women. The man was considered and referred as "the individual". Thus, the social theorists, preoccupied in studying "the individual" in the society, focused on men as their subject matter of study.

Dominant Construction of Women's body:

The eighteenth and nineteenth century social and natural sciences were reasserting the superiority of men and inevitability of female subordination. The arguments about the physical fragility of women were brought together and crystallized into a model of health and illness in the eighteenth century, which argued that women's bodies made them fit only for the production, care of children and creation of a natural morality through family life. The distinction was drawn between women's and men's bodies. And the women's bodies were characterized as pathological. Women's bodies were equated with pathological nature and private sphere. Biological and medical sciences frequently compare women to male norms, which are taken as universal. Male body has been defined as "complete" and the norm, because of the changing and unstable nature of women's bodies, it was defined as inferior and different body (Shilling, 1993). Menstruation and menstrual blood has been constructed as a matter out of place, something which causes disease among women. Women's reproductive roles came to be pathologized through medical discourse.

The premenstrual syndrome has been understood as a hormonal category, which is pathologized and considered to be requiring special medical attention. Premenstrual syndrome is a broad term developed and used within gynaecology and general practice to refer to a range of symptoms and embodied experiences that construct female body as

deviant body. There are historical continuities between the development of premenstrual symptoms as a diagnostic category and the nineteenth century ideas about hysteria. The legal and medical discourses were developed and deployed to highlight the irrationality and lack of control embodied by the hysterical women. Premenstrual syndrome with its focus on hormonal imbalance and association with “unpredictability” is deployed to legitimize claims that women ought not to be given positions of responsibility in the public sphere (Howson, 2005). The experiences of women surrounding childbirth and motherhood are constructed by medical discourses in terms of normal and deviant category. Clinicians have defined women’s post-natal experience though proposing that well adjusted, normal and thus “good” mothers are those who are contented, and that mothers who are anxious or depressed are ill. Post-natal depression has been distinguished from other forms of depression by being placed in a causal relation to childbirth. Thereby the concept “post-natal depression” potentially represents a means of positioning women as potentially vulnerable solely as a consequence of biology. The experiences of having a baby, which is demanding, stressful and potentially depressing at times, these experiences of women are pathologised (Nicolson, 1997).

Oakley (1984) points out that the antenatal care represents an attempt to control women’s bodies. She argues that the antenatal care in true sense is antenatal “control”. In antenatal care the major problem is perceived to be the educational one. Women were to be educated in two ways. First the way the need for medical antenatal care is propagated, educating mothers is highly emphasized. The motherhood had to be set in the broader context of “mothercraft”, a necessary skill in women that could only be produced by education. The ideology of antenatal care reduces the problem of infant mortality to the problems of maternity or “mothercraft”, which in their turn are fundamentally problems of education.

In the similar way, the natural bodily changes in women have come to be pathologized and medicalized. This in turn serves the patriarchal interests in a covert way. The bodily changes which women may experience at menopause are medicalized as “symptoms” to be “relieved” by hormone implants, patches, pills and gels. Indeed the menopause often gets described as a “deficiency disease” by the gynecologists. The hormone replacement therapy medicalises or pathologises a life change traditionally seen as natural (Hockey, 1997)

During nineteenth century in the west, criminal law was increasingly deployed to make abortion a crime at any point during pregnancy. During this time a whole range of sexual acts that were not penetrative had also been criminalized and pathologized. With the rise of the late modernity in the middle of nineteenth century, the legal institution of motherhood emerged. Before that, motherhood had no legal existence. Only fatherhood existed in law. Establishing motherhood as a recognized social and legal institution involved considerable struggle by the feminists. The feminists were actively engaged in the constructing motherhood as a socially recognized institution. They demanded institutional recognition through the law, and they constructed an ideology of motherhood that rendered mothers as caring, vital, central actors in the domestic sphere, as well as persons with an identity and source of special knowledge that was essential to the good rearing of a child. Philanthropic organizations of the nineteenth century, followed by social workers, health and “psychology” professions also sought to impose specific standards of motherhood on working class women through health education, child protection legislation and various activities associated with poor relief, such as demand for maternity benefit. This resulted in imposing new values and practices of mothering which could be more draconian, such as bringing criminal prosecution against mothers for having their children unattended while they went for work. The ideals of

motherhood became fixed into policies and it became feasible to apply these standards widely through teams of health visitors, doctors, social workers etc. (Smart, 1996)

Feminist Counterpoint:

The feminist ideology in the early 1970s was an ideology of women's liberation from the burden of reproduction, the ideological platform included free abortion on demand, free and easily available contraception and sterilization, and twenty-four-hour-a-day childcare. Motherhood itself was viewed as an obstacle to the goal of sex equality. During 1970s in the feminist movement the broad focus on reproduction was overtaken by political actions on abortion rights. A critical approach to science and technology began to emerge during this period of time. In the 1970s and early 1980s, the radical feminist writings on female body were diverse.

Some of the feminist writings claimed that the female body has been "naturalized" in ways that are exploited by the patriarchal power. To overcome women's oppression, the feminist writings looked forward to the technological solutions and valorized the role of science. For example, Sulamith Firestone in her book "*The Dialectic of Sex*", in 1971 highlighted the role of science and medical knowledge in helping women overcome their oppression. She articulated that women's role as natural reproducers makes them the victim of subordination and help men to gain ascendancy over them. The subjugation of women is rooted in the division of labour which begins with the differing roles males and females have in the reproduction of the species. To free women, it is necessary to eradicate firstly the division of labour as institutionalized in the family, secondly, the structure of the family. Firestone articulated that science will enable women in overcoming the subordination by reproducing people artificially and eliminating the female reproductive function. Her clearly

articulated analysis of reproduction both as the cause of and the solution to women's oppression has been criticized for biological reductionism and for her assumption that science, technology and the state are neutral institutions (Hanmer, 1997) Firestone reduces the history of the relation between nature and culture or private and public to an opposition between male and female She argues that the origin of the dualism lies in biology and procreation, a natural or original inequality that is the basis of the oppression of women and the source of male power. Firestone's argument reduces the social conceptions of "women" and "men" to the biological categories of "female" and "male" and thus denies the significance to the complex history of relationship between men and women or between private and public spheres (Pateman, 1983) In 1970s and 1980s a critical approach to science and technology in oppression of women began to emerge

Feminist scholarship during this period of time tried to focus on the embodied existence of women in the patriarchal structure It tried to analyze the sex/gender, nature/culture, biology/society divisions Feminist scholars like Sherry Ortner (1974) tried to explain that culture becomes identified as the creation and the world of men Women are being identified or symbolically associated with nature, as opposed to men who are identified with culture Because, women's biology and bodies place them closer to nature than men, and because their childrearing and domestic tasks, dealing with unsocialized infants and with raw materials, bring them into closer contact with nature Women and domestic sphere appear inferior to the cultural sphere and male activities, and women are seen as necessarily subordinate to men. But the whole scheme of nature/ culture dichotomy is a cultural construct, which places women in a subordinate position

The socially ascribed primacy of motherhood in women's lives was criticized by most of the radical feminist scholars during this period. The patriarchal institutionalization of motherhood is articulated as a source of women's oppression, in which the oppression lies in the nature of social structure, within which the motherhood is experienced. In the health discourse, it is worth looking into the articulations on institutionalization of motherhood and other stereotypical construction of women because in the health discourse women are primarily anchored to motherhood roles. Further, women are often addressed through these stereotypical constructions, some times explicitly and more often implicitly, by both the state and non state agents. The motherhood "mandate" is also "serviced" by the popular and powerful belief surrounding the notion of a "maternal instinct", which is a socially constructed myth. The "maternal instinct" is built on the notions that all women have a biological drive towards conceiving and bearing children, this is a precursor to the drive to nurture children, and the skills required to care for children emerge or evolve immediately after the birth without the need for training (Nicholson, 1997)

Adrienne Rich has problematized the institutionalization of motherhood role of women. She points out that woman's status as child bearer has been made into a major fact of her life. Terms like "barren" or "childless" has been used to negate any further identity. The term "nonfather" does not exist in any realm of social categories. A "natural" mother is a person without any further identity. Through institutionalization of motherhood, demands are made from women for, maternal "instinct" rather than intelligence, selflessness rather than self realization, relation to others rather than the creation of self. Motherhood is "sacred" so long as the offspring are "legitimate"- that is, as long as the child bears the name of father who legally controls the mother. It is "woman's highest and holiest mission" to be a mother. The

age old association is that: Woman's place is the "inner space" of the home, woman's anatomy lays in her ethical imperative to be maternal in the sense of masochistic, patient, passive, and women without children are "unfulfilled", "barren" and empty women. Women are reduced to bearer and nourisher (1976: x11-3)

Hence to explain the stereotypical constructions of women, Rich points out that, throughout patriarchal mythology two ideas flow side by side one, that female body is impure, corrupt, the site of discharges, bleedings, dangerous to masculinity, a source of moral and physical contamination, "the devil's gateway" On the other hand, as mother the woman is beneficent, sacred, pure, asexual, nourishing, and the physical potential for motherhood, which is her single destiny and justification in life. In order to maintain two such notions, each in its contradictory purity, the masculine imagination has had to divide women, to see us, and force us to see ourselves, as polarized into good or evil, fertile or barren, pure or impure (1976: 15). Rich explores motherhood as distorted and controlled experience at the expense of women for the benefit of men She argues that the institutionalization of motherhood is the problem. Catharine A MacKinnon (1982) goes further to describe the patriarchal construction of women, whereby she describes that, the contemporary industrial society's version of her is docile, soft, passive, nurturant, vulnerable, weak, narcissistic, childlike, incompetent, masochistic, and domestic, made for child care, home care, and husband care. Conditioning to these values permeates the upbringing of girls and the images of emulation thrust upon women Women who resist or fail, including those who never did fit- for example, black and lower-class women who cannot survive if they are soft and weak and incompetent, assertively self-respecting women, women with ambitions of male dimensions- are considered less female, lesser women. Women who comply or succeed are

elevated as models tokenized by success on male terms or portrayed as consenting to their natural place and dismissed as having participated if they complain. A woman is a being who identifies and is identified as one whose sexuality exists for some one else, who is socially male.

To articulate the stereotypical construction of women, Ann Ferguson (1986) explains through the idea of "sex/affective production systems." Sex/affective production systems are historical systems of parenting, sexuality and nurturance. She explains that the historically variable need for children's labor, and the work necessary for childrearing, are part of the material base for socially constructed patriarchal modes of sex/affective production. These stems organize the social practices of marriage, prostitution, kin networks and stigmatization of homosexual practices that allow men's control of women's bodies. In the process men dominate women's sexuality, nurturance, and unequal exchange of gender labor and control of the key product, children.

Sarah Ruddick (1980) points out that mother may stimulate particular ways of perceiving and explaining the world, which she calls as "maternal thinking." She claims that maternal thinking evolves through the very experience of being a mother who of necessity engages in the universal and culturally prescribed practices needed to maintain a child's life and nurture it. Socially and psychologically, mothers develop a distinctive way of seeing and being in the world in order to accomplish this and mothers frequently adopt a style of "humility" and "cheerfulness" to cope with their priority activities. Ruddick analyzes the qualities of thinking and caring that the qualities of thinking and caring that enforced mothering has developed in women. Though the practice of enforced motherhood is oppressive, the best qualities of mothering or maternal thinking embody the kinds of caring

which men also could express to others. These qualities stand in opposition to the destructive, violent, and self-aggrandizing characteristics of "masculinity". She insists that the only way of introducing these values into the political domain is to assimilate men into private domain and child care. This would break down the separation between the public and private sphere and take the pressure off women to live vicariously through their children, and give men an investment in making the public domain more committed to reforming child-care practices (Rowland, 1987).

Mary O'Brien argues that childbirth and its associated moments, give women connection to and knowledge of the world through experience which is fundamentally different from that of men. In child birth women labour, which transforms biological reproduction into human activity. Men do not labour in the same way in the process of biological reproduction. Hence men are alienated at the point of biological reproduction because they do not labour. The gendered character of reproduction consciousness develops from the fact that men's relationship to the nature is characterized by alienation, whereas women's relation to nature is marked by continuity. Whereas maternity and maternal reproductive consciousness involves a unity of consciousness and involuntary reproductive labour, paternity and paternal reproductive consciousness are process in which ideas dominate over materiality. In order to overcome the alienation, men seek to appropriate the child through fatherhood in marriage, through which they exert control. According to O'Brien the patriarchy has given primacy to men's definition of life and value which is grounded in their existential separation from species continuity. This has taken place as a result of men asserting control over the product of women's labour, children (Shilling, 1993, Nicolson, 1997)

Cultural feminism:

Cultural feminists subscribe to the ideal that women are “essentially connected” not essentially separate from the rest of the human life, both materially, through pregnancy, intercourse and breast feeding and existentially through the moral and practical life. According to cultural feminist accounts of women’s subjectivity, women value intimacy, develop a capacity for nurturance and an ethic of care for the “other” with which we are connected, just as we learn to dread and fear separation from the other. The cultural feminist explanation for women’s heightened sense of connection is that women are more “connected” to life than men are, because it is women who are the primary care takers of young children. A female child develops her sense of identity as “continuous” with her caretakers, while a young boy develops a sense of identity that is distinguished from his caretakers. Because of the gender alignment of mothers and female children, young girls “fuse” their growing sense of identity with a sense of sameness with and attachment to the others, while because of the gender distinction between mothers and male children, young boys “fuse” their growing sense of identity with a sense of difference and separation from the other. This turns out to have truly extraordinary and far reaching consequences for both cognitive and moral development (West, 1988).

Nancy Chodorow (1978) draws on psychoanalytic account of male and female personality development to demonstrate that women’s mothering reproduces itself cyclically. Women as mothers, produce daughters with mothering capacities and the desire to mother. On the other hand, women as mothers produce sons whose nurturant capacities and needs have been systematically curtailed and repressed. This in turn prepares men for their less affective family roles and for primary participation in the impersonal extra-familial world of work and public life. The sexual and familial division of labour in which women as mother

are more involved in interpersonal, affective relationship than men, which produces in daughters and sons a division of psychological capacities which leads them to reproduce this familial and sexual division of labour. Chodorow argues that girls/women and boys/men develop in a context, which encourages the psychological capacities and commitments to participate in the existing social relations and structures. The dominant structures, whereby women mother and men work outside home are accompanied by appropriate psychological capacities which underlie these tasks and these are reproduced at both conscious and unconscious levels.

According to Carol Gilligan (1982) women view themselves as fundamentally connected to, not separate from the rest of life. She further points out that since masculinity is defined through separation while femininity is defined through attachment, male gender identity is threatened by intimacy while female gender identity is threatened by separation.

According to cultural feminists, women are more nurturant, caring, loving and responsible to others than men. West (1988) points out that through the connection thesis the women raise children - and hence raise girls who are more connected and nurturant, and therefore more likely to be nurturant caretakers themselves - because it is women who bear children. Women are not inclined to abandon an infant they have carried for nine months and delivered. If so, then women are ultimately more "connected"-psychically, emotionally, and morally-to other human beings because women, as children were raised by women and women raise children because women, uniquely, are physically and materially "connected" to those human beings when the human beings are fetuses and then infants. Women are more empathic to the lives of others because women are physically tied to the lives of others in a way which men are not. Women's moral voice is one of responsibility, duty and care for

others because women's material circumstance is one of responsibility, duty and care for those who are first physically attached, then physically dependent, and then emotionally inter-dependent. Women think in terms of the needs of others rather than the rights of others because women materially, and then physically, and then psychically, provide for the needs of others. Lastly, women fear separation from the other rather than annihilation by him, and "count" it as harm, because women experience the "separating" pain of childbirth and more deeply feel the pain of the maturation and departure of adult children

From the above discussion on radical feminist and the cultural feminist theorization of women's body and gender roles, it becomes evident that while the radical feminism criticized the dominant construction of women in the patriarchal society, the cultural feminism resulted in valorizing the dominant construction of womanhood in terms of motherhood and caretaking roles. Thus, a critical understanding of the cultural feminist theorization of women's body and reproductive roles makes it clear that the taking the cultural feminist point of view as a reference point for the study will only result in valorizing the patriarchal construction of womanhood and consequently result in reinforcing the subordination of women. Contrary to this, through the analysis of patriarchal construction of womanhood, the radical feminist theorization offers a critical perspective to understand the root cause of oppression of women in the patriarchal society. Hence in my study, I have taken the radical feminist theorization of women's body and gender roles as the point of departure

Women's Health Movement:

Women's health movement in 1970s and 1980s placed special emphasis on bodily self-knowledge. It specifically examined the relationship between the medical knowledge and

experiential knowledge of the body. The movement became increasingly critical about the medicalization of women's bodies. Aware of women's lack of knowledge, the women's health movement produced a series of literature such as "new women's survival catalog" by Grimstad and Rennie in 1973, "Our Bodies Our Selves" by Phillip and Rakusen in 1978 and 1989 and "The New Women's Health Handbook" by MacKeith in 1978. The Boston Women's Health Collective's "Our Bodies, Ourselves" was born out of small group discussions at a Boston Women's Conference in 1969. White, middle-class western women were the main audience for these handbooks during 1970s; little material was addressed to the health care needs of Black, lesbian and working class women who were more at risk of illness, both from their material and social environment and within existing systems of health care. In the late 1980s the books such as "Alive and Well A Lesbian Health Guide" and "The Black Women's Health Book" published, which tried to address the health concerns of such marginalized women. "Women's Health", a news letter published by the Women's Health collective in London, has been addressing feminist health matters since the late 1980s, giving women's access to current medical research in issues devoted to Black women's health, addictions, ageing, international women, women in prison, and women in Ireland (Hockey, 1997, Shilling, 1993, Howson, 2005). The hazards of new contraceptives became an important issue during this time and became the centre of feminist articulation on reproductive health in the west. Black women's groups took up cudgels pointing out to the deeply racist ideas underlying the ideas of population control and some among them accused the white feminists of being colour blind (Rao, 2004).

The feminist academics influenced by the women's health activism challenged the way in which health was defined in the language of biomedicine and rejected expert construction

of female body as deviant. These works addressed substantive issues concerned with fertility control, misogyny in biomedical scientific technological practices, the politics of child birth and reproduction. This scholarship enabled feminists to challenge the general tendency in medical practice for women's experiences and knowledge to be disregarded by practitioners and to refocus on the embodied experience of health and health care through a range of tactics. The feminist scholarship in 1980s regarding female embodiment was concerned with the various ways in which female body is defined and addressed as a deviant body (Howson, 2005). The misogynist nature of medical speciality particularly in obstetrics and gynecology was brought into discussion by the feminist academics during this period of time. For instance, Oakley (1984) pointed out how the divisions within medicine - obstetrics, gynaecology, paediatrics, neonatal paediatrics, fetal medicine, reproductive medicine - have segmented women's bodies into competing professional characters and domains of medical work. Womanhood and motherhood has become a battlefield for not only patriarchal but professional supremacy, the medical profession has been able to harness paternal/patriarchal assumptions about women's personality and role to the service of its own ascent to professionalization.

During this period of time the political agendas and issues related to the control of fertility, abortion rights, medicalization of childbirth etc. became the centre of feminist analysis of patriarchy. The popular academic feminist writings in 1970s and early 1980s were largely concerned with body politics, such as women's health projects, sexual violence and pornography. The radical feminist writings during this period of time specifically addressed the significance of female body to women's subordination and articulated the way biological body becomes the source for patriarchy.

Section-II

Indian State health discourse:

The colonial state initiated the process of establishing the hegemony of western science and biomedicine. At the same time, the national leadership in India contributed significantly in establishing the hegemony of western biomedicine over other indigenous medical systems. Though the dominant voice within the nationalist movement was in conformity with the western biomedicine, a stream of thought opposing the hegemony of biomedicine was also prominent within the national leadership. One of the most prominent criticisms against western biomedicine came from Gandhi. He was one of the few in the nationalist movement who rejected biomedical regimes of truth as a part of imperialism. Never the less, Gandhi subscribed to the ideology, which placed centrality of scientific experiences as the road to truth (Ram, 1998). At the same time he criticized the western biomedicine on the basis of its dichotomous world view. According to him the doctors and hospitals only concentrated on treatment of the body and ignored the importance of spirit within it. He called western medicine "black magic" as he believed that the western medicine tempts the body and practically ignores the spirit within it. He also criticized the modern doctors and hospitals for focusing on curative aspects of the health. For him the focus on curative aspect of health was only temporary measure while the actual solution to health lay in prevention (Khan, 2006: 2793-2794). Gandhi articulated his resistance against western biomedicine by viewing Indian medical system as a "body politic" which had become "weak" and "diseased" and unable to resist infection from "foreign bodies" (Pati and Harrison, 2001). Though he articulated his concerns against western biomedicine in terms of "swadeshi", it was propagated within a

brahminical framework Gandhi propagated for “self reliance”, further he viewed “to deepen modern medicine is to deepen slavery” (Prasad, 2007) His view could never receive much support from the policy makers and national leaders On the other hand Nehru advocated for a central role for western system of medicine in the independent India (Khan, 2006) In the post independence India one can find the predominance of western biomedical model of health care, established over other medical systems

Women’s health issues during colonial period:

From late 19th century at the international level, the social Darwinists and evolutionary movements articulated about the connection between national advancement and racial health, by equating health of mothers and future health of the race The nationalist leaders also tried to articulate the connection between nation’s health and the physical and moral health of its mothers and children In the beginning of 20th century the hygiene model of public health gained prominence The eugenic perspective began to get influenced by the hygienic model of public health The health of the nation came to be associated with the physical strength and purity of “race” The role of scientifically informed, hygienically enlightened mother, who is uninfected by “outsiders”, was idealized By equating the nation with that of “race” the eugenicist philosophy naturalized the role of women as biological reproducers In constructing women as mothers of the nation, the nationalists viewed women’s health as important for national progress For them if mothers were physically underdeveloped and sickly, the whole nation would become weak and enfeebled (Whitehead, 1995)

The arguments of western biomedicine were the important instruments in legal codification of women’s roles Hodges (2006) points out that in the Indian social history of reproduction, two noteworthy legislations were. the Age of Consent Bill of 1891 and the

Sarada Act of 1929 In these reform campaigns, the allopathic medical arguments were used successfully by the social reformers for rising the age of permissible sexual intercourse in marriage from ten to twelve in case of Age of Consent Legislation and from twelve to fourteen in the case of Sarada Act. Marriage reform campaigns relied heavily on the official maternal and infant mortality figures. The medical arguments connecting national with maternal health could influence the legal debate.

If at all the colonial state has addressed women's health issues, it has addressed only in the context of child birth. The colonial state attempted to transform the backward indigenous reproduction and tried to replace it with the modern child birth arrangement. The modern reproduction was equated with western biomedical science. The "public voluntarism" also cooperated with the colonial state for carrying out this modernist agenda, whereby some of the nationalist leaders, social reformers and the medical professionals propagated for the acceptance of western science (Hodges, 2006).

The census report and sanitary and medical reports in the colonial India since 1870s fuelled Indian debates and concerns about Indian population. The concern over population did not only concentrate on the size of population. The concern over the composition of population more particularly the size of various religious groups and communities, about sex ratio, as well as literacy levels was also voiced. Many discussions during that period were linked to the questions on quality and quantity of the population. Concern over the nature and consequence of rapid demographic growth was a prominent feature of the official writing on population from early 1920s. Though birth control was recognized as a practical way of curbing population growth, many colonial officials were wary of advocating the birth-control policy openly or identifying it too closely with the state. They preferred to believe that the

educated public opinion would take a lead on this matter (Arnold, 2006) The propaganda for birth control or contraception through artificial means were intensified during the 1930s. The 1933 publication of the 1931 census of India became a major stimulus for this activity (Ramusack, 2006).

Gandhi strongly opposed the use of contraceptives and advocated *brahmacharya* or abstinence from sex through self control as the only legitimate method His arguments on birth-control were based on the patriarchal construction of respectable female sexuality as the reproductive sexuality According to him, the use of contraceptives would lead to uncontrolled sexual desire and break up of marriage, which would further result in suicide of the race He argued that 'the sexual union is meant not for pleasure but for bringing forth progeny And the sexual union is a crime when the desire for progeny is absent' (Anandhi, 1998 147). He compared women using contraceptives with that of prostitutes For him the difference between a prostitute and a woman using contraceptive is that, 'the former sells her body to several men, but the latter sells her body to one man' (ibid 148) While Gandhi strongly opposed the use of contraceptive by women, one of the strongest advocacies in favor of contraception came from a male, the founder of Self Respect Movement, Periyar E V. Ramasamy Periyar argued that contraception should become a means by which women exercise control over their bodies. For him contraception can become a means by which women could free themselves from the enslavement of men (ibid).

However, the women's organizations in colonial India, like Women's India Association (WIA) and in All India Women's Conference (AIWC) also articulated their concerns and participated in the debates on birth control and population control They raised their voice and countered the anti-birth control campaign of some of the male nationalists. They

articulated birth control as "right of women over their bodies" Despite strong opposition, the AIWC passed resolution in favor of opening birth control clinics. While supporting birth control, women in AIWC emphasized over the rights of women as mothers to have information on reproductive control In propagating for birth control, the activists within AIWC advocated that the birth control information should be available to only married women and not to the unmarried women The birth control information was considered to be having the potential of causing immorality among unmarried women. The defenders of birth control within AIWC linked the maternal health of poor women to the need for birth control. Only married women were to have access to birth control information. By articulating birth control only in the context of maternal health, the advocacy within AIWC continued to inscribe women's bodies as reproductive bodies and it demarcated the reproductive sexuality of prostitutes and devadasis (Anandhi, 1998).

Debabar Banerji (2001) points out that one of the distinctive features of the health policies and programmes in India is that they originated during the national movement against colonial rule The National Planning Committee was set up by Congress in 1938 Jawaharlal Nehru was appointed as the chairperson of the committee The National Planning Committee's vision of national health was linked to the question of quantity and quality of Indian population The Committee adopted a eugenic approach to health and stated that the state should adopt family planning policy in the interests of social economy, happiness of the family and the development of the nation

Although Bhore Committee was set up by the colonial authorities, it was greatly influenced by the aspirations of the national movement Bhore Committee Report of 1946 recognized the association of public health with the plans for economic development It was

implicitly critical of the prior neglect of the public health by the colonial state (Amrith, 2007). At the outset criticized the relative neglect of women's health in the past by the colonial state, and made a strong plea for the improved facilities in the future. It concluded that maternal mortality had been underestimated in British India. According to the committee report 'any plan for improving the health of the community must pay special attention to the development of measures for adequate health protection to mothers and children' (Arnold, 2006. 44). A separate chapter on "Health services for mothers and children" existed in Bhole Committee Report. In this section it was emphasized that health service should exist 'for antenatal supervision of expectant mothers, for skilled assistance at child birth, including institutional facilities where necessary, for the postnatal care of mothers and for adequate health protection from birth through the successive stages of infancy and early and later periods of child birth' (ibid 45). Thus the Bhole Committee report vividly brings together an issue of women's subordination with rationalist scientific view of women's reproductive body as a machine. It further viewed that the women's reproductive body can be maintained efficiently through the application of contraceptive technology. Hence, it recommended for assistance by the state to the Birth Control movement both on the grounds of health of the mothers and economic grounds. The imprint of the eugenics movement was also apparent in the report of Bhole Committee (Rao, 1999).

State's approach to women's health in post colonial era

In the post colonial period, the Indian state took an early initiative to adopt the family planning as the state policy. As the ground for this measure was prepared in the nationalist movement, in the first Five Year Plan of 1951, India adopted the family planning policy. During the first and second five year plan maternal health was initially given prominence. At

this period the family planning was considered more as a means to improve the health of mothers and children than a method of population control. But in the Third Five Year plan there was a shift in programme emphasis from the welfare of mother and children to the objective of population stabilization. This shift in emphasis was due to the results of 1961 census, which showed a higher population growth than expected. The maternal health became secondary to family planning and the family planning was perceived as the urgent national need. Even within maternal and child health (MCH) programme, more weightage was given to child health rather than mother's health because, infant mortality ratio was linked to fertility, whereas the maternal mortality rate was not linked to fertility. During this period of time "extension-education" approach replaced the "clinic-centered approach". The adoption of extension-education approach by the government led to a massive expansion of the programme organization. At the grassroots-level the sub-centre was to be staffed by an Auxilliary Nurse Midwife (ANM). During the period 1965-75, the family planning programme was integrated with the maternal and child health programme. This integration was initiated with a view of giving broader base to family planning program. During the Third Five year plan the MCH aspect of health was ignored because of the over emphasis on the target oriented approach of family planning (Jejeebhoy et al, 2004, Qadeer, 2002, Rao, 1999).

During Fourth Five Year Plan the major thrust was on the vasectomy which was implemented through "camp approach". This programme received financial support from international aid agencies. During this period MCH was totally overshadowed by Family Planning Programme. In 1973 the Kartar Singh Committee recommended the integration of grassroots-level workers, designating them as multipurpose workers. In this scheme,

maternal health work became one of the many activities of the female multipurpose workers. The Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS) was also proposed to strengthen the MCH service, whereby the mothers were to be targeted for nutrition and health education (Qadeer, 2002).

At the World Population Conference in Bucharest in 1974, the minister of health and family planning stated that "development is the best contraceptive". The Minimum Needs Programme was introduced in the same year, which aimed at providing minimum public health facilities integrated with family planning and nutrition for vulnerable groups namely children, pregnant women and lactating mothers through ICDS. The Fifth plan document codified the changed perspective by implementing the Minimum Needs Programme. Strategy was adopted to increasingly integrate family planning services with those for health, MCH and nutrition by converging vertical programme workers into multipurpose health workers, who were required to pay special attention to family planning programme. The Fifth Five Year Plan also made an effort to integrate family planning programme, MCH and nutrition service through ICDS (Murthy, 1986, Rao, 1999).

The Emergency declared in 1975 facilitated the passage of the national population policy in 1976. A new population policy was adopted by the government on 16th April 1976, which adopted a radical approach to population control by mobilizing the entire political and administrative apparatus in order to obtain fast results. The policy document acknowledged that poverty is the real enemy of the state. During the period of emergency excesses were committed in the name of family planning. Coercion was inflicted on people to accept vasectomy. The officially inflicted atrocities to accept vasectomy became the main reason for the downfall of congress government in 1977 (Antia et al, 2000). Learning from the



experiences of emergency period, in the subsequent period women have been the consistent targets of the family planning programmes of the government

With the change in government in 1977, the family planning programme was announced as voluntary programme, which was considered as an integral part of comprehensive policy, covering education, health, MCH and nutrition. After coming to power, the Janata government introduced a rural health scheme as a step in the direction of fulfilling the campaign promise that: effective health care would be provided to the rural masses throughout the country (Koblinsky, 1994). The Community Health Worker (CHW) scheme was introduced as the major thrust of the scheme. The CHW scheme was propagated as entrusting "people's health in people's hands". This scheme was projected as an empowering mechanism for the community, whereby the village communities were offered to choose among themselves a person who would work as a community health worker (Banerji, 1998). With the introduction of community health worker scheme, it looked like the entire social mobilization process is based on community health action. But the high spirited programme could not continue with the spirit. In 1978 it was found that the CHWs were dissatisfied with their honorarium. They continued to agitate for higher remuneration and recognized place in health service. The ministry of health in 1979 tried to bring solution to the problem by simply renaming the programme as the "Community Health Volunteer Scheme". The change in the nomenclature from worker to volunteer was intended to clearly state CHWs that they were not government employees, but the volunteers. And they deserved a modest honorarium for their work. As congress government came to power in the centre in 1980, it was unwilling to continue with the CHV scheme because it was heavily identified with the Janata government. But the government at the same time could not abandon the programme

because it bore the guarantee of the new international doctrine of community participation. The scheme continued to limp until 1981, when the government once again made a name change and the community health volunteer scheme became community health guide scheme (Chand, 1987).

Soon after India launched the CHW scheme in 1977, the Alma Ata Declaration on Primary Health Care came in 1978. The Indian government was able to present itself in the Alma Ata conference as a model of the new orientation with its CHW programme (Jobert, 1985). The Alma Ata Conference marks a landmark in the history of health care through its propagation for Primary Health Care (PHC) approach. The PHC approach made it clear that the attainment of health is not only an individual human aspiration, but a social goal. It reflected a paradigm shift, a shift from biomedical model of health to a community-based primary health care model. This approach looks at human beings as groups of individuals affected by their total environment, yet having hand in their healing process (Qadeer, 2001). Unlike the technocentric approaches derived from the biomedical sciences, the PHC approach confronts complex socio-economic, political and technological relationships. Hence, the Alma Ata conference called for a comprehensive approach to health care and fixed the goal of attainment of "health for all by the year 2000". The conference declared that maternal and child health care as one of the essential components of PHC. India became a signatory to the Alma Ata Declaration.

It can be derived from the broad trends in the health discourse in India since colonial era that, women have been drawn into the health policies only as mothers. Women's health needs outside the context of motherhood roles have been undermined and addressed very little. Women's health needs are considered to be worth paying attention only through MCH.

category in the health programmes. Consequently, the whole concept of women's health gets reduced to motherhood and care taking roles. Apart from Periyar's conceptualization of women's body, the All India Women's Conference's articulation of women's health in the context of birth control can be seen as the most radical articulation of women's health in the colonial era. All India Women's Conference while supporting the agenda of birth control, tried to articulate the issue of birth control as "rights of women over their bodies". But their articulation of women's right over their bodies was not extended to all women universally. Rather, their articulation of women's rights over bodies was seen applicable only to the married mothers. Hence they tried to normativize women as married mothers, who were considered to be having legitimate right over their body. Women outside the framework of motherhood roles were not considered as worthy to be having the right.

In the post independence era, in the list of health services women are only mentioned in the category of "health services for mother and children". On some occasions the family limitation or spacing of children was propagated as the necessary and desirable in order to secure better health for mother and better care for upbringing the children (Buch, 1998). On some other occasions in its attempt of curbing population growth, the state has identified women as the breeders of too many children. And it has tried to control the reproduction of women by making them the targets of family planning.

While the PHC strategy of Alma Ata is considered to be comprehensive health care strategy which suggested a paradigm shift in the context of public health, the strategy can not be considered to have made any shift in the discourse of women's health, nor the strategy addressed women's health in a comprehensive manner. It was as fragmented and narrow in its approach with regard to women's health as the pre existing health programmes and

approaches. It only went with the pre-existing conventional idea of addressing women's health only through the MCH category. Women's health needs outside the category of motherhood roles were simply ignored. Naila Kabeer (1994) argues that the "community participation" which is essential to the success of PHC strategies was premised on the unpaid labour of women. According to her, the increased emphasis on primary health care approach, was more in keeping with the resource endowments of poorer countries, made particular demands on women's time. It has been estimated that at least 75 percent of all health care takes place at the family or individual level and it is women, particularly in their role as mothers and wives, who have greatest responsibility for promoting the family's health and nutrition.

Though India was a signatory to the Primary Health Care declaration of Alma Ata, the Sixth Five-Year Plan did not find a mention about it. The technocentric programmes of immunization and later child survival strategies were promoted and selective primary health care strategy became a part of the health sector planning. Later in 1982, the Government of India came out with a document sharply criticizing the pattern of health service development since the country attained independence. Within the overall framework of the Alma Ata declaration, it accepted primary health care as the basis of planning for its health services. In 1983 a comprehensive health service was formulated. But by then the hegemony of selective primary health care approach was slowly getting established in the international scenario. The WHO and Rockefeller Foundation organized two meetings in 1983 and 1985, which emphasized on 'cost-efficiency' and the Selective PHC was promoted (Price, 1994).

The achievements in health by China, Kerala and Sri Lanka were partly explained by literacy, food, health services and partly, in the former two cases, by their unique social and

political structures. But, selectively, female literacy, nutrition and family welfare were considered suitable for intervention while political, social and economic determinants were ignored. (Qadeer, 1999). The World Bank washed its hands off Comprehensive PHC in the early 1980s when it opted for selective PHC. It backed programmes closely linked with population control such as Maternal and Child Health but avoided identification with the much maligned family planning programme. These programmes treated maternal and child mortality as purely technical problem isolated from socio-economic situation. The Bank listed immunization as the first priority. UNICEF one of the organizers of the Alma Ata with its mandate to reduce infant mortality encouraged technocentric approach of selective PHC. It emphasized on the promotion and use of low cost measures to benefit the disadvantaged mothers and children and subsequently launched 'child survival and development resolution'. The major concept of 'child survival and development resolution' is based on the idea that people can change their own lives through increased awareness (Price, 1994). The UNICEF prioritized four important health interventions bearing the acronym of GOBI (Growth monitoring, Oral rehydration, Breast feeding, Immunization). In response to the comment that the GOBI might be too selective, UNICEF added GOBI-FFF, adding family planning, food supply and female education. While accepting the international health programmes the Indian health sector focused on technocentric programmes which yet again addressed women's health needs only in terms of the motherhood roles.

There has been a paradigm shift in the state's approach towards health care by late 1980s and more particularly from the beginning of 1990s. With the primary assumption that structural adjustment programmes rather than structural transformation can address the health care needs of the population, the neo-liberal policies of the Indian state have accelerated the

ace of privatization of health care. Also one could trace conscious efforts to discredit the state health care institutions and activities that it is incapable of delivering health services effectively. Hence the very spirit of comprehensive primary health care and its commitment to Alma Ata declaration got completely diluted. This is the period where the "women's health" had to be accepted into the mainstream state health sector, primarily because of the influence of women's movement. Consequently, state incorporated women's health programmes, in a big way, which were later on cast as "reproductive health" by not including but targeting women at different levels.

The International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) held at Cairo in 1994 is perceived to be setting another landmark in the history of women's health. It is claimed to start a new global rhetoric of population policy, based on feminist vision. India was a signatory to the Programme of Action at ICPD, Cairo. In tune with the shift in the family planning discourse in the International arena, Indian government introduced the Reproductive and Child health Programme in 1995. The reproductive health approach propagated at the Cairo conference, has represented a critical juncture in underpinning the population policy in India.

Cairo Conference:

The international conference on Population and Development was held at Cairo in the year 1994. The Cairo consensus has been described as a landmark in conceptualizing population policy and reproductive health. The ICPD at Cairo defined reproductive rights as 'the basic right of all couples and individuals to decide freely and responsibly the number, spacing and timing of their children and to have information and means to do so', the right to attain the highest standard of sexual and reproductive health and the 'right to make decisions

concerning reproduction free of discrimination, coercion and violence. It adopts the World Health Organization's broad definition of "reproductive health" as encompassing sexual health and involving several affirmative goals: 'complete physical, mental and social well being' with regard to all reproductive and sexual matters, 'access to safe, effective, affordable and acceptable methods of family planning of their choice, and the ability to have a satisfying and safe sex life' (Petchesky, 1995).

Though issues related to women's health and reproduction remained the focus of feminist discussions in the second wave feminism since 1960s, only in 1975 women's condition was seriously examined by an international body, when United Nations sponsored meeting launching the women's decade, the 1975 International Women's year conference in Mexico City had initiated the decade-long process that culminated in Nairobi in 1985. Feminist criticisms of fertility control policies had been maturing throughout the 1970s. At the 1975 International women's year conference in Mexico, women denounced coercive practices in contraceptive research and services as human rights abuses. The key result of the UN decade for women was an international legal instrument, the Convention on the elimination of all forms of Discrimination against women, ratified in 1979. The International campaign on Abortion, Sterilization and Contraception, founded in Europe in 1978 to counter both pro-natalist and anti-natalist movements, may have been the first to formalize a concept that many women's organizations around the world had come together to define as reproductive rights. In July 1984, just before the second world population conference, a large number of world's women's health activists attended the first global conference convened by ICASC (International Campaign on Abortion, Sterilization and Contraception) in Amsterdam. The Amsterdam conference is often cited as the birth event of the International

Reproductive Health and Rights movement. On that occasion the campaign changed its name to Women's Global Network for Reproductive Rights, under pressure from Southern activists who felt that the explicit reference to reproductive rights would more appropriately encompass Southern women's health agenda (Correa, 1994) These campaigns and theoretical reconceptions gave rise to forceful women's coalitions and feminist articulations at World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993, the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo in 1994 and the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 (Petchesky, 1998)

The Cairo Conference brought together women's groups, heads of governments, academics, and representatives of religious bodies who vigorously debated and gave shape to the concept "Reproductive and Sexual Health and Human Rights". The conference gave rise to a new dimension to the understanding of reproductive health. The ICPD is claimed to set a departure from the earlier discourse on population policy, a shift from a Malthusian focus on population control to a broader concern with reproductive health rights. It is also claimed to mark a new global rhetoric on population policy, which drew on feminist vision. A new language and new rhetoric like Reproductive Health, Quality Care, Gender Empowerment, Women's Rights emerged from the Cairo conference (Simon-Kumar, 2006)

The reproductive health strategy of the Cairo conference has come under critical scrutiny in the post-Cairo scenario. It has been criticized by some of the social scientists that through the conceptualization of reproductive health strategy, an attempt was made to replace the concept of "women's health" by "reproductive health". Further it is argued that through the reproductive health strategy there have been attempts to merge the diverse health issues of women into universal reproductive rights issues (Rao, 2005, Qadeer, 1998) Petchesky

(1995) argues that a closer look at the Cairo programme reveals that there is a failure to address the real implications of privatization and Structural Adjustment Programmes on the empowerment of women and their rights to reproductive and sexual health. She argues that development and reproductive health and rights, far from being two separate agendas, but are immediately connected. She further points out that the reproductive health and rights, broadly defined and integrated into national systems of primary health care accessible to all, as advocated in the programme definition, are essential to women's development. At the same time, the practical implementation of this reproductive health and rights agenda will be impossible without the reallocation of resources globally and nationally to assure the full funding of social programmes, especially health- in other words, without radically new development alternatives. Qadeer (1998) points out that many times the real causes of reproductive ill health lies outside the conventional medical boundaries even when they severely affect the reproductive health. Expanding the domain of reproductive health mainly in terms of symptomatology, leads to superficial and medicalized interventive strategy which will never touch the real causes of reproductive ill health.

The reproductive health strategy assumes that the reproductive health interventions are sufficient in themselves. It underplays the importance of the developmental policies such as industrial and developmental policies on the reproductive health of women. According to Petchesky (1995) the "fault line" of reproductive health strategy as carved in Cairo is highly dangerous for feminists, because it configures a gap between the politics of the body, sexuality and reproduction and the politics of social development and global economic transformation. An analysis that makes explicit the concrete links between macro-economic policies and the materialization of reproductive and sexual rights for all world's women is

needed. It has also been argued that with regard to abortion, the ICPD programme is disappointing in its failure to include access to safe, legal abortion as a necessary part of women's reproductive health rights. The ICPD does little good to have a legal "right" to terminate or bring to term a pregnancy if she lacks the means to access decent services, or if the services do not exist or are under continual threat of retrenchment or attack by fundamentalist vigilantes. In the post-Cairo context, some women's movement voices coming from both north and south, have denounced the notion of a "Cairo consensus" as a sham designed to replace old-style family planning rhetoric with that of reproductive health and gender equality and women's empowerment in order to legitimate business as usual, or population control with a feminist face. The adoption of reproductive health discourse has largely maintained a biomedical bias and restricted women's social roles to their biological reproductive functions, especially by emphasizing maternal-child health and family planning programmes (Correa, 1994, Petchesky, 1995)

The very usage of the terms like empowerment, choice, self, reproductive freedom in the reproductive health approach have come under critical scrutiny by women's groups and researchers of the South. It has been articulated by the third world women's groups that, the "self" can not be isolated from larger social conditions that often determine the choices, which become available to women. Putting free choice central to reproductive rights leaves too much room to interpret it at an individual level and thus completely bypasses the level of society as a whole. As such, "choice" reflects the dominant view of individualism in the West. Choice on its own, without attention to the context, has no value. The reproductive health approach is criticized by the women's groups from the South for representing a middle class view rather than a third world working class view. The reproductive health advocates

tend to undermine the struggle of third world working class women's struggle for survival for minimum livelihood, food shelter and health for families. The individualized notion of rights of the northern feminists and reproductive health advocates has been a matter of close scrutiny by Southern women. While the Reproductive health approach gives primacy to the individual and individualized notion of rights, in the Third world context it has been articulated that the third world working class women perceive family as their only means of survival. Despite the patriarchal power relations within it, the family is the only structure on which most women can depend (Qadeer, 1998, Correa, 1994.) The reproductive health approach has been criticized as reductionist in its approach. The reproductive health strategy is criticized for leaving the issues concerning the third world women unaddressed (Rao, 2001)

In 1997, the Indian government formally launched the Reproductive and Child Health (RCH) programme. RCH was introduced as a "paradigm shift" in the ongoing family welfare programme. The focus on decentralized participatory planning, target free approach to family planning, emphasis on quality service, gender sensitivity, responsive to the needs of women are propagated as the shifts from the earlier approach to family planning. Rachel Simon-Kumar (2006) argues that, the state's interpretation of "gender" and "gender needs" is critical if women at all levels of social hierarchy are to realize the potential for reproductive empowerment as envisioned at the Cairo conference. But, the reproductive health of women has dangerously reduced to maternal health and the privileging of services that profit pregnant and lactating women. According to her, there are three categories of people that the RCH policy is intended to benefit, such as people, women and couples. And three key objectives for the state's intervention are population control, disease control and child

survival and health. At the first glance, these objectives are disparate and aimed at diverse groups of people. On closer reading, however, it will be seen that the site where a majority of these interventions are operationalized is a woman's body. It is usually women who are targeted by the state for contraceptive use and women are the beneficiaries of the state's pre-natal programmes. The state has also begun to focus attention on issues of reproductive tract and sexual tract infection, where the programmes are offered almost exclusively for women. Because all these interventions have critical development significance, it is essential for the state to construct a female citizen who accepts the state's interests as her own. The state imbues the female citizen with an identity that is grounded in the concerns around reproduction that interests the state. The state's reconstruction is, therefore, not of an abstract person, couple or woman. Instead, the dominant identity deployed by the state is that of mother. Women's health is translated into a healthy mother. By this women are instrumentalized, as the interest lies somewhere else. A healthy mother is a prerequisite goal of having healthy children. The RCH programme of the state was planned to be spread over two phases. The first phase was commenced from 1997-2002. And the second phase is commenced from 2005-2010. In the second phase of the programme also, one can notice that the state's approach towards women has remained the same.

Men have been invisible gender considering issues of reproduction. Motherhood as a "role" for women is given visibility and significance that is not attached to fatherhood as a "role" for men. The family planning policy and programmes tend to operate as though contraceptive users must necessarily be women. It appears as though the family planning programme has systematically discouraged male responsibility in Planned Parenthood. By this it places the responsibilities and risks of contraception on women. Reproductive health

rogramme is propagated as though women make decisions about their reproduction in a social vacuum. Further, the health and family welfare programme of the state ignores women who are not in the reproducing category. These women include adolescent, unmarried, infertile, and postmenopausal women

Indian state health sector can be taken as a case in point for understanding the state's approach towards women. The state health sector, being one of the institutional sites of state, constructs women primarily in terms of motherhood and care taking roles. The dominant gender ideology of the state at a broader level can also be understood tracing the state's construction of women in its development policy. The Indian state's construction of women in its development policy is not only the reflection of its contemporary politics, but also it is the by-product of its history. Hence for a better understanding of state's dominant gender ideology we need to scrutinize the state's engagement with women in its development policies.

Gender Issue in the State Development Agenda:

If we trace the dominant construction of women in the development literature it can be found that prior the beginning of the Women in Development (WID) thought in 1970, women tended to be seen in their reproductive roles as welfare beneficiaries who were not actively involved in productive economic development. Rather, women were mostly seen as mothers and housekeepers. Development policy makers were erroneously blind to the economic and productive contributions of women, resulting in the deterioration of women's economic and social status largely because their labour was not accounted for under market economy of public realm. The emphasis of WID efforts had been to justify women's

contribution to economic production and to integrate Third World women better into mainstream development processes as a precursory step of empowerment. Most of the WID literature emphasizes on making women's presence visible in both the public/productive and private sphere. A substantial literature in 1980s emerged that pointed out that women were invisible producers in an economy, their work was not known or recorded and in consequence, their role in economy and society undervalued (Simon-Kumar, 2006)

In the 1990s, "mainstreaming" has become a dominant theme in gender and development policy circles. Mainstreaming evolved from the earlier call for the "integration" of women in development, dating back to the 1970s. It arose following the Nairobi UN women's conference in 1985, in part reflecting the perceived failure on national women's machineries, many set up in the 1970s and early 1980s, to achieve significant results or influence over government policy. Mainstreaming signifies a push towards systematic procedures and mechanisms within organizations for explicitly taking account of gender issues at all stages of policy-making and programme design and implementation (Baden and Goetz, 1997 5)

The "mainstreaming" of gender in the development policy has also come under close scrutiny. Mary John (1996) observes that in post 1990s scenario, in the contemporary development discourse gender has become the buzz word. The references to gender tend to fall back on women as "agents" of change, facilitators of "development", and linkages in the welfare programmes. She draws attention to some of the implications of the new attention, "language of efficiency" and to the emphasis on women, which places them as "good subjects" against the marginalized men who are regarded as both "irresponsible and incapable". Baden and Goetz (1997) observe that with mainstreaming of gender in

development discourse, "gender" becomes a synonym for "women", rather than a form of shorthand for gender difference and conflict and the project of transformation in gender relations.

In tune with the international literature on women in development one can find that the Indian policy on women has changed from time to time. Until the end of the fifth five year plan (1974-78), women were categorized within welfare approach. From sixth plan (1980-85) there was a shift in approach as women were positioned as targets of development approach. The Ninth plan (1997-2002) revised women's role in development as the state embarked on an "empowerment" approach (Simon-Kumar, 2006)

The impact of the shifts in the approach of the state development policy can be also found in the health sector. In the health literature often-strong correlation is drawn between woman's primary education and reduced fertility and mortality rate of the child and family health. Most common instrumental arguments used regarding gender issues are the need to invest in female education to serve population control and child welfare goals, or the importance of women's participation in community organizations to improve service provision and assist anti poverty efforts. Through women's empowerment programmes and self help groups, the efficiency of women has been highlighted. This efficiency aspect of women is correlated with the health of the family, by highlighting the fact that empowered and self-employed women are good managers of the family health. The emphasis on the efficiency of women in the empowerment model of women in the development policies has come under close scrutiny. This model has been criticized by some of the social scientists on the ground that, the literature on women's empowerment emphasize that the resources earned and controlled by women are more likely to be invested in family welfare than those

controlled by men. But it is silent on the possible roots of greater female altruism (Basu, 2000, Baden and Goetz, 1997). The efficiency arguments of empowerment of women do not explain the reproduction of structural gender inequalities. The kind of behaviour promoted on the part of women through the development policies, seems to suggest that they have internalized their social status as persons of lesser value, such as women's secondary claims on household resources (their altruism), or their willingness to bear children to the detriment of their own health and survival in order to satisfy their own or their husband's preferences for sons- the problem of "physical condition neglect". The acceptance of gender biased norms can also lead women to discriminate against other women, for example their daughters (Razavi, 1999)

Further, these kinds of instrumental correlation of women's empowerment and well-being of family arguments may prove successful in raising gender issues, they are problematic in the sense that, they often result in women being simply a means to other ends. The use of instrumental arguments fails to recognize the gendered nature of institutions themselves. Information or the right arguments will not in themselves produce change. Institutional structures, rules and cultures, including the ways in which information is collected, processed and prioritized, reflect dominant gender interests, so that the pursuit of gender equity must include demands for organizational change (Baden and Goetz, 1997: 10).

Naila Kabeer (1999) explains, the attempts to define and measure women's empowerment have given rise to "averaging" tendencies in the portrayal of the empowered woman. Two distinct examples of these averaging tendencies, comes out of quite different strands of scholarship and advocacy, in addressing different dimensions of "cooperative-conflict" within the household, both containing some elements of truth, but large elements of

simplification. One model promotes what could be called the "virtuous model" of the empowered woman and is associated with the instrumentalist forms of gender advocacy. It draws on various examples of gender scholarship which document the greater social connectedness of women in order to endow them with various traits which form the basis of policy advocacy on their behalf. altruism and dedication to the collective family welfare, thrift and risk-aversion, industriousness, a sense of civic responsibility, manifested in their willingness to take unpaid community work and so on. While the instrumentalist notions of empowerment tend to emphasize women's greater altruism and "connectedness", an alternative model of empowerment is also evident which focuses far more on the conflictual element of gender relations and hence favours a more separatist model of the empowered woman. What is valued as evidence of altruism in the former model is interpreted in the latter as evidence of women's internalization of their own subordinate status, their tendency to put the needs of others in the family before their own.

Again in the women's empowerment analysis, there is a need to cross-check facts on women's agency against the outcomes of the choices they make. Here Kabeer (1999) stresses on how structures of constraint limit choices that women make. According to her, power relations are expressed not only through exercise of agency and choice, but also through the kinds of choices people make. There is the strong rationale that women are likely to have in certain contexts for making choices which are essentially disempowering and also detrimental to their own, or their daughters', health and well-being. Deeply entrenched rules, norms and practices help influence behaviour, define values and shape choices. As explained by Kabeer, agency is qualified in two important ways, first, by being anchored within an institutional understanding of the conditions of choice (i.e. structures of constraint), second,

including the consequences of choice within her account of agency, which effectively overcomes the problem of physical condition neglect

The above discussion makes it clear that, through its development policies the state is engaged in constructing a particular notion of womanhood. From this it can be derived that the state is a kind of ideological structure, and the gender character of the state is defined by its ideology. Through its development programmes and policies the state also shapes defines and directs women's preferences as well as shapes the mental structure of its citizens. Hence state is one of the key social actors in constructing the gender relations. The state health sector's engagement with women's issues is a reflection of the state's gender ideology. Thus, in the following sub-section I have tried to understand the nature of Indian state with regard to women's issues.

Gender Ideology of Indian State:

The gender character of the modern state has been analyzed by the feminist scholars in diverse ways. The radical feminists assert that the state is inherently patriarchal, hence they hardly see a role for women's interest within the existing structure of the state. The Marxist feminists contend that the primary motive of the state is the promotion of capitalism. While the radical and Marxist theorists view the state as unilaterally oppressive of women, the post-structuralist theorists acknowledge that the state is not a monolithic entity, rather it is a combination of plurality of forces. Simon-Kumar (2006) points out that most of the contemporary genre of the feminist theorization of the state have favoured the post-structuralist perspectives.

Connell (1990) points out that, the state is a process rather than a thing. According to Rai (1996) the state is a network of power relations existing in cooperation and also in tension.

le describing about the role of state in defining gender relations, Connell (1990) argues that the state's role in the oppression of women is usually indirect. By playing a key role in establishing and regulating systems in which women are oppressed, the state maintains strategic complexity of action in relation to gender politics and tries to appear as gender neutral. The state has also the capacity to regulate sexuality. There are legal definitions of forbidden heterosexual relationships like laws on age of consent and on incest. Marital sexuality is regulated in the name of population policy. The state also tries to promote a particular form of sexuality. As population policies illustrate, the state constantly pursue a restructuring of the family and sexuality.

McIntosh explains the very issue of "strategic complexity" of state action in gender politics. According to McIntosh the state agencies act under contradictory pressure, which often result in ambivalent policies. The state's role in the oppression of women is usually indirect. It plays a part in regulating systems in which women are oppressed. But the state can appear in itself to be gender neutral, and this is a vital aid to legitimacy (cited in Connell, 1990: 515).

If we see the feminist theorization of the nature on Indian state, one finds that most of the feminist theorization of Indian state falls under the category of the post-structuralist approach (Simon-Kumar, 2006). Rai (1996), Basu (1998) argue that the state is an inconsistent actor on many occasions, the state and traditional patriarchy are binary opposition while in other circumstances, the state is the patriarchy that oppresses women. Hasan (2002) points out that the actions of Indian state suggest that it is interventionist and protectionist in the material sphere, while it remains non-interventionist in the community domain.

The State can not be seen in isolation. Rather the state, community and the household could be seen as interacting structures. In India, the household, communities play a crucial role in determining women's access to the state. Hence, it is not only important to scrutinize how the state constructs women, but it is also equally important to understand the approach of the state towards household and communities in relation to women. Bina Agarwal (1988) points out that the state policies and programmes about the household and its character and about the appropriate role of men and women in society, pre-existing customary norms, and the part played by the community to which household belongs, which is often a significant mediatory factor between state and household. But the state as an ensurer of justice to all its citizen subjects is required to redress the inequalities against its women subjects. Hence it is introducing certain modifications in women's roles in the family, in a way of introducing its version of progress, modern and development and hence a superior way of life, which will strengthen the family, which in turn appealing and acceptable to the families, it tries to justify its stand.

Kapadia (2002) argues that in the context of state- women relationship, women in India relate to the state via their relationship with men, kin and communities. Mukhopadhyay (2007) points out that in case of women's relation to the state, the state action is mediated through middle-level institutions. Hence, the state policy's impact on the lives of women from different social groups is often shaped by how they are positioned in relation to these institutions. In the state-society relations, the communities, caste, families, based on ascribed relations play a major role in structuring access to state and market opportunities. The implication of women's status in the state-society relations based on ascribed identities is that, on the one hand women's rights can not be discussed, claimed or fought for separately

in the community. On the other hand, the role of family, caste, kinship and religious community have become key factors of public life, structuring access to state and market opportunities. In these kinds of relations women are brought to the public domain as mothers, sisters and daughters, whereby the entitlements of women are subject to community norms and the customs of the family and kin-group. She further argues that 'the link between politics and gender relations, kin based formations shape the position of men and women in the family and the larger community. They have a special meaning for women, however, who are subject not only to power of husbands, but also to the power of kin. The historical processes through which kin-based societies and kin-based solidarities have developed have had a profound influence on the development of nation-states in the region and on state-society relations. Since the state is one of the key social actors involved in the construction of citizenship and gender justice, its power to affect changes in gender relations and to promote formal substantive equality is dependant on the extent to which the state in question is autonomous of kin-based structures in society' (2007: 10-11)

The above discussions make it clear that without addressing the structural issues of gender inequality at the family and community level, any endeavor of the state in ensuring social justice to women can not be implemented successfully. Hence, for bridging the gender gap in the true sense there is a need for the state to redress the structural issues of the primary social institutions like family and community. Contrary to this, the Indian state has tried to redress the gender inequality at a superficial level. This is well reflected in the state health policy intervention. Though the health programmes at one level ground their endeavor as a step towards bridging the gender gap, only changes are suggested in the women's demeanor without any demand for any changes in men's attitude of shared responsibility, change in

family relations or society at large. The whole issue of gender in health seems to fall back on women, where women are required to take all the responsibility of family health. In this context, any responsibility on the part of their male counterparts is not demanded. When the health related programmes address the woman question, consciously try to undermine the fact that the liberation of women can only be possible with the redefinition of power of both men and women with the profound redefinition of existing power relations within the society. On the contrary, it only articulates for the redefinition of roles of women, which may contribute in reinforcing patriarchy in a systematic way.

Chapter -Three

Community Discourse on Women's Body and Health

Drawing on the ethnography of Tikrapada village, in the Boudh district of Orissa, this chapter makes an attempt to understand how women's body gets symbolically defined and shaped in the community health discourse. Women's bodily practices in the day-to-day lives of women as well as in the context of specific ritual performances have been examined. Mapping out women's bodily concerns in the village community as a whole, as well as in specific caste locations within the village has been the prime concern of this chapter.

Sexuality and Reproduction:

In the discussion on sexuality of women, menarche (the first menstruation) is considered to have a special value. It is considered to be a transition period in a girl's life, a transition from an asexual being to a sexual one. Seemanthini Niranjana (2001) observes that, menarche marks a critical turning point in a girl's life in relation to her body, both in terms of societal perception and her own self orientation to her body. As a critical signifier of reproductive potential and embodied womanhood, menarche becomes intertwined with sexuality. Janet Lee (1994) also points out that, embodied with the cultural implication, menarche, symbolizes both reproductive and sexual potential and centers the attention on body. Menarche takes loaded meanings that have consequences for women in their everyday lives, whereby relations of power take actual forms into discourses and practices that surround women's bodies. In the everyday lives of my respondents in the Tikrapada village, menarche marks a significant transition in a girl's life. While certain caste groups like, *Badhei* and *Teh* caste community formally announce the first menstruation of girls through rituals, the other caste groups in the village, such as

the *Bhulia Meher, Dumbal, Dhoba, Keuta, Dhibara* and *Ganda* caste groups do not observe the puberty rituals of girls as such. But universally all the caste groups in the village, share the common notion that the newly emerged pubertal body of the girl is polluting and dangerous, whereby the submissive femininity takes a concrete form.

Among the *Badhei* and *Tehi* caste groups, as a girl gets her first menstruation, she is secluded and seated in the backyard of the house for six days. Though she comes to the main house for sleeping, during her stay in the main house she is required to abstain from touching (her touch is believed to pollute things) anything in the house. The seclusion of the girl during the first menstruation is called as *lukeiba*, which literally means hiding. The girl is supposed to go for hiding for six days during her first menstruation. The girl is not supposed to come in contact with men in general, and more particularly her brothers during the period of her seclusion. In this six day seclusion period, the girl seeing her brother's face is considered to be inauspicious, hence dangerous for the brother. The dresses which the girl wears during this six day period are considered to be polluted. Hence, the dresses are given to the washerman to wash and here the washerman's role is significant in removing the bodily pollution. In a way, through the washerman, transition of the girl's status into adolescence is communicated to the wider village community, and therefore this process has a symbolic value. On the seventh day, early in the morning, the maternal uncle's wife is supposed to give a ritual bath to the girl, with which seclusion of the girl ends.

Among the *Badhei* caste, the *jati samaj* is always informed about the girl's attainment of puberty. Earlier, on the seventh day of the puberty ritual, a public feast used to be arranged and the *jati samaj* used to be informed about the attainment of puberty of the girl. But in the recent times the system of arranging a public feast on the occasion of girl's attainment of puberty, is not much practiced. The celebration of the first menstruation of a

It publicly has come to be perceived as a matter of shame for the girl, and public acknowledgement of the female sexuality has come to be seen as an embarrassing phenomenon. But the *jati samaj* is always kept informed about the attainment of the puberty of the girl by her father. One of my respondents Urmila says,

Though these days we no longer celebrate the girl's first menstruation ceremony by giving feasts, the jati samaj has to be kept informed about the girl's attainment of puberty. If we do not inform the jati samaj about the attainment of puberty of our daughter, it becomes a problem for us to get her married. The jati samaj can always say that "we did not come to know about the attainment of puberty of your daughter, now how are you inviting us for the marriage?" The jati samaj might refuse to accept the marriage invitation of the girl. The girl's father generally goes and informs about the attainment of puberty of the daughter to some of the members in the jati samaj. Informing about the puberty of the girl to the jati samaj is also helpful in getting marriage proposals for the girl.

This practice of informing *jati samaj*, reflects not only a close-knit community and kinship relations, but it also reflects the strict practice of caste endogamy in marital relations. The two *Kandha* tribal households of the village also observe the first menstrual seclusion. Though the caste groups such as the *Keuta*, *Bhulia Meher*, *Dhoba*, *Dhubara*, *Dumbal* and the *Ganda* caste do not practice seclusion during the first menstruation of the girl, all the caste groups universally prescribe the girls to abstain from coming in contact with men during their first menstrual period. During the menstruation period, a girl is perceived to be dangerous to the males. Douglas (1966) asserts that things which exist at the borders of society, or on the boundaries between categories are perceived as possessing both power and danger. Hence the transition of the girl as an asexual being to the newly gendered female sexuality is perceived to be dangerous to the males. Menstruation as a manifestation of female sexuality is considered to be polluting, more particularly it is considered to be dangerous to men. The readiness for marriage and reproduction of the girl, implied through referring to the pubertal girl as *siani hela*, has become knowledgeable.

During the subsequent menstrual periods, the *Badhei*, *Ganda* caste women and the *Kandha* tribe women do not enter into the kitchen. Their activities related to kitchen, such as fetching water for consumption and washing the vessels of the kitchen which are regularly used by others in the family, is prohibited. During menstruation period they maintain separate vessels for consuming their food. Though the other caste group women do not observe such restrictions during menstruation, following such menstrual taboos is often asserted to be more purified practice. Often the untouchable *Ganda* caste women assert that.

Though we are treated as untouchables and nicha jati by others, we follow the rules of purity more strictly (ame jahan niyama mani chalu) than other Dhibara caste women and other women

Often, the examples of *Dhibara* women are referred to by the *Ganda* caste women, because firstly the *Dhibara* caste groups are spatially more closely situated to the *Ganda* caste street than other caste groups, secondly the *Dhibara* caste groups are considered to be ritually lower in the caste hierarchy among the upper caste groups in the village. Because of *Dhibara* caste women's involvement in the fish trading business in daily life and their consumption of fish as a part of everyday diet, irrespective of the weekly auspicious days, the *Dhibara* caste women's bodily practices are considered to be polluting compared to other upper caste group women in the village. While all other caste groups' women in the village abstain from consuming non-vegetarian food on the Thursdays of the week, the *Dhibara* caste women do not observe such practice.

Within one's own caste group also, certain families which practice the menstrual taboos claim to be more purified than other families in the same caste group. Sarita, a Keuta girl, who belongs to one of the economically well off family in the village says

We follow the practices of purity more strictly than others in our caste group. We do not even enter into the kitchen nor do we touch the water which is used in the kitchen during our menstrual period. Other women in our caste do not follow such restrictions. Since my grandfather is a devotee

of god (has taken dikshya of god), we strictly observe the rules. As the other women in our caste do not follow such restrictions, we do not prefer to allow them inside our kitchen

Even within the *Ganda* caste group, those families which have taken *mahima dikshya* follow the rules regarding menstrual taboos more strictly than other families within the same caste group. Though the rules regarding menstrual taboos such as entering into the kitchen is relaxed on some occasions for unmarried girls among all the caste groups who follow menstrual taboo, the families which have taken *mahima dikshya* observe the rules in a stricter way. In these families, the rules regarding menstrual taboos are applied with the same strictness to the unmarried girls as it is followed by the married women. Although the *mahima dharma*¹ had emerged as an anti-Brahmin reform movement in Orissa in the 19th century, the perception of women's body as polluting seem to be more prominent now among the practitioners of *mahima dikshya* than others within the same caste group. The rules regarding maintaining bodily purity among women seem to be more strict in case of the families which have taken *mahima dikshya* than other families within the same caste group. In the village, only the *Ganda* caste groups have taken *mahima dikshya*. In the locality surrounding the village the followers of *mahima dharma* are mostly the untouchable caste groups. Expressing the strictness regarding maintaining bodily purity, one of my respondents whose family has taken *mahima dikshya* says

Since we have taken mahima dikshya we follow the rules more strictly. My daughter also does not cook while menstruating. We offer prayer to god thrice a day. One should maintain bodily purity while offering prayer. For that reason we do not cook during menstruation. If we eat food cooked by a woman who is menstruating, our body becomes polluted, and we will not be fit for offering prayer to god. Only after taking head bath on the seventh day of menstruation, a woman becomes purified.

Women from across the caste groups follow the rule of abstaining from participating in religious worship and sexual intercourse during their menstrual period. The notion of

finence from the religious activity carries a strong overtone of menstruating woman as polluting. Women are required to maintain physical distance from their husbands and avoid sexual intercourse during this period. Since the menstrual blood is seen as polluting and dangerous for men, the onus of saving her husband from the bad effects of the menstrual blood is thrust on woman. The menstruation is perceived to be polluting, dangerous and the nature of menstrual blood is considered to be extremely hot Nichter and Nichter (2003) and Thompson (1985) in their study point out that the bodily heat is perceived to constitute a state of uncontrol, unbound desire ruled by hunger Hence, menstruating woman is associated with the violent energetic forces of passion because of the heating nature of the bodily fluid. Similar kinds of beliefs can be found to be existing among the villagers in Tikirapada. It is also believed that when the uterus becomes extremely heated, the woman menstruates more than once in a month. As menstruation is associated with the heating nature of the body, consequently with the passion and sexual desire, the menstruating girl/woman is considered to be polluting and dangerous to men. As the menstruating girl is perceived to be in a polluting state, certain taboos such as, ban on entering the kitchen and participation in the religious festivals is observed On the seventh day of menstruation, the woman is required to take ritual bath by applying turmeric on her body. The turmeric is considered to be both as auspicious and having cooling effect on the body Taking head bath symbolizes the leaving behind the impurities. As menstrual blood is considered to be heating by nature, in order to overcome the earlier heating state of the body, the menstruating girl is required to apply turmeric on her body, so that with the cooling effect of the turmeric, the bodily balance is maintained.

¹ Mahima Dharma is an autochthonous Hindu religious reform movement which started in 19th century It turned against the orthodoxy of Jagannath cult in particular The Mahima dharma preachings mainly tried to get over the caste barriers, with a partially fervent antibrahmanic agitation (Eschmann, 1986)

The association of heat with woman's power is considered to be dangerous, which sometimes becomes the reason of suffering and pain for others. It is believed that with the effect of heat, women become uncontrollable. For example- chicken pox and small pox are considered to be heat induced diseases, which is believed to be the possession of goddess. The goddess is considered to be getting angry when heated up, hence when heated, she heats others by attacking them with dreaded pox. Through the ritual practices attempt is made to make the goddess cool, by which the disease is to be brought under control. Susan Wadley (1980) points out in her study that in most parts of India it is believed that the chicken-pox goddess abhors heat and seeks coolness. In the Tikrapada village when someone gets chicken pox, it is believed that the person is possessed by the feminine divine power *maa*. Since the goddess is considered to be the angry and heat induced goddess, the ritual practices give much emphasis on cooling the goddess. The cot, on which the person affected by pox sleeps, is cleaned with water and worshipped. The affected person's feet are washed with water and *chandana* is applied on the feet. Turmeric and neem leaf paste are applied on the body. *Chandan*, turmeric and neem leaf are considered to be having intrinsically cooling effect on the body. The person's wish for having food is considered to be the wish of the divine power, hence every attempt is made to satisfy the person's desire for the food. When a person is affected by the disease, in her/his household, oil should neither be consumed nor applied by the other family members on their body. There are also other proscriptions such as: not to season foods or fry things at home. The oil is considered to be having the heating effect. Hence, the very usage of oil at home by the family members, is considered to be aggravating the heat, and consequently the anger of the goddess.

The family members are prohibited from eating hot things or serving it to the pox victim. When someone in the family is affected by the divine possession of the *maa*, the

vegetarian food consumption in the house is prohibited, as non-vegetarian food is considered to be polluting and hot by its nature. Sometimes buttermilk (*challah*) is kept near the chicken pox affected person in order to make the goddess cool. After the person gets cured, turmeric and neem leaves paste is removed from the person's body and kept in a *dala* (a pot made with bamboo). The pot is carried away from home and taken to a spot where three roads meet (*dibatata*). Such a place is considered to be having great supernatural power. As pox is considered to be the expression of abhor to the excess bodily heat, all attempts are made to cool the body. Although heat is considered to be life giving substance, it is believed that it must be controlled and directed. The excessive heat can be destructive. Hence the heat should be balanced by coolness.

The association of feminine power with excess body heat is often considered to be having dangerous effect for others. And as the menstrual blood is considered to be hot by its very nature, the menstruating body of a woman is considered to be dangerous for men. More particularly sexual contact with a menstruating woman is considered to be having dangerous effect on men.

Managing Women's Sexuality:

Management of sexuality becomes the main concern, once the girl reaches puberty. The sexual desire is believed to awaken at puberty and it needs controlling and harnessing. To place control on her emerging sexuality, the bodily movements of the girl often gets codified such as while traveling in the village street and outside, she needs to go with a bent head. Girls and women walking in the village street with their head straight are ridiculed as *ghodi*, *urdha mukha*, and *andiri chandi*. The young girl's association with the domestic sphere does not stay as a mere metaphor, it takes its actual course. The restraint on sexuality is also supposed to get reflected in the girl's dressing. The time lag between puberty and marriage is considered to be a risky one. Leela Dube (1997) in her study also

observes that, the strong belief persists among most of the village communities across India that a girl must be guarded properly during the liminal period between menarche and marriage. It is often told by women in the village that “we keep our daughters with much responsibility.” Getting a girl married within one or two years after she reaches puberty is considered to be the ideal time for her marriage. Early marriage is prescribed to place control over woman’s sexuality. This idealization of the age of the marriage for girls is well reflected in some of the folk songs which are recited ritually by the brides while weeping during the departing ceremony of the marriage. One such song which is frequently sang while crying, by the bride addressing her mother is:

*Baha upare chumbiti basa maa go
Garbha dharithilu dasati masa maa go
Dande bulailu bara barasa maa go
Chauda barase kalu nrasa maa go*

The literal meaning of the song is that ‘O mother, you kept me inside your womb during the pregnancy for ten months, you accompanied me while roaming in the village street for twelve years, but now at the age of fourteen you are disappointing me and leaving me helpless.’ This song suggests the girl’s restrained movement in the village streets and confinement to the household after the age of twelve. It is generally considered that the girls reach puberty at the age of twelve. The folk song idealizes the age of marriage of the girls as fourteen years. The consensus over early marriage as the best way of regulating sexuality of women is found among all the caste groups. It is also strongly suggested that the girls should be kept away from the discussions on sexuality and more specifically the discussions on deviant sexuality. These discussions are considered to be having a bad effect on the minds of the girl. One of the respondents says

We get our daughters married at an early age, with the fear that they might elope or have affair with someone. These days girls are eloping. If they stay unmarried, they learn many other unnecessary things. Before some unfortunate incident happens, they should be married off. One of my sister’s

*daughters is going mad, she is going around with some men in her village
Incidents of such kind are so shameful for the family*

Another respondent of mine says

You see how these girls are behaving these days (udurchia hauchant) It is not good for the family to keep daughters unmarried for a long time The girls might have affair with someone As soon as the girl reaches the age of fifteen, we get the daughter married Now my daughter is thirteen years old We will get her married in another two years People do not keep pubertal girl at home for a long time

Uncontrolled female sexuality is considered to be a danger to the order of the society The theme of feminine power of uncontrolled female sexuality as dangerous, is prominent in mythology as well as folk literature (Wadley, 1977). It is believed that female sexuality should not be left uncontrolled within the village The uncontrolled feminine power is believed to be dangerous and considered to be having the potential for disturbing the village order The feminine power, not even in the form of divine goddess of the village, should be left uncontrolled in the village. Control on the feminine divine power is believed to be established through confining her in the temple The margins of the village are believed to be harboring the feminine supernatural power While describing the appropriate place of the uncontrollable power, Lili Didi the Anganwadi worker of the village says

Once a woman from our neighbourhood had chicken pox on her body As maa had appeared on her body, she should have followed the restrictions in food and other practices But, she did not follow that and consumed fish On the same night the woman got possessed by the maa and the goddess expressed her anger by possessing her Maa was so forceful that, the woman could lift a pot full of water on her teeth Then a gunia came and asked the maa why she is troubling the woman The goddess explained about the fault of the woman Then the goddess expressed her wish to stay in the middle of the village. But how could we leave the goddess freely in the middle of the village? Should a woman be left freely throughout day and night in the village? Though we have goddess in our village, they are kept in the temple and a defined boundary is maintained for the goddess A woman can not be left freely within the village That is supposed to be dangerous for the villagers. Hence, the gunia requested the goddess to stay in one end of the village and the goddess was left in the end of the village for which she agreed

This implies the goddess also needs to be kept away from becoming uncontrolled. She should be confined to a specific space, by which her spatial movements get controlled. The explanation of Lili didi makes it clear that the feminine power, not even in the form of the goddess should be left uncontrolled in the village. Even the goddess is believed to be controlled by defining her proper boundary inside the temple. The uncontrollable feminine power can be left outside the village, so that the order of the village does not get disturbed. The effects of the feminine supernatural power (*debtā*) are believed to be more in the margins of the village. The *bandha* (water reservoir) of the village, which exists in the margin of the village, is considered to be harboring such feminine dangerous power. Reference to the *debtā* existing near village *bandha* is often made by the villagers. More frequently women are believed to be falling victims to these supernatural powers. People often describe that the supernatural power appears in the form of a shadow, while the shadow is described to be the shadow of a woman with her hair left open. The open hair of the feminine power symbolizes her uncontrollable state. The chewing of the paddy in the field or consuming food in the agricultural fields bordering the *bandha* is considered to be causing anger to the *debtā*, for polluting her through the saliva. The *Bhuani debtā*, another such feminine supernatural power is believed to be existing in the dense forest, at a considerable distance from the village, where men often frequent to collect wood (both for commercial purpose and domestic purpose). The jungle, which exists at a distance of nearly five kilometers from the village, is considered to be a man's space by the villagers. The *Bhuani debtā* is believed to be very beautiful, who is often described to be wearing a big *bindi* and leave her long hair unbound. This feminine supernatural power is believed to be attracting men with her sensuous beauty with the intention of causing harm to them. While describing about the supernatural dangerous feminine power, the villagers often describe the untied hair of the

the supernatural power, which symbolizes her uncontrollable state and the lust. In the community discourse the evil and uncontrollable state of woman power comes to be articulated through the symbol of unbound and loosened hair. Hence, the connotation of restrained sexuality gets attached to the bounded hair. Women are prescribed to keep their hair bound, which in turn symbolizes their controlled state.

The notion on proper femininity takes its due course through attachment of the notion of ideal bodily growth and bodily formation for woman. It is believed that girls should look younger than their age, a girl with a developed body raises questions about containment of her sexuality and reminds people that marriage is imminent for her. More physical growth of the girl implies that she is more likely to become a victim of sexual aggression. Leela Dube (1988) points out that different notions regarding the male and female bodies often combine to make a significant difference in nutrition for males and females. These notions of the ideal female body also play an important role in deciding the age of marriage for girls. This becomes prominent in the opinion of one of my respondent.

My daughter started growing fast, she has a big physique like me. We got scared and as soon as she reached puberty we got her married. We got her married at the age of fourteen. Now she has two children.

The notion of proper and ideal physique for man and a woman gets constructed in the context of marriage of girls. It is believed that a woman should look young while getting married and she should possess a thin body before her marriage. Some of the notions on ideal physical body of women and men get reflected in the view of some of the village women.

Kuni is looking so old now. She looks like a middle aged woman. There is no freshness in her look. For that reason she got married at a very late age. Last year only she has got married. If a woman becomes old, the flesh and blood on the face will become stiff. So the woman does not look young. Men has much strength, so they do not look old soon. But a woman looks old soon. The girl looks fresh when they are between fourteen to seventeen.

years. After a certain age, she does not look appealing. If a girl looks a little middle aged, who will marry her? So, we get the girls married soon. We work in the field; go for work in the hot sun, so we look old soon. Men can get married late, but if a woman becomes a little old, who will marry her? If a girl looks middle aged, the proposals do not come for her easily. Before marriage a woman should look thin and after marriage she should put on weight. It is not good for a woman to put on weight at mother's home while a woman is unmarried.

After marriage also, a woman is always expected to restrain her urge for having food.

The restraint on consumption of food gets articulated through the concept of shame or shyness of a woman. The girl is expected to internalize proper attitude and mode of behaviour in matters of eating as well. In the village, most of the women expressed that after marriage the woman is expected not to take the freshly cooked rice, but consume the leftover water rice of the previous day. The freshly cooked rice is the privilege of the male members of the family and on some occasions the elderly women. One of the respondents expresses:

After my marriage I used to feel very hungry often. The family members used to ridicule me for having more food. I was not supposed to ask for more curry also. With very less curry I used to finish my meal.

Pregnancy and Child Birth:

Pregnancy is considered as the time of great ambiguity and change in woman's body. This period is considered to be a weak point in relation to human and malign powers. The fear of invasion of womb of the woman by the evil powers of both the supernatural and the human beings exists during this period. Hence this is considered to be a period of danger (Ram, 1991, Dube, 1997). In Tikrapada village, it is believed that a woman needs to be very careful about her movements and bodily practices during her pregnancy. The pregnant woman's ignorance and carelessness in behaviour is believed to be dangerous for herself as well as her unborn child. While explaining about the more careful and

strained bodily practices of women during the period of pregnancy, one of my respondents, Bhumisuta says:

The person who comes for the begging should not be returned empty handed At the same time the woman who is pregnant should not offer alms in the bag (muna) of the beggar For that reason while begging, the beggar always needs to travel with a vessel along with the bag It is believed that if the pregnant woman gives alms in the bag of the beggar, there is every possibility that the child will get entangled in the womb of the mother during the delivery Hence, pregnant women are prescribed not to give alms to the beggars in their muna

Since pregnancy is considered to be the time when the woman's body is at vulnerable stage and a matter of attraction from the powers of the supernatural beings, the pregnant woman is prescribed not even to visit the temples and restrict herself from going outside home, alone at night Especially the pregnant women are prescribed not to visit the borders of the village at nights, as the borders of the village are considered to be places accommodating the supernatural forces On certain occasions the attack of the supernatural and evil human power is believed to be affecting the whole reproductive potential of the woman Narrating about the effect of the supernatural power during her pregnancy, one of my respondents JiraTandia said

After one year of my stay with my husband, I became pregnant Those days we used to go to Bhubaneswar to work in the brick kiln While going to Bhubaneswar for work, I was pregnant by two months But I did not tell about this to my in-laws with the fear that it might not be true And if it is not true, I have to face the embarrassment I was not sure about the pregnancy I also had the fear that if I tell about this to my in-laws, they will not allow me to go to an unknown place for work We, both husband and wife, wanted to earn money, since it was difficult to survive here During our stay in Bhubaneswar once I fought with my husband and went out of our hut at night alone to attain nature's call But soon after going out I saw a devi (supernatural power) and got scared My pregnancy got affected by the devi kuta (evil power of the supernatural) In the eighth month of my pregnancy I gave birth to a still born child After that, I could not become pregnant again

Few people, more particularly women, are considered to be having some inborn supernatural power through which they are believed to be affecting others health

tively. These women are considered to be equipped with these evil supernatural powers from their birth. The women having this kind of power are addressed as *tandhei*. As pregnant women and new born children are considered to be in an ambiguous and fragile bodily state, they are considered to be more vulnerable to the attacks by the evil powers of *tandhei*. The bodies which exist at a marginal state, such as the menstruating woman's body, the pregnant woman's body and the newborn child and the neo natal mother's body are more prone to the attacks by *tandhei*. Again, through the expression that the *tandhei* is more dangerous towards women, the envious nature of women towards the same gender gets constructed by the villagers. While describing about the evil powers of the *tandhei*, one of my respondent Suramanı says

Suppose someone is having food and the tandhei sees them and wants to trouble the person, invariably the person vomits after having the food. No medicine works for that. If tandhei wants to kill someone, it can kill the person. If a person comes to know who is the tandhei and goes to her, then she will not harm the person anymore in the fear that she might get exposed. Suppose you have come to my house and we give you some food to eat, then you can get to know that we have done tandhei. In that case tandheis will not harm much. She will return her mantra. Tandheis mostly harm small children. Suppose a child is having mothers milk, if the tandhei says that the child is having milk nicely or child is nice, then the child falls sick. The gunia can dictate the reason of these kinds of sickness. The gunia can say who tandhei is or not.

The pregnant body, mainly the first pregnancy is considered to be a more vulnerable state for a woman. Leela Dube (1997) observes that the first pregnancy is considered as a proof of the fecundity of a woman, hence, she is believed to be in a more vulnerable position. My study also reveals that similar notions exist among the people in the village. The attack of the supernatural forces during the first pregnancy of the woman is sometimes considered to be causing permanent infertility in her. Malati mausı one of my key respondent while describing about the evil effects of the *tandhei* on her pregnancy states.

After two years of my stay at my in-laws place I became pregnant One woman in our neighbourhood used to be very friendly with me I did not know that she was a *tandhei* I used to share tea and paan with her and she used to talk nicely with me But she ate away my unborn child In the fifth month of the pregnancy it got aborted And I could not become pregnant once again

The refuse from the bodily orifices during the pregnancy of women are considered to be having the potential of both “power and danger” During delivery and in the postnatal period, the mother and the child are considered to be in the most polluting state. It is believed that the nine months period of menstrual dirt of the body comes out of the bodily boundary of the woman in the form of vaginal blood loss during child birth As the child is also associated with the mother’s menstrual dirt during the nine months of pregnancy, both the mother and child are considered to be in a state of pollution for a certain period of time after child birth (Chawla, 2007, Bhraj, 2007) On the other hand, the pregnant woman is considered to be having lost control on her body and she is considered to be in a state of powerlessness, while the crucial changes work upon her body As the woman during her pregnancy is considered to be in a vulnerable state, she is considered to be more prone to be affected by the dangerous effects of the birth pollution The birth pollution is referred as *chittuk* by the villagers in Tikrapada The postnatal mother and the child are considered to be in a higher state of pollution for twenty one days after the child birth The *chittuk* of the neonatal mother and the child is considered to possess the dangerous power, which is believed to be having the potential to abort the pregnancy of a woman. Hence, the pregnant women are prescribed to stay away from the site of neonatal mother and child for twenty one days after child birth, in order to escape the effects of *chittuk*

The notion on proper bodily activities during pregnancy also gets formulated by the women in the village Women are often prescribed to be physically active during their pregnancy By enhancing the physical activities, the blood circulation happens properly,

ch helps the child. During advanced stage of pregnancy also, women do not abstain in pounding rice. This kind of physical activity is considered to be adding bodily heat, consequently making the delivery easier. During pregnancy and after child birth, a great concern is shown over the kinds of food the woman is allowed to eat in accordance with the heating and cooling properties of the food. A pregnant woman is prescribed to abstain from eating mushroom, palm fruit and a range of vegetables and fruits which are red in colour or closer to red colour, such as onion, ripe papayas, pumpkin, tomato, ripe jack fruit, and the leafy vegetables whose strings are red in colour. During pregnancy, women are often prescribed to eat less, which is considered to be helpful in having an easy delivery. More food intake is often said to result in large infant, and the large infant size is seen as the cause of difficult delivery. Nichter and Nichter (2003) in their study found that the fear of difficult delivery as a consequence of a large infant prevented some pregnant women from consuming adequate amount of food. They found that the common explanation for the desire for small baby and less food eaten during pregnancy have been ease in delivery and fear of pain associated with difficult delivery. It is believed by the Tikrapada villagers that a woman should work hard during her pregnancy, which will help in making the pregnancy easier. During labour, women are offered hot liquids like, hot tea to speed up the delivery by increasing the body heat.

Food is also considered to be producing different kinds of flows in the woman's body which are considered to be having positive and negative effect on the child. Veena Das (1994) also points out that the hot foods are considered to arouse passion and are associated with virility and power while the cold foods are associated with purity and asceticism and helps one to control the demands and passions of the senses. The village study data reveals that, the food taboo for the pregnant and nursing mother is maintained according to the categorization of food as hot food and cold food. The mother who is

ursing a baby is given some kind of hot foods and spices to help the milk flow but she has to avoid excessively hot foods which may make her milk so hot that it may cause diarrhea in a small baby Displeased with the food taboo one of the neo natal mother says

The elderly women put many kinds of restrictions on the food habits and other practices before and after delivery My mother-in-law says 'in our time we used to have rice once in a day after delivery But these days daughter-in-laws do not listen and eat rice twice, eat sagu and many other things' My mother-in-law restricts me on eating dal and having fried vegetables and curry Only asks me to eat rice with neem flower and leaves and garlic If I keep water in any vessel in the house my mother-in-law shouts that the child will catch cold, and asks me not to store much water at home If the child passes urine or stool on a cloth also, I am not supposed to wash the cloth in the evening She asks me to keep the cloth till next day and wash, otherwise the child will catch cold My husband also listens to his mother They put many restrictions on my food And if I occasionally eat something without listening to them, they scold me Till the child completes one year I am not supposed to eat non-vegetarian food

It is believed that women taking much rest during pregnancy will result in having a bad effect on the health of the child. Women should be active during their pregnancy

While explaining this, Mithila one of my respondents says

These days the doctors are prescribing the women to sit idle and not do much work. But we prefer to be active during our pregnancy Sitting idle will have a bad impact on the child's health When we sit at one place for a long time our legs become numb Similarly, the mother is connected to the child, if the mother does not do any exercise during her pregnancy, the child will not be having much movement We do not even hesitate to pound and husk rice during the later stage of pregnancy Nuru's mother joins Mithila and says, during my younger child's birth as I felt little uncomfortable I came home and pounded rice After some time the child was born

Birth is considered as a time of considerable danger to mother and infant Both mother and child's body is considered as polluting at the same time For twelve days the post-partum mother and the child are kept secluded There is a ban on cooking by the woman till twenty-first day of the birth of the child On the third day and seventh day of the child birth, a ritual cleaning of the clothes of the mother and child takes place. Mother and the infant are secluded till the twelfth day of the delivery of the child Though the mother and infant come in contact with others in the family and surpass the seclusion

age to some extent after twelfth day of the delivery, the mother is supposed to abstain from cooking food till the celebration of twenty-first day of the birth ritual of the child. Among the *ganda* community, the twenty-first day of the birth of the child is important. On the twenty-first day, the feet of the child are washed with water by the women of the community and the hair on the infant's head is shaved. The hair which the child carries from the womb (*chutuk bala*) is considered as polluting. After the twenty-first day ritual the mother and child are considered to have surpassed the polluting state by which the mother is considered to be ready to cook food for the family members. Woman cooking food before the twenty first day of the birth ritual, is considered to be bad as the food is supposed to turn to be poisonous for others, especially the male members of the family.

Neo-natal mothers are considered to be dangerous to people around them. At the same time they are also in danger because of the heat of the blood which attracts supernatural forces. After childbirth, an iron nail is always kept nearby the woman and the child, to avoid the attraction of spirits towards them. The umbilical cord of the infant is considered as polluting for all the communities in the village. The hair of the child is considered as polluting only among the *ganda* community in the village. Till the twelfth day of the delivery, mother and infant are considered to be in a state of physical pollution. Thus, generally people avoid coming in direct physical contact with them. People who come in physical contact with either the mother or the child are required to take ritual bath to overcome the pollution. Bharj (2007) states that in South Asian societies, childbirth is seen as a "highly polluting event". The state of being pregnant is not polluting but it is the period after the birth of the baby, the blood loss during delivery and the postnatal period which is most polluting. Douglas's (1966) explanation suggests, it is conceived that the material which was within the boundary of the body for the nine months has come out of the mother and it is this material which is "dirt" and seen as

pollution". Callaghan (2007) also points out that childbirth is considered to be dirty and polluting, because women are considered to be in a liminal stage during the child birth. The subordination of women is established by constructing child birth as polluting. Consequently the women who have gone through child birth are considered to be in a marginal state because of birth pollution. The women are considered to be at the margins because they are considered to be doing hard physical work during their labour and child birth. The people doing dirty work and hard labour are considered to be in a subordinated position.

Proper disposal of placenta and umbilical cord also becomes important for the safety of the mother and the child. Most of the women say that burying the placenta and umbilical cord under the piles of manure stored at the backyard of the house has a good effect on the child. Manure symbolizes the power of soil nutrients, therefore the child is considered to be having a fast growth due to the effect of the manure. Consumption of the placenta by the dogs, cats and other animals is considered to be having an evil effect on the health of the child. Mother's milk is also considered to be having special nutrient value for the child. The milk of the mother is considered to be the cleanest for the child and also considered to be having medicinal value at the same time. Also, for any kind of disease related to the eye of the child, mother's milk is applied.

Through its cultural notions on women's sexuality and reproduction, such as menstruation, child birth and pregnancy, the community constructs a particular view on women's body. The community attaches symbolic meanings to women's sexuality and reproduction, which in turn constructs women's body as an inferior body. This dominant construction of women continuously asserts that women's body is prone to act in a deviant manner, hence, dangerous to others. Lock and Scheper-Hughes (1996) point out that cultural construct of and about "body" sustain a particular view of the society and

relations. The symbolic equations between healthy body and healthy society are drawn through the community's images of hot-cold syndrome, and its notions on purity-impurity. In this construction, the bodily heat is considered to be a disorder in body which has the potential of disturbing the order of the society. By constructing women's sexuality, more particularly the vaginal blood as hot by its very nature, the community constructs women's sexuality as a threat to the order of the society, hence dangerous for the healthy functioning of the society

Women's bodily functions related to their reproductive potential, such as menstruation and child birth, are considered to be changing and transitional by nature. And the transitional bodily states are considered as dangerous, which needs to be controlled for establishing order in the society. The community tries to establish order by segregating women during the transitional phases of their life. Again, by constructing the reproductive bodily functions of women as dirty and polluting, women's body is constructed as a deviant body and kept "outside" the system during pollution stage. Douglas (1975) asserts that 'purity and impurity are principles of evaluation and separation'. By constructing female body as impure and unclean body, the female inferiority and male superiority is established by the community. Even in the context of sexual intercourse also, man's body after sexual intercourse is considered to be fit for the normal functioning and interaction, while women's body after sexual intercourse is considered to be polluting. Hence, it is considered as the women's responsibility to keep others away from being uncontaminated by her pollution incurred from the sexual fluid. The bodily order is believed to be restored by taking bath and before taking bath women are prescribed not to cook food. Women, by conforming to the system are expected to preserve the societal order, and consequently the health of the society. Thus, in this cultural context, women's body is valued in terms of the notions of purity and pollution,

ereby "purity" state is seen as a state of total control and the "impure" state is seen as the loss of control, hence dangerous for the society

The community constructs the bodily margins and the societal margins as dangerous, hence maintenance of boundaries becomes the main concern for retaining the healthy body and the healthy society. Scheper-Hughes and Lock point out that the perceived threats to the 'continued existence of the social group may be real or imaginary' (1987: 24). Number of social controls are exercised by the communities to maintain its group boundaries, by which it tries to establish social order and preserve the social health of the group. In its attempt to maintain boundaries, the social groups create inside/outside dichotomy, whereby the "outside" is considered as a threat which may pollute the "inside". The "inside" is considered as the "self" and the "outside" is considered as the "other" and the evil, which can threaten the group existence and its health. In order to protect the "inside" from getting contaminated by the "outside", maintaining social and bodily boundaries remains the main concern of the communities. In their attempts of maintaining boundaries, ritual and sexual purity becomes the main focus of the communities, since pollution is considered to be biologically transmitted. As women are considered as the gates of entry to the caste communities, female purity is guarded. In this discourse the male sexuality does not carry any responsibility (Douglas, 1966). 'Concern with the penetration and violation of body exits, entrances and boundaries extend to material symbols of body, whereby the body is perceived as the home with its doors, gates, fences and boundaries around which protective rituals, social customs serve to create social distance and a sense of personal control and security' (Lock and Scheper-Hughes, 1996: 62). Community's concern of maintaining bodily boundary, in its attempt of creating order in the society, is well reflected in the day-to-day lives and practices of women.

y-to-day Practices:

The maintenance of caste purity, and consequently preservation of the established order of the society is asserted on the basis of bodily practices of women in the village. Women, through their bodily practices are required to guard the boundaries of family and community against the contamination by outside force, hence, preserve the purity of the home and the community. Starting with typical household activities, one can notice how the notion of purity is often attached to women's body and womanly activity. The caste sanctity and superiority of communities are often asserted through the bodily practices of women. Cooking food, especially rice is considered as one among many activities through which the women of a community are expected to maintain caste purity. Cooking is considered as purely womanly activity, and an overtone of sacredness is attached to it. Starting from fetching water for the kitchen, most of the household activities are done by women. While fetching water, much care is taken not to come in physical contact with other caste people. Even mere touching of the same tube-well by another caste person while one is fetching water, is considered as making the water polluted for kitchen use. To assert one's caste superiority, the expression generally used as "we won't take their water" or "we do not consume water brought by them", "*ame tanka pani khaibuni*". The notion of purity is attached to collecting water for kitchen that the *badhei* women say "we are not expected to wear slippers while fetching water for kitchen". In the kitchen, especially the vessel in which the rice is cooked is considered as sacred. The *dumal* caste married women try to maintain physical distance from other caste groups in the village. Explanation given is that, since the women of household have to cook food, the physical contact with other caste people is avoided. The *dumal* women often say that "how can we cook rice wearing the same *saree* in which we touch others". Here the cloth which the woman wears is considered as the carrier of pollution. Hence, women explain that if they

ouch other people, they can not cook food wearing the same cloth. Women's notion of hygiene is strongly influenced by their notions on bodily purity and pollution, where by the purity is equated with hygiene and pollution is equated with unhygienic state.

The visits to the margins of the village, especially the agricultural fields and the places mainly used for defecation are considered to be polluting the body. Hence each time people, mainly women visiting these areas are considered to be fit for entering into the household only after taking bath. Going for latrine is considered to be polluting the body, and the bodily purity is believed to be restored only through taking bath.

Not only touching the people belonging to outcaste groups is considered to be polluting for the bodily purity of the upper caste groups, but the visits to the places outside of the village, mainly to the market place, hospital and other places are also considered to be making the women's body polluted. Hence, each time women visit these places, they have to take bath before entering the house. No such demand for maintaining the bodily purity while entering the house is made from the men of the household. While describing about the need for women in maintaining bodily purity in entering the house one of my respondents Satyabati says

The women of the household should maintain bodily purity in a stricter way than men in the household. The house is in the charge of the women, it becomes their responsibility to keep it in a pure state. We women get engaged in performing the most sacred activities such as cooking and kitchen works and other religious activities of the house. We also have the responsibility of protecting our sacred vrata from getting contaminated by the outside pollution. For this reason, each time we go outside the village, such as the market or nearby places, we enter the house only after taking bath. But no such practice is observed by men of the household. They also can not manage doing that. In a day many times the man goes out of the house and also the village. Their works are mainly the outside activities. They frequent between the outside world and home many times a day. For that reason they can not maintain the bodily purity like us in a strict way. It is also not necessary for them to maintain the purity in such a strict way as they do not enter into the kitchen or participate in the household activities.

The visit to the spaces outside the village is treated as polluting; the outside world is treated with suspicion, which is a threat to the bodily purity of women in the household. In order to overcome the effects of suspicious polluting forces of the outside world, the woman of the household needs to purify herself each time she makes an entry into the outside world. This way, "inner" space, the domesticity gets constructed as the primary domain of the women and preserving the purity of the domesticity becomes their main concern. At the same time the notions of "outside" is considered to be shifting by nature. Though women's visit to the market place and other villages are considered to be a threat to their bodily purity, their visit to the temples, existing in the neighboring villages does not attach such notions of pollution. The visits to the temples of the neighboring villages are seen as the extension of their domestic activity, which brings auspiciousness to their bodily and spiritual state rather than making them polluted by the outside world.

In the daily life, women take enough care while preparing some special food such as rice cake or *kheer*. The evil eye of "others" is believed to spoil the food. The fear of evil eye and sorcery makes women deal carefully while transacting with the social world. For example, proper disposal of bodily effluents such as menstrual blood, hair, and nail becomes the main concern of women. These bodily refuse is believed to be used by the sorcerers for pursuing their nefarious activities. Before disposing the bodily refuse like nail or hair, enough care is taken to make it polluted by spitting on it. By polluting these bodily refuses, it is considered to be of no use for the sorcery effect. In these constructs of sorcery and evil eye, the body or bodily activity remains a mode to express the threat of social tensions and conflicts. In these constructs, the illness can be attributed to social tensions or hostilities. Lock and Scheper-Hughes (1996) point out that these beliefs of evil eye and sorcery exemplifies the links between the health or illness of the individual body and the social body. In this discourse the "outside" is often treated with suspicion.

and threat. Protecting and preserving the health of the family and the community becomes the main concern of women, whereby, women are prescribed to be cautious while performing their daily household activities and protect the family from the outside contamination. The notion of purity gets attached to women's body and womanly activity, whereby the women come to be constructed as the "private" "inner" self of the family and the community. Constructing women in this way, also consequently structures their moralities and emotions. The emotional feelings are considered to be the private and inward. Since women are considered as the "private" self of the community, management of emotion is constructed as solely the responsibility of women. This approach of the community is well reflected in the way the death rituals are culturally ordered in the village.

Death Ritual and Cultural Ordering of Women's Emotional Body:

Liminal positions are considered to be posing profound threat to the order of society. Of all the liminal positions the individual experiences, death is considered to be the most severe (Das, 1977). The mourners, especially the kin group of the deceased incur severe impurity. The death ritual is observed for fourteen days across the caste groups in the Tikrapada village. Till the tenth day of the death ritual, the mourners are required to desist from shaving, combing hair, washing clothes, cutting nails and using cosmetics. They are expected to eat bland, unsiced food in which oil should not be used. On the twelfth day of the death ritual non-vegetarian feast is given to all the relatives, and with the religious ritual the death ritual gets completed on the fourteenth day of the death. During the period of the fourteen day death ritual, the married women of the house do not go outside the house much. During that period of time, the women of the house abstain from cooking food because; the family members and the kin group are believed to be

ected by the death pollution. Women from a different kin group but from the same
te group, who is not related to the dead person by blood, cook for the family members.
ese kinds of needs in preparation of food during death rituals often compel the families
to establish close ties with the families of the same caste group other than their kin group
During the period of the ritual, the married women of the household are not supposed to
show their face at the first instance to people who visit their place. The women are
expected to cry in praise of the person as soon as they meet the relatives and other
acquaintances who visit them during that period of time

Though the mourning of the dead ends for men on the fourteenth day of the death
ritual, for the married women in the family, especially the daughter-in-law or the wife of
the deceased, the mourning does not end there. Every time she meets a relative for the
first time after the death incident at home, she is expected to hide her face in one end of
her *saree* and cry. The explanation for not showing the face at the first instance is often
given as "in our house death has happened, how will we show our face to others" (*ame
mala muhan kemuti dekheibu*). While women of the household are expected to express
their grief in this culturally ordered way, no such demand for expressing the grief over the
death of the family member is made for the male members of the family. The death of the
elderly family members such as husband, mother-in-law or father-in-law implicitly
imposes curtailment in the movement of the woman to the world outside village for a
longer period of time. For at least one year, the woman in grief is expected to abstain
from attending social gatherings and visit any relative's place. Women's act of not going
to even work places for at least one year of the death of the family member is idealized by
the villagers. One of the Bhulia Meher caste women says

*I did not go out of the village for five years after the death of my husband
During that period I also had not attended any social gatherings like
marriage*

In the poor families the daughter-in-law of the dead person starts working after few months of the death. There is also a caste and class dimension attached to the expression of this kind of grief for a longer time period by curtailing the movements outside the village. Women from certain caste groups like *Bhula Meher*, generally stay for a long period of time inside home after the death of the family members. Not going outside the village does not affect their economic activities, since they are engaged in the thread work, which is done from home. The *Badhei* families are economically well-off groups in the village. The *Badhei* caste women do not work outside home, hence their survival does not get affected when they curtail their movement for mourning the death of the family members. But among the other caste groups, women's staying for a long time at home for mourning the death of the family member, especially during agricultural season becomes difficult. Hence, often the lower caste women and lower class women from all the caste groups, join the work force after few months or days of the death of the family member. The lower caste *Ganda* women and other caste women, who survive on wage labour, can not afford to stay at home for a longer time. Two *dhībar* women whose mother-in-law died during my stay in the field say.

Though we are not supposed to go to the market to sell fish till one year of our mother-in-law's death, we go for selling fish. But we do not visit our relative's places. If we do not go for selling fish, how will we survive?

Another respondent of mine says

Those people who have food at home to eat, can afford to hide (luki paribe) in the house for a long duration of time, but those who do not have enough of food at home, will definitely go for work.

In few cases of extreme economic strain, women only stay within the confinement of house without joining the workforce outside home, till the fourteen days of the death ritual.

Veena Das (1977) points out that death is a liminal position. The successful completion of the death rituals ensures that the spirit of the dead person merges with the cosmic forces. The person's incorporation in the world of ancestors depends on the correct performance of rituals and the proper observance of taboos by the mourners. Hence, in her work she brings forth how the observance of taboos and certain bodily practices in death ritual is believed to help the deceased in integrating with the ancestors. But such an explanation on the death ritual does not address the attempts of cultural ordering of the emotional expression such as grief of women in the death ritual. The observance of taboo in the mourning ritual, women's particular kind of emotional expression is idealized, while the male members of the family are not expected to express similar kind of grief. Here the emotions are socially and symbolically produced in an embodied form. The expression of emotion is often related to social structure. Lutz and White (1986) point out that the distribution of power in a society and the ideological structuring of emotion are related. This can be well demonstrated by the way women's mourning practices (during the death of the family members) are spatially and temporally structured and idealized in the Tikirapada village.

Emotional feelings are considered to be fundamentally inward and private. Since women are considered to be in charge of private sphere, the management of emotional aspect of life falls on women. This kind of emotional expression helps in structuring the gender relations, whereby the emotional expression in the form of grief of women in death ritual is idealized and treated as a pathological condition. The attachment of emotional work with women's work sustains a dichotomized world view of irrational/rational, public/private, controlled/uncontrolled, male/female, where emotion is identified with the irrational, private, uncontrolled state and female. Middleton (1989) argues that the cultural ordering of emotions are closely linked to the sex role

rescriptions. Morality is enforced through the emotional ordering. In the context of the practice of death mourning of women, women are constructed as a category who are emotionally more attached, hence more unstable beings. Again, the notion of immorality gets attached to women who are unable to express their emotions in a particular ordered way. Leavitt (1996) points out that, emotions are conceptualized in terms of hot and cold idioms. The common element is that hot conditions involve greater movement within an entry and interaction among entities, while cold ones involve less movement and greater isolation. The balancing of these qualities is understood as a proper flow that takes the form of health and happiness for the person, of peace and prosperity for the community. Someone whose tendencies are hot may react to grief or sorrow by loud outpourings and violent movement. Women are generally considered to be hot. Because of their hot tendency, they are prone to be easily drawn into an uncontrollable state. During the demise of the family members, certain kind of emotional expression is demanded from women, which gets connected to the morality of women. At the same time, during the expression of emotional excess such as grief, women's bodily and emotional state is considered to be hot by its very nature, hence, uncontrollable state, which in turn is a pathological state. Particularly in the death of the husband, father-in-law or mother-in-law, when the social control is loosened, women are considered to be dangerous state. For the smooth functioning of the society and protecting the society from getting affected by the disordered state of women, prescription is made for women to restrict themselves to the private sphere such as home, during the state of grief. So that the social health does not get affected by the disordered and pathological state of women. While this aspect of women's emotional state is considered to be pathological in nature, the other aspect of women's emotionality, such as their spirituality and devotion is considered to be

uspicious in nature. Through the spiritual nature of women's emotionality, they are considered to be drawing the well-being of the family and community

Women's Body in a Ritual Space:

In this section I shall examine the role of religious ritual performances in establishing a particular notion of feminine, which has a bearing on the bodily practices of women. Women are considered to be having special responsibilities in the religious sphere as part of their domestic duty. The patrilineal family structure remains as the background upon which the rituals are suggested to be enacted. In the patrilineal family, women are placed as conduits, through which the flow of the well-being of the family is drawn. Women are expected to draw the domestic well being through the strength of their devotion (Niranjana, 2001). Thompson (1985) argues that women's power to invoke the domestic well being and the well-being of the family members seem to emphasize that women can only become auspicious through their relation with men. The pollution beliefs seem to represent women both as vulnerable and dangerous when cut off from men. Contrary to the pollution belief, the ritual practices of women suggests that women become powerful and strong in an auspicious manner, through their identification with men. However, it can be stated that, the ritual practices observed by women in Tikrapada village present a coherent cultural view, which highlights that the feminine sense of self is connected - connected to other human life, the domestic space and other-oriented, whereas the masculine sense of self is separate and more of self-oriented. Women are responsible for the ceremonies and practices ensuring the continuity of social life.

A range of religious rituals are performed by the villagers on the special days of the week as well as particular days of the calendrical year. Here I have tried to focus mainly on how women's bodily practices get carved out through the ritual practices. For that purpose I have examined the ritual practices which emphasize the devotional aspect of

n and/or suggests for change in daily routine bodily practices of women. Hanchett defines "ritual" as 'conventionalized set of performances which are believed to help "protect, purify or enrich the participants and their group" by mystical means beyond sensory observation and control' (1988: 30). When a ritual is repeated in a regular cycle it becomes a festival, usually including a group larger than the single household. Most of the festival rituals are based on myth-based stories, which narrate about the emergence of the festival, the devotion attached to it and the guidelines to be performed and followed (Hegde and Niranjana, 1994).

In Tikrapada village the *vratas*, such as the *Manabasa Lakshmi vrata* and *Sudasa vrata* are observed by the married women as their duty towards the domestic sphere, as *gruhini* of the household. In both the *vratas* the goddess Lakshmi is worshipped by the married women across the caste groups. The *vratas* are based on myth based stories which clearly carve out the ritual procedures and the prescriptions and proscriptions for married women to be observed as a part of the ritual as well as in their day to day lives. The Thursdays of the week are considered to be the favorite days of the goddess Lakshmi. As part of women's performance of the Lakshmi *vrata*, demands are made for certain changes in the daily routine practices of women on every Thursdays of the week. The goddess Lakshmi is considered as the goddess of prosperity. Hence, the married women through their devotion and maintenance of bodily, sexual and moral purity are supposed to invoke the benevolence of the goddess and gain the household prosperity. The Lakshmi *vrata* establishes morals that maintaining cleanliness of the domestic space, bodily purity, maintaining sexual purity through sexual chastity and exclusive devotion in the single husband (monogamy) are the highest virtues in women, through which the benevolence of the goddess is considered to be achieved.

Though the Lakshmi *vrata* suggests for sexual abstinence on the festival days of the goddess, it does not emphasize on asexuality of women, rather it emphasizes on the restrained, orderly sexuality of women. The Lakshmi *vrata* emphasizes the use of white items in the ritual, such as decorating the floor with white rice flour paste, and women wearing white clothes as part of the ritual. The emphasis of white items in the ritual refers to the duty and discipline (Hanchett, 1988) on part of the married women for retaining the domestic prosperity. The *manabasa* Lakshmi *vrata* is transmitted from mother-in-law to the daughter-in-law, which establishes the patrilineality as the rule and women are certified to observe the *vrata* in their status as wives. While in *manabasa* Lakshmi *vrata*, the reference point is more of the domestic space and women are suggested to retain the domestic prosperity through their devotion and “right” kind of bodily and moral practices, in *sudasa vrata*, the married women are obliged to observe the *vrata* for preserving the well-being of their husband.

Married women observe both the *sudasa vrata* and *lakshmi vrata* in order to bring auspiciousness to the husbands. The observance of the *vratas* by the widows is prohibited. In the opinion of my respondent who is an old widow women *the observance of vrata does not hold any meaning after the death of the husband (bara bina ki vrata)*. As part of the observance of *vrata*, the married women worship a particular kind of thread, which is also called as *vrata*. The married women as part of their duty toward the household are required to wear the *vrata*². This *vrata* is supposed to be protected from all kinds of pollution, such as having food from other’s houses, touching people during the birth and death pollution, etc. Women among the higher castes abstain from eating chicken, as a part of their observance of *vrata*. Consuming chicken is considered to be

² The act of observance of the ritual is called as *vrata*, at the same time the sacred thread which women worship during their observance of *sudasa vrata* is also called as *vrata*. Women are supposed to wear it as a part of their duty towards household. For preserving the wellbeing of the household, women are required to wear the *vrata* through out the year and protect it from all kinds of pollution.

uting. As the protectors of the domestic auspiciousness, the upper caste married women abstain from consuming chicken as a part of their duty towards maintaining the purity of the domesticity. However, women from all caste groups do not observe the taboo in terms of consuming chicken as the observant of the *sudasa vrata*. The "harijan" women do not follow the practice of such food taboos as a part of their performance of *vrata*.

The food consumption practices and the food taboos among the upper caste women and the lower caste women is well reflected in the hierarchical positioning of the goddesses in the region and the food offered to the goddesses as a part of the rituals. Distinction between different forms of non-vegetarian food offering to the village goddesses reflects the particular form of opposition between purity and impurity of the caste system. The goddess *Maheswari* is considered as one of the powerful goddesses of the locality. The deity is worshipped by *Mali* caste people who are called as *dehuri*. The goddess is considered as the upper caste goddess. The visit to the temple by the "harijans" is strictly prohibited. During the annual festivals of the goddess, goats and sheep are slaughtered before the goddess. On the other hand the goddess *Kandhuni Budhi* is considered to be lower in the hierarchy. The *Kandha* tribe men from the village worship the goddess on the annual festival day of the goddess. The goddess is situated at a little distance from the habitat, near the agricultural fields. She is considered to be the guardian deity of the village, guarding the village against the evil forces and epidemics. On the annual day of the deity, cocks and chicks are slaughtered before the goddess along with the goats. The different kinds of food offerings to the village deities reflect the caste structure of the village and the continuity between the tribal society and the caste society of the region. While cock is slaughtered before the lower ranked goddess, *Kandhuni Budhi*, it is considered as polluting for the higher ranked goddess *Maheswari*. Hence, the

laughter of the cock before the goddess *Maheswari* is a taboo. Similarly, the higher caste women consider chicken as a food taboo, which is considered to be polluting, while goat meat and sheep meat are not considered to be polluting

The hierarchy within the cooked vegetarian food is also maintained on the basis of sacred food and non-sacred food. The food which is mostly consumed by people in their day to day life such as boiled rice, use of onion and garlic and mustard oil in cooking, called as *usuna*, which is considered as not fit for maintaining the bodily purity of the ritual observant. Hence, the *usuna* food is considered as relatively non-sacred food. On ritual occasions, prescriptions are made to maintain the bodily purity by consuming *arua* food. such as white rice, use of ghee in the food instead of oil, which is considered as sacred food. The rituals which does not prescribe for the complete fasting by the ritual observants, the purity in food is maintained through the consumption of *arua*. On certain festivals when men are the actual ritual observant, their wives are required to observe ritual discipline to perform the role of *pativrata* and invite the benevolence of the deity to the domestic space. During the *krushna lila jatra* in the village, the men who take the vow of performing in the *jatra* are sought to remain in a bodily pure state. Hence, during the seven days of the *jatra*, the men who participate in the *jatra* are required to maintain bodily purity and discipline. As a part of their participation in the ritual, they are not supposed to consume the cooked food of the home. During the seven days of the *jatra*, the ritual participants are offered communal meal, which is served as *prasad* of the village deity *Punyabasi*. When the men of the house participate in the village *jatra*, their wives are required to maintain a strict way of life, in their role as the *pativrata*, as well as the preserver of the benevolence of the deity in the domestic sphere. When the man participates in the *krushna lila jatra*, the wife is supposed to take head bath on the first

of the *jatra*. She is required to maintain purity in the diet by consuming *arua* food. The washing of the clothes during the period of *krushnalila* is strictly prohibited

Similar kind of practice is observed by women when their husbands participate in the *danda jatra*. The annual *danda* festival of the goddess *maheswari* happens for twenty-one days in the month of *Baisakh*. During that time the goddess Maheswari goes for visiting people in their homes and villages. Men from various caste groups (except *harijans*) accompany the goddess during her twenty-one days visit, which is called as *danda jatra*. The men, who join the goddess in the *danda jatra*, in her visit to the villages and households, are called as *guharia*. Men generally stay as the *guharia* near the goddess in her visit to the villages, as part of their vow, mainly taken for curing someone's disease, or solve some other family problem such as family disturbance, marriage, urge for a male child, or to overcome the state of childlessness. The men who join the *danda jatra* of the goddess, stay away from home and travel from village to village with the goddess in a group and perform the *nacha*. During that time, the men who accompany the goddess are prohibited from touching women. When a woman's husband stays as a *guharia* near the goddess, the woman is required to maintain strict bodily discipline through maintaining purity in diet and other practices, such as not washing clothes, cutting nails. Though women from *Keuta*, *Dumbal*, *Dhoba* and *Dhibara*, *Bhulia Meher* caste group usually do not abstain from cooking during their menstrual period, when the male members of their home participate in the *danda jatra* or *krushnalila jatra*, they abstain from cooking food during the menstrual period. In these rituals such as *krushna lila* and *danda jatra*, women only participate in the rituals as an extension of their husband's auspiciousness to the domestic space. Hence, women are not seen as independent and separate human beings, rather, they are connected to the husband as an extension of his identity at home and also the duty towards the husband. While the ritual practices take the man away from home,

oman stays connected to her husband through her *pativrata* dharma, and through auspicious power. She is considered to be drawing the auspiciousness inward, towards the domestic space.

The other ritual performances and fasting such as *pua jantia*, observed by women for the well-being of their son and the *bhai jantia*, observed by sisters for the well being of the brothers. These ritual performances demonstrate the male centeredness of the society, where the male member of the family is valued most, be it the brother, son or husband. Women are connected to the male members in an auspicious way through their devotion, which is considered to be life giving and life saving power.

Specific way of observing certain rituals are considered to be having some positive effects on the women, which is believed to be rescuing women from childlessness on some occasions. Such as, the childless women are prescribed to perform the *janmasthami* and the *mangala vrata*, which is believed to be having the effect of helping women to overcome the state of childlessness. On *janmasthami* the childless woman keeps betel-nut near the lord *Krishna*. The betel-nut is considered to be auspicious. The woman who observes the *vrata*, washes the feet of the priest and keeps the betel-nut near the god. On the day of the *vrata*, she observes fasting. The next day she is supposed to go to the priest and wash his feet again. On *janmasthami* an idol of lord *Krishna* is made of turmeric in which the naval of the lord is made out of a small tender cucumber. The priest gives the tender cucumber to the woman, considered as the naval of the lord. The woman consumes the cucumber, which is considered help her in conceiving. The naval is considered to be linked to the woman's fertile power. Similarly a particular way of observing the *chaitra mangala vrata* is prescribed for the women, to recover from the state of childlessness. The *chaitra Mangala vrata* is observed by married women, who mainly keep the vow for the observance of the *vrata*. On some occasions, the observance of the *mangala vrata* is

mitted from mother-in-law to daughter-in-law. The goddess *mangala* is mainly worshipped by the married women for the well-being of their children, in their roles as mothers. On many occasions the childless women keep the *mangala vrata* with the expectation of getting the blessing of the goddess to overcome their state of childlessness. The childless women are suggested to observe *magi-magi-mangala vrata*, which literally means observance of the *mangal vrata* on begging. As part of the ritual, early in the morning the woman keeps turmeric balls in front of seven houses. By this the women of the households come to know about the expected arrival of the *vrata* observer, for which they remain alert. The woman who observes the *vrata* goes begging silently, without uttering a word. She begs in front of seven houses and after begging she goes for bath to the village pond. After performing the *mangala puja*, the woman serves *kheer* to seven children, prepared out of the begged rice.

The observance of the festival in these ways puts the responsibility of childlessness on women. The way the rituals are structured, often brings forth the purpose of women's participation in the ritual to the public knowledge. But, in case of men's observance of the ritual practices similar kind of trend is not found. The purpose of men's participation in the ritual performance and their purpose of vow is kept away from the public knowledge. Even when they perform rituals for getting an heir, it does not come to the public notice, but when women's ritual performances are performed with the purpose of conceiving a child, the ritual performances easily makes others aware about the purpose of woman's participation in ritual performance. Hence, the reproductive responsibility gets constructed as solely women's responsibility.

Participating in some of the ritual performances, women not only stay connected with this world and their everyday life, but through some of the ritual performances women are believed to be connected with the life beyond the death. In this discourse,

Women's body is seen as the mediator between the life and death. Through carving tattoos on the women's body, it is believed that the notion of sacredness gets attached to it. Before marriage women are suggested to go through the ritual of tattooing. And it is believed that only through tattooing, women could escape the sins that they commit in this world. It is believed that the lord of death *Jama devata* forgives the tattooed woman for their mistakes performed during their life. Hence, the tattooed woman's body gets constructed as the sacred body. In this discourse, women's body becomes the surface, upon which the moral of the community gets inscribed, whereby through inflicting pain on women's body the status of sacredness of women's body and morality gets asserted. Consequently, women's body comes to be culturally evaluated as a pain absorbing body. And through pain the sacredness is claimed and the sacred world gets separated from the profane world.

Through its symbolic gestures, the ritual performances often structure the gender relations and suggest appropriate female behaviour and bodily practices. The rituals also act like an agent of socialization from very early age of children. The pre-pubertal girls from a very early age are socialized about the appropriate gender roles through festivals like *kachi-gudhi khela*, which is observed on the *punyabasi amabasya*. The ritual is enacted in the form of a play between small boys and girls. On the specific day the small girls go to one end of the village with the fried and roasted nuts, grams and puffed rice. The small boys come for this play with the dolls of horses and elephants. In this ritual performance, the girls are required to give food to boys and their dolls (which symbolizes elephants and horses). The girls also exchange food among themselves playing the role of neighbors. This ritual practice symbolizes that women are primarily connected to the hearth and the domestic space, while men are considered to be preoccupied with the outside activities. Women also stay connected with the neighbors through their

engagement with the ritual practices. Women's religious preoccupation is primarily ed at ensuring good health and welfare of the family; it is an obligation for women to maintain bodily purity to protect the family and community honour. Hence, preservation of the family and community health and honor becomes essential to the feminine project.

Women and Spiritual Possession:

According to Janice Boddy (1994) spirit possession refers to the hold exerted over a human being by external forces or entities more powerful than the human. These forces may be ancestors or divinities, ghosts of foreign origin or entities both ontologically and ethnically alien. The Tikrapada villagers clearly demarcate between different kinds of possessions which are broadly categorized as the divine possession, possession by ancestors and the possession by alien evil force which is often referred as *devta*. While in some cases the *devtas* are believed to act independently as they operate over the individual, on some other occasions the *devtas* are believed to act in the direction of sorcerers.

The distinctions between divine possessions can be drawn on the basis of their operation and nature of possession. Certain divine possessions occur as a part of certain fixed religious ritual. In such divine possessions, mainly a particular male devotee gets possessed by the divine power, which happens in a public ceremony. For example, during the *danda* festival the *pata bhokta*³ gets possessed by the goddess in the evenings during the twenty one day observance of the *danda* festival. In this case only the *pata bhokta* gets possessed, and the divine possession on the *pata bhokta* is fixed beforehand. He remains prepared for the divine possession by growing his hair, which in turn remains a

³ Pata bhokta is considered to be the chief *guharia* in the *danda* festival of the local goddess, who is a loyal devotee of the goddess. The status of *pata bhokta* is gained through his seniority in the participation in *danda jatra* as a *guharia* and his strict way of observing the rules of the ritual.

arker of his feminine role during the possession. While getting possessed by the deity, the *pata bhokta* carries the idol of the goddess and dances by leaving his hair open. This divine possession is publicly celebrated by the villagers during the *danda* festival. The *pata bhokta* also gets a public acknowledgement for his devotion to the goddess and sticking to the strict way of ritual observance during the twenty one day *danda* festival. For his status as *pata bhokta*, he is respected among the villagers. His words during the possession are considered as the divine words and wishes.

On some other occasions the divine possession operates over certain individuals, more particularly on women. This type of divine possession does not stick to any fixed ritual observance. It also does not operate over a particular fixed person as it happens in case of the *danda* festival. In such cases, the women are believed to get possessed during their visit to the temple or near by area or during their visits to the margins of the village. The possession gets demonstrated through their bodily performances such as untied hair, weeping aloud and violent bodily movements. But such possessions are not celebrated publicly, as it is celebrated in case of *pata bhokta*. Dealing with the divine possession and performing the ritual for releasing the host body from the divine possession is mostly a private affair, where apart from family members, few neighbors and the healer witness the possession. In this case though the possessed woman leaves her hair open and violently moves her body, she does not dance publicly. On certain occasions when women get possessed by few angry goddesses, the most violent physical act result in running across the village street or lifting the full *gara*⁴ water, which mostly happens during the healing procedure.

⁴ *Gara* is a pot which is mostly used for collecting and storing water. During the divine possessions the brass *gara* is mostly used.

ut the women never step into the very act of dancing publicly during their possession, as the male possessed *pata bhokta* dances in the ritual possession. On one occasion in the village, while a married woman Bisnupriya danced publicly while possessed during *astamprahari*⁵ it was detested by the villagers and was considered as mere pretension by her rather than real possession. With regard to the divine possession of Bisnupriya, one of my respondents Mithila says

No woman even while getting possessed will dance publicly in the village. Actually Bisnupriya's character is bad. She is not loyal to her husband. She was having an affair in the village. Both Bisnupriya and her husband used to go for making brick to the nearby field. In the evening Bisnupriya used to come home alone to get the lantern to the field. On the way she used to meet her lover. Most of the people in our pada came to know about it. When astamprahari happened in the village, in the pretext of getting possessed she danced before god, to get the recognition of a devotional person. It was not divine possession. In case of divine possession, no woman dances publicly. She was just pretending to be possessed.

While explaining about possession many studies emphasize on the relationship between powerlessness and symbolic expression. This kind of argument becomes more prominent in the work of I.M. Lewis (1966). Lewis argues that possession gives marginalized people a voice and simultaneously enables them to displace the blame for their actions onto their spirits. This is possible because of the manner in which possession operates, it involves a foreign spirit or entity taking control of living person, whose spirit, soul or essence is temporarily displaced. Whatever is said or done during the possession is the fault of the spirit, not the person. The explanation provided by Lewis does not sufficiently explain all the occurrences of divine possession in Tikrapada village. Sharp (1993) criticizes Lewis's explanation and points out that, Lewis tries to provide an explanation of universal subordination of women through his explanation of possession

⁵ Astamprahari is a religious event which takes place in the village. The Astamprahari performance has become popular with the bhakti cult, whereby the lord Krishna and Radha are worshipped. To express their devotionality mostly men sing and dance with music on this occasion. But women dancing publicly is practiced as a taboo by the villagers.

The present study tries to demonstrate that only women are not subject to possession. Both men and women get spiritually possessed, but there is a gender variation in the very act of divine possession. The relationship between powerlessness of people and the possession cannot be established as the reasons for all possessions, more specifically the ritual possession of men in Tikrapada village and the surrounding area. Men do not always become possessed because of their powerless position, on certain occasions (particularly in case of *pata bhokta*) the powerful position in the ritual becomes a major factor for becoming possessed in case of *pata bhokta*. Further, Lewis points out the possession gives the marginalized a voice, and displace the blame for their actions onto their spirits, whereby the possessed gets certain amount of freedom to express herself/himself during the possession. As my field data reveals, during the possession of women while all kinds of verbal expressions are accepted, the extreme bodily movements in the form of dance is not accepted. The possession among women seems to follow a certain pattern which in a way confirms to the existing feminine model of the village. And even while getting possessed, women are not expected to surpass that feminine model. Deviation from that model results in public ridicule. Nevertheless, the explanation of relationship between subordination of women and possession cannot be rejected completely. It provides a theoretical framework through which most of the women's possession could be explained.

One of my respondents Urmila explains that she had been possessed by the divine power twice in the past. When she got possessed, her mother-in-law was alive. After the death of her mother-in-law she has not got possessed. On her first incident of possession, it was a festival time; she had gone to the village temple to attain the puja. After coming back home she got possessed. The priest of the temple came to relieve the spirit from her body. After that incident of possession, her mother-in-law asked her not to visit the

ple on festival days, since the goddess gets attracted to her body. The second incident of possession had also happened on a festival day. But on this occasion she had not visited the village temple. While everyone in the family had gone to visit the village temple to attain the puja, she had to stay back at home, since her mother-in-law had asked her not to visit the temple because of her previous possession. While explaining about her mother-in-law she says, her mother-in-law was a very dominating personality. Not only the three daughter-in-laws, but the neighborhood people also used to be scared of her, but at the same time they used to respect her as they were the most influential family in the village. She never allowed her daughter-in-laws to mingle with the neighborhood women, in order to maintain their family status. She was also very strict in maintaining the purity in terms of the bodily practices in the domestic life and hence, the daughter-in-laws were subject to her close scrutiny in the observance of purity practices. In this case of Urmila's possession, her subordinate position in the family being subject to the mother-in-law's domination might have led to the divine possession.

Sohir Morsy (1978) points out that the incidence of illness and perceived stress are related to power relations associated with subservient status and deviation from culturally stipulated role behaviour. In such cases illness could be described as socially sanctioned 'safety valve' and a strategy of indirect control among women. Stressful situations, including those associated with power differentials are also related to sex role expectations. The stressful situations are not unique to women, one may expect stressful role conflict in men also. But more often women become the victim of stressful situation because of their subservient position in the society. The barren women, or sterile and economically dependent males, who have no access to culturally valued power base, legitimize their departure from the expected role behaviour by reference to their affliction by spirits. The establishment of relationship between the stressful situation related to sex

le behaviour and the possession, provides a framework through which some of the incidents of possession, such as Bahadul Pera's possession by *devta* could be explained

Bhadul Pera, who is nearly fifty years old, is survived by his wife. He has got married five times in his life, and now he continues to stay with his fifth wife. All his previous four wives were driven away by him, blaming them of infertility. The fifth wife also went for infertility treatment for a long time. The neighborhood women say that the problem of infertility lies with Bahadul Pera because all his previous wives who were driven away from Bahadul Pera's house, got married later and all of them were having children. Now Bahadul Pera's wife Tapisa goes for work and on her wage the family survives. Tapisa explains

*Bahadul Pera is sick since one year. For that reason he does not go for wage labour. He stays at home all the time and does not even like to interact with people much. He has been possessed by a *devta*, for that reason he is having the head reeling and his head seems to be heavy all the time. Whenever he goes to *gunia*, he gets cured for two to three days, but again it comes back. Though I had taken him to the hospital, the hospital medicine also did not work.*

This case of spiritual possession in the form of *devta* can be seen as a result of the stressful situation related to the sex role of Bhadul Pera, where the blame of infertility falls on Bahadul Pera himself rather than his wives. In such situation his possession could be seen as a strategy to escape the ridicule of his neighbours and legitimize his behaviour and escape from the blame of infertility by blaming the spirit for it.

Women's position of subservience leads them to fall victim to culture-bound syndromes of emotional distress, which is often seen as possession by the family members and the villagers. On many occasions the retaliation of women in reaction to such stressful situation is often seen as the effect of possession on women. In case of possession, women's nonconformity to the expected role is not seen as her retaliation or her protest against her subordination, rather the blame is shifted to the external force,

t, for her deviant behaviour. This could be well explained in case of the Nurusuta's session. Her daughter-in-law explains that.

Though my father-in-law stays with us here, my mother-in-law does not stay along with us. She stays at her natal home and works as a wage labourer and survives on that money. She never comes here, neither does she talk to my father-in-law. Whenever she meets me or my husband in the nearby market area or some other place she talks to us nicely. Actually she behaves this way because of the effect of the spirit possession on her. It seems that some sorcerer has done some spirit possession on her, and the spirit does not allow her to have any attachment with her husband or his place.

A close scrutiny of the family history reveals that some ten years back Nurusuta's widowed younger sister came to stay along with them after her husband's death. She continued staying at their place by constructing a small hut adjacent to their home. After her younger sister continued staying near their house, her fights with her husband increased. And nearly two years after her sister's stay at their place, she left for her natal home and never came back. In this case the emotional stress of the wife, because of her husband's interest in her younger sister becomes the reason for the conflict between husband and wife. This leads Nurusuta to stay away from her family, which is seen as the effect of possession by the family members. In a way, the husband and other family members tried to hide the real reason behind Nurusuta's act of not coming to their place, by assigning her behaviour as the effect of possession.

Though the possession beliefs seem to provide a little voice to women to channelize their protest against the oppressive social roles, this institutionalized way of resistance does not seem to provide any substantial agency to women to deviate from the prescribed role model. Even during the possession, women are expected to conform to the existing feminine behavioral model, deviation from which is often seen as non-possession and mere pretension by the woman. While women seem to be getting little voice through the act of possession, on many occasions the possession belief also acts in a reverse way for women. Whereby some of the active protests of women and their non-conformity to the

ting role are often given the name of possession by the family and community, by which the resistance of women is seen as a form of illness

Section-II

Women's Body, Production and Reproduction:

In the realm of work, complexity of issues are involved in women's participation in economic activities outside home. A significant number of women, work outside home as wage labourers. Their work outside the home is structured in such ways that all the economic opportunities do not remain open for them (Niranjana, 1994). The place of work and the nature of work are major factors which influence the participation of women in the workforce outside the household. Though the places nearby the village and familiar workplace remains a priority for women while working outside home, the company of female friend (*sakha*), (when not joined by husband for work) remains the main concern. Women generally go in groups to the work places like agricultural field. This strategy is mainly applied to overcome the stigma of moral suspicion. Certain kind of work, like women joining the labour at the construction site is often seen with moral suspicion. Since the nature of construction work involves direct one to one interaction of female construction labourers with the male construction workers, a moral meaning gets attached to the women's such kind of labour activity.

In the construction work, the family does not work as a unit of production, in most of the cases; the male construction worker is not related to the female construction worker by kinship relation. On many occasions the women belonging to the economically weak families join the construction labour force during the agricultural off season. Women joining construction labour force out of dire economic need are often seen with moral

icion, and the moral stigma attached to the unmarried girls joining the construction labour is higher. Again, women joining the construction labour outside the village are more stigmatized. The prospects of getting good marriage alliances for the girls who join the work force in the construction sites are often considered to be less. On many occasions out of economic necessity, mostly the *Teli* women, work as construction labourers. But the morality of women working as construction workers is often questioned by others. The moral standing of the family, specially the mother is often questioned when the young unmarried girls get engaged in construction work. Since the female construction worker works as an assistant to the male construction worker in supplying the raw material for construction, the nature of work is considered to be inviting intimacy between a man and a woman. Thus, there is one to one interaction between a male and a female worker. The *Teli* caste women's morality is often questioned by the other caste groups in the village, because of their association with construction work even outside the village. It is often remarked by other caste women in the village that, the *Teli* women are ready to sacrifice their chastity for a meager price of two rupees. On occasions like fights between *Teli* women and other caste women, the *Teli* women are often referred as '*teli mayhi duu taknka pain au gote ghata kariba*' *Teli* woman will get ready to go for an extra marital affair for two rupees. Women often try to give instances of the immorality of *Teli* women by saying how the *Teli* women themselves get engaged in the immoral sexual activities with men, and they encourage their daughters to get involved in immoral activities by not putting much restriction on them and allowing them to converse freely with the male construction workers and other young men.

Women from the *Ganda* caste often work in the brick kilns of nearby villages or inside the village, during agricultural off season. But their work even in the brick kilns at

It places does not raise the question of moral suspicion, because most of the time both the husband and wife, and in some cases the whole family get involved in working at a brick kiln. As both the husband and wife share the work together the distance of work place from the village also does not become a matter of moral concern for the *Ganda* caste women

The *Dhubara* women's participation in the economic activities also compels them to travel outside the village. The age and marital status becomes a major factor in their participation in work outside the village. The married and elderly *Dhubara* caste women generally get engaged in selling fish in the near by market. On some occasions when the fish does not get sold in the market, they travel to the near by villages to sell fish. But these women often do not become the victims of moral stigma, since, the *Dhubara* women often apply the strategy of traveling in groups to the market and the neighboring villages. Their age and marital status becomes another factor for putting less constraint on them. While the elderly *Dhubara* caste women travel outside the village for participating in the economic activities, the unmarried girls and the newly married women are often restricted from getting engaged in the fish selling activity. While the married *Dhubara* women's participation in the work force outside the village is not stigmatized, their participation in the agricultural field as wage labourers is seen as loss of social prestige by the male members of the house. Mini one of my *Dhubara* caste respondent says

My husband had a shop during our marriage. It went through loss, so he had to close it. My children were small at that time. During that period I started going to the market to sell fish along with my mother-in-law and other neighborhood women. My husband also did not oppose it. He also helps me sometimes in selling the fish. When the fish does not get sold in the market, he takes it to the nearby villages and sells it. Once I went with the neighborhood Keuta women for transplanting work for wage. Somehow my husband got the news of my work and after I returned from the field he beat me. For two days I did not take any food. After that incident I never go for working in others field.

The elderly women going to the daily market to sell vegetables and fruits is not a rare phenomenon. But the young girls and the young women going to the daily market is esteemed. Most of the women from *Bhulia Meher* caste and *Badhei* caste do not participate in the wage labour. The women from *Bhulia Meher* caste are mostly engaged in arranging and preparing the thread for weaving purpose, hence the nature of their work confines them inside the household. Although most of the women from *Bhulia Meher* caste do not work as agricultural wage labourers, they work in their family farms during the agricultural season. However, they often say that "we do not work outside", suggesting that they see their work in the family farm as an extension of their household activity. Even inside the household, although they are the main contributors in the weaving work of the family, their contribution is often seen as part of their household activities. Hence, they are often considered to be non-workers both by the family members as well as themselves. This is quite paradoxical in the sense that women's work not only gets underestimated in the "others" representations, but in their "self representations" as well. With regard to women's underestimation of their contribution to economic activity, Bruce and Dwyer (1988) point out that not only there exists a strong tendency among the majority of men to underestimate their wives' economic contribution, but also women themselves find it difficult to report about their earning accurately, hence undervalue and under report of their economic contribution. Though the married *Bhulia Meher* women work in their own fields during the agricultural season and it is considered to be a part of their household activity, for the unmarried girls from the *Bhulia Meher* caste the territoriality of the household activity does not get extended to the family farm.

Women form the major agricultural workforce in the village. Paddy cultivation is the main agricultural production in the area. There is a clear cut sexual division of work in the agricultural work. The central aspects to the sexual division of agricultural activities

ploughing and sowing the seed are considered to be the male work while the activities like transplanting, weeding are exclusively female work; the harvesting is done by both men and women. Kapadia (1996) in her study in Tamilnadu states that there is symbolic parallel between this kind of sexual division of labour in agriculture and the ideas about the human procreation. The exclusive male activity of ploughing and sowing seed is equated with a typical image of sexual intercourse, whereby the male "seed" enters into the female "field" and develops into a baby. Thus "sowing seed" both in sexual intercourse and in agriculture is seen as male activity. Again, in Tikipada, the act of ploughing exclusively by men, states the cultural notion of ownership over the product of the land. It is often said that "*the crop belongs to one who ploughs the land*". As men plough the field and sow the seed, they are considered to be the right owners of the product. In the agricultural division of labour also women are associated with the kind of activities which are associated with nurturing. Women are engaged in the tedious job of transplanting and weeding work, which is often equated with the nurturing activity. Women are excluded from the activities like ploughing and sowing seed, through the cultural construction of these activities as sacred activities. In the village, before starting the sacred activity of ploughing, the agricultural land is worshipped and goat or sheep is slaughtered. The blood of the animal is sprinkled in the field, whereby the blood symbolizes as essential for the potential fertility.

Like agricultural work, people in the village also maintain a clear sexual division of labour in the other occupations such as weaving and brick making. During the agricultural off season (from January to June), most of the families from *Ganda* caste community get engaged in the brick making work. The brick making work in the locality is perceived to be a lower caste occupation. Hence, no other caste group except the *Ganda* caste group is engaged in the brick making work. In the brick making work, both man and woman work

unit of production. The man's work is considered to be digging the earth with a large hoe and breaking the mud. The woman's work is to wet the mud and convert into a paste. The man puts the mud paste into the frame of brick, hence is considered to be constructing the brick. The woman keeps the bricks in order and leaves it for drying under sun. After it gets dried, both men and women arrange the brick into a pile. The woman only carries the brick for piling up the brick and arranging it in a systematic way and for making it ready to set on fire. The man does the actual arrangement, as women are not allowed to climb the brick pile. The brick pile is considered to be an auspicious site. One of the explanations is that, since women's body is considered to be polluting, the women are kept away from the site. The man only climbs the brick pile and arranges it. The setting of the brick pile in fire is a highly ritualized activity. The brick pile is considered to be involving the uncertainty of getting the brick burnt properly or not. The improper burn of the brick causes heavy loss. The brick kiln is also believed to be prone to the attacks of sorcery, which puts the brick kiln in danger of an unsuccessful burning of brick. Such an understanding of the work involved in brick making, converts the work into a highly ritualized activity. This in turn attaches a notion of auspiciousness to the activity of setting fire to the brick pile. Enough care is taken to protect the auspiciousness of the brick pile by safeguarding it from any kind of pollution. This in turn constructs women as the potent threat to the auspiciousness of the brick pile.

As women's body is seen as polluting, they are systematically kept away from climbing the brick pile. Even touching the pile during their menstrual periods is prohibited and women are construed as the potential threat to the fruition of the final brick production. The very act of setting fire to the brick pile is done by the man. Though women work constantly along with men in the brick production work, they are

tematically debunked from the final product, which in turn gives the man the control over the final product, consequently the ownership over the product

Similarly in the weaving work among the *Bhulia Mehers*, the women do all the work of arranging the thread and preparing it for weaving. The men only do the actual weaving work. Women's contribution in the weaving work is seen as very much a part of their familial role, as the wives, mothers and daughters of the weaver, and extension of their domestic work. The children often skip going to the school for helping their father or brother in pulling the weaving thread, specially while the *muhan* (the *pallu*, one end of the *saree* which is more decorated with thread work) is woven. Having more children, especially sons, are considered to be beneficial for the weaver family. Children start helping in the weaving work right from an early age. In the weaving work, since the man does the actual weaving work, which is considered as the final product, the man always claims the ownership over the weaving.

In almost all the occupations as discussed above, where the household works as a unit of production, the woman's ownership over the final product is systematically eliminated. The woman is only recognized as the subsidiary worker, although she has been the main contributor to the family economy. In both the agricultural and non agricultural production, sexual asymmetry in the production relations is maintained, whereby the woman is systematically kept away from the control over production. The sexual asymmetry in the production relations is also maintained through differential wage structure. Men are paid a higher wage of Rs 45 for agricultural work, while women are paid Rs 35 as the wage. Similar kind of practice is also followed in the construction work (men are paid Rs 50, women are paid Rs 40). However, this particular form of asymmetry is associated with a particular organization of productive roles, (Collier and Rosaldo, 1981), though it is not biologically determined, the biology becomes the basis for

taining such asymmetry. Women's body is considered to be the polluting and unfit or the kinds of work upon which the ownership can be claimed. Through the productive roles, the gender categories are hierarchically arranged, whereby the masculine is valued over the feminine. The gender roles are maintained through the symbolic constructs, whereby the masculine is attributed a positive meaning and the feminine is seen as negative or ambiguous by nature (Cucchiari, 1981). This kind of sexual asymmetry in the area of production can be better analyzed through Bourdieu's notion of symbolic violence⁶, whereby the violence is exercised upon the social agent with her complicity. Though the agents are subjected to the forms of violence, they do not perceive it that way, rather it is perceived as "the natural order of things" (Webb et al, 2002). In maintaining the sexual asymmetry in the division of labour, symbolic meaning to specific kinds of labour activities are culturally imposed, which is inculcated as legitimate. Female bodies are read as having significance of inferiority (impure, inauspicious for certain kinds of work, unfit for hard work) and are inculcated with a bodily hexis that constitutes a variable embodied politics. The sexual asymmetry in the division of labour is not maintained in terms of coercion, rather women misrecognize the symbolic violence to which they are subjected as something that is natural, simply "the way of the world". In the agricultural production, weaving work and the brick kiln, the bodily performances of women involved in production re-inscribe the symbolic domination.

Llewelyn-Davies (1981) points out that property rights in women are important because they include rights to labour power as well as to sexuality and fertility. The

⁶ Bourdieu describes 'misrecognition' as the key to symbolic violence. For him every power to exert symbolic violence, that is, every power which manages to impose meanings and to impose them as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its force, adds its own specifically symbolic force to those power relations. In the *Pascalian Meditations* Bourdieu describes "the agent is engaged in practice knows the world too well, without objectifying distance, takes it for granted, precisely because he is caught up in it, bound up with it, he inhabits it like a garment - he feels at home in the world because the world is also in him, in the form of habitus" (Bourdieu, 2000: 142-143).

erty system revolves around the control over women's reproductive powers. The sexual asymmetry in the relation of production gets well reflected in the structuring of the relationship in the domestic sphere. Dube (1986) also points out that in most parts of India, the process of biological reproduction is often expressed by the metaphorical use of terms like "seed" and "earth"/ "field", through which the sexual asymmetry in relation of production and reproduction is established. While the "seed" is referred as father's contribution, the field/earth is referred as the part of the mother. Man's contribution in the form of seed is considered to be the essence for creation of the offspring. Through these metaphors, the culturally conceived notion on biological reproduction is articulated in terms of relations of production (expressed as seed and earth), which in turn expresses the structural rules that govern ownership, control and use of productive resources and also structure and functioning of the domestic organization. In the context of patrilineal kinship structure and in an agrarian economy, where the land and labour are the principal resource, the metaphors clearly imply the inferior position of women both in relation to reproduction and land. This equation of women's body with field and man's semen with the seed, the process of biological reproduction is equated with the process of production and the rights over the children is equated with the rights over the crop. The inferior position of women in relation to reproduction and production is expressed through these metaphors, which stresses the rights of man over women's sexuality and women's lack of rights over children in the events of separation. My field data also reveals that the field as a metaphor is often used in the context of women's body. Women's nourishing role is often equated with the role of one's own field, in fulfilling one's food requirement. While describing women's role as equal to one's own field one of my respondent Tarun says:

Our nephew's wife pata has given birth to a boy child. Though she has delivered the child, not much milk is coming out of her breast. For the child,

the mother is like a field See, if our field is not able to meet our requirement of food, we are bound to suffer When we do the cultivation and the crop does not turn out well, how much we suffer! The food that is bought can not satisfy our stomach and fulfill our requirements Similarly, if the mother's milk does not meet the child's food requirement, the outside food can not fill the stomach of the child How much the bought food would fill the stomach of the child!

Most often woman is equated with the field and earth in relation to her reproductive role. The metaphorical language derived from the nature is also often used to articulate women's bodily states. For instance "flower" as a metaphor is used to articulate about "menstruation" and "fruit" as a metaphor is used to express the "fertility" of women. One of the respondents while expressing about her bodily state articulates that "I have stopped flowering, how can I bear fruit" (*Phulapani budilani, phala kahun asiba*) The expression "flower house" (*Phula ghara*) is used while referring to uterus. While describing about the cause of irregularity in the menstruation, one of the respondent states that "the flower house becomes hot (*Phulaghara garam heyachhi*), for that reason one gets menstruation more than once in a month's time" The metaphorical language of equating woman and her bodily state with the field and nature implicitly expresses the inferior position of woman in relation to man in the social structure. In relation to both production and reproduction, man is often referred as the owner or the master, who has the right over the field and women, as well as the offspring. While describing the husband as the master, one woman states:

My sister-in-law (husband's brother's wife) is very jealous of me She does not get along with me But I do not understand why she needs to be so jealous of me As if we are getting things from our natal home and feeding each other My master is feeding me and her master is feeding her Then why should we talk so big!

The symbolic cultural practices imposed on women also reflect the inferior position of woman in the domestic organization. Among the *Bhulia Meher* caste, the wife of the younger brother is supposed to touch the feet of elder brother's children while greeting

The elder brother is considered to be the "srestha amsa" (supreme body part) of the parents. His children are considered to be his body parts. Hence, it is prescribed that the wife of the younger brother should respect the children of the husband's elder brother by touching their feet while greeting. But the younger brother himself is not expected to show this kind of respect to his brother's children. The wife of the younger brother is considered to be positioned in an inferior way in the kin group, hence serve the feet of even the children of her husband's elder brother. The demand from the younger brother's wife to respect in a similar way to the children of elder sister is not made, since the children of the sister are considered as belonging to a different descent group. The child is considered to be a part of the father, hence father's right over the child is established.

Productive labour, legitimate sexuality and childbearing all take place in the context of dyadic relationships in which one party has property rights in the other. Men are considered to be having the rights and ownership over the legitimate sexuality and reproduction. Women are seen to be having an inferior position in relation to reproduction and rights over children. This claim of man over the reproduction becomes clear in view of one of my respondent Bisakha.

Once I had fought with my husband and went to my natal home. While going I wanted to take my son along with me, but my husband did not allow me to take the child. He said 'did you get the child from your natal home'? Whatever you have got from your home you take that along with you. But you can not take my child with you. Finally I had to leave the child and go to my natal home. After two weeks of stay at my natal home, I returned to my affinal home.

Another respondent of mine states

My son-in-law used to torture my daughter. For long time she tolerated it, but when it went beyond a limit she came back. Now she is staying with us. She has a two year old daughter, but we have left their daughter with her husband. Why should we nurture and take care of his daughter now, and later he will claim his child. We will only take care of our daughter.

Woman's reproductive potential is considered to be an important factor for strengthening her position at her affinal place. Childlessness is considered to be a vulnerable state for a woman. Her value in the affinal household is often judged in terms of her reproductive capacity. It is often the woman who is blamed for the reproductive failure of a couple. One of the respondents Pata states

I eloped from my natal home and got married. After marriage for three years I was not getting pregnant. I was really worried about that. A woman's position is really uncertain at her affinal place until she reproduces a kid. A woman's life becomes difficult without a kid. You do not know when your husband will leave you and marry another woman for reproducing an heir.

While man's claim is established over the conventional reproduction, the woman is always held responsible and often stigmatized for the deviant reproductive activity. This is well reflected in the description of my respondents in the village about stigmatizing the family when an unmarried *Teli* caste girl became pregnant. The people in the neighborhood stopped talking and interacting with the family members of the girl, for their unsuccessful management of the sexuality of their daughter.

Within the marital conjugal relationship, while the man's claim of ownership over the reproduction is well established, when the reproductive activity violates the virtue of conformity, the woman is often held responsible. The non-conventional pregnancy is always seen as the fault of a woman, not the fault of the man. The notion of proper female sexuality and proper fertility is established to be existing among women. The woman is expected to be controlling her sexuality and fertility power. When a wife becomes pregnant after the marriage of their elder children, it is considered to be the fault of the wife, not the fault of the man. The responsibility of successful contraception is considered to be the woman's duty. This is well reflected in the view of my respondents.

Bela, a ganda caste woman says my youngest sister-in-law's (husband's brother's wife) mother has given birth to a boy child recently. Since her mother is not supposed to cook after giving birth to child, my sister-in-law

had gone to her natal place to stay for a few months Both mother and daughter have given birth in the same year and my sister-in-law's child is elder than her mother's child Though her mother took many kinds of medicines to abort the child, it did not work. It is a shameful affair for a woman to give birth to children when grand children are around It is more shameful when the daughter-in-law is around and she has a kid In Gadabhutara Baunsuni (the neighboring village) a woman died while trying for abortion in her fourth month of pregnancy Her son was already married. To escape from the shameful situation of giving birth to a child in the presence of daughter-in-law, she was trying for abortion She tried many indigenous methods of abortion, but it did not work out When she went to hospital, the doctor refused to abort in the fourth month of pregnancy Then she went to some local healers and tried for the abortion But it did not happen properly and out of excess bleeding she died When your fate is bad, the medicines also will turn into water They will not be effective

A similar narrative is provided by one of my respondent Darshini.

Darshani, a woman belonging to Bhulia Meher caste stays at her natal village with her husband and family After her marriage they have bought land and got settled in her natal village Darshini and her second brother's wife were talking in a low voice about her youngest sister-in-law's (brother's wife) pregnancy When I asked about the problem, Darshani said my youngest sister-in-law (brother's wife) has six daughters She has become pregnant once again They wanted to hide this pregnancy from everyone, they did not even tell my mother about it My sister-in-law's eldest daughter has got married and she has a child now They were thinking of aborting the child after getting to know the sex of the child If they get a boy child, the shame of giving birth to a child after daughter's marriage will not be counted People will also think that 'any way they donot have a son, if the mother is giving birth to a son after the daughter's marriage it is justified' For that reason they did not tell anyone about their pregnancy She had gone for sex determination test of the child to Baragadh, and there they found out that again this child is going to be a girl child Though she had gone to Sonepur hospital for abortion, the doctor there refused to do the abortion since it is her fifth month of her pregnancy The doctor said that at this late stage they do not want to conduct abortion My mother only came to know about this from a woman who stays in our neighborhood If one has only daughters and no son, it is difficult to get the daughters married No good proposals come for marriage When the son-in-law visits the house, he faces problems of not getting a friend to accompany him to nearby market or to the village ghat for taking bath Darshini's second sister-in-law says people will commit mistakes and tell that 'it was in our fate' They will blame the fate at last She could have restrained herself Now her daughter is having a child, the mother is pregnant again Darshini again says after giving birth to my youngest daughter (who is her sixth child) I went for sterilization When my youngest daughter was born, my eldest daughter was already grown up Proposals had started coming for her I thought, if I continue giving birth to children, it will be a shameful affair My son-in-law will also tease my daughter for that And my daughter has to listen about it

throughout. In the fear of giving birth to more children, I went for sterilization. Though I was scared of sterilization, I thought it better to die like this, if I die during sterilization, rather than facing the shame. My eldest daughter got married when my youngest daughter was six months old. But after getting sterilized I have become weak. I am no longer going for agricultural work.

Within the conjugal relationship, notions of proper, ordered sexuality and reproductive responsibility is considered to be lying with women. Men are always kept outside the reproductive responsibility. Though there is a constant fear among women that the sterilization weakens the woman's body and after sterilization they will not be able to do manual work properly, on many occasions notion of shame of reproducing after elder children's marriage, the traumatizing experience of the previous delivery, strained economic situation etc lead them to go for sterilization. But under no circumstance, the need for man to go for sterilization or the use of contraceptive is stated. Even though in many families, mainly among *Dhibara*, *Teli* and *Ganda* families, the survival of the family is mostly dependent on the income of the woman and the sterilization is considered to be affecting the economic activity of women, but in such cases also the responsibility of contraception does not shift to men. On many occasions women go for repeated abortions and try different methods of contraceptives such as taking oral pill or using *coper-T*. One of the *Dhibara* caste woman respondent states

*After my second delivery I had got pregnant for the third time. But I did not want to give birth anymore. Since we are poor, we can not afford to take care of so many children, having many children will also affect my work. Therefore, when I got pregnant for the third time, I went for abortion to the Sonepur hospital. We do not have abortion facility in the Baunsuni hospital. After abortion the doctor prescribed me to take *coper-T* and I went for it. But after few months I got to know that one woman died in the nearby village due to the *coper-T* use. I got scared and removed it. After removing *coper-T* I continued taking oral pills.*

The reproductive responsibility gets constructed as the "essence" of woman, while the ownership over the reproduction is considered to be of the man. Kapadia (1996) in her study in Tamilnadu points out that male fertility is taken for granted. It is almost never

tted that a man can be impotent. If a couple have no children it is assumed that it is woman's fault. Childlessness is considered to be the legitimate reason for a man to go for second wife. Man's impotency is only admitted in very rare cases for example among one of the *Ganda* caste houses a man called Bahadul Pera got married five times. All the four wives have been deserted by him for their infertility. Though the neighbourhood women often say that the problem of infertility lies with Bahadul because all the four women he drove away conceived children after getting married for the second time, Bahadul's fifth wife says she used to go for infertility treatment till very recently. She also went for "clean out" of the uterus and many kinds of folk treatment. She used to go for the treatments till her mother-in-law was alive. She describes that.

Now my husband is not well, he falls sick often. Though I am facing the problems of having irregularity in menstruation, I do not visit doctor 'manusa ta rogare, mun kana deha sajeibi (how can I decorate my body when the man is sick)

This suggests that the reproductive health of woman is considered to be a matter of concern only in the context of serving the man's interest of having an heir or giving pleasure to him. One of the *Dumbal* caste woman states that

I stopped menstruating after my first pregnancy. Though I told my husband many times to take me for treatment, he never bothered about that. As a woman I could not go alone anywhere for treatment.

On some occasions when the women are blamed for infertility, the social and familial pressure leads them to grant their husband to go for second marriage. And instead of opposing the second marriage of husband, they try to reconcile with the fact. Motherhood is highly valued, and infertility is condemned by assigning socially derogatory word attaching to it as *banjha*. The woman is often blamed as infertile within the marriage.

One of the familiar explanations about childlessness that is often narrated, the nexus between evil force and divinity. Women's body is considered to be the site of evil forces which is believed to be affecting their fertility. At the same time, few women are

considered to be having such dangerous power that it can affect others health. Women are considered as the active agents of evil force, while at the same time women's body is considered as the passive site where the evil force gets harbored. The infertility of women on many occasions is believed to be due to the existence of evil force in the body of women. In such cases, the women are made to go through a ritual called *kala bateiba*, driving away the evil force. When a woman goes for *kala bataei*, it is believed that an evil force, *kala*, exists in woman's body, because of which the woman is unable to bear any child. In such case a *gunia* is called who does *kala bataliba*. The *gunia* through his power and worship is believed to drive away the evil force from the body of woman. The ritual is performed in the middle of the night, which is considered as the time when evil spirits are very active. At that point of time, the concerned woman is asked to remove all the clothes and ornaments from the body, not even a thread is supposed to be left in the woman's body at the time of performing the ritual. It is believed that the evil force might stay in the clothes or ornaments of the woman. After that the woman takes a ritual bath, with which the evil spirit is considered to be exorcised from the woman's body. While explaining about the *kala bateiba* ritual one of my respondent who has undergone the *kala bateiba* ritual process says

I have been married for the past five years. But recently I have got pregnant. Since I was not getting pregnant for a long time, I have gone for treatment to many places. For the past three years I have started going for treatment. I have tried both Allopathic and indigenous healers (gunia). I have also gone for kala bateiba.

For *kala bateiba*, the *gunia* constructs a mud idol like the woman, and places it in the woman's house where the ritual takes place. The idol's body parts should be formed in a prominent way, and the *gunia* makes the idol wear a red colour printed cloth, *sindur* and *kajal*. The *dhupa* is offered to the idol in a vessel made of leaf. Then the *gunia* tries to remove the *kala* from the body of the diseased. After the ritual is done the person who is

considered to be affected by *kala* takes the idol and the *puya* offerings and without turning back throws all the items near a *dibatna* then takes bath and returns home. No one is supposed to jump over the idol and other things that are thrown in the process of *kala* removal. If a person jumps over that, the *kala* is expected to enter to the body of that person. These institutionalized practices such as *kala bateiba* often pushes the responsibility of infertility to the evil force, and women's body is located as the site of the evil force. Consequently, the responsibility of reproductive failure is systematically shifted to the woman rather than the man. Further, the woman's body becomes the site upon which all the reproductive interventions take place.

The discussion of this chapter has revolved around the question as to how women's body is perceived and defined within the village community. The examination of women's bodily concerns in the everyday practices of women as well as in the specific ritual performances brings forth the point that, the community attaches layers of meanings to women's body. In one context women's sexuality and the reproductive roles are seen to be polluting and dangerous for others, in the other context women are considered to be the upholders of the caste purity and the family honor. The cultural evaluation of women's body as impure body becomes the main criteria for excluding women from participating in some of the productive activities, by which man's ownership over production and reproduction is claimed. On the other hand, the reproductive responsibility is considered as solely women's responsibility. Women are considered to be having the contradictory attributes, the power to pollute and destroy as well as the power to preserve the health of the family as well as the community in an auspicious way.

Chapter-Four

Constructing Womanhood through Socio-religious Reform

This chapter focuses on understanding the way the notion of normative womanhood has got constructed in the Orissa society, and its implications in informing the bodily practices of women in Tikrapada village. In Orissa society, different cultural forces have played a crucial role in constructing the notion of the sexually appropriate gendered body. An investigation of the construction of femininity and ideal womanhood takes us to the account of religious culture and the nationalist reform movement in Orissa, which has been central to establishing a particular view of the feminine.

The restrictive aspects of womanhood and the concerns pertaining to women's bodily purity most often gets conceived as a phenomenon of upper caste women. The preoccupation with maintaining bodily purity of women is seen as the by-product of Brahmanic upper caste concern of maintaining the caste sanctity and caste boundary. While discussing about the nature of caste patriarchy, Uma Chakravarti has maintained that 'the purity of women has a centrality in Brahmanical patriarchy, because the purity of caste is contingent upon it'. Further she states 'safeguarding of the caste structure is achieved through the highly restricted movement of women. Women are regarded as gateways-literally points of entrance into the caste system. The lower caste male whose sexuality is a threat to upper caste purity has to be institutionally prevented from having sexual access to women of higher castes. So, women must be carefully guarded (1993: 579)'. Depicting women's purity only in terms of preservation of caste boundary and caste purity leads one to assume that the notion of control of female sexuality is solely an upper caste phenomenon and the notions of bodily purity and sexual discipline relatively lack among the lower caste women. Further, perceiving the notions of female purity and

control of female sexuality as the province of upper castes, one is led to conceptualize lower caste groups as comparatively egalitarian, lacking sexual asymmetry in reproduction relations as well as access to space, and the women as enjoying greater freedom. But the Tikrapada village study data reveals that notions of purity and pollution also gets attached to the lower caste women's body and womanly activity, as it is practiced among the upper caste women, though the levels of such purity practices vary from caste to caste. Consequently, the notion of impurity gets attached to the reproductive sexualized body of lower caste women, in similar ways as it is practiced among the upper caste groups. By conceiving women's body as impure, the lower caste women are also barred from participating in certain kinds of productive activities. To be more specific, one can find that the women's body is evaluated as an impure and inferior body among the lower ranked *Ganda* caste group, and this kind of evaluation of women's body, excludes them from performing certain labour activities in the *Ganda* caste occupation of brick making. The lower caste women also have a deeply imbued notion of female modesty and chastity. This is well reflected in the way the notion of female morality gets articulated among the lower caste women. One finds that the sexual norms define the lower caste women's access to the spaces outside the village. Long stay of women outside the domestic space, apart from their economic engagement, is detested by adding moral meaning to it. The lower caste women's constraints in accessing the public places as well as their notions of female purity and chastity make it clear that these notions construct the lower caste women's life world, in similar ways as it influence and discipline the lives of upper caste women. Therefore, conceptualizing notion of sexual discipline and bodily purity of women only in terms of upper caste preoccupation with the maintenance of caste boundary, does not provide a theoretical framework to explain the lower caste women's concern of bodily purity and sexual morality.

Women's engagement in the labour relations as well as their activities inside as well outside the domestic space is guided by their cultural notions of gender. The exploration of the cultural notions of femininity among the lower caste women leads us to the account of the religious culture, which plays a predominant role in establishing a particular notion of feminine. Religious culture plays a vital role in the everyday lives of women in prescribing a pattern of bodily practices, consequently structuring the gender roles. The religious beliefs, structure various activities of women in their everyday lives. Instead of treating some of the daily routine practices as part of the mundane way of life, the villagers invest these activities with a notion of divinity. The religious faith of women is intertwined with their household responsibilities in their daily life. The notion of divinity gets attached to women's very act of cleaning the house and taking bath early in the morning, the act of not wasting food, the principles of sexual discipline etc. By adding divine colour to the daily routine activities of women, an intimate relationship gets established between the divine and the feminine in the everyday lives of women. The non-sanskritic religious tradition has played a crucial role in informing the bodily practices of women, including the lower caste group women. Hence, it becomes important to understand the construction of womanhood within the non-sanskritic religious movement in Orissa society.

While describing about women's involvement in the religious practices, Robinson (1985) distinguishes between the Brahmanic and non-Brahmanic religious tradition. According to him, 'Brahmanic Hinduism is a sanskrit based priestly tradition emphasizing formal ritual. Although as a religious tradition Brahmanic Hinduism has received patronage from all castes, Brahmanic worship has been maintained in the custody of *purohits* (ritual officiants) belonging to the highest ranked caste, the Brahmins. Non-Brahmanic Hinduism, expressed through regional languages, is a

site of devotional practices emphasizing modes of worship which either de-
e or obviate the priestly role. This general categorization bears critical
gnificance with regard to religious roles of Hindu women in that historically, Brahmanic
Hinduism has tended to objectify and exclude women, whereas non-Brahmanic Hindu
traditions have tended to provide for full recognition and active participation of women
(1985: 182).⁷ Though the centrality of women in the actual religious practice is
emphasized in the non-Brahmanic/non-sanskritic religious tradition, Kalpana Ram (1991)
points out that both the sanskritic and non-sanskritic versions are ultimately phallogocentric.
Nevertheless, it becomes important to distinguish between sanskritic and non-sanskritic
religious traditions, since the non-sanskritic tradition has continued to provide a space to
the subordinated groups to express their religiosity and resist the established cultural
hegemony of the dominant groups. This agential aspect of the non-sanskritic tradition can
be well demonstrated in the expression of religiosity of the lower caste groups in the
Tikrapada village

In Tikrapada village and its surrounding locality, it can be found that the
untouchable caste communities are denied access to the mainstream Hindu religious
institutions. This trend is also widely practiced across the regions in Orissa. Minor
streams of thought, within the broader framework of non-Brahmanic reformist strand of
Hinduism have tried to articulate the religiosity of the subaltern groups within the Orissa
society. The socio-religious reforms carried out by the *Lakshmi Purana* of the *bhakti* cult
and the *Mahima dharma* have succeeded in creating a space for the subaltern groups for
expressing their religiosity. The subaltern group's attempts of creating a religious space
for themselves with the help of non-sanskritic reformist Hinduism, as opposed to the
cultural hegemony of the dominant groups, is well demonstrated in Tikrapada village
context. While the "harijans" in the village are not allowed to enter into the temples of the

er caste groups, they have constructed a separate Lakshmi temple in the village for emselves. An elderly male member from the "harijan" households performs the *puya* in the temple. The Lakshmi temple has come up in the village in early 1990s While describing about the emergence of the temple in the "harijan" pada of the village, one of the respondent from the "harijan" caste community says:

In the upper caste pada of the village, jatras happen on many occasions The rama lila jatra, krusna lila jatra and astam prahari happens on different occasions We are not allowed to participate in the jatras of the upper caste pada, neither are we allowed to enter into the premises of the upper caste temples. Few of us in our pada decided to organize jatra in our pada, so that we could perform or participate in it We started forming a group in our pada to initiate lakshmi purana jatra We started the jatra in the month of Margasira, which is considered as an auspicious month of the goddess and continued performing the jatra on all the four Thursdays of the month, considered to be festival days of the goddess People from the caste pada and neighbouring villages used to come to watch the jatra Once we started the jatra, the other neighbouring village harijans also started the jatra in their respective villages After starting the jatra, we took the vow to perform the jatra for twelve years On the tenth year of the jatra, the Lakshmi temple was constructed We pressurized the sarapanch of our area, and the temple was constructed with the government grant Now due to internal conflicts among the youngsters in our pada the Lakshmi Purana jatra is no longer performed Also the youngsters are not ready to listen to anyone The youngsters do not have unity among themselves to perform the jatra But in all the neighboring villages the jatra continues to be performed in the harijan pada

The reformist agenda of *Lakshmi Purana* has tried to create a space for the subaltern groups within the Hinduism At the same time the reform has aimed at addressing the religiosity of women across the caste groups Consequently, it has succeeded in informing the bodily practices of women across the caste groups Because of its anchorage to the popular Hindu pantheon of Orissa, the Jagannatha and Lakshmi, the *Lakshmi Purana* has succeeded in becoming popular across the caste groups in the Orissa society At the same time it became successful in percolating its notion of ideal womanhood across the caste groups. On the other hand, *Mahima dharma*, being a Hindu reform movement, dissented from the hegemonic constructs of Hinduism and specifically the Jagannatha cult *Mahima*

arma tried to articulate the concern of expression of religiosity of the subaltern groups, though its resistance against the cultural hegemony of Jagannatha cult in Orissa. It became more popular among the lower caste groups than the upper caste groups. In Tikrapada village, the *Mahima* cult is particularly followed by few "harijan" households. In the Tikrapada village as well as its surrounding locality, the *Mahima* cult is followed by only the "harijan" families, none of the upper caste families follow the *Mahima* cult. Therefore the tendency to associate the *Mahima* cult with the "harijans" has developed in the locality. For a thorough understanding of the role of socio-religious reform movements in informing the bodily practices of women in Orissa in general, I shall be examining the bodily discourses provided by *Lakshmi Purana* and the *Mahima dharma* in the following sections.

Section-I

Reform through Lakshmi Purana:

Lakshmi purana is a byproduct of medieval *bhakti* movement in Orissa. While Sanskrit Hinduism played a significant role in structuring the society in terms of caste and gender, subalternity seems to have gained a certain attention in the *bhakti* movement. To some extent, the *bhakti* movement has propagated for opening up of the religious domain to the lower castes and women. Based on the Vedic and puranic literature, the *bhakti* tradition was engaged in a dual process, whereby it used the metaphoric content of high Hinduism, while at the same time it tried to convey its message of dissent from it. Though *bhakti* does not radically break the dominant constructs of hegemonic Brahmanic tradition, it tries to redefine it. One marker of expression of its dissent from Brahmanical orthodoxy was the usage of a religious vocabulary which is accessible in vernacular language rather than in Sanskrit (Sangari, 1990).

In Orissa the *bhakti* movement gained momentum during sixteenth century. The Oriya *bhakta kavis*, popularly known as *sudramanis*, mostly hailed from peasant and san communities. By creating a parallel, regional religious literature which is accessible to common people, the Oriya *bhakti* poets registered their protest against the intellectual hegemony of Sanskrit language. The *mukti-mandap*, an assembly of orthodox Brahmin pundits within the premises of the Jagannath temple, Puri was the highest authority in socio-religious matters. *Mukti-mandap* was also a place of religious discourse which was carried out by Brahmins only. The verdict of *Mukti-mandap* was enforced upon people, if necessary under the authority of the king. Against this orthodoxy, a socio-religious movement was initiated by Sarala Dasa which was followed up by *panchasakhas* or five associates namely, Balaram Dasa, Jagannath Dasa, Ananta Dasa, Yashovanta Dasa and Achyutananda Dasa. They played the most vital role in challenging the orthodoxy of the Sanskrit language. By writing scriptures and Puranas in the language of the common people, i.e. Oriya, they propagated that god could be prayed in the colloquial language and worshipped with *bhakti* (Mallick, 2004).

Though the Jagannatha cult had co-opted some of the lower castes and the tribes in the ritual worship of the temple, the supremacy of the Brahmins have been established in the Jagannatha cult, which in turn results in giving a central place to Brahmins in the ritual worship in the temple. At the same time, the tribes have remained in the periphery in the participation of the ritual worship. The *panchasakhas*, while trying to bring reform in Orissa society, also worked under the hegemony of the Jagannatha cult, as well as became the intellectual preceptors of the Jagannatha cult. At the same time, the *panchasakhas* tried to develop a separate identity of the Jagannatha centric ideas and philosophy. The anti-caste pronouncements of the Oriya *bhakta kavis* is prominent. They renounced their original caste surnames and took up 'Dasa' (servant of god or goddess)

e, as a symbol of protest against the discriminating Brahminical social order (Bhattacharya, 2004).

Of the five *bhakta kavis*, Balaram Dasa's writings pronounce the religiosity of lower castes and women more prominently. Among all his writings, the *Lakshmi Purana* explicitly invokes the expression of subaltern religiosity. In the form of a story, it narrates how an untouchable woman, through her sanctified demeanor and *bhakti*, could impress upon goddess Lakshmi. This story of *Lakshmi Purana* also raises the issue of female agency through its narration of the struggle of the goddess Lakshmi. It describes how goddess Lakshmi, being a woman, in spite of being confined to the gender roles and being entangled in a familial set up, tried to bring change in the society.

Emerging from a caste based orthodox social structure, Balaram Dasa was engaged in challenging the Brahmanic hegemony. He helped in making the space of worship, of highly Hinduized sanskritic deity, available for the lower caste groups and women. As propagated by high Hinduism, the engagement with the worship of sanskritic deities not only requires the mediation of a priest who needs to communicate with the deity in Sanskrit liturgy, but also that approaching the deity needs to be done in a state of bodily purity. As evident, Balaram Dasa tried to challenge the concept of priesthood and the status of Sanskrit language as the only official religious language. It needs to be enquired, while trying to break this orthodoxy of Brahminical supremacy in the religious domain, as to whether he also gets engaged in defying the sanskritic notion of bodily purity? Balaram Dasa's *Lakshmi Purana* is the most popular work and has taken a ritual form in the Orissa society across the caste groups. Through *Lakshmi Purana*, Balaram Dasa has made an attempt to bring certain reforms in the high Hindu way of worshipping the sanskritic deity. Earlier, the place of worship of the sanskritic deity Lakshmi was mostly restricted to temples. Through *Lakshmi Purana*, an attempt has been made to extend the

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e of worship of the goddess *Lakshmi* from the temple to the inner domain of the household. With the extension of the place of worship of the goddess to the inner domain the household, the gender of the person who needs to officiate over the actual worship of the goddess is also suggested to change. The inner domain of the household came to be seen as the explicit place for women and managing the domesticity is considered as the sole responsibility of women. Hence, women are sought to take charge of the worship of the goddess as part of their domestic responsibility, when the space of worship of the goddess shifts to the domestic space.

Worship of the Sanskrit deities in the temple rituals has always been designed in a state of physical purity. It is believed that the only sites which are very pure are the suitable sites for the images of Gods and Goddesses (Fuller, 1979). Hence a zone of purity is maintained in the temples by drawing a clear cut boundary against the state of pollution. The Brahmin priest remains in charge of protecting the purity of the deity in the temple. The *Lakshmi Purana* of Balaram Dasa suggests for a shift in the place of worship of the Sanskrit deity *Lakshmi* from the temple to the domestic space. As the locus of worship of the goddess extends to the domestic space, it needs to be also looked whether *Lakshmi Purana* suggests any reform in the domestic space in order to maintain the purity of the domestic space and convert the domestic space into a sacred place, appropriate for the goddess. As this is believed by Hinduism, the sites which are pure are the suitable sites for the images of deity. The worship of the Sanskrit deity in the temple is done through explicitly drawing the boundaries between purity and pollution. Talking about the distinctions between purity and pollution, Mary Douglas (1966) argues that pollution beliefs are constantly used in a dialogue of claims and counter claims to higher social status. In the zone of purity of the temple worship, the purity of the corporal body of the ritual officiant of worship of deity is highly stressed. Since *Lakshmi Purana* prescribes for

the women of the household to take the charge of officiating over the Lakshmi worship in the household, it is also necessary to enquire whether the *Lakshmi Purana* also suggests and demands for certain changes in the bodily practices of women as a precondition of being the ritual officiants of worship of the sanskritic deity Lakshmi. In this section, an attempt has been made to understand the Oriya *Lakshmi Purana*'s engagement with the bodily practices of women. The Oriya *Lakshmi Purana* is a product of the sixteenth century *bhakti* movement of Orissa. The *bhakti* tradition in general preaches for the emotional purity of human beings as a precondition for being closer to Goddess/God. *Lakshmi Purana* talks of the religiosity of lower caste groups and women. More particularly, it invokes the religiosity of women across caste groups and propagates that through emotional purity of women, the goddess can be pleased and the prosperity of the household can be achieved. Since there is always a tendency to conflate women's emotional purity with their moralities, it becomes necessary to enquire into *Lakshmi Purana*'s approach towards emotional purity and divinity of women.

The text, *Lakshmi Purana*, is narrated in the form of a poetry based on a mythical story on goddess Lakshmi. It describes about the emergence of the worship of goddess by women of the household across the caste groups and the devotion attached to it. In the form of narrating the story of goddess Lakshmi, it explicitly pronounces the guidelines to perform the worship.

The story of Lakshmi in *Lakshmi Purana*:

During the period of Oriya *bhakti* movement, the vaishnavization of the Jagannatha cult had taken place, while at the same time vigorous vaishnavite movement centered around Jagannatha. This is well reflected in the description of the story of *Lakshmi purana*. Lord Vishnu is described as the incarnation of lord Jagannatha. The goddess *Lakshmi* is described as the daughter of the god of Ocean and spouse of Lord Jagannatha.

Jagannatha temple at Puri is described as the abode of goddess Lakshmi, where she lives along with her husband Lord Jagannatha and his elder brother Lord Balabhadra. Lakshmi, on one of her favorite festival days wanted to visit the houses in the town to observe how her worship was being performed by the women. Hence, she asks the permission of her husband, Jagannatha. As the permission was granted, the goddess visits the house of her devotees irrespective of their caste. Being dressed up like a Brahmin woman, the goddess appears in front of a *Sadhava* caste (an upper caste) person's house and prescribes about the procedures of her worship to the *Sadhava's* wife. She also advises the *Sadhava's* wife about the significance of complying with the procedures of worship and prescriptions and proscriptions in the routine daily practices in general and on her festive days in particular. Lakshmi visits many villages but does not find a single house in which cleanliness and purity were maintained. Being dissatisfied with the bodily discipline women and cleanliness of the upper caste households, she decides to visit the "*chandala*" (untouchable) habitation. There she comes across the household of Sriya, an untouchable woman. Sriya used to serve as a sweeper in the village, she is also a devotee of Jagannatha, the husband of the goddess. Being impressed with the cleanliness and the ritual worship along with the *bhakti* of Sriya, the goddess appears at her home and partakes the food offered by the untouchable woman. Touched by the submissiveness and spirituality of Sriya, the goddess grants boons for her prosperity with wealth and five sons.

Balabhadra comes to know about the appearance of goddess *Lakshmi* at the untouchable's house. He expresses his displeasure over Lakshmi's visit to an untouchable house in front of his brother Jagannatha and tells how their caste sanctity is at threat because of the goddess Lakshmi. Balabhadra refuses to tolerate Lakshmi's act of visiting untouchable houses and subsequently entering the temple without even taking any ritual

Hence, he suggests his younger brother Jagannatha to drive away his wife from the temple, as Lakshmi was polluted by visiting the untouchable's house and partaking food from an untouchable woman. Upon her return, Jagannatha does not allow Lakshmi to enter into the temple at the instance of Balabhadra

In the mode of dialogue between Jagannatha and Lakshmi, the poet Balaram Dasa brings to fore the social practices and customs of upper castes. After visiting the untouchable's house when Lakshmi returns to the temple, Jagannatha does not allow her to enter into the temple, and asks her to leave the temple. Being prohibited from entering into the temple, Lakshmi asks Jagannatha for divorce. But, Jagannatha denies for giving divorce saying "in our caste the divorce system is not practiced, once we leave a wife, we do not see her face again". The goddess rebukes Jagannatha for not keeping up his words that he had given to her father during their wedding. She reprimands him saying "my father had surrendered himself before you by giving me in marriage to you, and had requested you to forgive my ten mistakes. But you are not even tolerating my single and first mistake and driving me away from the temple by calling me as '*chandaluni*' (an untouchable)! People do not even drive away their servants at one fault, but you are driving me away on my first mistake". Further she says "I am not born from a loose woman or destitute that I will go to the natal home being driven away from my husband's house". While leaving the temple she curses both the brothers to become paupers and starve without food and water for twelve years. After leaving the temple of her husband she decides not to go to her natal home and continues living alone near the sea beach of Puri by constructing a house with the help of Lord Biswakarma.

Jagannatha and Balabhadra become paupers at the departure of Lakshmi. Lakshmi utilizes her power and takes the help of other gods, goddesses and ghosts to make Jagannatha and Balabhadra suffer without food and wealth. They do not get food and

er, either inside the temple or outside it. Although they wander begging from door to door, they could not succeed in getting alms. They go on begging, but people mistake them for beggars and thieves and do not give them alms. After twelve years, they unknowingly reach in front of the palace of goddess Lakshmi, and beg for food. Lakshmi comes to know about the arrival of Jagannatha and Balabhadra, and she sends a message through her maid that it is the house of an untouchable woman and food would be served if they are ready to accept. After coming to know about the caste of the householder Balabhadra expresses his unwillingness to accept cooked food from an untouchable house. Hence, he asks the maid to provide all the cooking materials and raw food, which they would cook on their own and eat. Goddess Lakshmi provides all the cooking materials and raw food to Balabhadra and Jagannatha to cook on their own and eat. But later she rethinks "if these two brothers could cook food on their own and eat, people would not realize the value of wives in their life." Hence, she beckons the god of fire and requested him to make it impossible for them to light the firewood for cooking, thereby, failing to cook. Jagannatha and Balabhadra are left with no choice but to give their consent to take food from the untouchable's house. Consequently food is served to them. Jagannatha, however, could guess from the taste of the food that it was cooked by Lakshmi and everything gets disclosed. Jagannatha and Balabhadra then request the goddess' for forgiveness and ask her to come back with them to the temple. At last, Lakshmi agrees to join them in the temple on the condition that, she would visit the households of all her devotees irrespective of their caste which has been accepted by Jagannatha and Balabhadra. Goddess Lakshmi wanted that the people of all denominations, from untouchables to Brahmins, be allowed to take food together in the premises of the temple. Jagannatha and Balabhadra accept the ideology of goddess Lakshmi and permit her to visit the houses of her devotees irrespective of their caste.

The text prescribes that every Thursday in the Oriya month *Margasira*, be celebrated the festival day of the goddess. Again every Thursday of the week is the favorite day of the goddess, hence it prescribes for certain routinized practices on the part of women. The text prescribes for reforms in the routinized bodily practices of women as well as emphasizes on maintaining purity of the domestic space in order to maintain sanctity of the domestic space and make the domestic space suitable for the habitation of goddess. Maintaining domesticity is seen as women's primary concern, thus all the prescriptions and proscriptions towards retaining the domestic sanctity are addressed through and towards women. The text places women as conduits through whom the well-being of the family can be invoked.

Carving the ritual space:

In a mode of dissent with the orthodox Brahmanical Hinduism and its exclusive religious institution, Balaram Dasa tries to create a space for the expression of religiosity of women across the caste groups through his *Lakshmi Purana*. For this purpose of bringing reform, he chooses goddess *Lakshmi*. He uses the spouse goddess *Lakshmi* as an agent in bringing social change mainly because of her anchorage to domesticity, which is established through her status of being married to a god in the Hindu pantheon. The goddess is considered to be the spouse of Lord Jagannatha, the most popular deity in Orissa society and she is often linked to domesticity and idealized domestic roles in the Hindu mythology. The goddess is considered to be household oriented and her jurisdiction is mainly concerned with prosperity, wealth, productivity and fertility of the household, which makes her the most desirable deity of the domestic space. Since household is the reference point of reform for Balaram Dasa, he chooses the goddess *Lakshmi* and suggests for worship of the domestic oriented goddess within the household. As Orissa society was primarily based on agricultural economy, he tries to link the

orship of goddess Lakshmi in the household, as a symbol of wealth and productivity, to the agricultural production of the household. Hence, in order to perform the worship of the goddess in the household, he suggests for the worshipping of rice/paddy as a symbol of the goddess.

For performing the actual worship of the goddess within the household, the text *Lakshmi Purana*, clearly mentions about the procedures of worship. It prescribes that the married women of the household have to clean the paddy measuring container, paint it with *chuta* (a liquid made out of rice). After painting the container, the women have to fill rice paddy in the container, place it on a stool and worship it. The text clearly mentions that the colour of rice paddy used for worshipping the goddess should be light in colour and it particularly pronounces that the paddy colour should not be dark. As suggested by the text, worshipping rice paddy symbolizes the goddess. By clearly mentioning the colour of the paddy, it tries to pronounce the colour of the goddess and her lineage to the upper caste sanskritic tradition. In sanskritic Hinduism, the lower castes are often referred to as dark in colour. The text proscribes the use of dark paddy as a symbol of goddess. This pronounces the upper caste status of the goddess and the text's strong resistance against identifying the goddess with the lower castes. This specificity of the skin colour of the goddess makes it clear that the text very consciously wants to retain the identity of goddess as a sanskritic deity.

Lakshmi Purana propagates for giving access of worshipping the goddess Lakshmi to women across the caste groups. At the same time it makes a sincere attempt to retain the upper caste, sanskritic status of the goddess intact. As the sanskritic goddess is supposed to be worshipped at a mundane place like household, the text articulates the ways by which the household could be converted into a sacred place, fit for the worship of the goddess. Household is considered as the primary domain of women, hence the

possibility of maintaining the sanctity of the household is thrust upon women. Women of the household are prescribed to enhance the purity of the domestic space through their routinized act of sanitizing domestic space and maintaining their own bodily and spiritual purity. The conjugal household is the reference point of the goddess, and the household is considered to be primarily the domain of women. Hence, the text suggests that the domestic space could be converted into a sacred place like a temple, by women of the household, through their "good disciplined demeanor", moral virtues and sanitized bodily practices.

In order to maintain the purity of the domestic space, *Lakshmi Purana* prescribes for certain daily routinized cleanliness practices on part of the women and certain specific purificatory practices on the favorite days of the goddess. As part of women's daily routinized act, women in the household are suggested to keep the household in a clean state, clean the vessels properly, and clear the ash from the wooden stove everyday morning etc. Every Thursday of the week is considered to be the auspicious days of the goddess, hence prescriptions are made to keep the household at a higher state of purity. Hygiene is considered as the route to purity, while dirt is often perceived as disorder (Douglas, 1966). For keeping the household in a state of purity, *Lakshmi Purana* suggests cleaning the house with cow dung every Thursday. By retaining the sanskritic notion of cow dung as a cleansing and purificatory agent, *Lakshmi Purana* introduces the upper caste sanskritic notions of purity and sacredness to the households of lower caste groups. The sanskritic Hinduism constructs cow as sacred. Hence, often suggestion is made by the sanskritic Hinduism to remove simple types of pollution by water and greater pollutions through the use of cow dung water (Douglas, 1966). By preserving the sanskritic auspicious status of cow, *Lakshmi Purana* implicitly demands certain changes in the eating habits of "harijans" as a precondition of getting access to the worship of the

ess in the household. The “harijans” who used to consume beef as part of their food bits are expected to leave beef eating as they start worshipping the goddess.

Along with maintaining the purity of the household in a sanskritized way, the women of the household are prescribed to purify their corporal body. Physical purity is considered as a precondition for spiritual purity. The text clearly specifies the ways through which women’s body can be brought into a state of purity. The purity of the body is considered to be achieved through specific procedure of bodily practices, in which bodily hygiene, food, clothing and sexual practice are considered to be essential elements of the notion of bodily purity. Women, being the ritual officiants of the worship of the goddess, are prescribed to maintain bodily purity on the favorite week days of the goddess. In order to invoke bodily purity, women are prescribed to take head bath early in the morning and wear clean and white clothes. By restraining from consuming certain foods which are considered to be polluting, like- non-vegetarian, bitter food, roasted food and the left-over food, women are prescribed to maintain their bodily purity. Maintaining sexual purity is highly emphasized in the notion of bodily purity. By constructing women as the eternal temptress, *Lakshmi Purana* lays greatest stress on sexual restraint of women. As women’s untied hair is often given a sexual connotation, it suggests women to keep their hair tied even while sleeping. Women’s sexual power and appetite is constructed to be dangerous and polluting. Hence, it suggests for sexual refinement of women, whereby women’s sexuality is restrained, and is to be expressed only within the procreative conjugal relationship. *Lakshmi Purana* attempts to contain female sexual desire only within the procreative roles while the expression of female sexuality outside it, is tabooed. For example, women’s involvement in sexual relations during their menstruation is tabooed. In order to invoke the auspiciousness of the conjugal household,

men are prescribed to suspend their normative sexual behavior on the favorite weeks of the goddess and other festive days

Being a product of *bhakti* tradition, *Lakshmi Purana* gives much emphasis on personal devotion and emotional purity of women towards achieving benevolence of the goddess. In tune with the *bhakti* tradition, it suggests for the displacement of Brahmin priest as an intermediary between women and the goddess Lakshmi. But it keeps the place of man intact, as a mediator between women and their salvation and divinity. In the divinity and emotional purity of women, the orthodox triadic relation between wife, husband and goddess is reinforced (Sangari, 1990), whereby the wife is supposed to get the benevolence of the goddess through her devotion in her husband. Although *bhakti* to the goddess is considered to offer prosperity and salvation, devotion in husband is set as the precondition. Hence, *Lakshmi Purana* offers for a husband-god, wife-servant model, whereby the domestic service to the husband becomes analogous to the religious service. Women's spirituality is propagated to be achieved through "spiritualizing" their marriage and conjugal household. Though devotion in husband is constructed as a necessary condition, it is not offered as the sufficient condition for the attainment of spiritual purity of women. Towards this attainment of spirituality of women, along with devotion, their moral uprightness is highly stressed. The "virtues" in women, such as, obedience, passivity and humility are projected to be facilitating the spiritual purity of women. At the same time the expression of assertion and aggression in women is negatively attributed, and women with such "qualities" are projected to be the cause of de-spiritualization of the domestic space. *Lakshmi Purana* demarcates the virtues of the auspiciousness of womanhood, where the space for expression of individuality of women gets shrunk or almost closed. By condemning women's act of taking up challenge, as a symbol of aggression, it proscribes women's expression of courageousness, which is

conventional, hence, unpleasant for others. If at all women are expressing courage, it to be expressed within the domains of conventionality, which does not question or challenge the existing structure of the society. *Lakshmi Purana* limits the space of expression of aggression of women by depicting it as inauspicious. Any form of aggression in women is condemned and negatively attributed. Women's involvement in the act of disciplining children is considered as a sign of aggression, hence women are prescribed to restrain themselves from disciplining children on the auspicious days of the goddess.

Through *Lakshmi Purana*, Balaram Dasa constructs an archetypal image of womanhood which goes in conformity with the upper caste patriarchal norms. The sanskritic notions of bodily, sexual and moral purity of women were pushed onto the lower caste groups and standardized as the auspicious kind of behaviour. Through prescribed methods of daily surveillance, it attempted to discipline the practices of people across gender lines and introduced the sanskritic notions of disciplined behaviour, whereby laughing while talking, sleeping naked etc, are projected to cause inauspiciousness to domestic space. Along with the sanskritic notions of disciplined behaviour, it introduces the Brahmanic way of maintaining purity in the act of consumption of food. Since rice is constructed as the symbol of the goddess, people are expected to add a divine colour to the act of consumption of food. Hence, prescription is made to maintain bodily cleanliness while having food and also not wasting food are considered to be symbols of respect to the goddess.

Idealization of womanhood and bodily practices in *Lakshmi Purana*:

Balaram Dasa through his *Lakshmi Purana* constructs goddess Lakshmi in terms of duality, wherein the goddess is constructed both as benevolent and malevolent. As opposed to the dominant construct in Hindu mythology, where the goddess is constructed

terms of a single principle of auspiciousness and subservient wifely role, Baram Dasa presents an alternative model of goddess Lakshmi in terms of both her submissive wifely traits and assertiveness. When she is deserted and deprived of her conjugal right by her husband Lord Jagannatha, she does not hesitate to use her power for the cause of ill-being of her husband. But the short-term ill effects of her power are directed at restoring the institution of marriage and stabilize the relationship of the divine couple.

By narrating the story of goddess Lakshmi, Baram Dasa tries to bring certain amount of reform into the hierarchical social structure. In his narration, goddess Lakshmi becomes an agent in bringing reform in the caste based Brahmanical orthodoxy. Goddess Lakshmi, through accommodating women across the caste groups in the ritual worship in the domestic space, tries to transgress the Brahmanical orthodoxy. The transgression of caste code results in inflicting tensions in her conjugal relationship, as both her husband and his elder brother were the upholders of caste orthodoxy. She gets deserted by her husband Lord Jagannatha for her act of transgression of the caste order. After being deserted, goddess Lakshmi utilizes her malevolent powers and pauperizes Lord Jagannatha and his elder brother Lord Balabhadra. Subsequently, Jagannatha and Balabhadra come to realize the importance of Lakshmi and request her to join them in the temple. Through the narration of the desertion of the goddess, Baram Dasa diagnoses the orthodox patriarchal nature of the Brahmanical caste structure, which often devalues women. Goddess Lakshmi's assertion is directed at emphasizing the importance of women in the conjugal household and consequently giving women a central place in the household. However, Lakshmi's assertion can not be considered as a revolt against patriarchal order, rather it results in supplementing patriarchal structure. Lakshmi tries to maintain the central place of woman in the conjugal household, at the same time gives much emphasis on the subservient wifely role of women. Along with establishing the

portant place of women in the household, she demarcates the “proper” wifely traits of women. Lakshmi herself also, does not deviate from the orthodox construction of husband-god and wife-servant model, and on many occasions she refers herself as the servant of her husband Lord Jagannatha. When Jagannatha arrives at her place, she serves his feet with immense respect and wifely devotion. Her subservient role is described through her act of consumption of the water in which her husband’s feet is bathed. This indicates that her husband is being accorded the status of god by her, while she becomes a mere servant to him. The dirt of the feet is often considered to be defiling. But the wife is suggested to treat even the dirt of the feet of the husband with respect. This in turn expresses the inferior position of the wife within the conjugal relationship. Through her acts, the goddess Lakshmi suggests the ideal demeanor for women. Hence, by claiming a “central” position of women in the conjugal household, *Lakshmi Purana* does not disturb the patriarchal order. Rather it renews and reinforces the patriarchal subjugations.

Through *Lakshmi Purana*, the patriarchal norms of higher castes get idealized and circulated across the caste groups. The upper caste notion of indissoluble nature of the marriage bond is highlighted as a superior way of life and the divorce system is disapproved. Conjugal household, particularly the patrilocal residence is established as the “true” place for woman. Through the narration of *Lakshmi Purana*, an attempt has been made to normativize women’s confinement to their conjugal household. A woman’s rejection of conjugality, and her consequent return to her natal home is disapproved and given an immoral colour. Even in the story, after getting deserted by her husband, the goddess rules out the option of taking shelter at her natal home by describing it as undesirable behaviour. In the patriarchal structure, after marriage, a woman’s identity is considered to be subsumed under her husband’s identity. Any form of proclamation of natal identity even in the form of taking shelter at the time of despair is detested.

In the context of sharing the *prasad* (symbolizing grace of goddess) of the goddess, *Lakshmi Purana* tries to define the ideal place of woman. Woman's lineage to her parental household is de-legitimized through defining the married daughter as an "outsider" to the family. Proscription is made for sharing the *prasad* of the goddess with outsiders of the family. To be more specific *Lakshmi Purana* pronounces that the *prasad* of the goddess should not be shared even with the married daughters of the household. The goddess Lakshmi is considered to be the goddess of wealth, whereas her *Prasad* symbolizes the prosperity of the household. As the *Prasad* of the goddess is linked to the property of the household, proscription is made to share the *Prasad* with outsiders of the family. By proscribing to share *prasad* of the goddess with the married daughters of the household, *Lakshmi Purana* reinforces the rule of disinheritance of women from parental property rights. Since the benevolence of the goddess is linked to the prosperity and property of the household, by forbidding the householders to share the *prasad* of the goddess with married daughters as outsiders of the family, the *Lakshmi Purana* systematically de-legitimizes the married daughter's right over their parental property. It upholds the patriarchal structure through highly valuing the male offspring in the household. As described in the text, the benevolence of the goddess results in getting male progeny. While describing about the benevolence of the goddess on the untouchable woman Sriya, *Lakshmi Purana* highlights how the benevolence of the goddess resulted in bringing prosperity to the untouchable woman by bestowing her with wealth and five sons.

Balaram Dasa acknowledges the oppressive nature of the Brahmanical social structure. In order to overcome the oppression he targets the grass root social institution, the conjugal household. He wanted to bring reform in the larger society through reforming the conjugal household. At the outset his reform in the conjugal household

addresses the issue of devaluation of women. Hence, his reform in the domestic space emphasizes the significant role of women in the conjugal household. By placing women as the conduits for the flow of auspiciousness of the household, *Lakshmi Purana* articulates the importance of women in the household. Women are constructed as responsible members of the household who are supposed to contribute to the well-being of all the members of the household. In a way, what is being implicated here is not so much about the democratic spirit where each member of the household is recognized as equal, but rather it amounts to fixing responsibility of everyone's well-being on the women members of the household. Women are supposed to invoke the wellbeing of the household with their "right kind of behaviour". The auspicious power of women is considered to be maintained through retaining their moral and bodily purity. *Lakshmi Purana* produced a disciplinary gender regime, which resulted in codifying women's morality and bodily practices.

In *Lakshmi Purana*, Balaram Dasa gets engaged in a twin process of breaking and remaking the Brahmanical caste orthodoxy. At one level he tries to challenge the Brahmanical caste orthodoxy by accommodating the women across the caste groups in the ritual worship of the goddess. At another level, he introduces the Brahmanical notion of puritanical practices across the caste groups. Hence, the text normativizes the Sanskrit notions of purity as a common principle across caste groups. *Lakshmi Purana* disapproves the other ways of life and the practices, apart from the Sanskritized ways of living by constructing it as inauspicious. In a true sense, *Lakshmi Purana* only serves in creating a space for the lower caste women to express their religiosity, without challenging the caste structure. The Brahmanical supremacy is maintained by normativizing the Brahmanic way of life. The purity of the domestic space, body and morality is suggested to be maintained in a Sanskritized way in order to get the

evolence of the goddess. Hence, the socio-religious reform of the non-brahmanic sect of Hinduism have also emphasized on maintenance of bodily and moral purity of women, while invoking the religiosity of the lower caste groups and women. This trend of high emphasis on the maintenance of bodily and moral purity of women can also be found in the other socio-religious reformist discourses in the Orissa society, such as the *Mahima dharma*

Section-II

Mahima Dharma and its Approach Towards Women:

In Orissa, the reformist agenda of the *Mahima dharma* also tried to invoke the religiosity of the subaltern groups. In Tikirapada village, the families following the *Mahima dharma* observe a stricter way of maintaining bodily purity than the other families in the same caste group. The *Mahima dharma* is followed exclusively by the “harijan” households in the village. None of the upper caste households follow *Mahima dharma*, as this cult has emerged as an anti-brahmin reform movement and its reformist agenda has concentrated on opposing idol worship as well as the caste system, consequently opposing the cultural hegemony of sanskritic Hinduism. Hence, because of its resistance against the caste system, it has become popular among the “harijans”, at the same time it has a limited acceptance among the upper caste groups. In Tikirapada village, six households from the “harijan” community are the followers of *Mahima Dharma*. The *Mahima dharma* gets exclusively identified with the “harijan” community in the village. The women in these households hold a stricter notion of bodily purity than the other houses. Both men and women in these houses take bath early in the morning to

perform *sarana*¹ *pranam* rite and after executing their daily activities, in the evening also they take bath and perform *sarana* rite again. The women of these households abstain from observing religious festivals and *vratas* of mainstream Hinduism, such as they abstain from participating in the religious festivals like: *Lakshmi puja*, *sudasa vrata*, *nuakhai* and other festivals that are generally observed by their own caste group women. Women in the households following the *Mahima dharma*, observe menstrual taboo in a stricter way than the other women of their same caste, by not cooking or touching any items which are generally used by the family members on a daily basis. While most of the followers of the *Mahima dharma* in the village abstain from consuming non-vegetarian food, in two families of the study village, the elder members continue consuming non-vegetarian food, while their children observe vegetarianism strictly. While explaining about the reason behind her children's strict observance of vegetarianism Bela says

*My daughter was suffering from a disease. She was not able to walk properly. We took her for treatment to many folk healers, gunia and doctors. She did not get cured. During that time two Mahima saints had come to our village. They asked me to ritually sell the child to the Alekh Swami. We thought that anyways we had spent so much money, let us try this. Our neighbours who had taken Mahima dharma also prescribed us to follow the instruction of the saints. We followed the instructions of the saints and ritually sold the child. After a few days of that incident slowly the disease got cured. We have to ritually buy back the child from the Alekh Swami's gadi before getting our daughter married. When our younger son was born, we also ritually sold him to the saints. Though our whole family has taken the Mahima dharma, our children are now the property of the Mahima swami. Therefore they do not touch non-vegetarian food. Though we, both husband and wife have taken the *dukshya*, we continue having non-vegetarian food.*

On some occasions, it is not the reformist agenda of the sect, but the helplessness of the disease status which leads some of the families to accept *Mahima dharma*. The recovery from the disease establishes their faith in the cult. It is observed that both men

¹ *Sarana* is a rite of prayer, the main ritual of the sect, obligatory on all the followers. *Sarana* literally means shelter. The aim of the rite is to take refuge in Mahima Prabhu in accordance to get his view, being deeply immersed in the concept of *Bhakti*.

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women hold stricter notions of bodily purity in conformity with *Mahima dharma*, compared to other members of the same caste group. The notion of maintaining bodily purity differs for both men and women. A man is considered to be pure after taking bath. But the menstruating woman is considered to be in a polluting state for seven days, even after taking bath everyday, as it is a generally held belief by the followers of mainstream Hinduism. A notion of purity is also attached to the act of cooking. The followers of *Mahima dharma* most of the time wear a particular ochre colour cloth. This ochre colored sari is more often worn by women during the daily *saran* time. The emphasis on maintaining bodily purity by the followers of *Mahima dharma* in the village leads me to investigate the context in which the *Mahima dharma* emerged as a socio-religious reform movement and its agenda of reform and its implications in informing the bodily practices of people.

Mahima dharma is a Hindu reform movement, which turned against the tenor of caste authority and ritually constituted kingship in Orissa in the second half of the nineteenth century. During this time, the Jagannatha worship was adopted by the kings of Dhenkanal, Boudh, Tigrira, Sonapur, Angul. Earlier the legitimacy of suzerainty of most of the Garjhat kings over the tribal hinterland was mainly based on their position in the cult of the tribal *thakuranis* (goddesses), who became the state deity of the concerned states. The *thakuranis* were a direct link between the Garjhat kings and the tribes. H Kulke (1976) points out that, the introduction of Jagannatha worship for the subjects of the Feudatory kings meant not only a religious reform in the tribal belt, but was also a symbol of a new form of oppressive Hindu kingship in former tribal areas. The Jagannatha cult was strongly associated with the monopoly of the Brahmins and the rulers. During the time when the Jagannatha cult was getting imposed on the subjects with all its authoritativeness, the *Mahima dharma* appeared as a counter movement to the

agannatha worship, open to all the caste groups and the tribes in Orissa. In parts of coastal Orissa also, the belief in the central deity Jagannatha, as the protector was also shaken by the famine of 1866. With the famine, one third of the population in the province were wiped out. In the situation of crisis and uncertainty, the miseries of the poor were intensified by the upper castes' concern with the caste norms. People who ate the cooked rice from *chatras* (relief camps) were ostracized. During this time *Mahima dharma* appeared as a counter to upper caste domination. It resisted the varna order and preached about the universal presence of god. It turned to a partially fervent anti-Brahmin agitation (Pati, 2003).

According to Eschmann (1986) the founder of *Mahima Dharma*, Mahima Alekha Goswami gave his first public appearance in 1862. The cult became popular with the famous poems of the disciple of Mahima Goswami, Bhima Bhoi, who was from the Kandha tribe. The second epoch in *Mahima Dharma* began with the death of Mahima Swami in 1876. Thereafter his body was buried in Joranda (presently in Dhenkanal district) and the place became a shrine for *Mahima Dharmis*. Bhima Bhoi constructed a separate ashrama in Khaliapala (in Sonepur district) with the consent of Sonepur king. While Joranda centre was organized in strict monastic order and meant exclusively for men, the centre at Khaliapala included women in its fold. Khaliapala *asrama* of the *Mahima dharma* becomes more significant for my study, because all the followers of the *Mahima dharma* in the Tikrapada village associate themselves more with Khaliapala. Khaliapala is also situated at a closer distance from Tikrapada and Baunsuni. Since Khaliapala includes women in the fold of *Mahima dharma*, the family as a unit follows the dharma in the village rather than only the male members.

The *Mahima sanyasis* are forbidden to accept alms from kings, Brahmin, barbers and washermen. The Brahmin and the raja constituted the key figures who articulated the

exercise of domination through the inextricable bounding of the arenas of ritual and politics, while the *Bhandari* (barber) and the *Dhoba* (washerman), traditional service castes, acted as instruments for the effective functioning of the ritual hierarchy. It was this challenge to the power exercised through and encoded within religion that made *Mahima Swami* appear as a genuine benefactor to those groups in Orissa whose subordination had been secured through the close intermeshing of religion and power. Thus, the *Mahima dharma* induced followers who are expected to disregard the icons and symbols of Hindu gods and goddesses and not to follow the religious ritual practices of Hinduism. Having *tulsi* plant at home is also forbidden, because *tulsi* plant is considered to be a symbol of Vishnu and is worshipped by the Hindu households (Banerjee-Dube, 2001)

After the initiation, the believers have to submit to a strict way of living, the norms of which are composed of ethical and ritual commandments. The principal ethical commandments are worship no idols, perform “*sarana* and *darsana*” at the prescribed time everyday, do not kill, do not eat meat, do not lie, do not steal, do not commit adultery, follow the directions of sexual behaviour in marriage, exercise propriety, goodwill and kindness towards all creatures etc. In addition to this, there are a series of drastic ritual commandments as well: accept no food from Brahmins, put on exclusively cotton clothes which are coloured with ochre in a strictly laid down process in which cow dung must be used, consume nothing after sunset, take bath every morning before prayers, use no chairs or elevated seats. Since these commandments influence the way of living very drastically, and would not permit practice of many professions, there are different grades within the initiated laymen and accordingly the members follow these rules very strictly or less rigorously (Eschmann, 1986)

Mahima dharma posed a challenge to the orthodox caste system. But a closer reading of the prescriptions on the bodily practices of the dharma makes it clear that, it does not

ceed in departing from the notions of bodily purity as established by Sanskrit Hinduism. Again through its symbolic constructs, it implicitly makes an inferior valuation of women and women's body, which goes hand in hand with dominant Hinduism. This results in the imposing of stricter notions of bodily purity for women as the followers of the dharma. Through these constructions and notions of purity, women's body symbolically gets depicted as an inferior body. The gendered nature of the sect gets explicitly pronounced through its non-inclusion of women in the *Joranda* center, the shrine of *Mahima dharmus*. Here women are constructed as a threat to men's monastic devotion. Thus, it is being argued that these historical accounts of *Mahima Dharma* have a lot of significance in understanding the everyday life of women in the Tikrapada village.

Section- III

Construction of Womanhood in Oriya Nationalist Reform Movement:

Both religious reform movements and the nationalist reform movement in Orissa have been engaged in setting the norms and expectations regarding archetypal Oriya womanhood. While the sixteenth century Hindu religious reform movement in Orissa had set the norms regarding ideal womanhood through "*Lakshmi Purana*", the nationalist reform movement in Orissa took the model prescribed by '*Lakshmi Purana*' and further codified women's roles by idealizing the role of educated woman with high virtues. This idealized woman figure is suggested as the "true *gruhalakshmi*", "the Lakshmi of the house". During late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, the debates and discussions on women's issues in Orissa were mostly centered on "women's education". Reforms in women's behavior, bodily conduct, and moral values were often fleshed out through the discussions on women's education. The advocates of women's education

arily articulated the upper-caste, middle class women's life situations, which were only brought into the discussion, while little or no attention was paid towards the life situations of lower caste and lower class women. This in turn resulted in suggesting an idealized role for women by the nationalist reformers, which was suitable for the upper caste and middle class women. The motherhood role and the image of woman as "gruhalakshmi" was articulated, where by women's education was expected to result in producing healthy, caretaking mothers and housewives with knowledge on health and hygiene

In late nineteenth century and early twentieth century along with the pan-Indian nationalist movement, Orissa simultaneously underwent another political struggle at the regional level in the form of Oriya identity movement. As a reflection of the political scenario, whenever women's issues were discussed, these issues were brought into discussion at two different levels. At one level the nationalist motherhood image of women was highlighted, at another level the specific markers of the idealized Oriya women's roles were asserted. Since the Oriya regional nationalist movement was a struggle against the merger of Oriya identity with that of Bengalis, some of the writings on Oriya women emphasized on the much idealized notions of Oriya womanhood. The specificity of Oriya women's virtues and bodily practices was pronounced as opposed to the Bengali women by few writers. The virtues of Oriya women were asserted as opposed to the middle class Bengali women, who were projected to be influenced by the western life style.

In Orissa, during late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, the need for female education was emphasized, and the "right kind of" education was considered to inculcate high moral values among women. In the late nineteenth century, the first Oriya

women's magazine appeared called *Asha*², which stated that its objective was to improve women's education in Orissa (Ray, 1892. 2). The most prominent themes appeared in *Asha* are: the need for women's education, the duties of the mother towards her children, an ideal housewife, impact of mother on child, a woman's respect towards mother and mother-in-law, the procedures of cooking etc. The aim of education was described in terms of inculcating the virtues of 'sugruthini' in women. All the themes suggested that women's education will help in enriching the womanly virtues like devotion, patience, chastity, self sacrifice and labours of love. The articles on procedures of cooking in *Asha* emphasized on the importance of cooking knowledge as an essential trait of women. In the introduction of the articles on cooking procedures, the editor Reba Ray wrote:

Cooking is not an ordinary work, it is a science. The Gruhini's (house wife) primary duty is to give first priority to cooking in her education. Since our life and health depends on food, food has to be prepared carefully. All other kinds of knowledge become worthless for women without the knowledge on cooking (1893-29)

Asha underlines the necessity of educating women on cooking procedures as an important means to improve the health of the people. The discussions on female education stressed on the need to educating women, which would help women in developing the skills of home management. Domesticity was seen as the primary site of women. While articulating about women's contribution towards the national development, their efficient management of domestic sphere was highlighted. While highlighting about women's role in the domestic sphere Pareswara Mohanty wrote:

Though women's work is centered in the domestic sphere, they have to be aware as to how they can serve the society. The relation between home and

² The first Oriya monthly women's magazine *Asha*, first appeared in October 1888. After two years, the publication of the magazine got stopped. Again *Asha* reappeared in Orissa in the year 1892, when it declared itself as a women's magazine formally. It continued to be published for a short period. In the second phase of its publication, in first edition, the editor Reba Ray asserted that the expansion of women's education in Orissa was the main objective of the magazine. Also see Natabara Samantaray's "Odiya Sahityara Itihasa", 1964.

society is very important Women's main concern should be how they can contribute to the society by managing the domesticity well The nation's wellbeing depends on the wellbeing of the society Women's primary work sphere is home But home is not isolated from society By keeping the home in a disciplined way, women can contribute towards strengthening society For managing home effectively women have to have good foresight For being aware about their responsibility for society, there is a need for women's education But there are many hurdles on the way of women's education than boys' education Women in our country get education for a very short period And they are expected to manage their family life and familial responsibilities with that short education The future wellbeing of their children depends on the education of their mothers The kind of education the girls are given does not serve the objective of women's education Women's education should be in such a way which will strengthen the high morals of womanhood and would prepare them towards the duties of womanhood Their life should always be guided by high values, which would influence other members of the family, especially their children The children of such women would have a bright future Now Oriya women are emotionally enriched With education their intellectual thoughts will get deepened, which will help further in enriching their emotional thoughts But with the present education system the educated women are first to change their dressing sense rather than strengthening their values Women should feel that they have responsibility towards society Though men often claim to be superior to women, in terms of serving others women have enormous patience Now without food and sleep women are able to serve their children, and the time when women will be able to contribute towards intellectual development of their children with enthusiasm, then only the emancipation of the society is possible The aim of women's education should be to encourage their children for being knowledgeable (1907 373-376)

The propagation of women's education was made within the division of world in terms of gender roles The appropriate place for women was considered to be the home and education was considered to be enhancing the skills of home management The agenda of women's education was propagated within a dichotomized cultural domain of the nationalist project, as pointed out by Chatterjee (1989) into material/spiritual, outer/inner, world/home and masculine/feminine Home was considered to be the principal site for expressing the spiritual quality and women were required to take the main responsibility for protecting and nurturing the spiritual quality. The "right" kind of education was argued to be enriching the feminine virtues of modesty, decorum and spiritual qualities, in women, through which they could serve the society in a better way

organizing their home and family life. The home was asserted to be the primary sphere of woman and the outside world was asserted to be the sphere of man. Within this dichotomized framework of space, gender roles have been prescribed by the advocates of women's education during the colonial period in Orissa, as in other parts of India. This assertion of proper feminine space and the masculine space was prominently pronounced in some of the articles in *Utkal Sahitya*³, which was written by an author who had appeared in a pseudonym called "Sree Paribarika"⁴ (the family man)

The essay states that the sastrakaras in our country have imagined women as lakshmi. There is a need for the family to keep women in a higher place. The peace at home depends on women. They are the managers of the household. While the man of the family goes out and earns money, the responsibility of the woman of the household is to manage the money properly. For a woman to understand her role in the family and manage home smoothly, she needs to be sufficiently educated. Only school education is not sufficient, may be the school education is the first step. Through this a woman gets to know about her responsibilities and duties (1933 27).

In accordance with this framework of women's education, separate curriculums for boys and girls and distinct gender roles have been emphasized. Education among women was conceived to be as something which must not lead them towards giving up the domestic chores and feminine qualities. Hence, the debates over proper women's curriculum took the centre stage for a long time, spearheaded by the protagonists of women's education. In the early 20th century, the debates over the proper feminine curriculum for women's education took a prominent place in Orissa. It was argued that women's education should focus on the subjects that are oriented towards domestic space

³ *Utkal Sahitya* was one of the prominent and most popular Oriya journals, which provided the platform for many interlectual debates and discussions for the literary class in Orissa. It was first published in January 1897, and continued to be published for a quite long time.

⁴ A series of articles appeared in *Utkal Sahitya* by an author who wrote under the pseudonym "Sree Paribarika". Since the author used Sree before the name it can be assumed that the author was a male. The articles by Sree Paribarika mainly dealt with the issues pertaining to domesticity. As the management of domesticity is considered to be falling in the hands of women, most of the articles of the author were addressed towards women, suggesting the ideal way of managing domesticity. His articles dealt with issues like, place of woman in the family, duties of woman, family health, beauty of the home etc. In almost all the articles suggestions were made for women to make the family life ideal.

like nutrition, hygiene and mother craft. An editorial⁵ in a prominent Oriya journal, *Utkal Sahitya* in 1937 stated that:

In the girls' schools instead of giving much importance on grammar and geometry, much emphasis should be given on educating girls about taking care of home and children (1937: 116)

It was often argued by the nationalist reformers that education among women should aim at inculcating the virtues of discipline, orderliness, thrift, cleanliness, a personal sense of responsibility, the practical skills of literacy, accounting, hygiene and the ability to run the household according to the new physical and economic conditions set by the outside world (Chatterjee, 1994) The ideal woman was espoused to be an educated mother, aware of home science and hygiene, who was conceived to be traditional, self sacrificing and is able to blend modern hygiene with health consciousness In women's education, home science and hygiene played an important role in further codifying the bodily practices of women. The symbolic systems of bodily discipline of women, of Brahmanic Hinduism, which was validated by the religious texts came to be established as the universal truth through the arguments supplemented by the sanitary and hygienic science. Hancock (2001) points out that the scientific knowledge was framed as an amendment to the existing Hindu texts. The sacrality of cooking was noted and pointed out as "ancient law" was sanctioned as perfect cleanliness The orthodox Hindu way of living, like not to enter kitchen without taking bath and changing the garments, not to enter the kitchen with shoes etc, was supplemented by arguments of scientific hygienic science that these laws are made with a purpose, in hot climates food gets easily spoiled, hence dust should be avoided. The students of home science were reminded to cover their head in the kitchen. These bodily practices were presented as extensions of the traditional practices, understood to be the expressions of scientifically documented truths

⁵ Biswanath Kar was the editor during this time

Through the validation of the traditional bodily practices with the scientific knowledge, the traditional way of life came to be valorized. Bringing cultural refinement in the moral virtues of women and house work was seen as the goal of education. While propagating women's education, instances of educated women were drawn from Vedic literature. The Oriya educated woman came to be defined against an array of others, such as the western women, the Bengali women, and the poor, lower class uneducated women. I will get back to the point of Oriya women being defined in terms of Bengali women and lower class women little later. While asserting the identity of Oriya women, a contrast was often drawn against the Bengali women. But while defining "our women" against the "other" western women, a homogenized Indian women's identity was drawn against "them" (the western). A contrast was often drawn between women of the west and Indian women. Western influence was seen as a threat to the ideal "gruhalakshmi" model of Indian women, whereby the Indian woman was idealized as being the loving mother. These kinds of arguments were most often drawn into the discussion by the journals and articles on women's issues produced during the colonial period in Orissa. In one of the articles, while discussing about the "women's place in family", Sree Paribarika wrote

The daughters of our country need to be brought up as educated, good housewives. A good housewife makes the family a place for attaining spirituality, purity and enjoyment in life. With her good character and education she makes the foundation of the family and the nation strong. Education is the most important way through which daughters can be brought up as good housewives. The main aim of women's education in our country should be to educate girls in such a way, which would enable to bring fortune, peace and happiness in the family. The kind of education the women of our country are given at present, aims at preparing them to be clerks or masters. This kind of education is not helpful in the development of motherhood of women. The kind of western education given to women, does not help in educating them as good housewives or good mothers. The western education is not appropriate for the east. With western education, women will land up in clubs in search of happiness, instead of getting them at home. In our country the primary duty of a woman is to make the family peaceful and happy. The kind of education which will influence women's lives in enriching motherhood and bringing peace and happiness in the family is necessary for our nation. The housewife needs to maintain purity

and sanctity in her demeanor, so that she lives like an ideal, "Lakshmi" of home (1934. 411-413)

Proper and respectable roles for women were linked to the virtue of each nationalist cause to the metaphorical extension of images of motherhood from household to the "imagined community" of the nation in the early 20th century (Whitehead,1995) Education was hoped to improve women's sense of duty, by which she could, not only serve her children, but also the whole society and nation in a better way Sree Paribanka (1933) suggested for combining Ayurvedic medical education with primary education of girls, by which the health of the family and country was hoped to improve The proposal of introducing Ayurvedic medical education in a way suggests the preservation of past authentic knowledge and skills of healing, as Tamika Sarkar perceived 'health and life depended on the preservation of past authentic knowledge and skills of healing which now lay in the hands of the woman alone, in the interior space of the household Command over this vital knowledge added a new dimension to the woman as life giver and life preserver, the lifeline of the future nation (1987 2013)' The need for improvement of women's health standards was also articulated during this time Health of the population was considered to be lying in the hands of the women of the country The need for healthy women rested on the ideology that healthy women give birth to healthy children Women's primary duty was considered to be bringing up healthy children Child bearing and nurturing became the only social justification of women's lives. Some of the discussions on women's health also derived their arguments from Vedic literature to propagate their notions about the ideal way of taking care of the health of women Sashibhusan Ray (1940) argued in favor of menstrual seclusion of women According to him women should take rest during their menstruation for being healthy He romanticizes the prescription of menstrual segregation of women in the Vedic literature By doing so, he criticizes the disappearance of such practice from coastal Orissa, and points out that

the system is still in existence in western Orissa. One of the eminent Oriya woman Shailabala Das (1917), while discussing about the importance of women's education, wrote:

Girls should be given such education which would help them in making good educated mothers. Education should help her in maintaining good health of the child and she should know how to take care of the child, she should be able to manage home properly and take care of the members of home properly (1917: 76)

The debates on women's education on some occasions also sighted the ignorance and inexperience of women in child care, as the reason for high infant mortality rate of Orissa. The writers ignored the effect of poverty, nutrition, health and the working condition of poor women behind high infant mortality. Few writers during this period also held the Oriya women responsible for the backwardness of Orissa. In these writings, Oriya women were projected to be lacking the virtue of sacrifice for the wellbeing of the nation. They are preoccupied with the immediate self interest of their children.

By combining the nationalist symbol of motherhood with biomedical arguments and reformist Hinduism, the social reformers advocated for increased participation of middle-class women in education. The ideal woman espoused by reformers was an educated mother, aware of home science and hygiene and one who combined the self sacrificing, traditional mother image, the educational autonomy of Vedic woman, and hygienically informed 'modern' motherhood (Whitehead, 1995). An equation between women's health and the future of the nation was drawn, whereby national progress was visualized to be achieved with the physical and moral health of its mothers and children. Drawing the arguments from social Darwinists, Sashibhusan Ray (1921) an eminent Oriya writer propagated for differential education for boys and girls. He argued in favor of basic education for women and opposed their higher education. According to him women's health, especially their reproductive health gets negatively affected by the education

hich is mentally straining. Since women have a crucial role in the reproduction of the future generation of people, the mentally straining work which affects their reproduction should be avoided. If women get higher education they might give birth to very weak children. Hence, women should preserve their physical strength for producing and nurturing children. The real strength of womanhood lies in giving birth to healthy children and breast feeding the child for a considerable time period. Lakshmi (1997) has rightly pointed out that the entire discussion on women's education had centered on the mother-woman concentrating solely on her maternal body and self. Two qualities that were built around this maternal body were service and sacrifice. Activities that did not comprise these two qualities were considered unfeminine. Women's health was considered to be an important issue because of their role as mothers or the future mothers. Healthy mothers are considered to produce healthy children who are the future of the nation. Since the future of the nation was conceived to be in the hands of the men, who were preoccupied with the activities outside the domesticity, the mothers came to be associated only with sons. The mother's health was considered to be worth paying attention, so that she could give birth to a healthy son, who could contribute towards the development of the nation. Married life and motherhood came to be conceived as the only meaningful thing in women's life.

During early twentieth century Oriya nationalism had taken a center stage, and a separate Oriya identity was asserted, as different from the Bengalis. During this period in some of the writings women's body became the terrain on which a distinct Oriya identity was asserted. During this period, few writers asserted the uniqueness of Oriya women's moral values and their traditions, against the "other" Bengali women. Sashibhusan Ray (1940) in an essay "Oriya Girl" (*odiyā jhūā*) argued that, due to the influence of Bengali culture on the middle class educated Oriya masses, many so called "good and desirable"

ditions has been disappearing from the society. Blind imitation of Bengali way of life was sighted as one of the reasons for the moral devaluation of Oriya women. Some of the bodily practices of Oriya women, like using turmeric for taking bath, was described as traditional Oriya woman's way of taking bath. This practice was seen as good for the health of women. Imitation of Bengali women by educated middle class Oriya women was considered as the reason behind the disappearance of this practice. In the arguments for building up the health of the women as mothers, the uniqueness of certain Oriya traditional practices were highlighted. For achieving good physical health of women, the traditional feminine outdoor games of Orissa like "*puchikhela*", "*chorachorika*" was highlighted. It was argued that a good amount of physical exercise is done in playing these games. And these games are played in an open space whereby women get exposed to outside fresh air. These games were considered to be disappearing because of middle class Bengali women's effect on educated Oriya women. Because of this impact the "*puchikhela*", "*chorachorika*" are said to have been replaced by the play with dolls by girls, which is played inside home. Again the author states that because of the imitation of Bengalis by Oriya people, the inherited wealth of a person has come to play a crucial role in selection of bridegroom for girls. Because of this, the girls are getting habituated to get pleasure out of wealth, which in turn is taking the form of greed for wealth. The greedy girls are not hesitating to be the sole reason for the breaking up of joint families into nuclear families. Such women also do not hesitate to demand heavy dowry during their son's marriage.

In the early 20th century writing on the virtues of Oriya women, the icon of goddess Lakshmi was more frequently drawn by the writers, as the ideal woman. As opposed to the identification of the mother goddess - Durga and Kali with the Bengali culture, the goddess Lakshmi's image was frequently drawn by the Oriya writers. The writers

phasized that the goddess Lakshmi is considered as the goddess of domestic well-being; hence the goddess is worshipped among Oriya women with lots of enthusiasm. Since women's role was idealized within the confinement of domestic space, Goddess Lakshmi was frequently drawn as the icon for women with virtues. Women's high morals were highlighted in some of the writings through their engagement with the worship of the goddess and the kinds of vows women took and the boons they expected from the goddess. Pareswara Mohanty (1907), in his essay 'Women of Orissa and their Education' (*Utkalara ramanu o samananka sikhya*), wrote a proverb, which he describes as one which is to be recited by some Oriya women while worshipping goddess Lakshmi. This is stated as the moral by which the Oriya women's life is guided. It says

Whatever has to come will come, whatever has to go will go. No one should return empty handed from my courtyard. I shall be offering things to others throughout the year, without any expectation of anything from any one in return (p-373)

Service of others without any expectation was sighted as the high value of the domestic life of the Oriya women. But women's high values were seen to be in threat with the influence of profane attitude of western educated husbands. Women were constructed as the figure of patience and sacrifice and 'appropriate education' was expected to help in enriching the higher moral values of women.

The middle class educated Oriya women also came to be defined against the "other" illiterate, lower caste and lower class women. The life situations of middle class educated women were depicted as "the situation of women" in Orissa. Though few writings recognized the existence of lower caste and lower class women, an "otherness" got attached to their way of life by describing it as low, hence to be rejected. While describing the freedom of work of Oriya women, Mohini Mohan Senapati (1909) dichotomizes between the lower caste women and middle class women. In an article "*streejatira swadhina jibika*" (freedom of work for women), the writer argues in favour of

gher education of women and women's right to work outside home. While arguing on the occupations of Oriya women, he makes a distinction between decent and indecent occupation of Oriya women. The occupations which had been administered by women from within the household were termed as decent occupations of women. And the occupations of lower caste women such as *Teluni*, *Gauduni*, *Keutuni*'s, for which women often had to travel outside the domestic boundary, are termed as indecent or *nicha*. Though he recognized the occupational freedom, the lower caste women enjoyed, he terms it as "lower work" and suggests for so called "*bhadra*" occupational engagement for middle class women, which he suggests to be achieved through education. He terms the indoor activities of women like needle work or women serving people as doctors as the desirable "*bhadra*" women's occupation. According to him the lower caste women have enjoyed some freedom in choosing their livelihood. The fishing caste women sell fish, *Gauduni* sells milk, *Gudiani* sells puffed rice, *Teluni* sells oil, in a similar way, other lower caste women earn their livelihood freely. The discussions on women's education created "otherness" within the category of Oriyas, whereby the upper caste middle class women were constructed against the other *Keutuni*, *Teluni*, *Gauduni* women. These other categories of women again remained as the pronounced "others". Some other categories of women, such as *Ganduni*, *Hadi*, *Pana* and other untouchable caste women again remained as unpronounced others, whose existence was not even considered to be worth paying attention and pronounced.

Keeping up the joint family was constructed as an example of the high virtue of women. The greed for wealth among women was described as one of the main reasons for breakdown of the joint family. Women's education was considered to be incomplete without the knowledge on child care. Being mothers and taking care of children were constructed as the single destination and value of women's life. A true '*gruhini*' was

constructed as an ideal mother. "Sugruhini" makes the family a place for attainment of physical, mental and spiritual health and purity. She makes the foundation of the family and nation strong. The main aim of education was propagated to be educating girls in such a way which would enable them to bring fortune, peace and happiness in the family. An editorial article in Utkal Sahitya (1937) states that taking care of children and being mothers are the inborn qualities of women. In girls' education, education regarding childcare, motherhood and taking care of home should be given prime importance. Consequently, from all the discussions on women's issues during the colonial nationalist reform period, it could be derived that, the discussions during this period of time centered on the construction of the notion of "ideal womanhood" and it articulated the concern regarding the "right" kind of bodily practices of women .

While focusing on the socio-religious reform and the nationalist reform in Orissa society, this chapter argues that, these reformist discourses, in a way have engaged in normativizing the bodily practices of women. Though the socio-religious reform of *Lakshmi Purana* and *Mahima dharma* have articulated the concern of the subaltern religiosity, maintenance of bodily purity concerns of women are suggested as the way through which divinity could be gained. Hence, whatever little religious space is made available to the lower caste groups, such religious concerns have always emphasized on maintaining bodily purity and sexual discipline of women. The religiosity of the lower caste groups have often gestured towards maintenance of bodily and sexual purity of the lower caste women. Thus, depicting the concerns regarding maintaining bodily purity and sexual discipline of women, as only of the upper caste concerns would be misleading. Rather, the preoccupations of women's purity and sexual discipline concerns can be explained as the key to the patriarchal power relationship and the organization of relations of domination and subordination on gender lines. Again these concerns also took a centre

stage of discussions in the nationalist reform movement, these bodily and moral concerns became the key factors on the basis of which the notion of modern "ideal woman" in Orissa got articulated. The following chapter takes forward the discussion of how the modern "ideal woman" gets constructed, and scrutinizes the way the post independent state engages itself in constructing such an "ideal woman" through its health discourse

Chapter-Five

Critical Reflections on State Health Discourse

The predominant focus of this chapter is on the state health discourse and its engagement with the women subjects through its health programme interventions. Largely drawing from a study conducted on the frontline health functionaries, the first section of the chapter examines how the state health discourse defines the women's health and gender roles. The second section of the chapter focuses on understanding the way in which the state health programmes are implemented at the community level, and how the state has dealt with the structural issues like caste and gender in the village community while implementing the health programmes.

The Primary Health Care (PHC) approach is considered to be a radical initiative, in spite of its limitations in addressing women's health holistically. Its radicalness is apparent by its promise of "Health for All", which was aimed to achieve overall equitable development. It called for a paradigm shift in the approach to health, a shift from biomedical model to social model, focusing on the relationship between human health and the total socio-economic and environmental conditions. In focusing on the social model of health, this approach acknowledges the effects of structural inequalities on the health of population. Consequently it can be derived that, though the PHC approach has not dealt with the women's health issues comprehensively, the approach provides a framework to understand the poor health status of women.

The comprehensive Primary Health Care approach¹ came to be criticized as too ambitious in its objective as early as 1979. By early 1980s it was found that there was lack of political will to implement the Primary Health Care strategy. By this time, Selective Primary Health Care approach had already emerged as an alternative approach.

¹ The Primary Health Care approach came into existence in the year 1978 through Alma Ata Declaration

y mid-1980s, as the prospects of "Health for All" receded, the magic bullet approach to public health has been promoted. Within the framework of this approach, the disease occurrence is ascribed to individual proclivities and failures (Rao, 2004) rather than structural factors. Thus, the Selective Primary Health Care approach has been adopted by the Indian state in its national health programmes, shifting from its earlier commitment to comprehensive health care approach. In this context, the health problems like, high maternal and child mortality rate have come to be considered as purely technical problem, isolated from the socio-economic conditions in which the women and children live in. Since the onus of public health has shifted to the individual, women's behaviour rather than the socio-economic condition is seen to be contributing towards the problem. Hence, women's behaviour has been singled out as the problem. The health programmes target at the women population, in order to bring out behavioral change. And, it is perceived that through women's behaviour change, the health of the population can be improvised. Further, the health programmes have narrowed down the concept of women's health, and the whole issue of women's health has come to be replaced by reproductive health.

Through the health policy interventions, women's sexual and reproductive conduct has come to the closer scrutiny of the state. In this discourse, women's health has been constructed only as "reproductive health" (Qadeer, 1998), and women's reproductive behaviour has come to be considered at "risk", which is supposed to be contributing towards high maternal mortality rate, high fertility rate and infant mortality rate. Hence the state health programme aims at managing the "risk" through its health policy interventions, which has emerged due to women's reproductive behaviour. In this discourse, women's health is often translated into the concept of the healthy mother. A healthy mother is seen as a prerequisite goal for having healthy children (Simon-Kumar, 2003). Consequently, by constructing women as only as reproducers, potential reproducers and care takers, women are drawn into the health policy framework.

A range of institutions starting from Anganwadi centre, PHC, sub-centre, till District hospital are directed towards exercising surveillance of the state over women's reproductive behaviour and prescribe "normative" judgments. The state agents such as Anganwadi Worker (AWW), Accredited Social Health Activist (ASHA), and Auxiliary Nurse Midwife (ANM) are appointed at the grass-root level to exercise surveillance over women as mothers and care takers. The close scrutiny of the grass root level health functionaries over women's reproductive behaviour is well reflected in the way some of the Anganwadi workers describe about their surveillance over the pregnant women. According to one of the Anganwadi workers.

In the village we establish good rapport with most of the SHG (Self Help Group) women, who inform us about the new pregnancy cases in the village. We also get to know about the pregnancy cases through our daily home visits. After getting confirmation about a pregnancy case, we keep track of the person. After completion of three months of pregnancy we dispense the first TT to the expectant mother and provide iron-folic acid tablets, which she is asked to consume regularly. The woman is also given chloroquine tablets and told about the procedures of consumption. The pregnant woman is asked to attend health camp every month, and is also provided with supplementary food by the Anganwadi centre from the month she takes her first TT. In the fifth month of pregnancy another TT injection is given. In every health camp we enquire whether the woman is taking the iron-folic acid tablets and chloroquine tablets properly or not. When women do not agree to take TT and other medicines during pregnancy we persuade them, and if they do not agree the ANM of the locality and the PHC doctor try to persuade them. From seventh month onwards we ask the pregnant woman to take proper food and also ask them to remain prepared for the delivery. They are supposed to inform ASHA as soon as the delivery pain comes and go to the health centre for child birth.

Through the surveillance of the grass-root level health functionaries, the pregnant women's behaviour has come under the scrutiny of the state, and the "normative" judgments are pronounced. Further, the bio-medical standards of what counts as "normal and healthy" foetus and infant is drawn and established by the state through its health functionaries. The health standards of the foetus and infants are established as responsibility and culpability of the expectant and the nursing mothers. Mothers are prescribed to go through expert mediation and constant surveillance. Mother's behaviour

come to the public scrutiny and the moral authority through “normalizing” particular way of child rearing practices. Even the very act of mother’s breast feeding of the children has come to be medicalized. Breast feeding has come to be understood as something that women must be re-taught through scientifically based professional intervention (Wall, 2001) Through the state’s discourse, there is the rise of specific expectations of motherhood, where the boundaries of “proper” motherhood are patrolled to ensure that motherhood takes appropriate course (Smart, 1996) The ideals of good motherhood became fixed into policies, and it became feasible to apply these standards widely through teams of health workers, Anganwadi workers and ASHAs This can be well demonstrated by the way in which the breast feeding practice has been promoted in recent times with the support of biomedical knowledge system

If we see the Breastfeeding practice historically, in rural India, across the regions the mothers used to feed the children with breast milk for at least two years However, the infant food industry, particularly the multinational companies aggressively pushed the baby food products into the market To a large extent, biomedical approach also legitimized the baby food formula The media and the fashion industry as well contributed in promoting the baby food In the late 1970s, some of the Non-governmental organizations or the citizen groups raised the issue of “commerciogenic malnutrition” (malnutrition caused by the commercial forces). After thorough research by experts of the international bodies like WHO and UNICEF, it was brought to the notice that as many as one million lives of children a year could be saved by the promotion of breast feeding It was also pointed out that malnutrition and infectious disease are directly attributable to faulty bottle feeding It is among the low-income families that the deaths due to bottle-induced infant malnutrition, dehydration are most commonly encountered (Baer, 1983). The scientific evidence also indicated that breast milk enhances immunity levels of the infants in addition to the nutrients the child receives Since 1979, the WHO has been

promoting breast feeding as a public health strategy. Now, with the WHO insistence, biomedical approach has recast its focus to breast feeding, at least for six months. It has come to be established that breast feeding prevents child mortality more than 50 percent. In May 2001, the World Health Assembly passed a resolution which confirmed that optimal length for exclusive breast feeding is six months (Esterik, 2002).

While mothers used to traditionally breast feed the children for a long time, it was denigrated as backward practice. Now, again the mothers in the rural India are re-taught the significance of breast feeding by claiming it to be a scientific method. As Ivan Illich (1976) points out, because of the scientific discourse involved in feeding practices of infants, the babies have become the consumers of medical attention and its risks. The scientifically based child feeding propagation is well pronounced by the Reproductive and Child Health policy phase II.

The policy document of RCH-II states that breast feeding as the crucial child survival intervention. Hence it seeks to implement the national guidelines of infant and young children feeding. The policy calls for nation wide behaviour change effort to promote breast feeding. And it describes about the strategies of promoting exclusive breastfeeding by mothers till the child becomes six months old. It recommends for the involvement of grass root workers such as Traditional Birth Attendants (TBAs), Anganwadi workers (AWWs), Auxiliary Nurse Midwives (ANMs), village practitioners, male workers, link volunteers, panchayats, self help groups, agents of change, opinion leaders, NGOs etc. It also prescribes for employing mass media and other contacts to promote improved breastfeeding standards. AWW's are supposed to contact mothers through their home visits during antenatal and postnatal periods and counsel mothers on breast feeding practices. The ANMs and the male health workers are also required to use immunization sessions and field visits for Infant and Young Child Feeding (IYFC) counseling. The policy also calls for implementing the IMS (infant milk substitutes) feeding bottles and infant food regulation, supply and distribution Act. The policy prescribes to promote appropriate and adequate complementary feeding (Govt. of India, undated).

The grass root level health workers rigorously try to push forward the state's propagation of breast feeding. Many breast feeding campaigns have taken place at the PHC sub-centre level in recent times in the Baunsuni PHC area. Women are counseled by the health functionaries to exclusively breastfeed the new born children for at least six

nths. Women's act of joining the agricultural work after two-three months of pregnancy is often disapproved by the health workers, as women are required to fulfill the children's nutritional requirement only through breast milk. The women, who join the agricultural work after few months of their delivery, make some compensatory food arrangement for their children during their absence from home. Such mothers are often referred by the health workers as irresponsible mothers. The ideal mother is constructed by the health workers as someone who gives full attention to the child. The women who fail to cater to the child's nutritional requirement only through breast milk are considered to be "risking" the child's health and failing in their commitment to be good mothers.

According to an ANM

In this locality, many women do not take care of their children properly. After two-three months of their delivery, they join the work in the field by leaving the child under the supervision of some family member. Mothers need to pay full attention to their children during their infancy. Since mothers are working outside the home away from the child for several hours altogether, they are not able to cater to the needs of the child, hence compromising with the health of the child.

In this discourse, the woman's joining of the workforce out of desperate economic condition is looked down upon as irresponsible behaviour of the mother. Hence, the responsibility for the ill health of the child is shifted towards the mother rather than the health system and the social condition in which they live in.

Child health- mother's sole responsibility:

Below six years age group, children's growth level has come to be constantly monitored by the Anganwadi workers at the village level. The growth level of children is monitored by weighing them in regular intervals. On the basis of the weight of children, children's health standard is classified as "normal" or as belonging to the "risk" category. A specific standard health for children belonging to each age group has been established as the "normal" with biomedical accuracy. The children below a certain weight as per

their age, are declared to be under weight and “risky” children. Hence attention is given to bring the risk group children to the normal level. It becomes the Anganwadi worker’s responsibility to monitor children’s health standard in regular intervals. Hence, in a way establishing the normal health standard of the children in a given Anganwadi area is also seen as the Anganwadi workers’ responsibility. The Anganwadi worker is supposed to maintain normal health standard through her act of monitoring the growth of the children in her Anganwadi area and pursuing the mothers to maintain the normal health standard of their children. The children’s weight register becomes one of the major document for evaluating the efficiency of the Anganwadi worker by her superiors. Anganwadi workers’ efficiency is often evaluated by her superior staff. Therefore, the Anganwadi workers often pressurize the mothers for maintaining the “normal” health standard of their children. The irresponsibility and carelessness of mothers rather than their socio-economic condition have come to be depicted as the factor underlying falling health standard of the children. Maintaining the “normal” standard of the child’s health is considered to be solely the responsibility of the mother. The Anganwadi workers exercise a kind of surveillance over the mother’s child caring behaviour, so that the mothers take care of their children properly. While explaining about mother’s behaviour as the sole factor behind falling health standard of the children one of the Anganwadi worker says:

From next month, the agricultural ripping period is going to start. From now onwards the mothers will be busy in the agricultural work for coming five to six months. In my Anganwadi center now all the children are in the “normal” category. But I know in the coming two months the children’s health standard is going to fall. Since most of the mothers will be busy in the agricultural work, they will not be able to take proper care of their children. Therefore, during agricultural season we need to pressurize mothers and remind them more often to take proper care of their children.

In the health discourse through classifying children’s health standard into “normal” and “risk” category, the state establishes a common principle for maintaining the health of the children. Every child is required to conform to the established normal category and this becomes the mother’s responsibility to maintain the health standard of the child. The

tegorization of children into the “normal” and “risk” category can be explained in terms of Bourdieu’s theorization of the state. Bourdieu emphasizes on the role of state in imposing cognitive categories, (in this case, like grading children’s health standards) but the process of such imposition is not entirely spelt out. Through classification systems, the state trains us how to think, by which it moulds mental structures and imposes common principles of vision and division and forms of thinking. As an organizational structure and as an authority regulating practice, the state imposes uniformity on all agents (Kalpagam, 2006, Webb, et. al, 2002). In case of child rearing practices, by classifying children’s health standards, the state establishes a normative health standard for children as per their age. It is seen as the mother’s responsibility to keep up the “normal” health standard of the child. And when a child fails to achieve such “normative” health standard, the mother’s irresponsible behaviour is ascribed as the sole cause for the falling health standard of the child. Further, in the state health discourse, the whole issue of reproductive and child health gets reduced to mother and child health, whereby women’s health issues come to be addressed only through constructing women primarily as mothers or potential future mothers. This is well reflected in the way the adolescent health programme is channalized by the state.

Adolescent Health:

Health programmes have come to recognize that in order to reduce infant mortality and malnourishment, it is extremely important to focus on the health of the mother. Initially the health programmes used to focus on a woman from the period she got pregnant until she delivered a child. Now it has come to be realized by the state that mothers need nourishing much before they get pregnant (Sinha, 2006). Hence the programme for adolescent girls, in the name of “Kishori Shakti Yojana”² has started

² An intervention for adolescent girls in the age group of 11 to 18, named as ‘Kishori Shakti Yojana’ was launched in 2000-2001 as part of ICDS scheme. This programme is implemented through anganwadis at the

through ICDS programme by the Government of India in the year 2000-2001 Through this programme, the propagation is made to pay attention towards adolescent girl's health, because of their role as future mothers. The state has started taking interest in the adolescent girl's health only through their identity as potential future mothers. The programme also claims to be concerned with the adolescent's health with the aim of improving nutritional health status of the girls within the age group of 11-18 However, the grass-root level health functionaries who are the key translators of the programmes, perceive it as a programme to prepare girls for being the future healthy mothers. In view of one of the Anganwadi worker.

The girls need to prepare themselves physically and mentally, to be "good mothers" To prepare girls physically, we dispense iron-folic acid tablets Under this programme we also emphasize on the literacy of the girl children because if they are literate, they can teach their children in the future

The ANMs also hold similar kind of views while delivering the adolescent health programme According to one of the ANM

We advice girls about taking care of themselves and others in the family They are going to be future mothers So, there is a need to prepare them before hand We teach them about how they should be prepared mentally, physically to be good mothers A girl is definitely going to be a mother in the future So, she needs to know what all food she should eat and how to maintain herself Most of the women suffer from anemia in this locality She needs to prepare as soon as she reaches puberty, how to prevent anemia in order to be a healthy mother in future

Though the "Kishori Shakti Yojana", the young girls have come to be perceived only as potential mothers Their health needs have come to be considered as a concern of the state, as the state is also concerned with its future generation citizens And the adolescent girls' health needs are addressed only through their motherhood and caretaking roles, so

village level The programme aims at improving nutritional health status of girls in that age group, along with which the programme aims at bringing awareness among girls on health, hygiene, nutrition, familywelfare, home management and child care It also tries to provide literacy, equip the girls in home based skills, and enable them to understand the impact of social issues on their lives The anganwadi worker along with the health worker female are supposed to train them on these issues In order to reduce anemia among adolescent girls, the girls are dispensed with iron-folic acid and de-warming tablets under the scheme (Government of Orissa, 2002-2003)

at they could become the “future good mothers”. Teaching girls about the motherhood roles have come to be considered as the primary agenda of the state, the other aspects of the programme such as providing training to the adolescent girls about their menstrual hygiene, sexual health, and nutritional improvement, have come to be considered as having secondary importance. By addressing women’s health needs only in terms of motherhood roles from an early age, the state has come to construct motherhood as the highest value of women’s lives. In the state health discourse, while on the one hand the motherhood role gets constructed as the highest value in a woman’s life and the adolescent girls are trained from an early age about the skills of “mothercraft”, on the other hand, when dealing with the matters related to adolescent sexuality the state seem to be taking a back seat. Through the state’s approach of adolescent health, the notions of sexual morality gets reinforced, whereby the motherhood role is detached out of its sexual notions and seen as asexual. Hence, motherhood gets constructed as a status which every girl needs to be aspiring from an early age.

Adolescent sexuality:

The public health intervention remains one of the important site through which the normative feminine behaviour and sexuality gets constructed and reinforced. In the state health policy interventions, the marital status of woman becomes the determining factor for addressing her reproductive health needs. For disseminating information about the sexual health and contraceptive needs, at the PHC and Sub-centre level, the married couples are considered as the main target group. The “Married couple’s Register” maintained by the MPHWS and the ANMs, becomes the primary document for either issuing contraceptives or for disseminating information about sexual and reproductive health to the local communities. The people who are enrolled in the “Married couples’ Register” are considered to be the eligible couple for getting the information about sexual

health and contraception. Hence, the marital status of the people becomes the precondition for getting information from the health personnel about sexual health and contraception. The sexual activity in itself does not become a legitimate criterion for approaching the health system. Consequently, the sexual activity of unmarried young people is not considered as a concern of the state. Jejeebhoy (1997) points out that the Indian state does not focus on the sexual information and the contraceptive needs of the young, unmarried men and women. Thus, there is a growing body of evidence which suggests that on the one hand while there is a considerable ignorance of sexual matters, on the other hand there is considerable sexual activity among young unmarried youth in both the rural and urban areas. In my study, while most of the MPHWs and ANMs recognize the considerable existence of sexual activities among the unmarried youth in the locality, such sexual and reproductive activities outside the marriage is often pronounced by the health workers as illegal and deviant activity, which needs to be condemned. While describing about the reproduction outside marriage, one of the ANM of the Baunsum PHC states

In this locality, on some occasions the unmarried adolescent boys and girls are found to be sexually active. This is well reflected in some of the unmarried pregnancy cases that come to our notice. Few months back, in the nearby village one such unmarried pregnancy case was there. Since the boy and the girl are from different caste group, both the families opposed marriage. Finally the girl had to go for an abortion secretly. Though such issues sometimes come up in our locality, we never approach the unmarried adolescents regarding contraception or sexual health education. Such illegal sexual activities are not dealt by us, the state health functionaries. Our job is a prestigious job, we do not deal with such illegal cases. The prestige of our job lies in addressing the sexual health needs of people in a decent way, within the marital relationships. Such illegal relationships are neither dealt by us nor encouraged by us.

The state's approach towards adolescent sexuality is well reflected in the opinion of the agents of the state, whereby the unmarried sexual activity gets constructed as illegal and immoral. And, such immoral activity is considered as not a matter of concern for the state. By abstaining from dealing with the sexual and contraceptive health service of the

adolescent unmarried population, the state clearly pronounces its moral stand. In the state health discourse, the sexual activity of women gets addressed by the state only through dividing women into two dyadic categories such as the married wives and unmarried whores. The married women are constructed as the archetypal citizens of the national project who need to be kept healthy through the state's welfare. On the other hand, the sexual activity of women outside marriage gets recognized by the state through women's identity as unmarried whores, who are constructed as bad citizens, who are the "problem" categories, and can be discussed under the umbrella of ill health such as STD/AIDS (Simon-Kumar, 2003). Such deviant sexuality needs to be managed in order to save the society from disorder. Hence, the state's engagement with the adolescent sexuality is two fold, firstly there is a consistent refusal to admit that the unmarried could be sexually active. At another level whenever the sexual activity before marriage is admitted, it is strongly pronounced by the state as immoral and hence deviant (Bhattacharjee, 2004). Through its health interventions the state policy reinforces the stigma that is attached to non-marital sex, and reproduction outside the context of marriage. The state construction of unmarried sexuality as deviant sexuality, often leads to perceive that the abortion service provided to the unmarried adolescents are illegal health service provision. According to one of the ANMs in the Baunsuni PHC area:

Few months back in the near by village one unmarried girl had become pregnant. When the parents of the girl came and approached me for seeking advice about the abortion, I clearly told them that none of our PHC staff conduct such illegal abortions. I asked them to try in the Sonepur hospital. Sometimes the doctors in the nearby Sonepur³ District hospital conduct such illegal abortions out of the greed for money.

The unavailability of abortion service in most of the government health centres, has also supplemented the popular belief that abortion is illegal. Duggal (2004) points out that, though abortion is legalized in India, the state has not become the leading provider

³ Sonepur is the neighboring district of Boudh. Most of the time people of Baunsuni PHC area visit the Sonepur district hospital for seeking health service because, Sonepur exists nearer to Baunsuni, at a distance of 15 kilometers, while the distance of Boudh from Baunsuni is 30 kilometers.

abortion. The limited engagement of the state in providing abortion service has led to perceive it as illegal. Anandhi (2007) in her study points out that even when the abortion facilities are provided in some of the government hospitals, women seeking abortion are often misbehaved by the government health sector staff. Hence, even though abortion is legalized, the way the whole issue of abortion has been dealt by the state, it has led to the popular belief that abortion is illegal, thus immoral activity. From the state's approach in dealing with the issues pertaining to abortion and unmarried sexuality, it becomes evident that, though the state has propagated the "Reproductive Health agenda" as a radical initiative, in the real sense it does not overcome the conservative attitude of the larger society. Consequently, the state construction of morality has not come in conflict with the larger societal construction of moral womanhood. Rather, through the state health discourse the societal notions of morality and immorality gets redefined and reinforced. The state's conformity with some of the traditional notions of morality and the sustenance of the numerous power relations on the basis of caste and class and gender, get well pronounced through the health programme interventions like hospitalization of child birth and population stabilization programme.

Hospitalization of Child Birth:

In the recent times the state is seen to be taking greater interest in promoting the hospitalization of child birth. This is evident from the state endorsement of institutional delivery through Janani Surakshya Yojana (JSY). The National Rural Health Mission was (NRHM) initiated in the year 2005. It has tried to bring modifications in the maternity benefit scheme by introducing Janani Surakshya Yojana. The Janani Surakshya Yojana makes an attempt to integrate the antenatal care during pregnancy, institutional care during delivery and immediate post partum period. Through this scheme, institutional delivery is promoted by the government, by providing cash assistance of Rs 1400 to

omen who undergo hospital delivery. While the programme offers cash benefit to women up to two live births, the cash benefit for the third delivery is provided to women only with the precondition that the woman accepts tubectomy/laparoscopy after the third delivery. Similarly, for accepting the family planning operation also, the woman is provided with cash assistance (GoI, 2005)

Though hospitalization of delivery has been promoted by the state, it is found that there is no substantial increase in the hospital delivery in Tikrapada village. During my stay in the field, eight child birth cases took place in the village, out of which only three women had delivered children in the Baunsumi PHC. Since, the Tikrapada village exists at a distance of less than one kilometer from Baunsumi PHC; the distance of PHC can not be sighted as the reason for not preferring hospital delivery. For most of the women, hospital delivery is not the first choice. Women go for hospital delivery out of dire economic need (because of cash assistance) or out of emergency. Most of the women describe that they prefer home delivery to hospital delivery, because the hospital delivery is perceived to be more fearful, at the same time the hospital staff are seen as less cooperative and lack patience in dealing with women who undergo labour pain. On the other hand in case of home delivery, the neighbourhood women and the elderly family women are considered to be helping the woman during child birth more patiently and with more care. It is generally perceived that in the hospital delivery, the use of needles scissors are an essential part of the delivery, and in most of the cases the vagina or the stomach is teared open for the delivery. Because of this kind of general perception about the hospital delivery and the hospital staff, women are often fearful about hospital delivery. It is believed that the impatience of the hospital staff, leads them to refer them to caesarian operation even in cases of simple delivery.

The women from poor economic background, who undergo hospital delivery because of the state provision of cash assistance, often state that the full amount of monetary

sistance is never provided to them. They are made to pay commission to the hospital staff. The nurse at PHC also charges heavy amount for assisting the woman during the labour pain and touching her during and after child birth. The woman and the child after the child birth are culturally perceived to be in a polluting state. Since the health centre staff deal with the woman and child during such polluting state, the birth pollution is considered to be affecting their purity status. Hence, the health centre staff often demand a large sum of money for their help during the polluting state. Also money is demanded by the nurse and other PHC staff to buy soap and other cleansing stuff, to purify themselves. In the context of hospital delivery, the older forms of hierarchy in terms of purity and pollution are presented in newer versions and posed in the language of hygiene and medical science.

On some occasions, women from distant villages arrive at the PHC with the initial stage of labour pain. Because of the state provision of cash assistance, sometimes the needy women prefer to go for delivery at the PHC, in spite of being aware about the harsh conditions at the PHC. On most occasions, the JSY beneficiary women, who arrive at the health centre at the initial stage of labour pain, are often perceived by the health personnel as “greedy” women, who are ready to sacrifice their feminine virtue of shame for the greed of money. While discussing about this, one of the ANMs of Baunsuri PHC says

Because of the present cash assistance for institutional delivery, many women are coming to the PHC with slight labour pain. Previously, women used to feel shy to complain about labour pain. Until severe labour pain started, women would not complain about the labour pain. But with this greed for cash assistance, most of the women come to the hospital with little bit of labor pain. They do not mind getting checked by the health personnel many times.

Through the Janani Surakshya Yojana, though the state has tried to hospitalize child birth, at the same time the women are expected to conform to the dominant construction of the “feminine virtue” while availing the facility, the deviation of which is often condemned as immoral act. While criticizing the state promotion of hospitalization of

child birth practice, Qadeer (2002) points out that through the hospitalization of deliveries irrespective of the "risk" involved in it, the state tries to establish the supremacy of the biomedical knowledge over other knowledge systems and tries to invalidate the empirical knowledge and traditional knowledge system. Further, by promoting institutionalization of child birth through Janani Surakshya Yojana, the state targets women as the primary accepters of family planning programme. This agenda of state is well reflected, by the way in which the condition for availing the cash assistance for institutional delivery is laid by the state. For example, the cash assistance for the third delivery of the woman who undergoes institutional delivery, is assured with the precondition that the woman accepts family planning operation after the child birth. From this it becomes evident that, through the promotion of institutionalization of child birth, the primary health centers have become the new sites for pressurizing women to accept sterilization and birth control.

Population stabilization:

In October 1997, the Government of India formally launched the Reproductive and Child Health (RCH) programme. The RCH programme is claimed to be making a paradigm shift in terms of earlier approaches to health and family welfare. Focus on decentralized participatory planning, the target free approach to family planning, emphasis on quality services, "gender sensitivity" and responsiveness to the needs of women, are propagated as the shifts from the earlier approach to family planning (Simon-Kumar, 2006). The implementation of the RCH programme was planned to be spread over two phases, RCH-I and RCH-II. The first phase of the programme commenced in 1997/98 for five year period, culminating in 2001/02. The second phase of the programme, the RCH-II commenced from 1st April 2005 to 2010. The main objective of the RCH-II is to 'bring about change in mainly three critical health indicators, i.e. reducing total fertility rate, infant mortality rate and maternal mortality rate with a view to

realizing the outcomes envisioned in the Millennium Development Goals, the National Population Policy 2000, and the Tenth Plan Document, the National Health Policy 2002 and the Vision 2020 India' (Govt of India, undated)

The concepts like decentralized planning, target free approach, "gender sensitivity", client's choice and being responsive to the needs of women have been propagated as the key strategies of the RCH approach. The target free approach is considered to be one of the major shifts in RCH from earlier family welfare programmes. The system of targeted approach to family planning was adopted by India in the mid 1960s, which was largely an incentive scheme for the specific family planning methods. And the field workers were given certain targets by the centre, in order to motivate greater acceptance rates of contraceptives. The target for each state was fixed by the central governments, districts and PHCs, which had to be achieved within an annual period. With the introduction of RCH, the government shifted to a decentralized participatory planning approach. In this approach, instead of the central government fixing targets, the targets are fixed at the community level. The ANM is supposed to determine her workload on the basis of "felt needs" of the community and the "service needs", which is determined by the number of pregnancies and births in her area (Simon-Kumar, 2006). Hence, the target free approach, in the real sense is not absolutely target free. The ANM has to estimate her own target as per the population size and the eligible couple statistics. The targets are estimated at the sub-centre level and are required to be informed to the PHC. Instead of the central government fixing the targets, the ANM and MPHVs are sought to estimate the target. Further, the participatory approach to family planning is based on strong partnership and communication networks between PHC health workers and other village level functionaries like Panchayat representatives, NGOs, pradhans, primary school teachers etc. (ibid). But on implementation of the programme, the ANM and the MPHV of the sub-centre turn out to be the sole planners and the target setters of the programme at the

sub-centre level. The interview with the ANMs and MPHWs make it clear that, though they are instructed by the government to attend the monthly meeting of the panchayat, lack of co-ordination and disinterest of the panchayat members in informing the health workers about the meeting, makes it impossible for the ANMs and MPHWs to attend the panchayat meetings. In most of the cases, the panchayat members send the monthly meeting attendance register to the ANMs and MPHWs for their signature after the meeting is held. Hence, the participatory approach ends up in lack of participation and lack of co-ordination between the health sector staff and the community representatives. In such case, the planning of the programmes and estimation of targets remain within the confines of the health sector. Thus, the state propagation of decentralization of health services does not get implemented in the real sense.

At the outset, the RCH-II policy document states that its objectives are 'reduction of total fertility rate, infant mortality rate and maternal mortality rate' (GoI, undated). A closer look at the policy document makes it clear that for all the three interventions, women become the target group. For reduction of infant mortality rate and maternal mortality rate, women become the main targets of the programme. For the objective of reduction of fertility rate also, women are drawn as the major target groups of the RCH. Though the government has claimed to shift its focus in RCH approach from the earlier family welfare approach, population control remains one of the central objectives of the RCH policy. Mohan Rao (2004) has argued that RCH approach has merely replaced the concept "population control" with "population stabilization". In the RCH-II policy document also, population stabilization becomes one of the main objectives⁴. At the

⁴ The National Program Implementation Plan of Reproductive and Child Health Policy describe its three categories of objectives, such as immediate objective, medium term objective and long term objective. It describes that its **immediate objective** is to address the unmet needs of contraception, health care infrastructure, health personnel and provide an integrated service delivery for basic reproductive and child health care, with special focus on states facing the biggest socio-demographic challenges. **The medium term objective** is to bring the Total Fertility Rate (TFR) to replacement level by 2010, through coordination of the inter-sectoral linkages. And **the long-term objective** is to achieve a stable population

utset, the way the institutional structure has been carved out for implementation of the programme, makes it clear that, the programme is meant to be targeted at women. The frontline health functionaries at the grass-root level are considered to be the key health functionaries through whom the programme needs to be operationalized. But most of the grass-root level health functionaries appointed by the government, involved in counseling the couple for family planning service are women. Except the Multipurpose Health Worker (MPHW), all the state health functionaries at the grass-root level, such as Anganwadi Worker (AWW), Accredited Social Health Activist (ASHA), Auxiliary-Nurse-Midwife (ANM) are women, whose target group for family planning programme, is most likely to be women, given the social and cultural set up in which we live in. Further, the policy document of RCH-II recommends for the "active involvement" of AWWs in the family planning counseling services, by recognizing the very fact that 'the AWWs have good network with the mothers in the villages' (GoI, undated). Hence, the mothers are most likely to become the target groups of the AWW's family planning counseling, as she has more networks with them. The field work data, particularly discussions with the frontline health workers makes it clear that, in the social set up of rural India, it becomes extremely difficult for a woman health worker to counsel a man to be the acceptor of contraceptives. According to one of the ANMs in the Baunsuni PHC area

I do not counsel men for accepting condom use. Being a woman, counseling men for their contraceptive use is difficult in the village. I feel awkward to approach men regarding this. I have lived in this locality as an ANM for the last seventeen years and I know almost everyone. I address most of the people as brother or uncle, how can I counsel them regarding this. People might criticize us for discussing about contraceptives with men. But regarding women's sterilization we always discuss with the husband of the woman. And only if the husband of the woman gives his consent for

by 2045, at a level consistent with the requirements of sustainable economic growth, social development and environmental protection.

tubectomy, we take the woman for the operation. The male health worker is required to persuade men to use condom.

In view of one of the AWWs

The Anganwadi's main target group has been children and their mothers. For our service delivery we mainly approach women in the village. We don't approach men much in our routine activities. I never approach men for counseling regarding accepting family planning. Especially approaching men for promoting contraceptive use is difficult in the villages. We might be the object of public ridicule for talking to men regarding this.

Acknowledging these cultural constraints, a kind of division of labour is maintained by the ANMs and the MPHWs, which in the real sense turns out to be a gender based division of labour. While the ANM is required to concentrate more on Maternal and Child Health (MCH) services and counsel women for accepting family planning, the male health worker's main responsibility has been to deal with the disease specific programmes and counseling men for accepting family planning. In this division of labour the MPHW is required to come in close contact mostly with the men in a sub-centre area, while the ANM is required to establish close contacts with women, mostly the mothers in the sub-centre area. Since the ANMs are involved in establishing close contacts with the mothers through their MCH service delivery, their main targets for the family planning counseling are most likely to be women. Further, the weekly immunization camps become the main sites through which the mothers are counseled for accepting family planning. In a similar way, as the Anganwadi centre is recommended to be the depot for contraception, the AWW and ASHA are supposed to be main village level health functionaries for counseling for family planning programme. Consequently, the women are most likely to be their targets of family planning at the village level. The state's approach in targeting women as the main accepters of family planning becomes clear, as the National Rural Health Mission policy document recommends the AWWs and ASHAs to 'motivate newly married women and recently delivered women to use family planning' (GoI, undated). By

targeting women as the main accepters of the family planning services, the state downplays the role of men.

Further, the RCH approach proclaims to be focusing on the issues like "gender sensitivity", "client's choice" and "women's empowerment". The interview with the grass-root level health workers reveals that while implementing the programme, the whole issue of "women's choice", "women's empowerment" in reproductive health matters gets reduced to only distribution of contraceptive pills. Most of the ANMs state that with regard to family planning services, women are considered as independent decision makers only in case of receiving contraceptive pills. For other methods, like sterilization of the woman, the husband of the woman is considered to be the major decision maker of her sterilization. In this context, the whole issue of "women's choice" and "autonomy" gets reduced to consumption of contraceptive pills. The contraceptive pill is conceptualized to be providing a technological fix, which can bypass the whole range of social prohibitions that a woman is subjected to (Tharu and Niranjana, 1994). The discussions with ANMs indicated that the women's independent decision needs to be taken into consideration only with respect to the dispensing of contraceptive pills. But for sterilization the husband's decision needs to be taken as the final decision. It is believed that the woman's independent decision in this case, will result in bringing family disturbances. Hence, in order to save the family from any disturbances, the husband's authority should not be bypassed. From this, one can derive that the state intervention results in rigidifying the patriarchal relations in the family, rather than creating a liberatory space.

While arguing about the relationship between the state and family, Herzfeld argues that there exists a complex relationship between the two. According to him, 'the societies which came "into the world", i.e. by being conceptually grasped by the West via process of anthropological and administrative knowledge. In all such societies, the state came to

be charged with the task of articulating and preserving those codes of conduct which Western systems of knowledge had characterized as the signs of otherness. Thus, codes of honour, shame, purity and pollution, hierarchy and the caste, etc, all of which had been pedestallized as the special marks of uniqueness within various non-Western societies, came to be articulated both through anthropological/administrative knowledge and practices of the state. Although the self image of the state in such societies, the image which it projected, was of being engaged in reforming and improving the practices of family and society, in actual fact it made these practices much more rigid by investing them with new authority (cited in Das, 1995: 57-58)'

The family planning programme, more specifically the sterilization of women, can be best explained through this framework of the practices of the state. With regard to family planning programme, more specifically the sterilization of women, most of the health workers state that the husband of the woman becomes the main decision maker for a woman's sterilization. The health workers do not consider proceeding with a case, when the woman herself shows interest for accepting sterilization, where her husband does not agree for her sterilization. The health workers often say that '*without the permission of her "husband guardian", we do not proceed with the case.*' In this context, while the health interventions on the one hand construct women as irresponsible and ignorant, who do not have the capacity to make their own choice, on the other hand, women are constructed as inevitably oppressed persons in the family structure, who do not have any way out but abide by the decisions taken by their husbands. The authority of the husband is recognized as the legitimate authority to decide over the sterilization of the wife, which has to be supplemented with the wife's decision.

The health worker's perceive that by legitimating the patriarchal authority of the husband as the "right decision maker" over the wife's sterilization, any kind of family disturbance which can arise due to the woman's independent decision is avoided. By

doing this, the state acts like a savior of family, rather than disturbing the family values. Any ANM's attempt of supporting the woman in by-passing the authority of her husband, and taking the woman's decision for her sterilization as the final decision is often described as an irresponsible act. This act is highly criticized both by the higher authorities such as health supervisor, LHV (Lady Health Visitor) and the Medical officer, when it comes to their notice. In this context, it becomes the sole responsibility of the woman to convince her husband for her own sterilization, and if she fails to convince her husband, she is expected to succumb to the patriarchal authority and accept her husband's decision. Her act of going against the decision of the husband for accepting sterilization is considered to be a deviant act, which can lead to creating disturbance in the family, hence not to be supported by the health workers. In very rare cases, the ANMs extension of support to such action of the women who go against the will of their husbands are criticized and condemned by the higher authorities in the health sector. Extension of such support to the women is seen as giving rise to family disturbances. While woman's act of going against the wish of husband is seen to be creating disturbance in the family, the husband's act of denying the wife to make decision over her own body is perceived as something very "normal". It is often explained by the ANMs as well as the MPHWs that one needs to be very careful in approaching people and should take enough care, so that there is no family disturbance due to the sterilization of the woman. While explaining about such an irresponsible act of her colleague one of the ANM states:

While persuading women for accepting family planning operation, we first try to convince a woman, and when she agrees for it we need to consult her husband. If the husband of a woman does not agree for her operation, we should not take the opinion of the woman seriously. The husband's decision should be taken as the final decision. We should be careful that no family disturbance happens due to the woman's acceptance of the family planning. Sometimes, some women will be stubborn and do not listen to their husbands. In such cases, we should not support such women. Once a few years back, in our PHC area a woman showed interest in accepting family planning. She convinced the ANM that her husband has consented for her operation. The ANM proceeded with the case. She did not bother to approach the woman's husband and confirm about his opinion. But after the

operation when the woman returned home along with the ANM, her husband was ready to beat her. With the intervention of PHC staff, the woman was taken to her natal home. We take enough care that such kinds of incidents do not happen. The ANM should not be irresponsible while handling with the sterilization cases.

In this context, the state health functionaries through their health service interventions construct the patriarchal authoritative family as the norm, where the wife is made to abide by the decisions of her husband. The husband's authority is constructed as the ultimate authority over the wife, and the wife is perceived to be left with no option, but to accept her husband's authority. In this discourse, the family is imaged as extremely conservative, where the wife does not have any scope to exercise her own opinion. In viewing the family as inevitably conservative and chauvinist, the health interventions recognize the authority of the husband as the ultimate authority over the wife. This results in further rigidifying the conservative nature of the family and conjugal relationship. In the process, the varieties of subject positions that are available to women, are homogenized. And the subjugation of women to the patriarchal authority of the husband is naturalized. But in the everyday lives of women, the contradictions can be observed in women's subject positions if we concentrate on few cases from the Tikirapada village. While discussing about the adoption of the sterilization as a method of family planning, two women in Tikirapada village have reported to have gone for sterilization without the prior knowledge of their husband. Since the village exists at a distance of less than a kilometer from the PHC, the women went for sterilization after coming to know about the sterilization camp in the PHC. Hence they could skip the procedure of counseling by the ANM for sterilization. One of the women named Bısakha, while describing about her acceptance of sterilization, says:

While the ANM was persuading some women in our pada, I had asked my husband regarding my sterilization. He did not agree for the sterilization that time. By then I had given birth to four children. My last delivery was a painful delivery, hence I did not want to go through the pain of giving birth to children anymore. That year when the operation camp took place in the nearby PHC, my husband was away from home for four-five days. He had

gone to one of his relative's place Getting to know about the operation camp, I went along with my sister-in-law to the PHC and got sterilized Just because my sister-in-law helped me, I could go for sterilization After my husband returned home, when he came to know about my sterilization, he was furious He scolded me and asked me 'with whose permission did you go for operation'? I kept quiet and did not reply anything Since I had gone for the operation without his knowledge, I kept quiet and tolerated all his anger Subsequently his anger also did not sustain for a long time

This narrative indicates that women evolve their strategies of resistance to the patriarchal authority of the husband and in some other occasions they try to negotiate with it. But, the state health discourse through its health interventions tries to establish women's conformity to the authority of the husband as the norm. Hence, through the health service interventions, the state gets engaged in constructing women, as uniformly succumbing to the subordinate position. The state's idealization of gender role becomes more prominent by the way the state health discourse gets engaged in constructing the ideal family structure

Ideal Family structure:

The state is constantly engaged in promoting a particular sort of family system, whereby the domestic realm can be seen as a state imagined sphere Operating through some of its institutions, the state pushes forward a particular ideology on family structure Through its policy interventions the state is engaged in prescribing and defining the ideal family structure, in which, the patriarchal family is often idealized as the principle and model of social order In this idealized family structure, the sexual division of labour is reinforced by facilitating a space for creation of public-private or inside-outside dichotomy. And, the private sphere or the domestic realm is seen as the proper space for women. Within this supposedly private domain, women take a centre stage, appear to have unlimited power, held responsible for housework (Ferree, 1990) These domestic ideologies prescribe, elevate and idealize those personal relations of mother, wife, daughter and daughter-in-law into which unpaid domestic labour and services are

ackaged. An affiliation between domestic labour and this complex of sacrificial ideologies is structured both into the nature of the work and its positioning within familial relationships (Sangari, 1993). This public/private dichotomy is an effective device for permitting men to maintain social power. Men are freed from the quotidian demands of housework, child care and caring for the sick, so that they may pursue their careers and their leisure activities untrammelled by such demands (Thornton, 1991) The state policies play a crucial role in maintaining the "home centeredness" of women's identity, which provides the rationale for the ideology of gender roles in which femininity and domesticity are equated (Oakley, 1974)

The Indian state through its health discourse has helped to ensure that women's day-to-day activities conform to this gendered division of labour and space. The health functionaries as the agents of state are prescribed to promote health care practices to the communities and families, where the health care responsibility and the responsibility of taking care of children are constructed as the mother's sole responsibility. The guide book for Anganwadi workers, sketches the responsibilities of Anganwadi workers as 'to give nutrition and health education to mothers. Make home visits for educating parents, particularly in the case of children at risk so that the mother of the child is enabled to play an effective role in the child's growth and development (Govt of India, 1986)' The Anganwadi supervisors are also required to teach mothers about better child care. In the section on nutrition and health education, the Annual activity report of Women and Child Development department, it is mentioned that 'Nutrition and health education is a key element of the ICDS programme' All women in the age group of 15-45 years are to be covered by this component, so that they can look after their own health, nutrition and development needs as well as those of their children and families. Nutrition and health education comprise information on basic health, nutrition, childcare and development, infant feeding practices, family planning and environmental sanitation. This is imparted

through counseling sessions during home visits and on fixed immunization days and on occasions when there are gatherings of women's group, mothers' meetings etc in the community (Govt. of Orissa, 2005-06). The Anganwadi workers are expected to educate only mothers about nutrition and health education, so that the mothers can effectively take care of the nutrition needs and health of the whole family

The health functionaries are expected to carry out the state's idealized notion of household and division of labour, while implementing the health care policies. This can be well explained in the views of the health workers and Anganwadi workers. According to an ANM

We counsel women regarding child care, maintaining hygiene and sanitation of the household. If they are educated regarding these matters, they can take care of everyone in the family efficiently. Since women stay at home, the matters related to house should be taken care of by women. Men go out for work. The outside activities are men's responsibility. Though mothers have more roles to play in the child care, the fathers have also some responsibility like, whenever the child falls sick, the father needs to take the child to the hospital. The mother cannot take the child to the hospital on her own.

The health workers in their service delivery try to translate the state's notion of household, which is guided by a middle class notion of household, where the man of the household is supposed to be the bread-winner, who works outside the house and the women stay back at home to look after children and other family members. In their service delivery, the front line health workers produce the notion of inside/outside dichotomy, where the responsibility of taking care of the home and children are seen as the responsibility of the woman of the household. Through its prescription for a sexual division of labour within the household, the state policy framework tries to sustain the patriarchal family structure. Nirmala Banerjee (2001) points out that the family in India, by and large, still fulfills many of the functions that have long been at least a partial responsibility of the state in the developed countries. Prominent among these functions are the care of the old, the sick and the unemployed, upbringing and socialization of

children, maintenance of health and of (so-called) moral standards. The society and the state recognize that the family fulfills these functions efficiently through exerting its patriarchal authority over women. The state in India willingly cooperates with the exercise of patriarchal powers by the family to fulfill those functions. This is well demonstrated if one looks at the state policies related to child care and health care. Thus, through idealizing patriarchal family and sexual division of labour, the state also places women as conduits for drawing health and wellbeing to the family members. Such nurturing role of women is not only highlighted by the state within the context of family, but also in community welfare and social welfare activity where such nurturing role is often highlighted. The state's preoccupation in constructing women in terms of their nurturing role can be well demonstrated in the context of promotion of women's empowerment by the state as well as appointing women as community level volunteers

Women as Volunteers:

The ideology of gender, especially the notion that health care, child care and house work are solely women's tasks, is also strengthened by the present day state policies. The policies reflect and reinforce the view that women are mainly biological reproducers, mothers and home makers and at best peripheral workers (Agarwal, 1988). The state valorizes women's role by propagating that, women have a "natural" willingness to undertake health responsibilities and work in the interest of family and community (Simon-Kumar, 2003). Largely drawing from this gender ideology, demands have been made by the state, to contribute to under-paid social welfare work by women as an extension of their care taking role of family (Pateman, 1989). The emphasis on "community participation" in the health care strategy is premised on the voluntary work of women (Kabeer, 1994). By targeting the weak social status of women and their often desperate economic and physical conditions, the Indian state exclusively employs women

as health care volunteers at the village level, such as Anganwadi workers and ASHA (Accredited Social Health Activist), with a minimal remuneration or what is called as honorarium. These state appointed health volunteers are supposed to be the change agents of the village community, who are expected to bring reform in their village communities. By naming these workers as part-time honorary volunteers, the state escapes the responsibility of providing these workers with monthly salary. While the Anganwadi worker is provided a meager amount of monthly honorarium, the ASHA is not even paid a monthly honorarium. She is only provided with some amount of compensation for the time she spends on specific health activities of the community. The state advocated health volunteer work is undergraded by the patriarchal ideology that sees women as nurturers. The task of community welfare work of women coincides with the normative expectations of women's nurturant functions in a gender based division of labour. These occupational expectations are intimately intertwined with the idea of social welfare and community welfare work as emotional labour and therefore stereotypically "women's work" (Dressel, 1987). Furthermore, learning from the previous experiences with the Community Health Worker (CHW) scheme, and the sustenance of the Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS)⁵, the government visualizes women as suitable candidates for the health volunteer's job. Exclusive appointment of women as community health volunteers also affirms the state's preoccupation with the MCH aspect of health care at the grass root level.

⁵ In the Community Health Worker Scheme, initially the gender of the health volunteer was not specifically mentioned. Hence, the community health worker posts were mostly occupied by men. After few years of functioning of the programme, the community Health workers organized themselves and demanded for the status of permanent employee in the health cadre. The community health workers resorted into strikes and finally government asserted that the community health workers are only volunteers and not the employees of the state. After prolonged protest, the Community Health Worker programme became dysfunctional. On the other hand, the ICDS programme from its inception has employed women as the health volunteers. And this programme is able to successfully sustain till date.

Empowerment of women:

The advocacy for empowerment of women by the state has given rise to the promotion of “women’s empowerment” in terms of a “virtuous model” Drawing examples from gender scholarship which documents the greater social connectedness of women, the policy advocacy tries to promote “women’s empowerment” in order to endow them with various traits such as altruism and dedication to the collective family welfare, thrift and risk aversion, industriousness, a sense of civic responsibility which is manifested in their willingness to take unpaid community work (Kabeer, 1999) This model of empowerment of women is well promoted in the state health policy advocacy The women’s Self Help Groups (SHG) have become the main targets of the state, in its attempt towards promotion of community participation in the health care activities, whereby demands have been made by the state, of the SHG women to contribute towards community welfare activities The NRHM (National Rural Health Mission) convergence framework calls for promotion of collective action by women in the form of women’s committees, health committees and Self Help Groups, who are supposed to act collectively on issues of social importance pertaining to gender discrimination It calls for community ownership through women’s groups to maintain key facilities like water, sanitation, health centers, schools and other common properties and monitor their use and misuse. They are supposed to serve as a forum for discussion of sectoral issues such as nutrition, sanitation, education and drinking water (GoI, 2005) In the health programmes, women are portrayed to be having greater responsibility towards community and family health and welfare The women’s SHGs at the village level become the major target of the health functionaries for the promotion of community participation in health care activities The interviews with the grassroot level health workers clearly demonstrate this

In view of one of the Anganwadi worker

The SHG women are given education regarding maintaining hygiene, sanitation and other health related topics. They are expected to play an active role in health care activities of the community. They are expected to inform the Anganwadi worker about the anti-natal cases, convince other women in their locality on immunization and for acceptance of oral pills. The SHG women are our main target group. In the SHG meetings, health education is given and these women are supposed to make other women aware about health care activities.

Similarly one of the MPHWS says

Now-a-days in every matter we are involving SHG women. For example, recently we had got the instruction to celebrate breast feeding week in our sub-centre. For this purpose we called SHG women and took out a rally in the locality. We had to teach these women how to say slogans. When we conduct the health meetings, the SHG women are our main target group. While celebrating the sanitation week in the sub-centre also, we took the help of SHG women. We asked them to play an active role in maintaining the cleanliness of the village. As part of total sanitation campaigns, recently introduced by the government, we are required to advocate for the construction of latrines by the villagers. For that purpose we call meeting of SHG women and persuade them to construct latrines. The total sanitation campaigns are carried out by the village panchayats, which is called as "gaon parimal yojana". For this purpose the village panchayat calls the meeting of health workers and Anganwadi workers of the locality. In that meeting the SHG women are invited, where we try to persuade them to construct latrines.

The health workers at the village level often view the SHG women as their main target group for channelizing the health programmes. The SHG women are expected to participate in the welfare activities of the community with alacrity, as an obligation towards the state. In the health programmes, the SHG women are often seen as women, far from having nothing to do and with plenty of time in their hands, are more active than men in the village (John, 1996). Those SHG women who do not show much interest in the community welfare activities, because of their engagement in the economic activities or because of the burden of the house work, are often viewed as "money minded" and selfish women by the health workers. Most of the health workers say that though the SHG women are supposed to participate actively in the health care activities of the community, in reality they do not show much interest. One of the health workers says

Though SHG women are supposed to make people aware, they do not participate much in the health activities. They always ask 'what benefit will we get', and how to get additional income. People do not have much faith on government. They are engaged in agricultural activities, they say 'we do not have time for anything else'. Only during agricultural off season, when women are relatively free, they show some interest. When we approached the SHG women for constructing latrines, some of them replied, 'we do not have land to live comfortably, where will we construct latrines! Will the government give us land to construct latrines!'

These accounts of grassroot level health workers not only reflect the state health discourse, but also provide insights into the manner in which different categories of women are targeted by the state and entrusted with responsibilities of safeguarding the health of the entire household and the community.

Section-II

State Intersection with Community

The village level health workers are often seen as embodiment of primary health care strategy and are considered as facilitators of community participation. The volunteer status of the community level health functionaries and the control by the villagers is interpreted as the key to community participation (Koblinsky, 1994). Further, the government also makes it clear that the community level functionaries are accountable to the communities they come from and serve (Chatterjee and Riley, 2001). In the state's propagation of community involvement, the community level health worker is required to work for the community with the status of a volunteer without adequate institutional support. Though the community level health worker is called upon to assume a leadership role in the community, and play the role of a catalyst for change, in reality, her position in the community remains vulnerable. Her sustenance in the system is dependent on maintaining cordial relationship with the dominant sections of the village community. Such a vulnerable position in the village community, leaves less scope for her to act as an

effective change agent of the community. Most of the time she is left with no option, but confirm to the existing hierarchical norms of the community. Further, in the state's discourse, the village community is often treated as a cooperative, cohesive and democratic space. But in reality, community has its own hierarchy of power in operation, with the resources to defend existing relations of power to suppress dissent (Rai, 2001). Governance of communities play an important role in the daily lives of women. The village level health functionary, being a woman, with the status of a volunteer and without much outside institutional support, has less space to deviate from the existing norms of the society even while delivering the service.

Further, power structure of the village community often mediates in the ability of the state to directly intervene in the village territories, and also administers or exercises powerful moral influence over the state functionaries. The local state apparatus' (such as the government health functionaries) access to the village and the people is heavily determined by the intermediary power of the upper caste powerful sections of the village community. From this kind of operation of the village community, it can be derived that, a village quasi-state exists within the official space of the formal state apparatus.

The Anganwadi workers as the women of particular caste group of the village are often expected to negotiate between their roles as agents of the state and as women of particular caste community within the village setting. As agents of state, the Anganwadi workers are supposed to deliver their services equitably across the caste groups in the village. But there is always pressure on them from the dominant sections of the village community to preserve the existing power arrangements of the village community, by conforming to the existing caste norms even during their service delivery. Particularly, as women of the dominant sections of the village (only two out of twenty one AWWs in the Baunsuni sector are from "harijan" community) they are pressurized to maintain their own bodily purity as well as take enough care in not disturbing the caste practices of the

village, while delivering the services in the village. It becomes evident from the interviews with the Anganwadi workers that most of the times, they are caught between the demands of the upper caste sections in conforming to the hierarchical norms of the community, and their service as health workers of the entire village community. This is well reflected in the view of Bidulata, one of the Anganwadi workers in my study area.

Children from all caste groups come to study in the Anganwadi. We do not practice any kind of caste discrimination. But while serving food to children in the Anganwadi centre, the upper caste children are served food in the Anganwadi and the children from "haryan" caste groups are sent home with the food. They are not served food in the Anganwadi. This system has been practiced because the upper caste groups do not want their children to sit beside a child belonging to the "haryan" caste group, while having their food. I need to conform to some of the minimum caste norms as a woman from upper caste group. I would not have survived in the village if I had not maintained a cordial relation with all the caste groups in the village. Hence I try to negotiate the relationship with both upper caste groups and the "haryans" while delivering my service as an Anganwadi worker.

Further she says

In this village I have survived as an Anganwadi worker because I have tried to strike a balance between the upper caste groups and the "haryans". I do not neglect "haryans" while providing service. While delivering the service I have to keep in mind the interests of both the upper caste groups and the "haryans". For instance, while measuring the weight of children, I cannot skip measuring the weight of "haryan" children. If I come to the upper caste pada after measuring the weight of "haryan" children, the upper caste people will not allow me to measure the weight of their children. Hence I try to solve the problem by measuring the weight of upper caste children in the morning and going to the "haryan" pada in the afternoon to measure the weight of their children, on the health check up days. Being a married woman from a Brahmin caste, I also need to conform to the customs of the family and caste. Hence each time I come in contact with the untouchable communities I take the ritual bath before entering into the house.

The health workers' concerns of maintaining their own bodily purity and the purity of the upper caste sections of the village during the delivery of health service, makes it only superficially possible for them to deliver their services equitably across the caste groups in the village. The health workers often try to justify their attempts of maintaining bodily purity, by taking bath each time they come in contact with the "harijans", as private practice which does not come into conflict with their public roles. By way of

dichotomizing their roles and practices in terms of public/private and state/familial responsibility, the contradictions in their roles are justified. As women of a particular caste community, the Anganwadi workers are not only subject to the patriarchal order of the family, but also subject to the patriarchy of the male heads of the upper caste community of the village. Since women are constructed as the bearers of purity of the domesticity, the patriarchal practice within the family compels them to take enough care to maintain their bodily purity. This practice of bodily purity is maintained through making minimal visits to the “harijan”⁶ pada and taking ritual bath each time she comes in contact with the “harijans” in the village. At the same time pressure is often built by the upper caste sections on the Anganwadi workers, so that the Anganwadi workers help other women in maintaining their bodily purity, while availing the health services provided by the government. The Anganwadi workers’ attempts of preserving the existing caste order of the village, while delivering their service, is managed through practices such as: not allowing “harijan” children to consume food in the Anganwadi, arranging different time slots for “harijan” women and upper caste women for health check up and food distribution etc.

While describing about the role of one’s own caste community in building pressure on the Anganwadi worker for conforming to the notions of caste purity, one of the Anganwadi worker Lili says

Soon after getting appointed as an Anganwadi worker of the village, I had to conduct survey of all the households in the village. For that reason I had to make some visits to the “harijan” pada of the village. After making these visits to the “harijan” pada, I noticed that my caste group people had

⁶ In my analysis, I have consistently used the word “harijan” to refer to the “untouchable” communities in the village. Though the term dalit is currently used to refer to the scheduled caste categories, I have consciously preferred to use the term “harijan”, in order to describe the “untouchable” caste categories. In Orissa, some of the caste groups, like Keuta caste, which enjoy the touchable caste status are also included within the scheduled caste category. As the term “dalit” is used as synonymous to scheduled caste category, it seems to be treating both the touchable and untouchable scheduled caste categories as a homogenous category. And it does not seem to be describing the specific kind of stigma that the untouchable caste groups undergo in Orissa. In order to mark the distinction between the touchable and untouchable scheduled caste categories, I have used the term “harijan”. Since the untouchable caste groups refer themselves as “harijans” in my field site, I have retained the same term to describe them.

started detesting this act of mine. After realizing this, I stopped visiting the "harijan" pada. For conducting any survey, my husband goes to the "harijan" pada and collects data for me. While initiating the SHG in the "harijan" pada, I told few women to talk among themselves for organizing the SHG. For discussing any matter related to SHG of the "harijan" pada, I call those women to the village school, which is considered as a neutral space and is accepted by everyone in the village.

As women are constructed as the bearers of "purity" of the household and the community, the Anganwadi workers, being women are often expected to conform to the existing caste norms of the community even when making the health services available to the village community as a whole. Since the rules of purity are not applied to the male members in such a strict way, most of the time the husband of the Anganwadi worker visits the "harijan" pada of the village to conduct survey and collect other information.

The Anganwadi workers, belonging to the "harijan" caste community are also pressurized by the upper caste groups of the village to deliver their services in such a way, which does not come into conflict with the interests of the upper caste groups of the village. This becomes evident from the discussions with one of the Anganwadi worker, who is from the "harijan" caste community.

The Anganwadi helper is from gaud caste. Though the Anganwadi worker is supposed to measure the weight of children, I can not measure the weight of upper caste children because of my caste status. The upper caste people will not like me to touch their children and measure their weight. I also need to maintain cordial relation with all the caste groups. Hence I abide by all the caste rules and do not try to transgress it. The Anganwadi helper, who is from gaud caste, measures the weight of upper caste children and I only stand at a distance and monitor it and note down the weight of children. Also during cooking food and serving food in the Anganwadi, I keep a distance from the site.

Most often, the delivery of services to all sections of the village community is constrained by the dominant paradigms of power relations at the local level. The village level health workers are often caught between the pressure from the dominant sections of the village community to maintain the existing order while delivering the health services, and their

own job demands of catering to the needs of all sections of the village community equitably. The dominant power structure of the village also imposes limits to change and often the village level health functionaries are co-opted into hierarchies of power and influence. In negotiating between their role as a member of the village community and as a health functionary, the village level health workers, most of the time, end up in providing services, which are favorable to the upper sections of the village community. On certain occasions when the resistance comes from the marginalized sections of the community, against the nepotism in the delivery of services by the village level health worker, the dominant sections (the upper caste groups) of the village stand by the village level health worker, in a way of protecting their own interest. The upper sections of the village community, being influential members of the village, also successfully mobilize the opinion of the higher level state health functionaries like Anganwadi supervisors, community development project officers (CDPO) and PHC doctors, in favor of them. An Anganwadi worker narrated how the community was able to extend their support to her on an occasion of resistance against her discriminatory service delivery.

Earlier the Anganwadi center existed near "haryan" pada. While serving the cooked food to children, the upper caste children are generally served food in the Anganwadi and the "haryan" children are sent home with the cooked food, which they are supposed to consume in their home. The "harijan" children are not served food within the Anganwadi centre, because the Anganwadi helper is not prepared to clean the place where the "haryan" children consume their food. Cleaning the place where the "haryan" children consume their food is considered to be polluting her. We are also not supposed to touch the "haryan" children when they are having food, as this is considered to be a polluting act. For these reasons the "haryan" children are sent home with the cooked food rather than being served in the Anganwadi centre. But, once a person from haryan pada came to the Anganwadi and fought with me regarding serving food to children. Consequently he did not allow us to serve food to the upper caste children in the Anganwadi. I informed about this to the village committee. The village committee helped me a lot during that time. The village committee held a

meeting with the CDPO and Anganwadi supervisor and convinced them to shift the Anganwadi to the village school. The village school exists in the upper caste pada. Since then, the Anganwadi work is running smoothly.

In such conflicting situations the authority of the state often ally with the local power structure and legitimizes the oppression of subordinate groups. On such occasions also, the state versus community's construction of women and their bodily purity has come to be a site of bargain and compromise between the nation-state and the male heads of the upper caste community. Hence, preservation of the bodily purity of the upper caste Anganwadi worker as well as other upper caste women becomes the main concern of the community. And the state authorities and the upper caste male heads of the community are often engaged in bargaining and negotiating with each other, so that the state policy interventions do not disturb the existing power relations of the village. As Rai (2001) rightly argues, the structures of power are not only maintained at the village community level, but the government also wants to propagate for empowerment while trying to keep the power structure intact. Through its administration, it is also engaged in renewing the existing power structure. Without challenging the existing power equations of the community, there are limits to translate policy of democratizing health service into practical results. Within the institutional setup of state health sector, though each functionary contributes in aligning with the local power structure and consequently, conform to the order established by the dominant power structure, they often engage in blaming the other for the constraints in their service delivery.

The health functionaries, as the agents of the state are supposed to deliver their service equitably across the caste groups in the village. But as they are unable to deliver the service equitably, they often engage in a blame game, by which each one blames their subordinate staff, for their failures in fulfilling the state agenda of delivering the service equitably. The Anganwadi workers often state that the villagers want a particular way of delivery of health services, which ultimately results in discrimination against certain

groups in the village. The multipurpose health workers, most of the times state that their sole concern is to deliver the services smoothly in the villages. They do not want to challenge the existing norms of the villages. The village level health workers such as Anganwadi workers, as the change agents of the village community are supposed to change the mind set of the upper caste communities of the village. The Anganwadi workers, being at the margin of the state institutional hierarchy is blamed the most for the discriminatory health services in the village. While explaining the reasons for the inequitable health service delivery one of the multipurpose health workers says

In the context of medicating the bed net, often the upper caste villagers ask us to medicate their mosquito nets first and then call the "haryan" households for medicating their mosquito nets. Our aim is also to see that the programme runs smoothly. We try to maintain cordial relation with people in order to carry out the programme successfully. Hence we carry out the programme, the way villagers want us to do. We can not implement the programmes in the villages, the way we are taught through the books. There is always a big difference in the way we are taught to deliver the programme and the field reality. In many cases the caste discrimination in the delivery of health programme arises due to the Anganwadi workers. The Anganwadi workers are not ready to touch the untouchable children. Though they are the village change agents, they have not overcome the practice of untouchability. When they themselves are not ready to touch the untouchable children, how will they change the mind set of other people. In the field, we are dependent on Anganwadi workers for the delivery of our service. Hence, her caste practices also influence the health service delivery of other health functionaries at the village level.

Though the health functionaries are supposed to serve the whole village community equitably, the local power structure and hierarchy within the community often stands as a stumbling block in the way of their equitable service delivery. From this kind of functioning of the village community, one can interpret that a village quasi-state operates within the official space of state apparatus, whereby, the community's construction of women's roles and bodily practices as well as its notions on marginalized sections gets enforced to such an extent that the rights of citizenship get drained out of content. In such case, the village community operates as a state-within-state. The state versus community's codification of women's roles and their bodies or/and bodily practices has

come to a site of bargain and compromise between state and the dominant sections of the village community

Writing about the role of kinship and clan in relation to women in the context of Shahbano controversy, Zakia Pathak and Rajeswari Sunder Rajan (1989) have used the image of "state-within-state" in their analysis. According to them 'the demarcation of the spheres of influence of family and state into the private and the public, respectively, enables them to work together in a collaborative hegemony. Since the entitlement of the family to privacy and autonomy is widely recognized and granted, any rights granted to the woman as an individual citizen by the state can only be imperfectly enforced within that state-within-a-state. When women become victimized within the family-and the most significant site of violence against women in India today is the household-the state is reluctant to move in to prevent or punish the crime (1989: 569)'

Such description of "state-within-state" can be applied to formations of village, caste, kinship, clan etc. The image of an inner fortress within the state seems to be appropriately describing the dilemma of women. The image of "state-within-state" operates in a strict sense through which female status and identity are constituted by the primary communities of caste, family, kinship and religion, to such an extent that women belonging to these groups are subject to conformation of the norms demarcated by them, which may be contradicting the roles carved by the state. In this case of provision of the state health services, the description of "state-within-state" is not only applicable for explaining the subjugation of women within the caste community and family, this framework can also be extendable to explain the subjugation of the lower caste groups within the village.

The core ideas of this model seem to be explaining the community's construction of women's bodily practices and their roles vis-à-vis the state demarcation of women's roles as agents of state. But, the problems with the model as pointed out by Kalpana Ram

(1996) is that, this model virtually precludes any real attempt to conceptualize the dynamics of historical change within the "inner state". 'The formulation of a state-within-state locks the analyst into some familiar antinomies. the "modern" space of the nation state versus the static traditional space of the pre-capitalist social formation (1996 298)'. Agam, from this model one gets the impression that the community's oppression of women and the marginalized sections operate in a coercive manner, where the oppressed are only seen as the objects of oppression and not the actors in their own right. While retaining the core ideas of this model, I want to extend the analytical framework to Gramsci's concept of hegemony, to theorize the relations between the state and the community or civil society and the cultural politics of hegemony.

The construct of hegemony refers to the 'consent given by the great masses of population to the general direction imposed on social life by dominant fundamental group (Gramsci, 1971 12). According to Gramsci, central to social order of a society are processes of consent creation, i.e. hegemony, wherein the interests of a dominant group are consented to by the general masses as representing the interests of all. This construct presupposes the continuous existence of relations of collaboration, consent and incorporation between different classes, codified through institutions of family, law and property relations to maintain a stable social order that appears voluntary and free of coercion. He emphasized that hegemony worked primarily through the differentiated and dispersed institutions of civil society that appear autonomous from the state. Gramsci's conception allows one to explore the dialectical relation between the state and civil society. The forms of structures of governance such as bureaucracy, law etc, are understood to be the instruments legitimizing certain forces, interests and visions of civil society and vice versa (Kamat, 2002). In the context of state health service delivery at the village level, though the interests of the dominant sections of the village community are prioritized, such kind of health service delivery is propagated to be serving the interests of

all sections. This in turn helps in sustaining the existing power structures in the village community. Further, the operation of hegemony can be well explained if one examines the appointment of ASHA in the Baunsuni PHC area

Appointment of ASHA and the Village Power Structure:

Although the state visualizes women as the suitable gender category for the welfare work of the community, women from all sections of the village community do not get the chance for getting engaged in the voluntary work of the community. Women belonging to the marginalized caste communities are less likely to be appointed as community health volunteers. This is well demonstrated in the recent appointment of ASHAs in the Baunsuni PHC area

The involvement of the institutions of the village community such as, *gram sabha*, the village panchayat and the village health and sanitation committee, is required in the selection of ASHA (Govt of India, 2005). Being members of the village health and sanitation committee, the Anganwadi worker of the village, the ANM and the multipurpose health worker male, also play an important role in the selection of ASHA of a village. Responses of the multipurpose health workers of the Baunsuni PHC, make it clear that women from the “harijan” caste communities are least likely to be appointed as ASHA. On most occasions the members of the *gram sabha* and the panchayat do not want to appoint an ASHA belonging to “harijan” caste group. The upper caste influential leaders of the village community become the key decision makers in the appointment of the community level health volunteers. It becomes clear from the responses of the ANMs and the male multipurpose health workers that, the caste of the woman becomes an important factor in the selection of the community health volunteer of a village. According to one of the ANMs in the Baunsuni PHC

No “harijan” woman is selected in our sub-centre area as ASHA. In one of the villages, one woman belonging to the “harijan” caste community had

applied for the post Though I was interested to select her, the village committee did not want to select a "harijan" woman as ASHA Hence, I could not do anything In most cases the Anganwadi worker does not want to select an ASHA from "harijan" caste communities, because she has to work with her on a day-to-day basis. Again the village committee and the panchayat have to get involved in the selection of ASHA, and they do not want to appoint a woman belonging to the "harijan" caste group They want to accommodate a woman who belongs to their touchable caste members of the village Hence, the selection of a "harijan" woman as ASHA becomes difficult

One of the MPHWs of Baunsumi PHC states

Nine ASHAs have been selected in our sub-centre area Though one ASHA is from scheduled caste community, she is from touchable "keuta" caste Because of the caste feeling, women belonging to untouchable caste communities do not get appointed as ASHA Though I belong to a "harijan" caste community, I have not selected a single ASHA who belongs to my caste Even though sometimes women belonging to my community apply for the post, I am compelled to support the candidature of an upper caste woman rather than the woman belonging to my caste community To survive in the locality I need to be in good terms with the panchayat and the village leaders If I support the candidature of a woman belonging to my community as ASHA, the village community is going to stand against me Hence to avoid that, most of the time I advise the interested candidates from my caste community not to apply for the post

Women belonging to the "harijan" caste groups are the least preferred candidates for the ASHA post in most of the village communities, since the key decision makers of the village community belong to the upper caste groups of the village Though the state's guidelines for the formation of village health committee emphasizes on the involvement of members belonging to the Scheduled Caste communities, the "touchable" caste communities like Keuta⁷ caste community is most often co-opted as the representative of the Scheduled caste community rather than a person belonging to the "harijan" caste groups

Often the community health volunteer is seen as the embodiment of primary health care and is equated with the community participation Hence, the involvement of the

⁷ The keuta caste community is formally included in the scheduled caste category in Orissa in the year 2002 Since, the community belongs to a touchable caste group, on most occasions the village community members find it most convenient to include Keuta caste group member for fulfilling the requirement of scheduled caste representative, rather than including a "harijan" caste member

community is much emphasized by the government in the selection of community health workers. The community participation in the selection of community health volunteers leads to cooption of volunteerism by the local power brokers. With reference to the earlier community health worker scheme of the government, Mark Nichter (1986) points out that the institutionalization of community participation in the form of myriad community development groups has led to cooption of volunteerism by the local power brokers. Cooption has engendered symbolic participation which demeans and diminishes the real participation. Community groups are formed around the rhetoric of participation with the hidden agenda of power brokage. Debabar Banerji (1982) also points out that the community power structure in the villages subjugates the democratic process to serve the interests of the privileged communities.

On few occasions when there is a competition for ASHA post between a woman belonging to "harijan" caste groups and a woman belonging to other touchable caste group, and the applicant belonging to upper caste group is not much interested for the post and does not belong to the influential section of the village community. On such few occasions the relatives of the applicant belonging to the "harijan" caste groups succeed in mobilizing the support of the village community. Though on such few occasions the village panchayat gives its approval for the appointment of woman belonging to "harijan" caste group as ASHA, sometimes the frontline health workers, being the government functionaries express their displeasure over the appointment of ASHA belonging to such marginalized sections. They try to articulate that in the best interest of the village community, a woman from the upper caste hamlet of the village should get appointed as ASHA. They argue that, women from the touchable caste groups can access the households of the upper caste groups of the village, while a woman belonging to the lower caste group will not be entertained by the upper caste households. According to them, a woman from touchable caste community can serve the village community in a

better way. The upper caste health volunteer's discriminatory service against the marginalized caste communities is often overlooked by both the community leaders and the health workers. The upper caste groups of the village are construed as "the village community". The hegemony of the upper caste groups is maintained, whereby the interest of the upper caste groups is considered to be serving the interest of the village community as a whole. The interests of the lower caste groups are kept at the margin also by the government health functionaries. One of the ANM clearly expresses her displeasure over the appointment of an ASHA belonging to the lower caste groups in the following words.

Eight ASHAs have been selected in our sub-centre area. Out of eight ASHAs, one is from "untouchable" scheduled caste, two are from scheduled tribes and others are from general caste groups. For the appointment of the "haryan" ASHA, the ASHA's relatives had pressurized the village mahila mandal, SHG president and secretary, Anganwadi worker and the village committee. Before my arrival in the village the ASHA's relatives had convinced the Anganwadi worker and others in the village for the appointment. I also warned people that in future most of the health activities will be carried by the ASHA of the village. Do you think an "untouchable" ASHA will come to your house for providing the health care facilities? But people did not pay much heed to it. Though I was not much interested to keep an "untouchable" woman as ASHA, I had to select her because the village committee had given its approval.

In the context of the health functionaries bias in favor of upper caste communities of the village, Debabar Banerji (1982) in his book "Poverty, Class and Health Culture in India" also argues that, many government functionaries are required to work closely with the village population, develop links with the group which is to them politically most important, economically most rewarding and socially least undesirable, namely, the privileged classes of the village population. In their turn, the privileged classes get further strengthened by such links with government functionaries.

Sometimes the community level health service work, particularly dealing with women during child birth and after the period of child birth, is considered to be polluting. As an ASHA is required to escort and accompany women to the health centre during their pregnancy and get engaged during neo natal care, they are supposed to deal with women

during their most polluting stage. Few multipurpose health workers perceive that the lower caste women are the most suitable candidates for the ASHA post because, the ASHAs have to deal with women during their pollution period. As the lower castes are seen as polluting, they are seen to be most suitable for the job of dealing with women during their pollution state.

One of the ANMs states that in our sub-centre area two ASHAs are from 'untouchable' ganda community. People were initially opposing the appointment of these women as ASHA. Though some upper caste women had applied for the post, none of them were meeting the eligibility criteria. The women belonging to the lower caste communities were meeting the eligibility criteria. Hence I convinced the villagers saying, if an "untouchable" woman becomes an ASHA, she need not touch you always and go to your home. She is mostly required to help women during their pregnancy and after pregnancy. Anyway, women stay in a pollution state till the fifth day of their pregnancy. Hence the physical contact of an untouchable ASHA is not going to be a problem during the pollution state of women. And after fifth day, anyway women are going to purify themselves.

The strategy of associating the ASHA job with pollution and hence, justifying the appointment of ASHA from the "harijan" caste communities, does not seem to create a democratic space for the lower caste communities. In this kind of advocacy, the lower caste groups are considered to be fit for the job, only because of the polluting nature of the job. Thus, the lower caste groups are constructed as eternally polluting, and association of pollution with the lower caste groups further gets reinforced. This in turn helps in retaining/reinforcing the subordination of the lower caste communities.

In this chapter I have argued that like the other patriarchal institutions such as family and community, the state also constructs women in terms of their sexuality. The biomedical science also helps the state in justifying its construction of women in terms of their sexuality. By fundamentally constructing women as sexualized subjects, the state health discourse reduces the whole issue of women's health to reproductive health. Through the health policy interventions, the state is engaged in constructing the notion of ideal womanhood and gender roles. Consequently, like the community discourse, the state discourse also results in valorizing the normative gendered roles and bodily practices of

women, whereby women are also placed as conduits of health and wellbeing of the family members. Through such kind of idealization of women's roles and gender identities, the state is engaged in classifying women as moral/immoral, good/bad, normal/deviant. In this discourse, the wife-mother model is constructed as the ideal womanhood. As opposed to this, the unmarried sexuality gets categorized as immoral and deviant. Though to a large extent the state construction of womanhood is in conformity with the community notion of normative woman, often a flavor of feminist vocabulary is added to the state propagation of ideal womanhood, to justify the state's claim of being gender sensitive and progressive. Further, I have argued that, in the real sense the state intervention has not challenged the dominant patriarchal power structure of the family and the community. As a result of this, the state intervention at the community level is mediated through the intermediary power structure of dominant upper caste male heads of the village community. Since the power of the upper caste male heads is derived through the preservation of caste and gender order, during the state interventions, enough care is taken to safeguard such established order of the village community. Thus, even while the Anganwadi worker works as an agent of the state at the village level and is supposed to serve everyone equitably, she is preoccupied with maintaining her bodily purity as an upper caste woman in the village community. At the same time, while the lower caste groups are entitled to access the state health service equitably along with the upper caste groups in the village as equal citizens, they are systematically discriminated while availing the state health service. Finally, based on these arguments, this chapter tries to suggest that without challenging the existing power structure, there are limits to change and democratization of the health services.

Chapter-Six

Conclusion

In undertaking a detailed ethnographic study in Boudh district of Orissa, I have tried to address some of the central issues in sociology of health and gender. In analyzing different health discourses in Orissa society, I have sought to show the continuities and the contradictions between different discourses of health, in their attempts of defining, shaping women's body and reproductive roles in the society. In course of examining the dominant health discourses, I have scrutinized the community discourse of health, as well as the state health discourse.

The study has attempted to trace the community construction of women's body and sexuality through the narratives of Tikirapada village in western Orissa. Community's conceptualization of health and illness plays a vital role in symbolically defining women's body. By drawing women to the centre of articulation of health and illness, the basis for a model of gender relations is laid down. In this discourse, women's body and feminine identity gets conceptualized in terms of a duality, as powerful and dangerous simultaneously.

In articulating women's body and their reproductive sexuality in terms of hot-cold syndrome and the notions of purity and impurity, community attaches symbolic meanings to women's body and sexuality. In this construction, the bodily heat is considered to be disorder in body, which is considered to be having the potential for disturbing the order of the society. By defining women's sexuality, more particularly the vaginal blood as hot by its very nature, the community constructs women's sexuality as a threat to the order of the society. Women's bodily functions related to their reproductive potential, such as menstruation and child birth are considered to be changing and transitional by nature.

Further, these transitional bodily states are articulated in terms of the notion of purity and pollution, by which the reproductive bodily functions of women get constructed as polluting and dirty. Since community often derives their sense of hygiene from their notions of purity, the notion of purity gets equated with the state of hygiene and health, whereby the notion of pollution gets attached to the idea of dirt and ill health. In constructing the transitional reproductive bodily functions of women as polluting and dirty, such bodily functions come to be depicted as a source of ill health, not only for the individual but for the entire family and kin-group. Hence, the community tries to establish order by segregating women and keeping them “outside” the system during the transitional phases of their lifecycle.

On the other hand the bodily margins and the societal margins are constructed as dangerous. Maintenance of boundaries becomes the main concern of the community for retaining healthy body and healthy society. In this context, women are considered to be the main agents for maintaining the group boundary. In its attempt of boundary maintenance, the social groups create inside/outside dichotomy. The “inside” is considered as the “self”. The outside is considered as the “other”, which may pollute the inside and threaten the group health. Protection of the “inside” from getting contaminated by “outside” remains the main concern of the communities. Pollution is considered to be biologically transmitted, hence adherence to the ritual and sexual purity remains the main focus in the community’s attempt of boundary maintenance. Guarding female purity and chastity becomes the main concern of the community. In this context women are considered as “the insiders” of the community. Hence, the maintenance of the caste purity is asserted on the basis of bodily practices of women. The notion of purity gets attached to women’s body and womanly activity. Women through their “right” kind of bodily practices are required to guard the boundaries of family and caste purity against the

contamination by outside forces. In this context, management and control of sexuality of women becomes the main concern of the community, in its attempt of boundary maintenance. The female sexuality is attributed with power to preserve the group boundary and group health. Being placed as conduits for the well being of the family, women are expected to draw the domestic well being not only through their bodily purity, but also through their spiritual purity and devotion. Thus, attributing female sexuality with such power to preserve the group boundary and well-being, becomes the medium through which female sexuality is controlled.

Again as objects of these contradictory attributes, women enter in to the labour process in a different footing than men in the community. They enter into the economic activities and the labour process as the bearers of their gender specific subjectivity. The inscription of women's body as source of pollution and danger also helps the community in maintaining sexual asymmetry in relations of production. While women in the village get engaged in the tedious labour activities, they are systematically kept away from participating in certain labour activities which are defined as auspicious in nature and consequently given a higher value. The economic activities where the household works as the unit of production, such as agriculture, brick making and weaving, women's participation in the labour process is restricted to certain kinds of productive activities. Notions of purity get attached to certain productive activities, and women are debunked from participating in such activities as their body is considered to be impure. Hence, man's claim of the ownership over production gets well established. Such power relations also structure the relations in the domestic arena, whereby man's ownership is also claimed over the reproduction. Instances of denial of women's work as "productive work" and privileging of man's work with higher value and status is well reflected in the agricultural sector, brick making, weaving, and among fisher folk communities in

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ikirapada village. Any attempts of overstepping these rigid boundaries by women in their day-to-day work leads to the recasting of these groups or individuals as “bad women”, “immoral women” etc.

Community's notions of women's body are often articulated in terms of the notions of purity, impurity and auspiciousness, inauspiciousness. In searching for a coherent framework to capture such conceptualization of women's body, one often comes across the dichotomous categorization of pure/impure, auspicious/inauspicious, as these frameworks have deeply entrenched Indian sociology. Dumont has been considered as one of the pioneers in foregrounding the concept of purity and impurity in Indian sociology. In his work, Dumont attempts to uncover the fundamental principle underlying the Indian society. He focuses on caste system as a system of values, with the belief that ‘castes teach us a fundamental principle of hierarchy’ (Dumont, 1980: 2). According to him the working of caste system is a structural principle, which is guided by the principle of opposition of pure and impure. He suggests that the opposition of pure and impure as the very principle of hierarchy. This isolation of purity and impurity is based on a polarity for understanding the hierarchy in Indian society. Further Dumont assimilates the notion of auspiciousness into purity and equates inauspiciousness with impurity and claims for an omnipresence of purity-impurity polarity. According to Dumontian theory, the organization of power in Indian society is based on hierarchy of purity and pollution. In this framework, the explanation for subordination of women also comes to be articulated on the basis of the hierarchy of purity and pollution, whereby women's body comes to be conceptualized as eternally impure body as opposed to man's pure body.

Such a dichotomized theoretical framework seems to be inadequate in articulating the conceptualization of women's body in the everyday dynamics of the community. Framing the notions of purity-impurity, auspiciousness-inauspiciousness as mutually

exclusive categories, fails to explain the fluid, complex social reality in which women's body is shaped and defined within the community. The practices in the everyday life dispel such fixity of categorization. Rather, one finds the co-existence or the intermingling of both the notions of purity-impurity, auspiciousness-inauspiciousness in community articulation of women's body in the everyday context. For example, while women are considered to be auspicious subjects for drawing the well-being of the family members through their ritual observance, the notion of impurity gets attached to the same woman's body in the context of participating in some of the productive activities. And depicting women's body as impure becomes a means of denying access to them from certain productive roles. In the everyday life, in one context the notion of auspiciousness and the notion of purity gets attached to woman's body, and it is considered to be the "inner self" of the community, while in other context the notion of impurity gets attached to it and consequently it is considered to be "outside" the system. In one context while woman's body comes to be perceived as enabling, in the other context it is seen as constraining. Hence, in the everyday lives of women, both their physical and social self is perceived and organized in a series of insider and outsider categories, which acquires specific meaning within a particular context.

The inadequacy of the dichotomized framework to explain the construction of femininity and female body in the Indian social context has been asserted by some of the scholars like F.A. Marglin (1985) and Kalpana Ram (1991). F.A. Marglin postulates that the principle of auspiciousness and inauspiciousness is not a hierarchical one. Further she points out, the construction of women in terms of auspiciousness and inauspiciousness is not an exclusively binary one, but it lacks a fixed boundary. One can find the co-existence of the both, while defining women. Kalpana Ram in her study on Mukkuvar women also highlights the contradictory construction of women. She argues that the ambivalent view

of women gets constructed in the context of Mukkuvar women by both valorizing female sexuality as well as constraining female body through the notions and practices of cooling, confinement and binding. In analyzing the community discourse of health vis-a-vis women, I have adopted the theoretical frameworks provided by some of the Indian feminist theoreticians like Kalpana Ram and Marglin. At the same time I have differed with some of the western feminist theorists' like Lloyd's (1984) conceptualization of women's body in the context of western religion and philosophy, where the female body is depicted only in a negative way. Emphasizing that the community constructs women's body in terms of a duality, I argue, both the enabling and constraining aspects of female sexuality are employed to subjugate women in Indian society.

Within the village community as well as in the mainstream academia, there is often a tendency to perceive the upper caste women and the lower caste women in terms of polarities. The upper caste woman is often perceived as restrained through the notions of bodily purity and sexual moralities as opposed to the lower caste woman who is considered to be free from the burdens of bodily purity and sexual discipline. Such polarised understanding of upper caste and lower caste women is based on the assumption that, the notions of purity and impurity are intrinsic to the organization of power on the basis of caste. Hence, through the notions of bodily purity and sexual discipline of the upper caste women, the caste purity of the upper caste group is maintained. Among the lower caste groups, who are at the bottom of the caste hierarchy, the notion of bodily purity and sexual discipline of women is considered to be lacking. Conceptualizing women's bodily purity concerns as only the upper caste phenomena, further leads us to assume that, at the bottom of the caste hierarchy there is less concerns with the maintaining caste purity, consequently, the sexual hierarchy is also less pronounced, and women enjoy greater freedom. Explaining the bodily purity concerns of the upper caste

women and the lower caste women, in such a binary frame of reference is misleading

7 Through conceptualizing the bodily purity and sexual discipline concerns of women in this way, the power relations within the society comes to be depicted in a homogenous way. The hierarchical relation on the basis of "caste" is perceived as the organizing principle of social life within the village, and the primacy of caste hierarchy over the gender hierarchy gets to be established. In the study, I argue that the power relations within the village society can not be articulated in such homogenous framework. Women are situated in heterogeneous relations of power. The lower caste women are placed in the hierarchical structure of caste, as much as in terms of the power relations based on gender.

Furthermore, by depicting the lower caste women as free from bodily purity and sexual discipline, one runs into the danger of further stigmatizing the lower caste groups as unhygienic, hence unhealthy. Since communities often derive their sense of hygiene from the notion of purity, the notion of purity gets equated with hygiene and health. By depicting the lower caste women as free from the notions bodily purity, it gets implicitly established that, as the notion of bodily purity and pollution is absent among the lower caste woman, consequently, the notion of hygiene is also absent among the lower caste groups. Thus, the lower caste groups come to be conceptualized as unhygienic and unhealthy. In the study I argue that the notions of purity and pollution are also emphasized among the lower caste groups. In conceptualizing women's body in terms purity and pollution, the cultural model for gender relations is laid down among the lower caste groups. Further I argue that the religious culture of the lower caste groups have often emphasized on bodily purity concerns of women. The enquiry into the socio-religious reformist discourse of the present study produces deeper insight into these issues. By way of scrutinizing the reformist discourse, an attempt has been made to

subvert such superficial polarities between the upper caste women and the lower caste women.

The religious reform movements in Orissa have played a crucial role in informing and shaping the bodily practices of women across the caste groups, more particularly the lower caste women. While the lower caste groups are denied access to the religious space in Orissa, the socio-religious reform movements, predominantly the *bhakti* movement and the *Mahima dharma* have tried to address the issue of subaltern religiosity. The *Lakshmi Purana* of the Oriya *bhakti* movement has strived for creating agency for the lower caste women to worship the goddess within the domestic space. Through its prescriptions and proscriptions, it has tried to discipline the bodily practices of women across the caste groups. Consequently, it has resulted in producing a disciplinary regime for women. At the same time it has remained as an active force in constructing the notion of ideal womanhood in the Orissa society, whereby disciplining women's bodily practices and morality becomes a precondition for their divinity. Conversely, the *Mahima dharma* has attracted the lower caste groups into its fold through its opposition of idol worship and its anti-caste, more particularly anti-Brahmin tenet. While both *Mahima dharma* and *Lakshmi Purana* have tried to create a space for the expression of the religiosity of the lower caste groups, both the movements have prescribed certain norms for maintaining bodily purity as a pre-condition for attainment of spiritual purity. The notion of bodily purity for men and women gets constructed differently. Women's sexual morality comes to be depicted as a necessary condition for maintaining their bodily purity. Through the discussion of socio-religious reform movements, I have argued that religion has acted as one of the important forces in shaping the bodily practices of women across the caste groups, and the lower caste women are no exception to this. The religious reforms aimed at invoking the religiosity of the lower caste groups have mostly emphasized on purifying

and disciplining the bodily practices of women in Orissa society. Similar to the high Hinduism, the alternative religious spaces accessible to the marginal groups have also emphasized on intertwining the religiosity of the lower caste women with that of their bodily purity, domestic responsibility and social morality.

The Oriya *Lakshmi Purana* through its reformist agenda constructed a notion of “ideal oriya womanhood”, uniformly applicable to all women across the caste groups. While the *Lakshmi Purana* constructed a homogenous ideal womanhood, the nationalist reform movement in Orissa, further upgraded the notion of “ideal oriya woman”. In the nationalist reformist agenda, the education among women was propagated in order to enrich the feminine virtue of modesty, through which the family could be organized in a better way. The notion of ideal womanhood was conflated with the notion of motherhood, whereby motherhood was constructed as the highest value in women’s life. In the post-colonial period, one can find continuity between the nationalist reformist construction of womanhood and the modern state’s approach towards women. The state has been constantly engaged in constructing the notion of “ideal womanhood” through its health policy framework. At the same time, it is an active agent in taking forward the notion of idealized womanhood, thus contributing to the existing social and power arrangements.

Drawing on the findings from the state health functionaries, more particularly, the frontline health workers, and the analysis of the state health policy documents, the study has also examined the state health discourse and its engagement with women subject. The radical and liberal feminist theorization of the state, view the state as unilaterally oppressive. However, in my analysis of the state health discourse, in conformity with the feminist theorists like Connell (1990), Rai (1996), Hasan (2002), Basu (1998), I have argued that the state is not a monolithic entity. In India, the state’s engagement with women’s question has been ambivalent and ridden with contradictions. The Indian state

constitutionally recognizes the equality of women in its Fundamental Rights, in the Directive Principles also it highlights that women are vulnerable group, which need special rights. But translating these ideals into practice has been a laborious struggle. As a result, the state has indirectly supported and promoted the cultural practices that are detrimental to women's equality. This ambiguous nature of the Indian state is well reflected in the state health discourse

In the state health discourse, the ambivalent stand of the Indian state is reflected, the way the issues like women's "choice", "autonomy", "rights", "freedom" and "empowerment" have been articulated in the state health programmes. Reproductive health programmes of the state and its policy advocacy can be taken as a classic case of contradictions and paradoxes of the Indian state. If we examine the reproductive health programmes, it is found that the whole issue of reproductive rights gets articulated only within the context of marital sexuality. Marriage becomes a precondition for women to get access to the state reproductive health services, like access to contraception, sexual health information and the abortion services offered by the state. Consequently, through the health discourse, the state ends up promoting marital sexuality and stigmatizing the unmarried sexuality as deviant sexuality.

Further, the contradictory nature of the state also gets well demonstrated, the way the whole issue of women's choice and autonomy gets articulated and implemented in the reproductive health programme. Though the state is propagated to be creating a space for articulation of women's agency through reproductive health programme, the way the whole issue of women's choice and autonomy has been conceptualized and translated in the programme, does not seem to be creating a liberatory space for women. Through the reproductive health programme, women come to be trapped as the main targets for the family planning. At one level, the way the programme has been structured and the

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institutional mechanisms have been carved out for implementing the programme, makes it clear that women are the main target group for family planning. They are left with “no choice”, but to accept the family planning programmes. On implementation of the programme, the whole issue of women’s choice and autonomy gets reduced to the consumption of contraceptive pill. The contraceptive pill is conceptualized as giving agency to women to bypass the patriarchal authority of the husband, consequently the pill is perceived to be enabling women to control their own fertility and sexuality. At another level, women’s attempts of taking independent decision for their sterilization are often blocked by the state, and husband’s authority as the final decision maker over his wife’s sterilization comes to be established. Thus, the whole issue of women’s choice and autonomy gets articulated without any suggestion for changing the patriarchal family structure or society at large. Thus women are prescribed to exercise their “choice” by conforming to the deeply entrenched rules, norms and practices of the patriarchal family and society. The state justifies its engagement in all the above activities in the pretext of empowerment of women. The empowerment of women is propagated to be achieved through changing women’s behaviour, without any change in the established power structure of the society. In the state health discourse, the empowerment of women is propagated so as to enable women in raising efficiency. Thus, through its engagement with the women’s subject, the state is engaged in constructing the notion of “ideal womanhood”. And the “ideal woman” is depicted as the empowered woman, who is endowed with the virtues of care taking and nurturing roles.

Thus, the state tries to project itself as the ensurer of social justice of its women subject, through its articulation of issues like women’s choice, rights and empowerment. At the same time it does not want to promote a model of women’s empowerment which comes in conflict or raises question about the patriarchal authority of the family and the

community. These internal contradictions within the state approach results in promoting the kind of empowerment which is considered to be endowing women with feminine virtues, which also remains appealing and acceptable at the family and the community levels. By promoting this model of empowerment of women, the state avoids any possibility of engaging in a head on confrontation with the patriarchal authority of family and community. This dual stand of the state only makes it superficially possible for it to redress the gender inequality. The non-interventionist approach of the state in dealing with the structural issues at the family and the community level also makes possible for the dominant power structure of the community to act like a "state-within-state" and block the state interventions which contradict their interest

The state intervention at the community level often comes to be mediated through the intermediary power of the dominant upper caste male heads of the village. As the power of the upper caste male heads is derived through the preservation of the status quo on the basis of caste and gender inequality, even during the state intervention, enough care is taken to protect such an established order within the village community. In such case, conforming to the dominant norms of the community becomes inevitable for women and the marginalized sections of the community. Even while the Anganwadi worker works as an agent of the state at the village level, who is supposed to serve everyone equitably, she is preoccupied with maintaining her bodily purity as an upper caste woman in the village community. At the same time, while the lower caste groups are entitled to access the state health service equitably along with the upper caste groups in the village as equal citizens, they are systematically discriminated in availing the state health services. Hence, the access of the women and the lower caste groups to the state is mediated through the dominant power structure of the community. The predominant community notion of

female body and its concern with maintenance of bodily purity also plays a significant role in defining women's access to the state.

From the above discussions on the community discourse of health and the state health discourse, it becomes evident that both the health discourses maintain ambiguity in defining women's body and gender roles. Similar to the community construction of women, the state also takes a dual and contradictory stand in dealing with women's issues. The examination of the state health discourse makes it clear that the state is engaged in both enabling and constraining women's agency. And, what is often valorized by the state as the enabling or facilitating women's agency, actually it only results in reinforcing further subordination of women. At the outset the state health discourse is projected as though it is contradicting the community discourse of health and women. But in reality one finds a continuity and coherence between the community and state in constructing women and womanhood in accordance with the patriarchal hegemony. The dominant community construction of women as the bearers of the purity of the family and the community as well as the preserver of the group health is not challenged by the state. Rather, the state health discourse results in supplementing the community construction of women, whereby the health education of women is considered to be enabling women in serving the health needs of all the family members. Hence, within the state health discourse also, women are projected to be the preservers of the family and the community health, as they are valorized as the conduits of wellbeing of the family within the community health discourse. The community notion of morality and female chastity is constantly facilitated by the state in promoting and idealizing the wife-mother model through its health discourse. At the same time, by addressing the issues pertaining to unmarried female sexual activity under deviant sexuality category, the moral stand of the state conforms to the community notion of morality. Further, in the Indian state health

discourse the supremacy of the biomedical approach to health has been established on the basis of its scientificity. The biomedicine has primarily constructed women in terms of their reproductive roles, which has largely conformed to the community construction of women. This has made possible for the Indian state to conform to the community value system and the scientific approach to health, ensuring that the existing social arrangements are not disturbed in any way. Thus, one finds that the state health discourse to be constantly collaborating with the community discourse of health, which results in establishing a dominant health discourse in which the patriarchal hegemony is retained.

Satish Deshpade's analysis of Gramsci's notion of commonsense seems to be apt in providing a framework to analyze the construction of women within the dominant discourses of health. According to Satish Deshpande, 'commonsense is a chaotic collection of contradictory beliefs and attitudes, but the prevailing power structure imposes a partial coherence on it by highlighting some elements and marginalizing others. Thus modified, it serves to bind the moral conduct of individuals to the norms of social groups they belong to, and bends the norms themselves towards the dominant ideology. In this way, it helps to legitimize the power structure by securing the passive and occasionally the active consent of the broad mass of people' (2003: 4). The internal paradoxes within the community health discourse as well as the state health discourse, makes it possible for the dominant groups in the society to mould the discourse towards their own benefit. Within the patriarchal society, the contradictions within the health discourses create a space for the dominant patriarchal ideology to constrain the liberating potential of the discourses, by which the gender roles come to be depicted in terms of fixity. The depiction of women in terms of fixed naturalized identity such as a mother, potential mother, care takers, further enables the patriarchal ideology to legitimize its authority and establish its hegemony.

A close reading of the “gender and health” literature indicates enormous academic interest in pursuing both community health discourse as well as state health discourse. However, most of the studies used either state health discourse or community health discourse to explain women’s health issues. Those scholars who examined state health discourse argued that serious questions on women’s health are primarily concerned with the following issues. role of state in propagating bio-medical perspectives (Qadeer, 2001, 1998), hierarchical mode of medical organization and its anchorage to premordial social relations (Nichter, 1986), social structural constraints of women in accessing the health care system (Zurbrigg, 1984), globalization and extraneous factors (Banerjee, 2001, Ravichandran, 2002), state’s reduction of women’s health to reproductive health (Rao, 2004, Simon-Kumar, 2006, Correa,1994, Ramanathan, 1998, Sagar, 2001), marginalization of indigenous knowledge systems (Banerjee, M, 2004, 2002) Similarly, those who have examined community health discourse argued that questions on women’s health are to do with cultural notions of women’s body (Ram, 1991, Das, 1994,), cultural notions on fertility and reproduction (Jeffery et al, 1989, Nichter and Nichter, 2003) However, in this study, I have argued that both the community health discourse and the state health discourse have convergence rather than contradictions, hence these discourses are played out systematically in reinforcing patriarchal hegemony and ensuring the prevailing power arrangements in society. In that sense, the present study tried to overcome the binary approaches in terms of community construction and the state’s approach, to critically engage with substantive issues of women’s health and body politics in a holistic manner.

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livelihood The whole legal frame itself is wrong in which the right to life of the people and their survival as community is being violated At times the people are being forced to move-out of their homes on the strength of payment of money Right to life of some persons cannot be compromised or bartered just for providing more comforts to many people The right of tribal people to survive as individuals and as community is a right which cannot be taken away just like that Only about a few have got some sort of compensation, though most of them are depending on common property resources (CPRs) (Babu 2007 1-7)

Till date, the World Bank and project authorities have not cared to collect the exact number of persons displaced by the projects and the figures cited in different documents do not tally In spite of such colossal investment and displacement, no significant efforts were made by the World Bank to address the problem of proper rehabilitation of the oustees. Years after the loans have been sanctioned and disbursed, the oustees still continue to live in crowded, unhealthy and ill-equipped resettlement sites Many oustees are still awaiting cash compensation promised by the project authorities Very few oustees have been fortunate enough to get permanent employment in the projects The mess of rehabilitation is reluctantly accepted and casually explained away by the World Bank officials as if it were a thing of the past, a characteristic of yester years, when rehabilitation consciousness was not high This only demonstrates that the World Bank is knowingly covering up for the borrower institutions gross neglect of rehabilitation Reports of several studies sponsored by the World Bank also admit that poor rehabilitation is not a matter of the past In fact, in 1993 during the presence of the World Bank executed study team in the Singrauli region, a number of houses in Nimadand were bulldozed and oustees forced to move without adequate arrangements This was documented in one of its main reports (Babu 2007 1-7)

The benefits of these power projects have yet to reach the oustees who have paid a heavy price for other development Ironically enough, many of the oustees still do not have access to electricity produced in their region¹ Most of the electricity generated by the plants is consumed by far away cities and states Besides, thousands of hectares of

fertile lands have been converted into waste land for disposal of nearly six million tons of fly ash generated every year by all the thermal power projects in Singrauli region (World Bank 1985) Thrust for construction of new dams by the GoAP is going to displace many more people, and this will add to those lakhs who have already displaced by various development projects in the country The huge investment by the Bank in the region has resulted in massive displacement of the local population from their lands and productive resources

IV.3. Land Acquisition vs. Public Purpose

The land acquisition Act of 1894, which still continues, with some amendments in 1967 and 1984, facilitates the governments to acquire the people's land, by compulsion for both public and private purposes (Swamy 1994) This Act helps the State as a weapon for immediate land acquisition in the name of public purpose, but it is not clearly defined the term 'public' and not specified which public / peoples purpose clearly In most of the cases, the government officials have been paying the compensation to oustees after prolonged time, where as they acquire the lands with one notification and with in no time, but the Land Acquisition Act did not say any thing on the type / nature of compensation payable to oustees and time period for payment of compensation (Upadhyay and Raman 1998)

IV.4. Agency Laws vs. Land Acquisition

The constitution of India recognizes Adivasis as among the most vulnerable communities and gives many means of protection to tribals The fifth and sixth schedules of the constitution aim to prevent acquisition, holding or disposal of the land in the scheduled areas by non-tribals It attempts to ensure that the tribals remain in possession of the land for their economic empowerment, social status and dignity of their community Furthering the support most state legislatures have passed elaborate statues to statues to protect tribal land owners from alienation of their lands Paradoxically no protection is extended to tribals for loss of lands to the single most important source of their expropriation, namely the state itself

The APSALTR, 1959 (as amended in 1970) is applicable when land is to be acquired in the scheduled area. This is not the case in India however where what is a public good is defined by the government. Land transfer regulations in India places considerable power in the hands of the local District Collector. Especially in the most recent amendment the right to award compensation and also to some extent decide on appeals is with the Collector. Neglected of compensation project victims have used the courts to get the compensation that is rightfully theirs in legal processes that take many years to complete.

According to the Panchayatraj Extension Act to Scheduled areas (PESA) of 1996, a Gram Sabha clearance along with full information disclosure is required for development projects. Getting clearance from all the affected Grama Panchayats is mandatory by compulsion (Misra and Narendra 2007 64-65). All departments initiating land acquisition in the Vth schedule area are required to submit the details of Gram Panchayat wise schedule of land proposed to be acquired, a letter of consent from each of the effected Gram Panchayats in favour of the project, and in case the Grama Sabha rejects the proposal, the land acquisition should be accompanied with the resolution stating the purpose of rejection and recommendations from the Gram Sabha. According to the APSALTR, 1959, only people with clear land title deeds can be compensated in scheduled areas. A vast majority of the non-tribals submerged will either only have a temporary title deed or no title deed at all and cannot receive any compensation. Also they cannot hope to acquire proper title deeds in the scheduled areas since this would be against the regulation that has been made in the constitution for STs.

Since land acquisition and resettlement problems ending up in court have slowed down construction of dams in the past, the GoAP is now trying to proceed with a softer approach. Instead of using the Land Acquisition Act to force the land from people the government will try to reach an agreement with people through negotiations. By not invoking the Land Acquisition Act the government hopes that people will not go to court for compensation and thus slow down the project. The government will include funds for rehabilitation and resettlement of project-affected people in the budget of

each irrigation project It will deposit these funds with a Special Collector in the area of construction so that people will feel certain that the money is available and will be spent. Despite these government policies the ground realities are like usual where neither local people nor authorities such as the ITDA offices, have any knowledge about rehabilitation. The government's favour to implement as many irrigation projects as it can during its five year mandate is rather a cause for increased concern

Land acquisition in scheduled areas is not possible, as there are number of protective land laws, legislations, regulations, forest policies, court orders and judgments, GOs, etc which prohibit the land transfer in scheduled areas In spite of all these protective and welfare laws made by governments for the welfare of tribals, the government agencies have been acquiring the tribal lands in the name of National interest in contravention to all the constitutional provisions It indicates that all the Agency Laws have gone a metamorphosis, where the legal access to tribal lands and resources is denied

IV.5. Emergence of Rehabilitation and Resettlement (R&R) Policies

Displacement due to development is not new to the people in India As the adverse social impacts are generally unavoidable, there is a need to minimize such adverse effects and for providing alternative sites for resettlements through provision of housing, infra-structure related education, roads, drinking water, electricity, hospital, etc and also extending suitable remunerative economic rehabilitation support, thus enabling the adversely affected people to regain their former levels of living standards This requires careful planning and implementation of the resettlement and rehabilitation management plan

The rehabilitation and resettlement policies are supposed to be the result of concerns expressed by the, social activists, academicians and NGOs etc In the order of people's movements many of which are led by the political parties, social and academic activists, and NGOs, etc Most of the Pre-1980 projects in India did not have a clear-cut resettlement plan and resettlement was taken on a case to case basis, and only a few of

the projects did offer resettlement in the form of house sites and infrastructure to the replaced. As result of this ad-hoc approach, many of the displaced were left out of the process.

The Rehabilitation and Resettlement (R&R) Policies for the Project Affected Families (PAFs) at the National and Andhra Pradesh State levels were formulated according to the vide notification No ACQ 13011/4/2006 of the Ministry of Rural development, and with the GO. Ms No 68/4/2005/ of the Irrigation and Canal Aycut Development (CAD) department respectively The governments did not frame any rehabilitation and resettlement policies prior to 1988 and it shows the lukewarm attitude of the governments towards the plight of PAPs, even before they were up rooted (GoAP 2005, MoRD 2006, Babu 2007 1-7)

IV.6. National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy (NRRP) - Benefits to Tribal Project Affected Persons (PAPs)

As per the National Rehabilitation and Rehabilitation Policy (NRRP) of 2006, preference is given in allotment of land or cash compensation, financial assistance equivalent to 500 days of Minimum Agricultural Wages (MAWs) for the loss of customary/grazing rights/usages, to other R&R benefits to the tribal PAFs, resettlement is closely located to their habitat in a compact block, so that they retain their ethnic, linguistic and cultural identity, the families settled out of the district to get higher R&R benefits to the extent of 25% in monetary terms, the tribal land alienation in violation of the laws and regulations in force on the subject to be treated available only to the original tribal land owner, the tribal families residing in the Project Affected Areas (PAAs) with fishing rights in the reservoir area, land free cost for community religious community gatherings, and full proof mechanism to be provided consisting of representatives of PAPs, including, SC and ST, Women, elected representatives and government machinery

The contradiction between NRRP of 2006, LAA of 1984 and recognition of forest rights Act of 2006 are distinctly visible, and the clause 3 (m) of recognition of forest

rights act provides a right to rehabilitation including alternative lands in case of illegal eviction or displacement from the forest land of any description without having legal entitlement to rehabilitation, prior to 2005 (Misra and Narendra 2007 64-65)

VI.7. Andhra Pradesh Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy (APRRP) and the Benefits to Tribal Project Affected Persons (PAPs)

The Andhra Pradesh Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy (APRRP) 2005, echoes the NRRP of 2004, expect for a few modifications in the provisions Both the policies suffer from several deficiencies, as they don't reflect any potential insights or basic principles to assess the losses of the oustees' property, and there are no special welfare measures and arrangements against their deprivation, to deal the displacement problem, which is a very sensitive issue, with human face APSRRP in its preamble says, 'the Policy essentially addresses the need to provide succor to the asset less rural poor, support the rehabilitation efforts of the resource poor sections, namely, small and marginal farmers, SCs and STs and women who have been displaced'

It is interesting to note that the R&R Policy makers of the Andhra Pradesh in its order, para-1 of the abstract reveals the effects of compulsory acquisition of land and displacement on PAFs, and the need for rehabilitation with utmost care and concern, but in practice it is quite opposite in implementation of the R&R package, and there is no utmost care, human touch, fore thought, etc in reality, as it is proved in the earlier studies on the issue of displacements The whole policy is the reflection of the views of policy makers, but not represent the aspirations of the displaced, and this one sided approach is continued for long time in implementation of R&R package, and finally the displaced will be left to their fate, even with out any or proper R&R

According to the existing rehabilitation policy in Andhra Pradesh, there is no safeguard against double or triple displacement, which has happened in the past due to poor planning of resettlement process, and project assessment, especially in the dam related submergence and displacement This is one of its major lacunae In the absence of such a safeguard, chances are that these communities can be displaced again and again over

a period of time. Loss of property and livelihoods due to irrigation projects, and the government's inadequate rehabilitation measures, the displaced tribals, dalits and other weaker sections will be marginalised and de-peasantised, and ultimately pauperized, and this situation lead to large scale migration to urban centers. As all these people are not skilled and untrained, and non-technical, they don't find any employment in urban set up and finally they will be forced to do the professions like, rag picking, rickshaw pulling, bonded labour, etc

It is evident from the experience of the Chenchu and Yanadi displaced tribals, due to setting up of tiger sanctuaries at Srisaïlam and Indian Space Research Organization (ISRO) at Shriharikota. Most of the displaced Yanadi tribals lost their livelihoods and survival, and disintegrated from their traditional communities, and leading horrible life as bonded labour in the fish and aqua forms of the costal districts, as they traditionally fond of fish and fishing. A few of them are also engaged in the rag picking business in the urban areas of Vijayawada, Guntur, Eluru etc

The R&R Policy of Andhra Pradesh high lights various inadequacies by empowering the rich and powerful at the cost of poor, especially the tribals, who disposed/disposes their lands and livelihoods. The Policies which are said to be framed in view of development acting as destructive agents and seem to be a bundle of contradictions. The policies sound enormous promises to safeguard the interests of the PAFs on one hand and continuously endorsing the displacement of the people on the other hand, even with out rehabilitating them.

The APRRP is being amended to make it an effective means of ensuring social justice to the large numbers of Disposed Peoples (DPs) by development projects in the state. The policy did not provide for transparency or any consultative process and only proposed paying cash to the oustees, instead of giving land for land. In this case the tribals will be the losers, as the money given by the government will be used for their own consumption and to clear their debts. It is important that, the development mechanism to reconcile private interests and people's concerns, apart from past

justices to the displaced people Unless there is a rule that all the evacuees have to be settled before their evacuation, the intent of these new policies will always be suspected. If the policies do not take in to account of the DPs in the past, what is the guarantee that it will rehabilitate them and the new evacuees now? Except, the enormous efforts of a few Social and Academic Activists, and NGOs, there is no concern from the government's side to make awareness among the PAPs, on the displacement issue, relevant to justice, equity and equality with regard to R&R benefits and burdens that arise due to large scale projects

IV.8. Project Displaced Peoples (PAPs) vs. Livelihoods in West Godavari Agency

According to the reports of I&CAD, the inhabitants of the displaced villages due to the Kovvada reservoir and Polavaram project are the tribals i.e. The Koyas, Konda Reddis and Nayakapods Kovvada Reservoir submerged tribal villages are 'Reddigudem, which is popularly known as 'masikonda-pakalu' and Lakshimpuram These two Project Affected Villages (PAVs) are in the Panchayat limitations of Rajanagaram Village of Buttayagudem Mandal, located at a distance of 15 km The total population of the both Reddigudem and Lakshimpuram is over 600, comprising of 140 households of which the non-tribal households are 10%

As per the reports of I&CAD (2005), Dowleswaram, 29 tribal villages will be displaced under Polavaram Project in West Godavari district, out of the 276 tribal displaced settlements, located in the three districts of West Godavari, East Godavari and Khammam districts (Based on the 2001 census of these areas, it is estimated that 2,37,000 people will be displaced About 53% of those displaced will be tribals i.e. the Koyas and Konda Reddis)

/ According to the reports of tribal welfare department the Konda Reddis are recognised as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) in the government records, whereas the Koyas and Nayakapods are termed as agency tribes The livelihood patterns of the Konda Reddis are quite different from those of the Koyas and Nayakapods However, these tribal communities primarily depend on semi plain agriculture apart from their traditional

cultivation i.e. Konda Podu. They cultivate pulses and vegetables mostly and as well as maize, jowar, cotton, chilly, tobacco, etc. They maintain symbiosis with their neighboring communities of both tribal and non-tribals. These tribal communities collect several Minor Forest Produces (MFPs) from the near by forests, which are of thick, dry, and deciduous type, surrounded to their villages. (The important MFPs, they generally collect are honey, addaku, addanara, addaginjalu, usiri, ippa flowers, vepa (neam), gumkharja otherwise known as tapsi jguru, tangedu chettu bark, rela chettu bark, chillu ginjalu, ganuga kayalu, shikaya, kunkudu, mshini gingalu, konda cheepuru gaddi, koppera gaddi, nalla teega, pala pandlu, kirasa gaddalu, jack fruits, berries, veduru kommulu, chenda gaddalu, karkkaya, tunika aku (tendu leaf), tunika pandlu, gurgkura, chenchela kura, etc, which are available in different seasons. Most of the MFPs like nuts and fruits are used for household purpose, and rest of the MFPs are used for marketing. They generally sell these MFPs at the weekly shandis (fares) and as well as at the ration shops, established by GCC. Collection of MFPs is contributing a portion of income to their economy (Babu 2007 1-7)

According to ITDA reports and the available field data, most of the tribals work as laborer in their fields, cultivated by the non-tribal farmers on lease, except for a few tribal cultivators. The fertile lands, possessed by the tribals earlier, have been already alienated by the non-tribal settlers with dubious methods. Apart from agriculture, and MFPs collection, they also rear cattle, Sheep, pigs, goats, hen, etc for their agriculture and commercial purposes. As the tribals, are illiterates, and due to their simplicity, they are unable to cope up with the market operations, from time to time. Consequently the gullible tribals have been exploited by the traders and non-tribals in most cases,

Whatever little money they earn out of their hard labour will be used for the consumption of arrack, household expenses and the lion's share will be spent on a series of both life cycle rituals and traditional festivals. At times they will take loans from non-tribals for all these occasions of which they can't repay. Ultimately the problem of indebtedness leads to the total collapse of economic life, and ends with either surrendering of their agricultural lands to non-tribals or bankruptcy or suicide and this

phenomenon is common in their traditional society. The entire community of tribals in these villages is divided into different factional groups due to their affiliations with different political parties and this factor weakens their unity and lays them open to exploitation at the hands of outsiders. The tribals should be educated and they should be united so as to evolve an alternative democratic system in their society (Babu 2007. 1-7)

IV.9. Kovvada Reservoir: A Case Study - I

According to the reports of I&CAD, Dowaleswaram, the Kovvada Kalva is a hill stream having its origin in Papikondalu at an altitude of +600 mt in Chintapalli reserved forests of the scheduled area of the West Godavari district. It flows southwards from the origin and is also called as Jalataru Vagu in the surrounding areas of Chintapalli, Pedda Vagu up to Lankapalli village limits and Kovvada Kalva on the downstream. The reservoir site is located at a distance of 28 km from the Papikondalu, other wise known as Bison Hills (GoAP 2001 1-5, Babu 2007 1-7)

IV.9.1. Background of the Project

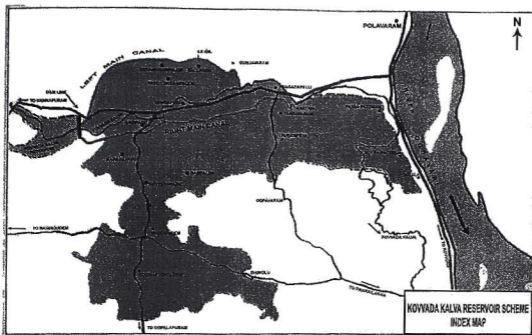
The Kovvada Kalva used to bring miseries in the form of devastating floods with the destruction of agricultural fields of non-tribals in the Pattiseema area during rainy season. Due to this, the stream is popularized as the 'sorrow of uplands'. The Kovvada reservoir was constructed by the GoAP during 2001-2005, at Lakshmi Narayana Devi (LND) Pet with an estimated cost over 52.11 crores, funded by the NABARD (Figure IV.1 Map of Kovvada Kalva reservoir) (GoAP 2001 1-5, Babu 2007 1-7)

In order to provide assured supply of water to the non-tribal agricultural fields, and to fulfill the industrial and drinking water needs of the upland people, covering all the way from LND Pet to Nidadavole, and also to avoid destruction to the non-tribal agriculture fields in the upland area, due to flash floods (GoAP 2001 1-5, Babu 2007. 1-7)

The earth dam was formed with the maximum length and height of 1,599 mt and 22.04 mt respectively across the Kovvada Kalva. A spill way of 36 mt length with three spans, having radial gates of size 10 mt x 6 mt to regulate the maximum flood discharge of 630.30 cumecs (22,239 cusecs) is proposed at 1,430 mt on Poleti Vagu. The catchment area of Kovvada Kalva Reservoir is 11,137 sq km. The reservoir will have a live storage of 11.58 m cum in between the Full Reservoir Level (FRL) of +90.50 mt and minimum draw down level of +81.0 mt (Table IV.1 Hydrological

Is of Kovvada reservoir) (GoAP 2001 1-5, Babu 2007 1-7)

Figure: IV.1. Map of the Kovvada Kalva reservoir



IV.9.2. The Objectives of Kovvada Reservoir

According to the report of I&CAD, the Kovvada Kalva reservoir will improve the agricultural productivity and thereby the farmers of tribal and weaker sections can get more income from cultivation due to assured supply of water. This scheme also provides drinking water supply to 35,000 people in 15 villages, enroute the canals. The reservoir irrigates the agricultural lands to the extent of 7,179 ha or 17,739 acres in Kharif season. The ayacut of the reservoir lies in 15 villages of both Polavaram and Gopalapuram mandals, out of which three villages such as LND Peta, Reddinagampalem and Pragadapalli belong to tribals, and the rest of the villages i.e. Pattiseema, Gutala, Venkatapuram, Karagapadu, Dondapudi, Sagipadu, Guddigudem, Kovvurupadu, Nandigudem, Gopalapuram, Bhimolu and Gangolu are of non-tribals. Two main canals on left and right sides of the dam cover 5.02 km and 9.86 km respectively (Table IV.2 Details of ayacut covered under Kovvada Reservoir) (GoAP

2001: 1-5).

IV.9.3. Mandatory Public Hearing

The proposed public hearing to be held on 17-8-2001 was not held according to the official notification issued by the Andhra Pradesh Pollution Control Board (APPCB) and this was postponed to 27-8-2001 in view of the Grama Panchayat elections (Annexure IV 1) The government did not organize a mandatory public hearing on Kovvada Reservoir on 27-8-2001 at the project submerged villages of Reddigudem and Lakshmipuram But, the officials say that they organized at LND Pet, which is not a project affected and even fifth scheduled area (Annexure IV 2) According to the circular dated 11-11-1998 of Rural Development and the order of the Hon'ble High Court of Andhra Pradesh, on the writ petition No 8476 of 2001, the Grama Sabha should be held in the PAVs, and the probable R&R package and full reservoir level (FRL) be decided. The decision of the Grama Sabha is ultimate in this regard and this must be ratified by the Zilla Parishad Territorial Council (ZPTC) and Mandal Parishad Territorial Council (MPTC) The State Government finally should specify the R&R package, based on the Socio-economic assessment study report, on the extent of losses likely to be incurred by the PAVs, prepared by a reputed social science research organization None of these norms have been followed and no Grama Sabha was organized for the displaced people of Kovvada Reservoir (Rao 2004, Babu 2007 1-7)

IV.9.4. Displacement, and Rehabilitation and Resettlement (R&R)

The Konda Reddis of Reddigudem and the Nayakapods of Lakshmipuram as like their peers else where in the agency area of West Godavari district, 'Kovvada Jatara' celebrated in March of every year in reverence to adjacent hill stream, 'Kovvada Kalva', is a joyful event as they regard 'Goddess Kovvadamma' as their natural deity and these innocent tribes have no escape from the threats of displacement due to construction of Kovvada Kalva reservoir The identity, culture and ethos, and the source of livelihood of the these forest dwelling communities have come under a serious risk, as their two villages are to be submerged due to the foreshore (back

) of the Kovvada Kalva reservoir (Nagaraja 2001, Babu 2007 1-7)

According to the report of the I&CAD, an extent of 285.27 ha (707 acres), comprising 8 ha (14 acres) of *patta* land, 39.27 ha (96 acres) of forest land and 39 ha (96 acres) *boke* (government) land is submerged in the foreshore of the reservoir (List of lands held by tribals and non-tribals in the two affected villages i.e. Reddigudem and Lakshimpuram villages due to Kovvada reservoir as per the settlement register of Polavaram taluk of the erstwhile East Godavari district is enclosed in Annexure IV 3). Most of the lands in the submergence area belong to non-tribal settlers, due to the process of land alienation from the tribals. The government officials paid land compensation at the rate of Rs.80,000 and at the rate of Rs 60,000 per one acre of both cashew orchid and semi-plain land respectively. The oustees tried a lot for about 4-5 years to collect their land compensation and spent most of the compensation amount towards bribes to the government officials and the extensive travels they made to the government offices. Rest of the compensation amount was paid to the money lenders in order to settle their debts (GoAP 2001 1-5, Babu 2007 1-7)

The government officials of both revenue and irrigation departments officially declared that the Reddigudem village will be submerged due to reservoir and henceforth, it would be displaced, and the adjacent Lakshimpuram, situated on the other side of the two streams of both Kovvada Kalva and Poleti Vagu will face similar threat of displacement, but not submerged (GoAP 2005 1-5). It may be technically true that the Lakshimpuram is not submerged by the flood waters as revealed by the authorities, the habitation located in between the two streams (Kovvada Kalva and Poleti Vagu), upon which the dam is built, is set to become an island. It leads to cut off from the outside world as well as the forest resources, which raise serious livelihood issues to these forest dependent tribals of Lakshimpuram (Annexure IV 4). But, the officials did not reveal any thing about the available comprehensive economic R&R package for the PAPs of Reddigudem and Lakshimpuram, instead they were herded half built houses (Annexures IV 5, IV 6) (Shankaram 2004, Rao 2004, Babu : 1-7).

IV.9.5. Violations and Irregularities against the Constitutional Provisions and the Government Policies

The GoAP started construction of the dam with out consulting the PAPs, no Grama Sabha was conducted according to PESA, 1996, in the affected villages, the PAPs were not informed about the submerge, details of dam and available comprehensive Rehabilitation and Resettlement (R&R) package, and seignorage payable to the Rajanagaram Panchayat for the use of local resources like gravel and boulders in the construction of reservoir (Annexure IV 7) Bribes were taken at the rate of Rs 15,000 per acre and at the rate of Rs.8,000 per acre for the both *patta* land and D-Form land respectively by revenue officials from tribals while paying the land compensation, houses were constructed at Reddigudem rehabilitation colony with out foundations and any other developmental works; violations in land acquisition under APSALTR, 1/70, violation of the Forest Act, 1894; violations in implementing the Supreme Court order according to SAMATA vs GoAP case, and violations in implementing the High Court orders as per the case between Sarapu China Potu Raju Dora vs Collector, East Godavari district (Annexure IV 8) A Grama Sabha resolution (Annexure IV 9) according to PESA, 1996 was passed by the Rajanagaram Panchayat head quarters on 5-8-2004, in pursuance of the grievances of the PAPs of Reddigudem and Lakshmipuram displaced tribal habitations due to Kovvada reservoir, in order to seek basic information from the government authorities on the reservoir height and flood level, FRL, area of submergence and available R&R package to the displaced tribals (Rao: 2004, Babu 2007: 1-7)

IV.9.6. Peoples Struggle

The Kovvada Reservoir Badhitula (Victims) Committee (KRBC) was formed by the PAPs of Reddigudem and Lakshmipuram in 2004 and several representations were sent to various government departments All the PAPs were motivated for six months and organized exposure visits by the KRBC, to the Surampalem village of East Godavari District, where the tribal PAPs of Surampalem reservoir fought with the government and won in the Hon'ble Andhra Pradesh High Court for proper

implementation of the R&R package (A copy of the counter affidavit submitted by the PAP to Hon'ble High Court and the final judgment on the Surampalem reservoir R&R case, writ petition No 8476/2001, dated, 6-11-2001 is enclosed in Annexures IV 10; IV. 11) (Rao 2004, Rao 2004, Babu 2007. 1-7)

The Kovvada Reservoir PAPs organized protests (*deekshalu*) for almost six months in 2004, at the bund site of the Kovvada reservoir for R&R package with the support of KRBC The displacement issue was also widely published and highlighted in daily news papers i e Hindu, New Indian Express, Eenadu, Vaartha, Andhra Jyothi and Andhra Bhumi (Annexures IV 12, IV 13, IV 14, IV 15, IV 16, IV 17, IV 18, IV 19, IV 20) to the notice of public and the government officials (Rao 2004, Rao 2004, Babu 2007 1-7)

IV.9.7. Demands of Kovvada Reservoir Badhitula Committee (KRBC)

According to the argument of the KRBC (2004), a copy of the R&R should be given to PAPs and the available package must be implemented on par with the package implemented to the PAPs of Surampalem reservoir of East Godavari district, left canal of the Kovvada reservoir must be extended from Reddinagampalem to Tanalakunta Cheruv (pond) so as to supply water to 10,000 acres of tribal lands in Polavaram mandal, rather than developing the non-tribal (up land) areas, and the fishing rights should be given to the two affected tribal villagers As the Lakshmiapuram is also affected by the project, it should also be included and covered under R&R package, a joint survey must be conducted to locate the exact submerge area of the reservoir in association with KRBC, irrigation and revenue departments, and the task of execution of R&R package should be entrusted to the Village Development Committee (VDC) formed by the PAPs (Rao 2004, Babu 2007 1-7)

IV.9.8. Response of the Administration

Due to PAPs struggle for the proper implementation of R&R, the district administration responded positively and negotiated with the affected people with a

w to rehabilitate them (Annexures IV 21, IV 22; IV 23, IV 24, IV 25, IV 26, V. 27, IV. 28) A copy of R&R package abstract and FRL map of the reservoir were given to the PAPs and KRBC (Annexure IV 29) by the RDO and EE of Kovvada Kalva reservoir project. Fishing rights over Kovvada reservoir were granted to the PAPs of the two PAVs i.e. Reddigudem and Lakshmiapuram by the ITDA (Annexure IV 30). A community hall (Rs 5 lakhs), internal roads (Rs 5 lakhs) and water tank (Rs.5 lakhs) were constructed, and an extent of 162 acres of agriculture land was distributed to a 75 PAPs at the rate of two acres each towards land to land compensation (List of PAPs obtained *pattas* under land to land compensation of R&R package is enclosed in Annexure IV 31) (Rao 2004, Rao 2004, Babu 2007 1-7)

Necessary repairs were made by the ITDA to all the houses constructed by the housing department, latrines and bath rooms were constructed to all the 66 house holds in Reddigudem costing at the rate of Rs 4,700 each (Rs 2,700+Rs 2,000), and a joint survey was also conducted by the irrigation and revenue departments, along with KRBC. The survey committee also opined that the Lakshmiapuram PAPs should also be rehabilitated to the safest place in view of their livelihood concerns, all the 63 PAPs of Lakshmiapuram were also given at the rate of 5 cents of housing site each and covered under IAY scheme at the rate of Rs 25,000 each (Annexure IV 32), and money towards, economic rehabilitation and asset building expenses to all the PAPs was given at the rate of Rs 25,000 each. Most of the PAPs, especially aged persons, widows and youth were left out of the rehabilitation process, since their names were not enlisted by the government officials in the R&R report (Rao 2004, Rao 2004, Babu 2007 1-7)

IV.9.9. Role of Scheduled Caste (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) Commissions

KRBC, says that 'It is a pity that, there was no initiation or efforts from the SCs and STs commissions of the state and centre, inspite of the repeated requests sent by the PAPs (Babu 2007 1-7)

9.10. Project vs. People: Who Benefited and Who Lost?

The dam built across the Kovvada and Poleti Vagu streams is a boon for upland parts in the district. All set to be turned into a bane for the Reddigudem and Lakshmiapuram displaced tribals as well as the other tribals in the agency area (Annexure IV 33) The Nayakapods of Lakshmiapuram say that 'we are quite afraid of the safety of our village, though the officials argue that there is nothing to worry on the plea that our village does not fall under the purview of submerged areas' The Konda Reddis of the adjacent Reddigudem are rather lucky, unlike those of Lakshmiapuram, all the Konda Reddi families are being shifted to newly relocated colony constructed jointly by the ITDA and VDC as part of R&R package (Nagaraja 2004, Rao 2004, Babu 2007 1-7)

IV.10. Polavaram Project: A Case Study - II

The proposed Polavaram dam, located in Godavari delta is a part of *Jalayagnam*, a major irrigation expansion programme of the GoAP. The GoAP has laid a foundation stone at Polavaram in 2004, for the construction of a large scale multipurpose irrigation project 'Indira Sagar' across the Godavari river (after more than two decades of its first laid foundation stone). This is also known as 'Sriramapada Sagar', 'Sriseetaramapada Sagar' and 'Godavari Srujala Sravanti' (GoAP 2005 1-2)

IV.10.1. Background and Cost of the Project

It is estimated that an extent of 644 tmcft (18 billion m³) of Godavari water has been flowing wastefully into the Bay of Bengal, every year. The GoAP has been trying to tap the Godavari excess water by establishing Polavaram project along with other projects i.e. Dummagudem and Ichampalli to benefit the agriculture, and to fulfill the industrial and drinking needs of Andhra Pradesh.

The Polavaram project, situated at Ramamahpet is named after its mandal head quarter Polavaram of West Godavari district in Andhra Pradesh. This project is said to be a long pending solution over a period of more than 25 years for solving all water problems in the northern Andhra Pradesh.

This is one of the largest dams in India in terms of its costs and proposed benefits, besides a large scale displacement (GoAP 2005, AFDCL and I&CAD 2005). The estimated cost of the project is Rs 9,265 crores (\$2,131 million), but recently this has been increased to 20,000 crores (\$4,590 million) by the GoAP (GoAP 2005 1-5, AFDCL and I&CAD 2005, Patrick 2005 1-2).

IV.10. 2. Objectives of Polavaram Project

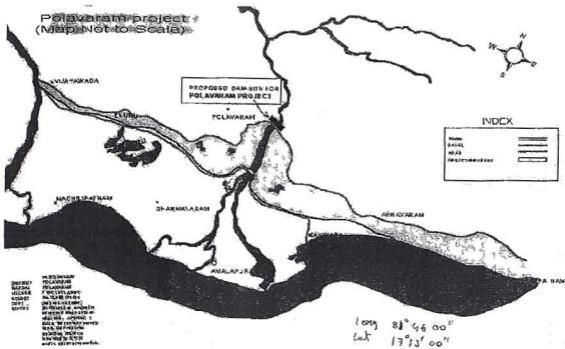
The major objectives of Polavaram project are

- 1 To construct a barrage for water diversion and power generation,
- 2 To divert the project water to the Krishna river delta, through by formation of right main canal,
- 3 To divert the project water to fulfill the drinking, industrial and agricultural needs of Vishakapatnam as well as Vizianagaram and Srikakulam districts through by formation of left right main canal; and
- 4 To lift the water from Godavari to Yeleru left main canal for further distribution of to Vishakapatnam mainly for industrial use through by establishing Pushkaram and Tadipudi lift irrigation projects (GoAP 2005, AFDCL and I&CAD 2005)

IV.10.3. Polavaram Barrage

According to the reports of Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) and Environmental Management Plan (EMP) prepared by the Agriculture Finance Development Corporation Ltd (AFDCL) and I&CAD, the major part of the Polavaram project is the construction of barrage across the Godavari river, ranging 15 km towards the north of Rajhamandry in East Godavari district. The Power will be generated, followed by a canal diversion regulatory system that feeds both the left and right bank canals. The barrage will be constructed at a level of 150 ft (47 mt) and raise the water level at a stretch in the upstream all along Godavari river and several of its tributaries i.e. Sabari river, up to the borders of Orissa and Chattisgarh. It is proposed to construct 1,600 mt long earth and rock-fill barrage across the Godavari river (Figure IV 2 Map of Polavaram Project) of Polavaram mandal. It contains 37 gates, through which the power is generated and allows water into the left and right canals (Table IV 3 Hydrological details of Polavaram multipurpose project) (GoAP 2005, AFDCL and I & CAD 2005. 15-25)

Figure: IV.2. Map of the Polavaram Project and its canal system



IV.10.4. Polavaram Right Main Canal

The right main canal will supply of 80 tmcft of water through Polavaram to Budameru in Vijayawada, which opens into Krishna river upstream of Prakasam barrage. In this way the canal will connect the Godavari and Krishna rivers. The 174 km long canal will draw 80 tmcft (226 million m) of water from the dam site and drop it into the Krishna river. Since the canal is a major one there has also been a proposal to make it navigable for freight boats (GoAP 2005, AFCDL, I & CAD 2005)

IV.10.5. Polavaram Left Main Canal

The left main canal is designed to provide water to 12 lakh acres in north coastal districts besides meeting the drinking water needs of urban and rural areas. It

plies water to coastal Andhra Pradesh and covers Vishakapatnam, Vizianagaram and Ankakulam districts. It will be connected with Yeleru left main canal to supply water to Vishakapatnam for industrial and drinking needs (AFDCL and I & CAD 2005)

IV.10.6. Polavaram Lift Irrigation

The lift irrigation scheme was proposed to supply water to Vishakapatnam and its industrial needs temporarily until completion of Polavaram project. In this process, two new lift irrigation projects such as Pushkaram, and Thadipudi that are being covered for the left bank lift and for the right bank lift respectively. The construction work of these projects is in progress. Spending Rs 150 crores (\$35 million) on these projects likely to be wasted, if the Polavaram project implemented since all these projects promote duplication of canal works in the same coverage area. Instead of going for lift irrigation schemes to supply water to Vishakapatnam and its industrial needs, Yeleru reservoir water might have been properly utilized alternatively, until the completion of the proposed Polavaram project by fulfilling the aspirations of all the PAPs. Lift irrigation schemes are not suggestible, since they incur lot of expenses in view of maintenance (Patrick 2005)

IV.10.7. Benefits of Polavaram Project

According to the reports of GoAP, AFCL and I & CAD GoAP, the proposed benefits of the Polavaram project are providing irrigation facilities to the total extent of 2.91 lakh ha, out of which 1.29 lakh ha are covered through the right main canal and rest of the extent 1.62 lakh ha are covered by the left main canal, stabilization of existing ayacut, assured water supply to Vishakapatnam city and its industrial needs, diversion of 80 tmc of water to Krishna river basin, generation of 720 mw of power, and navigable canals from Polavaram to Vishakapatnam. The command area of the Polavaram project includes Yelamachili, Anakapalli, Tunt, Alamuru, Pithapuram, Peddapuram, Rayavaram, Rajhamandry, Kovvuru, Polavaram, Tadepalligudem, Eluru, Nuzvid and Gannavaram. The Polavaram project still relies on the reports of hydrological, forest and environment and design clearances prepared in 1980. Many of the benefits of the

project such as the area of land that will be irrigated should remain similar to what was estimated decades back (GoAP 2005 1-5, AFDCL and I & CAD 2005)

IV.10.8. Displacement, Rehabilitation and Resettlement (R&R) ✓

Although, the Polavaram project is meant for solving the water problems in the wide spread rural and urban areas of north costal Andhra Pradesh, besides generation of power, it will cause huge displacement of tribals and other weaker sections and violate their human rights The World Commission on Dams (WCD) reports says that more than 60% of the displaced people of large dams in India are SCs and STs The total number of people displaced due to Polavaram project as per the Polavaram Project Environmental Impact Assessment Report (PPEIAR), 1985 is 1,50,695 from 226 villages According to the reports of GoAP, the project brings misery to 1,70,034 people by submerging an area about one lakh acres including forest land, thereby displacing 276 villages, out of which 259, 10 and 7 villages are in Andhra Pradesh, Chattisgarh and Orissa respectively (GoAP 2005 1-5, AFDCL and I&CAD 2005)

As per the reports of EIA, 2005, the data available is inadequate, regarding the number of villages and population to be displaced These figures would be more than 1,70,034 since the population growth has considerably increased by 8% over a period of decade The total estimated population that will be affected due to the project may be around 2,36,834 persons according to the census records latest by 2001 As per the reports of GoAP, the SCs and STs PAPs alone constitute 1,55,700 (65.75%) of the total PAPs, out of which SCs constitute 29,796 (12.58%) and STs constitute 1,25,934 (53.17%) The number of people to be displaced, besides destruction of their livelihoods and environment by the Polavaram project will be higher than displacement problem of the Sardar Sarovar project situated across the Narmada river The official count for the Sardar Sarovar dam in Gujarat is less than Polavaram project by 150,720 displaced people of which 62% comprising of tribal communities(GoAP 2005. 1-5), AFDCL and I&CAD 2005)

total 276 settlements related to 259 revenue villages, having 43,574 households is coming under submergence in three districts of East Godavari, West Godavari and Khammam with the displacement of 42, 29 and 205 settlements respectively (Table IV.4 List of submerged villages due to Polavaram project) in addition to the displacement of 15,105 households under canals in Andhra Pradesh. Due to Polavaram project, the flood area covers 145 km along the Godavari river valley up to Dummugudem, the proposed site for another major irrigation project. Submersion will also spread along the Sabari and Sileru rivers which are tributaries to the Godavari across the borders in the northern part of Chattisgarh and Orissa states. The area of submersion is 637 km² (1.57 lakh acres), out of which 601 km² (1.48 lakh acres) in Andhra Pradesh, 24 km² (41.67) (5,930 ha) in Chattisgarh and 12 km² (5,930 ha) (295 ha) in Orissa (GoAP 2005, AFDCL and I&CAD 2005).

More than 300 hectares of prime forest land, comprising the Papikondalu wildlife sanctuary, will also be submerged. The project proposes to submerge about 44,763.84 ha of land in addition to 53,838 ha of land required for the development of irrigation infrastructure, establishing rehabilitation colonies and creation of green belt, including 3,223 ha of forest land. The main part of the area of submergence falls under the scheduled area, having considerable number of tribal people belonging to Koya and Konda Reddi communities (GoAP 2005, AFCL, I&CAD 2005).

The command area and the beneficiaries of the Polavaram project are non-tribals of the plains. The displacement of such a huge number of population leads to uprooting the traditional communities from their natural environments and livelihoods. In search of livelihood, they will become as migrant labour to urban centers or slums and their life as community will be disintegrated. They also forced to menial occupations to which they will not be able to cope up in their lifetime. The situation, thus alienating tribal people from their traditional habitats as well as their socio-economic life that leads to many social and political conflicts (Patrik 2005).

Agriculture in the project area is largely rain-fed, supported by wells and tanks, where two crops can be had per year assuming a good monsoon. The same tanks and wells

so serve as source of drinking water throughout the year. Lack of a permanent source of water has caused trouble to the farmers but for most years the rainfall of 1,150 mm per year is sufficient for sustenance. Polavaram can thus be seen as an attempt to provide economic development by increased availability of water but not relief from drought as in the case with some projects in the Telangana area of Andhra Pradesh. The likely losses to the agriculture sector of the project affected region are also unusual. This includes the losses to main cultivable crops in the submergence area like cotton, paddy and tobacco covering approximately an extent of 10,000 acres, 10,000 acres and 6,000 acres, covering 150, 75 and 250 person-days of work on an average per one acre respectively. Probable losses to other livelihoods will also worsen the situation further (Patrik 2005).

Submergence in the scheduled areas creates special problems for both tribals as well as non-tribals. Tribal people are likely to receive some form of compensation for their lands acquired by the government as per their title deeds. Since land in scheduled areas can only be sold to other tribals, there will be no market price attached to their lands. Therefore the government will not fix a low arbitrary sum of money, in order to help the tribal to acquire new land of good quality elsewhere, in case of non-availability of land in scheduled areas. For non-tribals in scheduled areas the situation may be even worse, since most of them are encroachers and they may have only a temporary title deed that does not give any right to compensation despite having lived on the same land for decades. However, it is not known at present how many land-holders will be affected by the project or what extent of their fields will be submerged (Annexures IV 34, IV 35; IV 36, IV 37). Another important aspect needed is identification of the ratio between tribal and non-tribal people based on their livelihoods. People who have no land and whose livelihood is based on farm work or collection of MFPs from forest or other Common Property Resources (CRPs) will also be given a top priority in order to encourage them to take up economically sustainable activities.

IV.10.9. Canal Displacement

Since only limited work has started at the time of writing the inevitable conflicts on compensation are happening around the extensive canal system. The Polavaram left canal is currently being built to run parallel to the one coming from Tadipudi lift irrigation project, in some parts as close as 400 m from each other. This will double the area of displacement estimated at 6,600 acres in total as well as use up twice the resources for the construction. The size of displacement caused by the left and right main canals should not be ignored given the length and size of them. The left canal is 163 km in length with an unknown width. The right canal might be even 80 m wide and navigable by large transport ships through a system of locks. To this there will be a need for additional land on each canal bank. Canal displacement for the left and right main canals could come up to 6,523 acres (2,640 ha). In comparison the medium irrigation project Peddagadda dam in Vizianagaram district is 12,000 acres.

People displaced by canals have not historically been considered as Project Affected People (PAP) in any dam project in Andhra Pradesh. A recent demand was made by the opposition party TDP that these oustees should also be included in rehabilitation plans. The government of Andhra Pradesh has agreed in principle. Actual results on implementation are likely to require significant agitation however since not even dam victims can feel assured of compensation at present. The above mentioned agitations all come from the insecurity felt by farmers who do not know if they will receive any form of compensation for their lands.

IV.10.10. Inter-State Displacement

As part of the interstate negotiations the smaller displacement suffered in Orissa and Chattisgarh has been discussed at high level meetings and Andhra Pradesh has promised compensation to the villages in the other states. Since inter-state conflicts are some of the most difficult to solve the Andhra Pradesh Governments' plan on how to move ahead with the project is to contain as much of the submersion from the dam as much to Andhra Pradesh. If this means that the dam will be smaller or that the

submersion has simply been moved from Chattisgarh and Orissa to Andhra Pradesh is not known. The GoAP has offered to raise a protection wall or pay compensation for people in two villages marked for submergence, Motu and Kunta in Chattisgarh and Orissa respectively. An offer of sharing 1.5 and 5 tmcms of water to Orissa and Madhya Pradesh states respectively, without any cost on their part for the dam or the storage of water. These states will also be allowed to use the waterways for transportation at lower rates and take other advantages like fishing rights.

IV.10.11. Mandatory Public Hearing

The GoAP completed EPHs simultaneously in Khammam, West Godavari, East Godavari, Visakhapatnam and Krishna districts on 10-10-2005 (Annexure IV 38), except in the submergence area of Orissa and Chattisgarh. No information is served to the office bearers of Panchayats of the submerged villages (Annexure IV 39). As a result lakhs of people of 276 settlements to be submerged by the project have been deprived of this rare opportunity available to raise their concerns, objections and opinions. According to the minutes of public hearing held at MROs office at Polavaram, all most all the respondents expressed their concern over the proper implementation of R&R package and dissemination of the project information to PAPs (Annexure IV 40).

IV.10.12. Polavaram Project Environment Impact Assessment Report (PPEIAR) and Environment Clearance

The Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) process was introduced with the purpose of identifying and evaluating the potential impacts (beneficial and adverse) on environment, socio-economic and cultural dimensions of the PAPs. In addition to EIA report, several other reports relevant to Environment Management Plan (EMP), Risk Assessment Report (RAP) and Disaster Management Plan (DMP), the number of villages and population to be displaced, Rehabilitation Master Plan (RMP),

ompensatory Afforestation Plan (CAP), Environmental Public Hearing (EPH), etc are required to obtain Environmental Clearance

The EIA Notification SO 60 (E), dated 27-1-1994 issued by MoEF, GoI, by incorporating various amendments issued as on date, stipulates that river valley projects including major irrigation projects shall not be undertaken without obtaining Environmental Clearance of the Central Government in accordance with the procedure laid down. The idea behind the EIA concept is to consider the environmental and human factors involved in displacement and to involve the PAPs in the decision making process through Environmental Public Hearing (EPH) in order to promote and safeguard their socio-economic development. Thus, the EPH provides a legal space for the PAPs (public) to raise their concerns and opinions.

Clearances from central government departments are required on a number of issues, despite, water being a state subject according to the constitution. There is no clear cut legal regulation that prescribes how a project is to be designed at the state level and systematic approach to be followed to obtain central clearances. Rehabilitation procedures are meant to be looked at by the Central Water Commission (CWC) who appraises water projects on behalf of the Planning Commission but in reality the commission remains focused on technical issues and rarely if ever look into displacement. Instead it is often the foreign credit agencies that have come to adopt norms on compensation that has forced Indian authorities to take action. Despite the law being clear on the need to rehabilitate displaced people implementation remain weak until today.

Polavaram project was launched by the state government, even before obtaining the environment and other statutory clearances from the GoI. On this ground, the Hon'ble High Court of Andhra Pradesh, ordered stay on the project during 2005 (Annexures IV 41, IV 42). But the state government interpreted that, the stay is only applicable to the Barrage component of the project, but not for the canal works.

IV.10.13. Polavaram Project vs. Possible Alternatives

The objective of EIA is to evaluate the beneficial and adverse effects of the project on the environment including socio-economic, cultural and aesthetic concerns. EIA also helps in examining alternatives to setting of projects, minimizing, mitigating or compensating for adverse impacts on the society, ecology and environment. But unfortunately, the same old project which was conceived 50 years back with outdated designs, concepts etc is being implemented with minor modifications, ignoring the aspirations and needs of the present-day society, technological innovations etc and even without examining the possible alternatives to mitigate the adverse impacts. This is considered to be a serious lapse and needs to be examined before the project is even considered for environmental clearance.

Andhra Pradesh launched the Polavaram project without waiting for the Centre's approval. It ignored the claims of Karnataka, Maharashtra, Orissa, and Chattisgarh to Godavari waters. As Andhra Pradesh attempts to stall construction of projects by the Karnataka government on the Krishna river and by Maharashtra on both Krishna and Godavari it should be expected that the other states do the same towards Andhra Pradesh. More state quarrels should be expected especially for the newly opened Krishna Water Tribunal.

In Andhra Pradesh, GO Ms No 64 of the Social Welfare department of 18/4/1990 states that clearance has to be sought from the Tribal Welfare Department on any project taken up in the scheduled area. None of the Integrated Tribal Development Agencies (ITDAs) in Kotaramachandrapuram, Bhadrachalam and Rampachodavaram, has reportedly any knowledge about the project. The Project Officer (PO), TDA, Kotaramachandrapuram, even issued a statement in the local newspaper that there has been no communication whatsoever regarding the project with the concerned departments. Until these local offices are informed it is unlikely that any efforts towards rehabilitation or even negotiations about rehabilitation can be started. The government has issued GO 68 in place of GO 64 in 2005.

the year. Therefore, it contributes to the improvement of ground water table in the entire delta systems and will be stabilizing the ayacut of Godavari and Krishna deltas. In this model there are no opposing sections of people and all are only beneficiaries and as such the scheme will be acceptable to all and can be easily implemented. The entire system proposed by him is confined to Andhra Pradesh territory and hence forth there will be no inter-state disputes. The proposal consists of small barrages and reservoirs and as such the system can be constructed within five years and the benefits can be achieved in a short period. This involves known technology for boring the tunnels. It saves about 1.5 lakhs acres of cultivable land, 300 villages, public utilities already developed by the government and National heritage sites, temples, Papikondalu from permanent submergence, thereby protecting the tribal communities and their natural environment, tribals and their culture. Biksham and Krishna (2006) also focused on Polavaram with divergent views much before the project has been started as part of WWF-IRISAT research project. NGOs like Samata, Centre for World Solidarity (CWS) and Shakti have also published on alternatives to Polavaram.

The WCD suggests 'an approach based on 'recognition of rights' and 'assessment of risks'...be developed as a tool for future planning and decision making. Secondly, in line with the point emphasized in the guiding principles that the Primary duty and responsibility for providing humanitarian assistance to internally displaced persons lies with project authorities' in order to overcome the inadequacies of the R&R policy and its current form of dealing the impoverishment risks, and socio-cultural and politico-economic needs of the DPs. The commission also opined that 'there is a need to link development with displacement policy, which assumes greater importance in view of the onslaught of national and international capital in the age of so-called liberalisation, globalisation and privatisation to protect the rights of vulnerable communities to be an equal partner in developmental process' (WCD 2000).

Absence of the Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, at the National level and violation of protective laws, regulations, legislations, and court orders, the tribal rights has been neglected. As the tribals have an emotional attachment with their land and habitat, they have been resisting all through the threats of land alienation and displacement and

occurrence of people's movements is its testimony. Efforts of committed NGOs, academicians, social workers and activists can yield good results in rehabilitation of displaced communities. According to Rao (2002) 'When well conceived rehabilitation measures are running in to rough weather, successful rehabilitation of people who were uprooted and dispersed decades back is doubtful proposition'

Fernandes (1997 31-33) says that 'perhaps what is responsible for this fact and the main factor in decision-making today is the contractor-political nexus and an engineering outlook on development. This has to change, if people are to get the benefits of development. What is missing are not alternatives, but political will'

IV.10.14. Actors Opposing the Polavaram Dam

Majority of the non-tribal groups of plains are welcoming the government initiatives and supporting the implementation of the project, since it provides irrigation facilities and power supply for the development of their region. The tribal PAPs are opposing the project, as they are being forced to move from their home lands and livelihoods besides deprivation of their traditions and culture.

The Leftist groups like Communist Party of India (CPI), Communist Party of India (CPI-M); Communist Party of India (CPI-ML) (New Democracy), Ryotucoli Sangam, Agency Girijana Sangham; Peoples Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL), Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS), Telangana Medhavula Ikaya Vedhika, have been organizing PAPs of Polavaram project to demand the government for implementation of better R&R package. Naxalite groups like Communist Party of India (Maoist) and Janashakti have been opposing the Polavaram project as well as mining activities in tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh. Activities of NGO networks like Disaster Preparedness (DP), CRY, Shakti and many others are commendable in mobilising the PAPs to raise their voices against all the threats of displacement due to Polavaram project. The Leader of the Narmda Bachavo Andolan (NBA) and the prominent social activist, Medha Patkar also led an NGO delegation to the GoAP on the Polavaram displacement issue and negotiated with the Ponnala Lakshmaiah, Hon'ble Minister for Major

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irrigation in 2005 (Annexures IV 44, IV. 45, IV 46, IV 47, IV 48; IV 49, IV 50; IV. 51). Telugu Desam Party (TDP) has been fighting against the corruption in the project tenders. The CPI, CPI (M), CPM (ML) (New Democracy) has been working for proper compensation to PAPs.

The PAPs of Polavaram project have been agitating at the project site and demanding for justice, since the dam works are started on the right canal, without providing any information to them (Annexure IV 52; IV 53, IV 54, IV 55, IV 56, IV 57, IV 58, IV. 59; IV. 60, IV 61) The project authorities have been threatening the PAPs, through illegal arrests by police in the name of anti-social and anti-development elements. So far, many of the displaced protesters were arrested by the police and false criminal cases were booked against them. It is evident from the arrests of the tribal activists, who have been organizing the tribal PAPs to fight against the project authorities for proper implementation of R&R package for them (Annexure IV 62). The contractors have already received mobilization advances of Rs 1,000 crores from the government for initiating the project works (Annexure IV 63) and have made a written statement that construction works will not be continued without necessary clearances. Faced with opposition from villagers threatened by displacement, problems with clearances from the central government, inter-state conflicts and a lack of sufficient funds for the project, the authorities responded with out any change in the design of the Polavaram multi purpose project. If the Government continues the Polavaram project works, with out solving the PAPs problems, may lead to major conflict between PAPs and project authorities in the future.

Table: IV.1. Hydrological details of Kovvada reservoir

S.No	Particulars	
1	Name of the Project	Kovvada Kalva Reservoir Scheme
2	Location of Head Works	LND Peta in Polavaram mandal of West Godavari district
3.1	Hydrology	
	Catchment Area	111 37 sq km
3.2	Dependable Yield	28 00 m cum (989 m cft)
3 3	Utilisation	1 13 m cum (40 m cft)
3 4	Required Demand	25 97 m cum (917 m cft)
3 5	Max Flood Discharge	630 30 cumecs (+22,259 cusecs)
3.6	FRL	+90 50 m (+296 93 ft)
3 7	MDDL	+81 00 m (+265 76 Ft)
4	Maximum Discharge in the Canals	
4 1	Left Canal	0 72 cumecs (25 42 cusecs)
4 3	Right Canal	1 761 cumec (62 19 cusecs)
5	Ayacut Proposed	7,179 ha (17,739 acres)
6	Mandals Benefited	Polavaram and Gopalapuram mandals in West Godavari district
7	Estimated Cost of the Project (GO Ms No 130, dt 22-9-2000)	52 11 crores
8	BC Ratio	4 05 1
9	Details of Submergence	39 27 ha
10	Total Area of Submergence	286 27 ha (707 acres)
11	Reserved Forest	39 27 ha
12	No of Villages Submerged	1 (Reddigudem)
13	No of Villages Benefited	3 tribal and 12 non-tribals
14	Population Benefited	35,000
15	Population Affected	195
(Source I&CAD, West Godavari district, GoAP, 2001)		

Table IV. 2. Ayacut details of Kovvada reservoir.

No	Name of the Village	Extent Proposed to be Irrigated					
		Left Canal		Right Canal		Total Extent ha	
		ha	acres	ha	acres	ha	acres
I Polavaram Mandal							
1	LND Pet	1,24 09	306 63	-	-	124 09	306 63
2	Reddi Na	2,64 74	654 17	-	-	264 74	645 17
3	Pra da all	2,53 37	626 07	84 56	208 95	337 93	835 02
4	Pattuseema	-	-	882 48	2,180 61	882 48	2,180 61
5	Gutala	-	-	1,311 38	3,240 42	1,311 38	3,240 42
6	Venkata uram	-	-	12 93	32 00	12 93	32 00
	Total	6,42 20	1 86 87	2,291 35	5,661 98	2,933.55	7 248 85
II Go ala uram Mandal							
1	Kara a du	76 50	189 03	97 59	241 15	174 09	430 18
2	Donda udi	1,38 35	341 87	-	-	138 35	341 87
3	Sa adu	2,02 04	499 23	-	-	202 04	499 23
4	Guddi udem	-	-	383 53	947 70	385 53	947 70
5	Kovvu adu	-	-	457 29	1,129 96	457 29	1,129 96
6	Nandi udem	-	-	212 20	524 35	212 20	524 35
7	Go ala uram	-	-	94 66	233 91	94 66	233 91
8	Bhimolu	-	-	1,377 55	3,403 93	1,377 55	3,403 93
9	Gan olu	-	-	1,205 53	2,978 86	1,205 53	2,978 86
	Total	416 89	1,030 13	3 828 35	9 459 86	4 245 24	10489 99
	Grand Total	1,059 09	2,617 00	6,119 70	15 121 80	7,178 79	17,738 84

(Source I&CAD, West Godavari district, GoAP, 2001)

Table IV.3. Hydrological details of Polavaram project

S. No.	PARTICULARS	
1	Longitude	81-46' E
2	Latitude	17-13' N
3	Village and Mandal	Near Ramamahpet (V), Polavaram
4	District	West Godavari District
Main Work		
1	Length of Earth cum Rock fill dam	2310m
2	Length of spillway on Right flank	985 m
3	Power house of left flank	12 units each of 80 mw
4	Length of Left Main Canal	181 50 km
5	Length of Right Main Canal	174 00 km
Hydrology		
1	Catchment Area (upto dam site)	3,06,643 sq Km or 1,18,446 sq miles
2	Designed Flood Discharge	
3	Maximum Observed Flood Discharge at Polavaram Project (1986)	4
4	Annual rain fall	
Submergence		
	No of Villages Coming under Submersion	276
	Population to be Rehabilitated	117,034 - 200,000
Dam works		
1	Full Reservoir Level (FRL)	
2	MDDL	+45 72 mt (+50 00 ft)
3	Gross storage at FRL	5 511 +14 15 m (+135 00 ft) tm cumecs (194 60 tmc)
4	Storage at MDDL	3 381 tm cumecs (119 40 tmc)
5	Live storage above MDDL	2 13 tm cumecs (73 20 tmc)
Earth cum rock fill dam across the river		
1	Length	1,750 mt (5742 ft)
2	Length	50 mt (1837 ft)
3	TBL	+53 32 mt (+175 ft)
4	Top width	12 50 mt (41 ft)
5	Deep bed level	+3 00 mt (10 ft)
Spillway on right flank		
1	Designed flood discharge	1 02 Lakh cumecs (36 lakh cusecs)
2	Top level of gates	+45 72 mt
3	Crest level	+25 72 mt
4	No and Size of Grants	44 nos each 16m X 20m
5	Length f Spillway between Abutments	897 50 m
Power house		
1	Location	D / S slope of 'D' hill adjacent to earth cum rock fill dam
2	Approach Channel	Bed width 350 mt discharging capacity 3825 cum (1,35,000 cusecs)

	Intake Tunnels	12
	A. No of Tunnels	9 50 m
	B. Diameter	440 m X 28 m
5	Size	12 Nos each of 80 mw
6	No of Units	Vertical Kalpan type adjustable blade turbines
7	Type of Turbine	+24 m
8	Desi Head	
tail race channel		
1	Len	1000m
2	Bed Width	200m
3	Discharge	5096 cumecs (180000 cumecs)
Left Main Canal		
1	Lenth of Main Canal	181 50 km
2	Full Su l Dischar e	232 16 cumecs
3	FSL at Start	51 50 m
4	Bed Width	4 27 m
5	Bed Fall	1 in 20,000
6	Ayacut	4 00 lakh ac
7	Water Demands	
8	Irri ation	106 18 tmc
9	Water su l to Vizag	23 44 tmc
Ri ht Main Canal		
1	Length of Canal	174 km
2	FS Discharge	400 32 cumcs
3	FSL	40 232 m
4	Bed width	68 50 m
5	FS de th	5 00 m
6	Bed Fall	1 in 20,000
7	A acut	3 2 lakh ac
Cost of the Pro'ect		Rs 8,198 cr
B.C.Ratio		2 54 1
(Source I&CAD, West Godavari district, GoAP, 2005)		

Table IV. 4. List of villages / habitations, households and population displaced / submerged due to Polavaram project

S.N	Village/Habitation	District / Mandal	Households		Population	
			Total	STs	Total	STs
1	Mamamidigondi	West Godavari Polavaram	86	84	353	342
2	Devara ondi		61	61	213	213
3	Ramah eta		223	5	994	20
4	Chegonda allı		117	115	450	448
5	Kodrukota		87	46	321	165
6	Sin ana allı		94	74	363	272
7	di aka		243	16	1,033	58
8	Kothru		104	0	411	0
9	Kotha Mamidi ondi		32	32	108	108
10	Madha uram		42	26	146	85
11	Tallavaram		129	124	498	478
12	Ga ula ondi		64	64	208	208
13	Wada allı		77	63	270	216
14	Mulakalagudem		67	63	234	222
15	Thutiunta		131	92	474	348
16	Pudakalgondi		3	3	15	15
17	Erravaram		54	52	212	206
18	Palla uru		35	34	132	128
19	Paidakulamamıdı		32	32	123	123
20	Sarugudu		24	24	83	83
21	Tekuru		78	34	296	132
22	Borna ondi		11	11	47	47
23	Cheeduru		54	49	215	199
24	Sivagiri		95	84	330	288
25	Koruturu		62	60	216	210
26	Sirivaka		39	39	138	138
27	Telladibbala		16	16	49	49
28	Thotagondi		39	39	137	137
29	Kamavaram		3	A	12	A
		Total	2,102	1,342 (64%)	8,081	4,938 (61%)
30	Anguluru	East Godavari Devi atanam	70	30	277	111
31	Pudi allı		180	1	776	2
32	Paragasani allı		43	32	196	153
33	Gonduru		130	80	510	295
34	A.Veeravaram		29	5	128	17
35	Veeravaramlanka		57	0	223	0
36	Nagala allı		72	57	245	197
37	Dandangı		74	32	309	131
38	Gan am alem		63	62	251	240
39	Bodi dem		16	16	76	76
40	Ravilanka		43	38	174	145
41	Devi atanam		340	12	1,398	34

	h.Ramaih		133	36	562	148
	o Veeravaram		29	27	114	104
	Gu balampadu		21	21	79	79
	Seetharam		39	33	148	130
	Damana li		61	49	272	209
	Gan la ondi		15	15	60	60
	Yenu la udem		50	50	202	202
	Lin avaram		15	15	52	52
0	To ru		253	50	1,151	29
5	A aram		31	8	121	121
52	Mula u		43	31	179	153
3	Manturu		137	38	510	287
4	Madi lli		65	81	246	174
55	Penikala u		38	47	154	142
56	Mulametta		41	35	150	150
57	Mettaveedhi		60	41	219	218
58	Kachuluru		58	59	223	217
59	Suddakonda		4	56	21	21
60	Kotha dem		31	4	128	128
61	Gonduru		31	31	110	100
62	Kondamodala		153	26	583	267
63	Talluru		70	71	277	261
64	Teli ru		50	65	196	170
65	Nadi udi		28	44	106	98
66	Somala adu		37	26	153	153
67	Kethana adu		37	37	128	128
68	Kokkiru dem		53	53	204	204
69	Metla dem		57	56	178	174
70	Tadiwada		44	44	169	169
71	Peddagudem		65	65	218	218
		Total	2,866	1,566 54%)	11,476	5,967 (52%)
72	Gogubaka	Khammam Bhadrachalam	105	57	441	252
73	Gommuko a dem		110	109	472	464
74	Ka avaram		91	0	401	0
75	Golla dem		56	2	244	13
76	Tri urantaveedu		55	2	305	21
77	Sita uram		124	1	603	6
78	Racha om alli		25	7	114	29
79	Gouridavi eta		66	13	274	45
80	Nandi a		311	2	1,320	7
81	Morumuru		125	90	593	444
82	Gommorumuru		49	0	247	0
83	Kotha dem		76	74	353	343
84	Nandi am adu/Mari ad		66	0	309	0
		Total	1,259	357 (28%)	5,676	1,624 (28%)
85	Poli akachinna	Kunavaram	64	0	298	0
86	Poli aka da		31	1	144	3
87	Gunduari dem		24	24	99	99
88	Pochavaram		104	40	383	131

	Pochavaram colon	119	37	510	160
	Kachavaram	221	0	960	0
	Du a	67	66	281	277
92	Kolla adu	80	77	354	340
3	Tekubaka	150	22	632	90
94	Venkata a alem	94	52	434	252
5	Potlavai	68	67	235	234
96	Gommua avarigudem	34	0	143	0
	Peddanarasinga eta	50	42	213	177
98	Chinnanarasinga eta	54	49	248	225
99	Karaka dem	73	53	293	218
100	Ayyavari dem	59	57	240	232
101	Kondaya udem	44	25	189	114
102	Gommugudem	108	0	405	0
103	Kumaraswam gudem	26	0	102	0
104	Marrigudem	46	0	174	0
105	Palluru	113	74	480	294
106	Ja avaram	199	66	846	271
107	Jag avaram colon	42	34	139	103
108	Suchirevulagudem	201	65	841	255
109	Suchirevula	49	0	194	0
110	Kunavaram	726	11	3,175	40
111	Tekulaboru	449	85	1,820	350
112	Kondra'u eta	41	38	164	149
113	Pusugudem	62	62	263	263
114	Jinnela dem	146	141	665	638
115	Bandarugudem	26	26	98	98
116	Peddaarkuru	157	133	581	483
117	Repaka	194	188	755	730
118	Musaragudem	5	0	14	0
119	Bhagan uram	95	92	393	382
120	Mulluru	143	75	540	307
121	Kuturu	118	98	471	391
122	Abhicherla	158	144	635	575
123	Lingapuram	103	101	418	410
124	Koderu	16	12	90	72
125	Tallagudem	26	26	112	112
126	Ba'aravi dem	96	63	387	268
127	Ravigudem	12	12	46	46
128	Regula adu	144	144	607	607
129	Venkannagudem	74	74	305	305
130	Pandira upally	160	160	619	619
131	Wolford eta	44	44	201	201
132	Sabari Kotha dem	145	141	657	644
	Total	5,260	2,721 (51%)	21,753	11,165 (51%)
	Chintoor	130	116	537	478
133	Kalleru	183	165	863	790
134	Chidumuru	131	88	595	790
135	Kuyuguru	354	270	1,490	1,121
136	Chatti	122	122	525	525
137	Veera uram	561	134	2,442	578
138	Chintoor				

	Andaru dem		52	49	203	195
	Kummuru		228	225	980	970
	Gorrela dem		13	13	68	68
	Mamilla dem		108	107	488	482
	Chuturu		143	142	635	632
	Mukunuru		118	101	444	382
	Tummaru dem		42	42	180	180
	A ara ukoduru		226	211	944	875
7	Jallivari udem		37	37	162	162
48	Ulumuru		116	96	486	395
	Mallithota		145	140	612	591
	Total	2,709		2,058	612	591
				76%		(75%
150	Cho alle	V R Puram	128	77	535	320
151	Ramavaram		86	71	393	310
152	Ramavara adu		67	64	260	250
153	Somula dem		55	43	210	168
154	Ko alle		41	41	163	163
155	Ravi dem		35	24	136	91
156	Bora dem		11	11	51	51
157	Venkanna dem		99	96	393	381
158	Prathi adu		60	60	260	260
159	Tustivari dem		44	44	211	211
160	Gundu varigudem		28	16	106	60
161	Chintare alli		202	50	878	211
162	Kannaiyah dem		31	31	125	125
163	Sunnamvari dem		51	48	199	185
164	Nuti dem		46	45	241	237
165	Metta dem		4	4	11	11
166	Gurram eta		92	92	425	425
167	Ummadivaram		174	168	678	648
168	Annaram		103	101	474	469
169	Rekha alli		284	108	1,145	439
170	Waddi dem		406	19	1,727	85
171	Dharmatalla dem		75	75	328	328
172	Vararamchandra uram		587	63	2,427	236
173	Thota alli		106	105	442	438
174	Ra'u ta		29	0	118	0
175	Ra'u ta colon		238	1	1,001	6
176	Sitam eta		90	2	412	10
177	Srirama 'ri		118	36	499	135
178	Chokkana alli		98	93	361	342
179	Kothuru		6	6	20	20
180	Kalthunuru		63	59	230	214
181	Jeedi a		100	77	428	334
182	Isunuru		24	14	70	43
183	Ravi dem		39	37	151	142
184	MulakaI alli		66	36	267	149
185	Mu alamma ondi		17	17	65	65
186	Bhimavaram		2	2	9	9
187	Kotaru ommu		37	32	175	159
188	I uru		53	53	209	203

0	Pochavaram		79	71	281	253
1	Tummileru		75	74	296	292
1	Konde udi		17	16	65	61
192	Kolluru		30	29	116	111
193	Gonduru		25	25	103	103
4	Narsin a eta		75	66	331	303
		Total	4,096	2,202	17,025	9,062
				(53%)		(53%)
195	Sridhara	Bur m ahad	133	2	672	6
196	Veleru		168	44	788	193
197	Ravigudem		104	0	525	0
198	Venkata uram		175	6	719	31
199	Gum ena alli		36	0	175	0
200	Bhon ir		43	40	172	161
201	Ali dem		89	45	436	196
202	Gana avaram		87	0	454	0
203	Ibrahim eta		120	0	547	0
		Total	955	137	4488	587
				(14%)		(13%)
204	Tondi aka	Kukkanur	115	15	599	76
205	Mittagudem		131	0	596	0
206	Ban aragudem		149	104	682	463
207	Amaravaram		427	118	1,841	543
208	Komalatlagudem		126	70	529	279
209	Upperu		248	25	1,215	117
210	Koyagudem		53	52	228	225
211	Reddigudem		29	29	136	136
212	Damaracherla		273	1	1,197	4
213	Yella agudem		31	31	108	108
214	Chiravalli		188	0	856	0
215	Kothuru		29	29	120	120
216	Marru adu		56	24	246	101
217	Madhavaram		168	62	707	250
218	Koundinyamukthi		35	17	167	81
219	Vin'aram		185	0	865	0
220	Mu alamma adu		102	0	445	0
221	Konda alli		230	26	1,075	127
222	Konda alliko agudem		35	35	147	147
223	Maredubaka		214	85	933	333
224	Kivvaka		219	0	896	0
225	Kummaragudem		61	60	242	238
226	Kukkanoor		608	13	2,379	33
227	Ramasingavaram		418	5	1,729	17
228	Kistaram		64	59	295	279
229	Kurla adu		44	42	165	156
230	Lankala alli		23	22	113	107
231	Iska adu		59	43	246	185
232	Dhachavaram		70	9	321	41
233	Bestagudem		88	9	355	49
234	U aramaddigatla		90	0	419	0
235	Ramachandra uram		211	83	1,004	413
236	Kothuru		35	0	144	0

		184	14	861	61
	Total	4,998	1,082	21,855	4,689
			(21%)		(21%)
8	Rudramkota	266	2	1,139	6
	Puchirevula	143	83	664	340
	Puchirevula colon	63	62	303	301
1	Lachi dem	71	60	309	269
	Re a ommu	138	50	1,054	225
	Nadimi ommu	50	0	183	0
44	Maddi atla	81	75	379	361
245	Vele adu	314	28	1,328	116
246	Na la dem	107	49	420	189
247	Thatikura ommu	36	3	159	18
248	Bhudevi ta	88	0	376	0
249	Srirama uram	20	10	87	46
250	Ja annadha uram	271	83	1,134	339
251	Sa all	113	110	486	478
252	Korra'ula dem	33	33	145	145
253	Tirumal uram	34	13	133	47
254	Patha Kannaisutta	183	168	716	648
255	Kotha Konnası tta	57	0	214	0
256	Narlavarivaram	79	2	318	11
257	Kothuru	79	76	300	288
258	Chi mamıdı	143	63	655	275
259	Bolla alli	68	67	234	232
260	Edalli	66	66	296	296
261	Boradaı udem	29	28	103	98
262	Katkuru	120	52	480	207
263	Tekuru	75	74	299	295
264	Kacharam	71	71	316	316
265	Koida	132	106	549	428
266	Talla ondi	11	11	44	44
267	Pusa ondi	22	22	94	94
268	Teku alli	47	42	183	169
269	Perantla alli	35	35	151	151
270	Chittamreddi alem	44	44	185	185
271	Siddaram	37	37	126	126
272	Chintala adu	7	7	22	22
273	Padamitimitta	68	66	332	321
274	Burratho	149	137	686	626
275	Turu umitta	40	40	205	205
276	Kakisanoor	63	61	219	216
	Total	3,553	1,936	15,026	8,138
			54%		54%

Source. I&CAD, West Godavari district, GoAP, 2005

Chapter V

Development vs. Alienation

The tribal areas of the country, which were pleasant and placid, have been periodically stunned by violent outbursts of disturbances due to exploitation of tribals and encroachment of their natural resources. Because of this situation, the tribals organized more than 80 revolts against the non-tribals, money lenders, land lords, liquor vendors and other anti-tribal policies (*laissez-faire* procedures) of the British over a period of 200 years (Ragavaiah 1971, Rao 1999 73-74)

The Koya revolt of 1803, Rampa rebellion of 1879, Konda Reddi and Koya revolts of Godavari districts under the leadership of Alluri Seetharama Raju during 1922-1924 and Gonds (*babjhari*) uprising of the 1940 under the leadership Komaram Bheem in Adilabad district were some of the important tribal revolts against the rulers before independence. One of the main causes for the Rampa rebellion was due to introduction of *abkari* regulations and preventing the drawing of toddy for domestic consumption and leasing the toddy revenue to renters. The police, who had assisted the government to introduce the new toddy rules and also oppressed the people on their own account, was a contributory cause. Haimendorf analyzed the historical facts and circumstances leading to revolt and condition of local tribals. According to him the history of the Rampa rebellion is important in two respects, it shows firstly that aboriginals, even if inherently not of a war like character are capable of considerable efforts when driven to extremities, and secondly that it is both inexpedient and dangerous to allow the control and exploitation of aboriginal populations to fall into the hands of unscrupulous and unsupervised outsiders, who, although not directly responsible to government, are backed by the authority of the police and the law courts. These observations of Haimendorf appear to be most relevant to the modern situation in tribal areas (Haimendorf 1945 31-33)

In the erstwhile Madras Presidency, hill tribal outbreaks (*fituris*) occurred in the Golconda hills during 1845-1848, 1857-1858, 1879-1880, 1886 and 1891, the Jeypore zamindari region during 1849-1850 and 1855-1856, Gunupur taluk during 1864 and

1865; and Salur taluk during 1900. Thus, series of revolts occurred in several parts of tribal areas of the then Madras Presidency due to negligence on the part of administrators and exploitation of tribals by landlords and money lenders and merchants (Gazetteer of Visakhapatnam district, Madras Presidency 1907 57-58, Rao 1999: 73-74)

According to Rao (1999), the British administration neglected the tribal areas due to their inaccessibility and difficult nature of terrain, less revenue, lack of basic facilities and influence of philosophy of myth of 'noble savage' on administrators and policy makers were some of the important reasons for negligence of tribals and their areas during the British rule in India. 'In the long run, the policy shattered the economic base of the tribals and reduced them to a state of penury. It created bitterness among them for their countrymen and also isolated them from main stream of the society. Eventually the bitterness and unrest among the tribals surfaced in sporadic movements and armed revolts' (Verma 1990 46-47). The tribals revolted against the British regime and feudal landlords during 18th century and these rebellions especially Kol Mutiny of 1831 waged by Hos and Mundas in Chotanagpur area (present Ranchi and Hazaribagh districts) was considered as the first well known struggle by the tribals. Several revolts occurred in Chotanagpur area of Bihar and consequently the British rulers adopted the policy of 'indirect rule' through local tribal chiefs not only in Chotanagpur area but also in other parts of the tribal areas in the country (Ragavaiah 1971 53-55, Rao 1999 73-74)

Augustus Cleveland, the then District Collector of Rajmahal hills in Chotanagpur area during the British rule, adopted the policy of reconciliation rather than conflict and confrontation with martial tribals like Pahariyas and other tribal communities. He formulated a policy of special treatment and administration through local chiefs, popularly known as 'Damin-i-Koh'. The 'Damin-i-Koh' area was exempted from the jurisdiction of ordinary courts and put under the sole charge of the Collector. He made his own rules for conduct of the affairs of the area. Separate rules under the regulation 1 of 1796 were made for administration of the area as also for conducting the meetings of the Hill Assembly. The 'Damin-i-Koh' was made a non-regulation area.

It was the first experiment in providing simple administration to the tribals and may be regarded as the precursor and the prototype of the non-regulation areas which were subsequently carved out as the scheduled districts, the backward tracts and excluded and partially excluded areas' Cleveland was the founder of policy of extension of protective regulations and implementation of other measures of welfare administration in tribal areas (Verma 1990 47-49, Rao 1999 73-74)

The edifice of colonial forestry was inherited by the GoI and immediately put to work in the service of the state's primary goals of rapid industrialization. The National Forest Policy (NFP) 1952 underlies continuity of the colonial policy. It reinforced the claim of the state to exclusive control over forest protection and production. Significantly this policy identifies shifting cultivation as one of the main threats to state forestry. But in turn this affects the basic rights of the tribals to be dependent on forest resources. Hence, many tribal groups mounted a sustained challenge to the continuing denial of their rights. The Khanwar tribes of Madhya Pradesh protested in 1957 against revenue collection and called upon the people to defy forest laws which violated their customary rights. Their slogan, 'Jangal Zamin Azad Hai' (forest and land are free gifts of nature), succinctly expressed the opposition to external control and commercial use. Another concept of conflict is the 'contractor system' which is the modus operandi of forest working in India. The state's unwillingness to replace the contractor system has given rise to militant movements. In view of the tribal protests and movements, the government initiated several protective measures legislations, regulations, to protect tribals from exploitation and their lands from alienation by the non-tribals, traders and money lenders (Ragavatah 1971 54-55, Rao 1999 77-78)

Planned economic development was adopted as India's policy, soon after Independence. Planning for the development of tribal areas was thus ushered in as part of a wider national strategy. To bridge the socio-economic gaps between the non-tribals and also for the all-round development of the tribal groups, several schemes and programmes are being drawn in the post-independent period. Both Central and State Governments have been spending crores of rupees, on tribal development, but

impact of the programmes is not up to the mark as envisaged by the planners. The developmental efforts have not succeeded in bringing marked change in the conditions of most of the tribal communities. The benefits of the tribal development are not reaching the poor tribals. In many parts of the country, the non-tribal groups are getting the tribal tag, in the process, depriving the tribals, the benefits of tribal reservations and constitutional safeguards (Babu 2007 1-4)

The third five year plan document incorporates the basic features of the socialist pattern of society which also reflects the philosophy behind the framework of the fifth and sixth schedules of the constitution. It says that the basic criterion for determining lines of advance must not be private profit, but social gain, and that the pattern of development and the structure of socio-economic relations should be so planned that they result not only in appreciable increase in national income and employment but also in greater equality in incomes and wealth. The benefits of economic development must accrue more and more to the really less privileged classes of society, and there should be progressive reduction of the concentration of incomes, wealth and economic power. The accent of the socialist pattern of society is on the attainment of positive goals, the raising of living standards, the enlargement of opportunities for all, the promotion of enterprise among the disadvantaged classes and the creation of a sense of partnership among all sections of the community. These positive goals provide the criteria for basic decisions. The directive principles of the state policy in the constitution have indicated the approach in broad terms, the socialist pattern of society is a more concretized expression of this approach. Economic policy and institutional changes have to be planned in a manner that would secure economic advance along democratic and egalitarian lines (Singh 1994 28-30)

Deficiencies in the tribal welfare approach have continued and no special appreciation was made in formulation of the schemes in accordance with the needs of the tribal communities, which have their own social and cultural milieu, distinct from the rest of the population. In addition, the administrative and protective aspects were left unended. The tribals of Andhra Pradesh were also no exception to this phenomenon

Since, the majority of the tribals are agriculturists and they owned the land in their own rights. Their entire life process was centered and built upon two major means of production based on the forest and the land. To understand the dynamics of land problem in totality, one needs an understanding of the logic of the underlying forces that govern its ownership pattern. The specific economic form in which unpaid surplus labour is pumped out of the direct producers, determines the relation of the rulers and the ruled. Hence land problem of a particular area has to be understood from its historical perspective. Historical evidences are ample which proves the conception of depeasantization as a net result of the uneven structural changes that have taken place from time to time due to the commoditization of the tribal economy in which land plays a critical and predominant role (Rao 1987).

The majority of tribals constitute the labour work force though their participation in works is declining, but not steadily. More than half of the rural tribal population is found to be below poverty line as per latest survey available with MoRD (1993-1994). However, there is a perceptible declining trend in persons from tribal communities below poverty line. The per capita income of tribals continues to be one of the lowest in the country and their alienation from their own land continues. As on January 1999, the tribals were alienated from 9,17,590 acres of tribal land and only 5,37,610 acres of such land was restored as per latest statistics published by the MoRD. The fifth schedule of the constitution was based on this very philosophy of socialist pattern of society. We find that the last decade has witnessed a reversal of this philosophy and the economic policies and reforms being taken up are leading towards a negative approach to the disadvantaged classes, especially the tribal communities. There has been a clear shift from the strong protection role of the state towards these communities to one of justification for their exploitation in the name of economic development. The laws and protective safeguards as laid down in the constitution for the tribal people are facing severe changes and amendments (MoRD 1993-1994, 1999-2000, 2000-2001).

The GoI has made a number of plans to protect the rights of the tribals and to integrate them into national developmental planning. The National Minority

Commission (NMC) and the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) are there to prevent atrocities against them and to bring their plight to national lime light Above all, in the constitution of India the rights of the tribals were explicitly recognized and clauses were included to permit positive discrimination in their favour. But the evaluation reports have pointed out that these special provisions have so far failed to bring about any positive gains to the tribal population As per reports of the planning commission, 1973-1974, after reviewing the policies and programmes of the previous Five Year Plans it opined that the efforts so far made for social and economic development of the scheduled tribes have not brought an appreciable change in their condition There can be a number of explanations for the failure of the governmental programmes for tribal development However, the oppression and appropriation of the tribal people by the economically and politically more powerful groups have led to tribal movements or tribal unrest For instance, the Santal rebellion, the revolt by Birsa Bhagwan, the Praja Mandal Movement, the Tana Bhagat Movement, the Naxalbari Movement, the Jharkhand Movement etc. are all attempts by the tribal people to shake off the bondage of exploitation (Rao 1999; Gol 1974)

In recent times the traditional territories of the tribal people have been subjected to incursions. Their lands are taken away in the name of economic advancement of the country But in return they receive landlessness, impoverishment and long term degradation of the environment on which they totally depend For almost two centuries, the tribal communities, like many other non-tribal peasants and forest dwellers, have been witness to the collapse of their multiple relationships with the land, the forest and among themselves The basis of their cultural ethos, their systems of meaning have faced the collective onslaught of outsider exploiters, the disruptive impact of foreign models of economic betterment which have been conceived without their participation and implemented without their consent Laws like LAA and the Indian Forest Act (IFA) legitimize the continuing decline in access and control over forest resources that are the basis of their subsistence economy Initiatives from the Bharath Jan Andolan (BJA), Shosit Jan Andolan (SJA), the Indian Council of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples (ICITP), Adivasi Sangamams in

South India (ASSI), Kastakari Sanghatan (KS), Narmada Bachavo Andholan (NBA), Peoples Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) and Peoples Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR) are indicative of their modest attempts to raise fundamental issues and define an alternative political agenda that frontally challenges the anti people fall-outs of the institutions and structures of the democracy (Rao 1987)

The question of land is not just result of the existing situation but its origin may be traced to the periods of deprivation of tribal lands or to periods of the withdrawal of their rights to exploit forest. Gradually, due to various structural changes within and outside the tribal systems, the more advanced groups forced the tribals either to retreat to the nearest forests or to become landless labourers. Though land is the only source of their livelihood, as their other assets being extremely meager, tribals were severally deprived. Basically, moneylenders, traders, the feudal lords, or the rich peasants exploit the tribals most. It is an established fact that there is a large scale alienation of lands which belong to the tribes and grabbers invariably in all cases are the non-tribes. This phenomenon has further been ruined by the emergence of new forces of production. Commenting on this, the National Commission on Backward Areas Development (NCBAD), 1980 says, 'In a number of areas new industrial and mining complexes, many major irrigation projects were located in the tribal areas resulting in the submergence of extensive lands belonging to the tribals'

Also in the operations of denudation of forest on a massive scale tribal labour had been used to a great extent to clear off the forest area which was a method of the landlords to alienate the tribals from the forests. This further widened the gap between the tribal landless and landed gentry of the non-tribal communities. Commenting on the problem of land alienation in tribal areas, the committee on plan projects, planning commission, presented a report on the tribal development programmes in 1969. The committee noticed that tribal lands in many areas passed into the hands of non-tribals, the legal prohibitions against such transfers notwithstanding. The studies undertaken in nine districts of Andhra Pradesh revealed that about 48.29% of land in scheduled areas is under the occupation of non-tribals. In Orissa and some other States also land transfers taken place on a large scale without

Another form of land alienation is related to the leasing or mortgaging of the land. To raise loans for various needs the tribals have to give their land as mortgage to the local moneylenders or to the rich farmers. Encroachment is another form of dispossessing the tribals of their lands and this is done by the new entrants in all the places where there were no proper land records. Bribing the local *patwari* for manipulating the date of settlement of land disputes, anti-dating etc. are resorted to claim the tribal lands. Concubine or marital alliance is another form to circumvent the law and grab tribal lands at no cost at all. Fictitious adoption of the non-tribals by the tribal families is also another method to snatch the lands of the tribals. Also the slackness in the implementation of the restrictive provisions encourages the non-tribals to occupy the tribal lands (Rao 1987; Rao 1987, MoHA 1975).

Land alienation which takes place in various ways has assumed alarming proportion threatening the right to life of the tribal population. Though the problem lies elsewhere, it is being unfortunately always interpreted as the handiwork of certain individuals like the moneylender, traders and landlords without understanding the class connection of these individuals. The unsystematic land records of the pre-colonial and colonial periods were followed by the present state. There was collection of taxes (a strange phenomenon for the natives and it was the beginning process of alienation) in the tribal areas. In the name of protecting the interest of the tribals stringent laws were enacted by the government but the non-tribals found the loopholes to their advantage. This double edged nature of state policy is one of the facets of the existing contradictions in the Indian tribal society. The process of land alienation is not an accidental one, but it has arisen because of the concerted efforts of the antagonistic class interest that are operating in the tribal areas. This is not just migration of the non-tribals into tribal areas rather there is a history behind this migration and the state has supported the migrant non-tribals to settle down in the tribal lands. However, being the natural owners of forests and its adjoining lands the tribals are being deprived of their rights to own them. They have been relegated from their earlier self-reliant status to a dependent one. Coupled with the exploitation by the non-tribals, the state legislations also proved detrimental to their interests. Therefore to understand the root causes of the land alienation process of the tribal

communities its relationship with the changes in the socio-economic structures have to be understood properly (Rao 1983)

Tribal peoples rights being a part of the broad human rights phenomena have acquired significance in recent times. As human beings the people who live in tribal lands acquire a similar set of rights like others. Being citizens of the country they are entitled to a number of privileges as well. From time immemorial there have been violations of their fundamental rights. In contemporary society, the state comes to their rescue to some extent. The increasing awareness of the concept of human rights under the aegis of the United Nations Organisation (UNO), world media, NGOs and other activist groups, proves beneficial to the victims. Human rights are those conditions which are inherent to nature and without which one can not live as a human being. These rights and fundamental freedoms allow one to develop fully and use one's human qualities, intelligence, talents and conscience to satisfy one's spiritual, physical, social and other needs. They are based on human kind's increasing demand for life in which the inherent dignity and worth of each human being will receive respect and protection. Human rights constitute a variable category as is adequately demonstrated by the history of the last few centuries. The list of human rights has been modified and continues to be modified in changing historical circumstances. Thus rights may not be fundamental by nature. That which appears to be fundamental in a given historical era or civilization is not fundamental in other era or civilization. Since the time of Hobbes and Locke, liberal political theorists have made it their primary purpose to explore relationships between the individual and the state (Ramesh 1994).

It is not enough to think in terms of two level relationships, the individual at one level and the state at another nor is it enough if the nation is added. Considering the heterogeneity of mankind and of the population of virtually every existing state it is also necessary to think of ethnic communities and certain other kinds of groups, and to include them among the kinds of rights and duties bearing units whose inter relationships are to be explored. Rights that belong to individuals may go to them either as human beings or as members of a group. The Universal Declaration of Human

Rights (UDHR) enumerates rights of the first sort and they go to 'everyone without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status' With regard to the legal rights of groups, ethnic communities are sometimes treated as political units within countries, both through territorial delimitations and through the use of separate electoral rolls. Ethnic communities in many countries are differently treated with respect to rights of property and residence, it is not only a question of territorial reservation for the indigenous but also a question of special measures designed to make it possible for the communities to preserve their distinctive identity In case of less advanced groups that have suffered discrimination, it is now not uncommon to give them a right to expect special measures (affirmative action) designed to promote their quality in the educational and economic realms (Khanna 1990)

Human rights are often held to be inter-related and mutually complementary According to this view the first generation, civil and political rights form the bedrock of second generation economic, social and cultural rights, while collective and solidarity rights, such as the evolving indigenous rights constitute a 'third generation' of human rights Further human rights are often said to be compatible with the rule of law and representative democracy As per Madsen's (State, society and human rights in South Asia) hypothesis, 'some instances of human rights do not form an integrated whole but are rights in intergenerational conflicts' (Tarkunde 1993, Tyagi 1992, Casser 1990, Iyer 1984, Singh 1981)

The conflict according to Madsen is between the presently dominant first generation, civil and political rights professed and guaranteed by a liberal state accepting the ideals of democracy and rule of law and the rights of legal and political, cultural and economic autonomy enjoyed by tribal groups The outcome of the conflict between the two incongruous orders of rights has been a working understanding or compromise While this compromise has guaranteed the survival of tribal cultures, it has also meant that the tribal in question have been denied many of the rights enjoyed by others So the question is how the tribal autonomy or collective right to autonomy including legal autonomy has circumscribed first generation rights, democracy and

the rule of law. The recent international thinking on indigenous rights is exemplified by the draft of Universal Declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples. According to this draft, 'indigenous people have the right to participate fully in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the state while maintaining their distinct political, economic social and cultural characteristics'. The Rio de Janeiro declaration on 'Environment and Development', 1992 by the U N conference proclaims that states should recognize and duly support indigenous peoples identity, culture and interest and enable their participation in the achievement of sustainable development. Indigenous people and their communities have an historical relationship with their lands and are generally descendants of the original inhabitants of such lands. They have developed over many generations a holistic traditional knowledge of their lands, natural resources and environment. According to the Rio declaration, they shall enjoy the full measures of human rights and fundamental freedoms without hindrance or discrimination. Their ability to participate fully in sustainable development practices on their lands has tended to be limited as a result of factors of an economic, social and historical nature. The ILO also in its convention 1989, on 'Indigenous and Tribal Peoples', suggested that the government must consult with indigenous and tribal peoples within their countries on development projects and other activities affecting them. It provided for respect for their land rights. This right include protection of their lands and right to refuse displacement from their lands except in exceptional circumstances and against compensation (United Nations 1992)

V.1. Tribal Unrest and Land Alienation in the West Godavari Agency

The tribal communities in the West Godavari agency area have been traditionally practicing *podu*, but they have been increasingly adopting plains agriculture. These tribal communities also gave up their traditional occupations of rearing of cattle, basket making, rearing of pigs, sheep and goats which supplemented their income in earlier times. More than 90% of the tribals have been eking out their livelihood through cultivation or allied activities. Therefore land is basically not only the main source of livelihood but also considered as a socio cultural heritage handed from one

generation to another Tribals usually develop emotional and cultural ties with their ancestral lands Alienation of these lands or encroachment of their ancestral lands by outsiders is the main source of frustration and hatred The non tribals evolved various deceitful methods to circumvent the legislations in order to grab land in tribal areas 'As a result large chunks of fertile lands had changed hands from tribal to non tribal and thousands of tribals have been deprived of their ancestral land and turned into impoverished landless agricultural labourers The tribals living in the scheduled areas are gradually losing their command over their sources of livelihood such as land and forest Out of the total cultivable land of 18, 48,209 30 acres in scheduled areas more than 48% of the land is legally or illegally under the cultivation of non-tribals In the districts like Khammam, Warangal and Adilabad more than 50% of the lands is under the occupation of non tribals (GoAP 1999 1-2, Rao 1999)

In spite of implementation of one of the best alienation regulation (APSALTR, 1959) in tribal areas of the lands are being cultivated by non tribals illegally It is found that approximately 2,71,318 12 acres is under the occupation of non tribals as per the provisions of APSALTR, 1959 as on 30-6-1997 Out of this total, an extent of 1,07,135 56 acres was decided in the favour of tribals of which 98,775 55 acres was actually restored to tribals The implementation machinery could only restore 36% of the land to tribals out of the total land detected under the provisions of APSALTR, 1959. Still there are 33,832 04 acres yet to be decided There are large number of cases pending in districts of Warangal, Khammam, Visakhapatnam and Adilabad Moreover, large number of cases have been decided in favour of non tribals (GoAP 1999, Rao 1999)

In case of the West Godavari district 7,077 cases covering an extent of 37,216 acres have been booked upto the end of June, 1997 Out of total cases detected 6,002 cases covering an extent of 33,194 acres have been disposed off till 30-6-1997 Out of the total cases disposed off, only 1,389 (23 14 %) cases covering an extent of 6,828 33 acres (20 6 %) were decided in favour of tribals Further, out of the total cases disposed off, in favour of tribals, only in 414 cases, covering an extent of 2,961 92 acres of land was actually restored to tribals leaving large number of 968 cases

covering an extent of 3,847.70 acres yet to be restored to tribals. Only 30% of the total cases were in favour of tribals and the land was restored and left 70% of their cases. It is reported that 404 writ petitions are pending in the Hon'ble High Court of Andhra Pradesh pertaining to APSALTR, 1959 in addition to 774 appeals filed before the agent to the government, West Godavari district against orders of SDC-TW. The agent has granted stays in 83 cases. Of the total cases detected as many as 1,075 cases are yet to be disposed off by SDC-TW, Kotaramachandrapuram. The review of the progress of implementation of the provision of APSALTR, 1959 as on 31-8-2002 reveals that an extent of 54,525.76 acres of land covering 10,726 cases, out of which an extent of 54,052 acres of land covering 10,622 cases was disposed off. An extent of 9,652.75 acres of land covering 2,345 tribal cases was disposed off as against the total extent of 29,117.68 acres of land covering 5,026 disposed cases of non-tribal. This variation clearly indicates the late and burdensome procedures of restoration of land to tribals as most of the cases were decided in favour of non tribals (Table V 2) (GoAP 1999, Rao 1999)

The agrarian system in tribal areas is very complicated as these areas were partly under the estatedars and jamindars and government. As these estatedars and jamindars belong to non tribal communities, they encouraged only non tribals to come and settle in tribal areas. The lands were also assigned to non tribals and tribals got only raw deal under the traditional administration system. These facts could be inferred from the history of revenue administration of the West Godavari district. Out of 136 villages situated in former Polavaram taluk, 101 villages were declared as scheduled areas by the Presidential order, 1950. These villages consist of 72 government villages and 29 estate villages in present Polavaram and Buttayagudem mandals. Large chunks of lands in these Agency areas were classified as AWD lands and these lands were freely assigned to non tribals. It is learnt that an extent of 7,961.57 acres was declared as AWD lands of which 5,523.16 (69.37%) acres was under the occupation of non-tribals in two mandals of Polavaram and Buttayagudem. The joint survey was conducted in the year 1919 and re-survey in 1934 and all the lands under occupation of non tribals under the category of AWD lands were regularized and pattas were given to non tribals. But the ATILTA, 1917 was enacted to prevent alienation of tribal

lands in scheduled areas with effect from 14-8-1917 Under section 4 (I) of the 1917 the special agent to the government or assistant agent to the government was competent to accord permission for alienation of land from tribal to non tribals Under this relaxation, it is estimated that half of the land situated in the West Godavari district was acquired by non tribals (GoAP 1999; Rao 1999)

The tribal population in the West Godavari district is only 0.85 lakhs and they constitute 2.4 % to the total population of the district Koyas and Konda Reddis are predominantly found in scheduled areas and Yerukulas, Yanadis and Lambadas are sparsely found in plain areas Even though literacy rate among STs was recorded as 24.06 as per 1991 census reports, actual literacy rate among Koyas and Konda Reddis is much less The agricultural laborers among STs in the West Godavari have been increasing from decade to decade They constitute 51.3% to total working population as per 1971 census reports and the agricultural labourers increased to 58.7% to the total workers as per 1991 census reports This trend indicates that large number of tribals are becoming landless labourers due to land alienation and encroachment by non tribals (GoAP 1999, Rao 1999)

The land problems have been becoming more acute and consequently there is a threat for food security of the local tribals Poverty, hunger, ignorance and failure to catch up with the changing world around them have almost driven them to the wall They still live in the single roomed, dingy, thatched houses Busarajupalli, a tribal hamlet in Buttayagudem mandal which became well known after the violent incidents in 1995, followed by the land clashes in Manugopala and Kunkala The Manugopala and Busarajupalli incidents organized the tribals into a force On March 21, 1996 a group of non tribals raided Busarajupalli over a land issue, beat up women and men and ransacked houses The casual treatment of the incident by the administration annoyed tribals The tribals resisted the tribals and scared the non-tribals by shooting arrows and beating up a few in 1996 Soon after the incident, 115 tribals were arrested and sent to the central prison at Rajhamandry They were freed in a phased manner only after the issue figured in the Assembly A police officer feels that the Busarajupalli incident was mismanaged. A clash could have been averted by timely action (The

Hindu, 25-12-1996). The tribals have been demanding assignment of AWD, *poramboke*, surplus lands and other waste lands and restoration of land which are occupied by non tribals, illegally They have been requesting to get the stays vacated at various courts under the provisions of APSALTR, 1959 and other regulations (GoAP 1999 1-22, Rao 1999)

The tribals have been continuing their struggle for getting the government land and AWD in the scheduled areas of Jeelugumilli, Buttayagudem and Polavaram mandals which fall under Jangareddigudem revenue division (formerly Kovvur revenue division) The non-tribals and tribals have been quarreling with each other and this lead to a situation in which any agricultural operations in most of the disputed lands, since 1995, suffered a great deal Peoples organisations and Voluntary societies such as Rayot Coolie Sangham, Shatki and others motivated the tribals to occupy their ancestral lands, alienated by non-tribals in the agency area Accordingly the tribals started occupying the lands of non-tribals by force in Tatramudugudem, Lankalapalli and Jillellagudem of Jeelugumilli mandal, and Nagampalem, Manugopula Venkatereddigudem, Singanapalli and Kondrukota villages of Polavaram mandal This was viewed by the government authorities as the mere law and order problem, rather than strict implementation of agency laws to prohibit tribal land alienation (GoAP 1999 1-22, Rao 1999)

It is reported that the local tribals have been resorting to harvesting crops from the disputed lands under the cultivation of non-tribals They have been destroying the tobacco crops of non-tribals in Reddi Ganapavaram, Busarajupalli villages, etc The police have been raiding the villages to recover the harvested crops and to arrest the tribals who resorted to forceful harvesting of the crops on the complaints of non-tribal land lords Exploitation and alienation of tribal lands are frequent occurrence in tribal areas It is reported that about 300 non-tribals attacked the MRO and special *tahasildar* land acquisition, burnt the records, furniture at Jangareddigudem and beaten up the officials on August 6,1996 The local tribals stated that cases were not booked against non-tribals who destroyed government property and they are frustrated with regard to discriminatory attitude (GoAP 1999 1-22, Rao 1999)

The shrewd non-tribal landlords have been creating several legal obstacles in the way of proper implementation of APSALTR, 1959. They filed writ petitions challenging the validity of scheduling the villages by President of India in honorable High Court and nearly 15 writ petitions of this nature are pending in the Hon'ble High Court. It is reported that ADC-TW, Kotaramachandrapuram, declared that alienation of 210 acres of land in favour of non-tribals was null and void and orders for restoration to tribals in Nersugudem village. But the landlord brought stay orders. In hundreds of restoration cases stay orders were brought and non-tribals have been occupying the lands in violation of protective regulation (GoAP 1999 1-22, Rao 1999).

Over the past 200 years several protective regulations have been enacted in different parts of Tribal areas in the country. It is pertinent to note that the enactment of each of these regulations has been preceded by a tribal revolt which in turn was succeeded by another more stringent regulation than the previous one, giving rise to a unending process of a tribal restiveness and passing of a protective regulation. This shows that the regulations considered to be full proof at a particular point of time seem to be gaping with too many lacunae and the consequent incapability to contain exploitation of tribals by outsiders. The solution to this difficult and persisting situation lies in not merely enacting more and more stringent laws for the protection of tribals, but in the expeditious implementation of the provisions of these laws in the true spirit of the regulation (GoAP 1999 1-22, Rao 1999).

To avoid the above contingency the then Sub-Collector of the West Godavari district, issued orders for 145 crores land purchasing package to settle the land disputes in the agency area and directed both the parties to produce their documentary evidence to show their right over the lands. The tribals did not able produce all the relevant documents as evidence to claim the status of the lands occupied by them, instead they represented orally that the lands belong to their ancestors and that non-tribals deceived them and purchased the lands and enjoying. A few non-tribals submitted documentary evidence in support of their claim for the rights over their lands since 1916 onwards. If the tribals or non-tribals have the right over the land in agency area,

they have to file applications under regulation 1 and 2/70 before the settlement officer for granting pattas (GoAP 1999. 1-22, Rao 1999)

In the year, 1996, tribals entered into the cashew orchids and other agriculture fields said to be raised by non-tribal and took away the crops and cashew nuts from these lands by forming themselves into groups and threatened the non-tribals. Police registered a number cases against the tribals based on complaints given by non-tribals, the collector and PO of the ITDA and demanded to evict the tribals and to handover the lands to the non-tribals. After prolonged discussions held with the tribals by the district officials, they have requested the government for immediate conduct of survey in agency area and handover all *poramboke* lands and AWD lands to them. Accordingly, the district officials arranged special survey teams and completed the survey work (GoAP 1999 1-22, Rao 1999)

The problem of tribal land alienation is rampant in the three agency mandals of Jeelugumilli, Buttayagudem and Polavaram due to increase of existing non-tribal population as well as their immigration from plains areas. As per the 1991 census, the total population of the both tribal and non-tribals in Jeelugumilli, Buttayagudem and Polavaram is 20,434, 35,471 and 36,574, out of which the total tribal population is 5,481, 22,080 and 9,207 as against the total non-tribal population is 14,953; 13,391 and 27,367 respectively (Table V 2) (GoAP 1999 1-22, Rao 1999). In order to control the tribal land disputes in the agency, the proportion of AWD lands and other lands (pertaining to APSALTR, 1959 cases) assigned by the GoAP (since, 1995) to the tribals in Polavaram, Buttayagudem and Jeelugumilli mandals is 1,331.01, 2,134.43 and 1,535.46 acres by covering 2,333, 904 and 943 beneficiaries respectively, as against 211.48 acres, distributed to 159 non-tribal beneficiaries in Polavaram mandal (Table V 3). (GoAP 1999 1-22, Rao 1999, GoAP 2000 1-10)

Due to land disputes between tribals and non-tribals an extent of 4,718.69 acres of land belongs to Jeelugumilli (1,090.96 acres), Buttayagudem (3,068.92 acres) and Polavaram (558.81 acres) agency mandals was remained as uncultivable land (Table V. 4). This is mainly because of the reluctant attitude of the government to solve the

land related unrest in the agency and also causing deprivation to the real land owners as land less. The tribal agitators occupied an extent of 3,360 11 acres of land said to be non-tribals in Jeelugumilli (1,065 57 acres), Buttayagudem (344 65 acres) and Polavaram (1,949 89 acres) agency mandals (Table V 5) An extent of 5,539 22 acres of land related to Jeelugumilli (746 11 acres), Buttayagudem (4,731 87 acres) and Polavaram (61 24 acres) agency mandals (Table V 6) is in the possession of government, but not assigned to the tribal beneficiaries due to court orders (GoAP 1999 1-22; Rao 1999)

V.2. Land Problem in Jeelugumilli Mandal

Disputed villages in Jeelugumilli mandal are Darbhagudem, Vankavarigudem, Rachannagudem, Palacharlarajavaram, Nerusugudem, Tatakulagudem, Lankapalli, Tatiramudugudem and Jillellagudem There are 29 villages in Jeelugumilli mandal and all are declared as agency villages The total extend of lands held by tribals and non-tribals in the this mandal is 16,911 33 acres, out of which tribals and non-tribals constitute 9,797 88 acres and 17,113 45 acres respectively (Table V 7) The tribals have occupied the lands of non-tribals in the disputed villages such as Darbhagudem, Vankavarigudem, Tatiramudugudem, Gopalapuram, Jillellaugudem, Bottappagudem, Danammavarigudem and Gangannagudem The tribals damaged the crops of non-tribals in P Rajavaram, Jeelugumilli and Darbhagudem villages, during 1998 the non-tribals are having titles The tribals are also not allowing the non-tribals to cultivate the *patta* lands in most of the villages and also occupied the mango and cashew orchids during the harvesting season (March-May) in 1999 Police have initiated action during crop seasons to avoid disputes (GoAP 1999 1-22, Rao 1999)

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and cashew orchids during the harvesting season (March-May) in 1999. Police have initiated action during crop seasons to avoid disputes (GoAP 1999 1-22, Rao 1999)

V.2.1. Enjoyment survey work in Jeelugumilli Mandal 1996-1998

As per the orders of the Hon'ble High Court of Andhra Pradesh, the enjoyment survey and verification of land titles in all the disputed villages has completed. The tribals of Darbhagudem have not attended the enjoyment survey and verification work. Action has taken to convince the tribals for attending the work. After conducting survey and verification some violations are noticed in Darbhagudem, Vankavarigudem, Damaragudem and Barrinkalapdu under APSALTR, 1959 and the action was initiated for filing fresh cases and appeals by SDC-TW, Kotaramachandrapuram. An extent of 420.64 acres of disputed land has been identified as per regulation, out of which Darbhagudem and Vankavarigudem constitute 402.72 acres and 18.92 acres respectively pertain to 95 cases. There are no disputes regarding ownership of lands in Damaragudem. An extent of 17.00 acres was disposed in Barrinkalapadu due to violations as per the rules (Table V 8). Appeals have filed to an extent of 96.46 acres pertain to 13 cases as per the decision of *grama-sabha* after enjoyment survey and record verification (Table V 9) (GoAP 1999 1-22, Rao 1999)

On 12-5-1999 the mandal surveyors have measured and peg-marked the lands granted on D-Form patta measuring an extent of 32-90 acres in Darbhagudem village and handed over to 31 beneficiaries after conducting *panchanama* and obtained acknowledgements from them in the presence of *panchanamadars*. The total extent of 70.21 acres (67.33 acres including 2-88 acres covered by earlier assignments) covered by 40 beneficiaries were handed over on 12-5-1999 and 13-5-1999 in Darbhagudem (Table V 10). The particulars of land owned by individuals from whom the land were taken possession under APSATR, 1959 and assigned to the tribals. An extent of 34.63 acres, 22.03 acres and 135 acres of land relate to P Rajavaram, Jeelugumilli and Nersugudem villages covered by stay orders respectively by the time of enjoyment survey (Table V 11). The Collector, West Godavari was pleased to issue instructions to draft survey teams consisting of Special Deputy Tahsildars and to speed up the

ey work in Jeelugumilli mandal accordingly four teams have been constituted on 28-5-1999. According to the reports of RDO Jangareddigudem an extent of 881 49 acres of tribal land, an extent of 5,385 11 acres of non-tribal lands, an extent of 28 34 acres of AWD lands and an extent of 355 17 acres *poramboke* (government) lands was surveyed (Table V 12) An extent of 1,538 40 acres was assigned to 823 tribal beneficiaries relate to 26 villages in the Jeelugumilli mandal (Table V.13) (GoAP 1999 1-22, Rao 1999)

V.3. Land Problem in Buttayagudem Mandal

According reports of the RDO, Jangareddigudem, the total extent of land owned by the both tribals and non-tribals is an extent of 46,279 17 acres, out of which 8,797 tribals have owned an extent of 32,859 43 acres and 2,212 non-tribals have owned an extent of 12,419 74 acres (Table V 14) (GoAP 1999 1-22, Rao 1999)

The disputed villages in the Buttayagudem mandal are Ganapavaram, Buttayagudem, Doramamidi, Koyarajhamandry, Lkshnudugudem, Busarajupalli and Seetharamanagaram In the mean while, the high court of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, ordered for records and enjoyment survey in scheduled area Accordingly enjoyment survey and verification was taken up and completed in the villages of Buttayagudem mandal The enjoyment survey and record verification have been completed as per the directions of the Hon'ble High Court of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad in respect of the 29 villages of Buttayagudem mandal such as Lakshmiapuram, Maddappagudem, Kovvada, Rajanagaram, Kotaramachandrapuram, Koyakannapuram, Ammapalem, Cheemalavarigudem, Kandrikagudem, Nutramannapalem, Ragappagudem, Atchayyapalem, Nimmalagudem, Palakunta, Mangayyapalem, Koyarajhamundry, Kammarabothappagudem, Yerragudem, Ramnannagudem, Marlagudem, Busarajupalli, Lakshnudugudem, Janavarigudem, Seetramanagaram, Jaggisetigudem and Ganapavaram (GoAP 1999 1-22, Rao 1999)

V.3.1. Enjoyment Survey in Buttayagudem Mandal during 1996-1998

There are 29 problematic villages (26 government villages and 3 are estate villages) due to tribal land disputes. Enjoyment verification has been completed in all the problematic villages. Hon'ble High Court of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad has directed to conduct review on all the patta lands as per records of the settlement authorities. As per the list of disputed survey numbers and orders issued by the settlement authorities have been sent to SDC-TW by the MRO, Buttayagudem vide reference No. 230/1997, dated 20-10-1998 for taking necessary action (GoAP 1999 1-22, Rao 1999).

Regarding government villages, the MRO, Buttayagudem apprised that he submitted a statement showing the details of lands as per the Resettlement Survey Registrar (RSR), 1993. Present enjoyment and the extent found under occupation of non-tribals in contravention to the provisions of the APSALTR, 1959 and the cases to be filed. A list of all such cases has been sent to the SDC-TW, Kotaramachandrapuram for filing fresh cases and appeals in appropriate format (GoAP 1999 1-22, Rao 1999).

After conducting of enjoyment survey and record verification in the Grama Sabhas, certain violations under are noticed. The tribal representatives also raised some doubts on the previous judgments. All such violations and doubts are listed out in two different statements for all the villages and they are being forwarded to the SDC-TW, Kotaramachandrapuram by the MRO and Buttayagudem for filing cases wherever necessary. The SDC-TW was also requested by the MRO, Buttayagudem to file appeals in appropriate forms on the orders passed in favour of non-tribals (GoAP 1999 1-22, Rao 1999).

There were 256 APSALTR, 1959 cases in 25 villages of the three agency mandals to an extent of 726.09 acres, as per the local Gram Sabha resolutions, and after enjoyment survey and record verification of disputed lands during 2000 (Table V 15). Accordingly, appeals have filed for 102 cases to an extent of 353.61 acres (Table V 16). An extent of 4,786.74 acres was assigned to 2,390 tribal beneficiaries of 47 villages in the Buttayagudem mandal. Similarly an extent of 242.17 acres was

assigned to 259 non-tribal beneficiaries (Table V 17) In total an extent of 44,457 34 acres was surveyed, out of which the tribal and non-tribal land constitute 20,683 12 and 11947 31 respectively (Table V 18) (GoAP 1999 1-22, Rao 1999)

V.4. Land Problem in Polavaram Mandal

Polavaram mandal consist 23 villages out of which 19 villages are agency villages and 4 villages are non-scheduled villages Mainly there are land disputes in 7 villages such as Nagampalem, Vinjaram, Pragadapalli, LND Peta, Pydipaka, Kondurukota and Tutigunta According reports of the RDO, Jangareddigudem, the total extent of land owned by the both tribals and non-tribals is 12,470 05 acres, out of which 2,180 tribals owned an extent of 7,328 22 acres and 787 non-tribals have owned an extent of 5,41 83 acres (Table V 19) There are 4 villages such as Srivagiri, Koruturu, Cheduru and Saripallikota. In these villages, all the lands are in the possession of tribals and no survey is required The tribals have occupied the lands of non-tribals in 9 villages even though the Non-tribals are having settlement pattas (GoAP 1999 1-22; Rao 1999)

V.4.1. Enjoyment Survey in Polavaram Mandal during 1996-1998

As per the orders of the Hon'ble High Court, AP, Hyderabad enjoyment survey and verification of records was taken up and completed in the following 7 villages While work is under progress the tribals of Nagampalem, Vijaya and Pragadapalli villages demanded to show the records such as Nagampalem, Vinjaram, Pragadapalli, LND Peta, Pydipaka, Kondrukota and Tutigunta villages (Table V 20) An extent of 289 21 acres of AWD lands was distributed to 184 tribal beneficiaries covering 9 villages in Polavaram mandal (Table V 21) (GoAP 1999 1-22, Rao 1999)

Out of the total extent of 1,281 97 acres, an extent of 256 01 acres covered by the 54 cases is under the possession of the tribals The remaining extent of 1025 96 acres has to be verified on ground Action is being taken for completion of the verification by 29-2-99 The verification of records in this agency mandal has been done in the

presence of tribals for village Nagampalem The survey work will be taken up in this agency mandal shortly Subsequently the MRO, Jeelugumilli has reported that an extent of acres 9-98 cents of land has been given physical possession to the ten beneficiaries on 2-6-1999 in Gangannagudem village (Table V 22) An extent of 1,535-57 acres of tribals (513 45), non-tribals (1,379 74) and government land (642.38) was surveyed in Pragadapalli and Paidipaka villages of Polavaram mandal (Table V 23). An extent of acres 2,521 37 of AWD lands 1,227 60 acres of settlement lands 470 72 acres of court litigation lands and D-form lands 197 13 relate to Paidipaka, Nagampalem, Vinjaram, Pragadapalli, LND Peta, Kondrukota and Tutigunta villages have covered under enjoyment survey (Table V 24) (GoAP 1999 1-22, Rao 1999)

V.5. Tribal Unrest vs. Land Alienation

Scarcity of cultivable land in tribal habitats because of forest clothed hills and mountains Inclusion of cultivated lands by tribals within the Reserve Forest boundaries Alienation and encroachment of local tribal lands by non tribals and other advanced sections of tribal communities by adapting to dubious methods Complicated revenue system prolonged legal battles and procedures and in this process poor tribals are sufferers Occupation of government lands by the non tribals and acquisition of titles through several questionable methods Implementation of the protective regulations APSALTR, 1959, APSAMLR, 1960, APSADRR, 1970, APSARSR, 1970, and SC&STPoA, 1989 is delayed and hence failed to achieve desired results Discriminatory treatment to tribals by some sections of bureaucracy vitally connected with their survival protection and development as per the existing constitutional directives protective regulations and government policies and programmes Loss of command over natural resources, such as land, forest, water, mineral and resources in their habitats (GoAP 1999 1-22, Rao 1999)

Gradual degradation of forest wealth and scarcity of MFPs / NTFP The forest wealth has been gradually siphoned off by greedy non tribal landlords, traders, and new settlers Permission of the forest department for large scale extraction of bamboo by

private industry as per an agreement between the government and the private industry. This large scale exploitation made bamboo a scarce commodity for tribals and denied the tribals the basic requirements for domestic and agricultural purposes. The integrated tribal development approach initiated since 1974-1975 could not yield the expected results due to frequent transfers of the POs of ITDAs and posting of inefficient officers in other development sectors as a measure of punishment. Even the District Collector is being changed at short intervals. Consequently the tribals could not find an officer whom they could approach with confidence for redressal of their grievances or for helping him with development inputs (GoAP 1999 1-22, Rao 1999)

There is economic crisis, leadership vacuum among the tribals. Added to this, official indifference to their genuine problems. This further led to loss of nerve among the tribes. Their faith in the government and their leaders was shaken. The tribals resort to violence in extreme and desperate conditions and exploitation by outsiders. Their anger was directed against the exploiters in the first instance and latter on against the police and administration as the tribal got the impression that police and administration are abetting and aiding the outside exploiter against the tribals genuine fight for their survival with in the frame work of protection legislation and social justice (GoAP 1999 1-22, Rao 1999)

Tackling the tribal revolts unrest as mere law and order problems rather than as socio-economic problems and consequent deployment of police force. In this process tribals face harassment and sometimes inhuman treatment. Fear psychosis about threat to their amour proper and dignity of their women folk. Some of the NGOs like Sakthi created good awareness about various complexities of land problems in tribal areas. It is significant to note that the Koya women are in fore front in the struggle for getting back the lands which are grabbed illegally by non tribal land lords (GoAP 1999 1-22, Rao 1999)

The tribals of Andhra Pradesh living in the hilly tracts are basically mild people and not at all hostile and aggressive. Their habitats are situated in inaccessible hilly areas

and extremists have chosen these areas as their hide outs. The critical analysis of these tribal uprisings from 1778 to 1997 over a period of more than 200 years brings out the pathetic situation imposed on the life styles of the tribals. These uprisings or violent activities are pitiable manifestations of their frustration. These frustrations generated from several disabilities they suffered either from nature or their brethren belonging to other communities. They suffered these frustrations mostly in hostile and adverse conditions in the remote and inaccessible areas of their habitats (GoAP 1999 1-22, Rao 1999)

The tribal areas of our country which were once known as pleasant and placid places have been periodically rocked by violent outbursts of disturbances because of exploitation of simple and gullible tribals and encroachment on their natural resources. These ever recurring struggles of tribals for their survival with the long history of more than 200 years have always been waged against ruthless exploitation by non tribals, moneylenders, landlords, liquor vendors, unsympathetic administrators or against stringent forest conservation laws and land assignment policies and procedures. Nearly more than 80 revolts occurred in different parts of the tribal areas of the country. The British policy of laissez-faire towards tribals and their habitat resulted in exploitation and encroachment of their lands and thus they have lost command over the natural resources in their own habitat (GoAP 1999 1-22, Rao 1999)

V.6. Efforts of the Government of Andhra Pradesh (GoAP) to Prevent the Tribal Land Alienation and Restoration of Alienated Land

The GoAP has taken a very good initiative to verify the validity of the pattas given to non tribals pertaining to AWD in former estate and government villages. The SDC-TW from all the ITDA districts were called to the West Godavari and they were entrusted with the responsibility of verification of AWD lands and *poramboke* lands under the occupation of non-tribals. They have been also asked to verify the land records of non tribals as per the provisions of APSALTR, 1959. The SDC-TW is assisted by surveyors. These special teams have been verifying the records from

January, 1917 and the PO, ITDA, Kotaramachandrapuram has been coordinating the survey work. So far they have identified 1,024.82 acres of all categories of lands under occupation of non-tribals and assigned the same to 586 tribal beneficiaries along with pattas in 1997. The resurvey and verification was done in the presence of representatives of tribals, NGOs, revenue department and ITDA officials. The district administration has been preparing plans to further assign the lands to local tribals after due verification of lands illegally occupied by non-tribals. These efforts have to be continued and total verification in the entire scheduled area of the West Godavari district have to be completed and lands under the illegal occupation of non-tribals should be taken away and assigned to landless local tribals. Similar exercise of re-survey for verification of validity of lands under occupation of non-tribal cultivators / landlords may be verified in all the scheduled areas in the state by following due process of law lest similar disturbances may occur (GoAP 1999 1-22, Rao 1999).

ble V.1. Extent of land under occupation of non-tribals in the scheduled areas (ha)

S.No	Name of the District	Total Land in Scheduled Areas	Land under Occupation of Non-Tribals	Percentage
1	Srikakulam	14,949 17	359 20	2 20
2	Vijayanagaram	42,333 00	91 00	0 21
3	Visakhapatnam	2,88,107 00	(not available)	(not available)
4	East Godavari	1,73,417 49	33,739 89	19 46
5	West Godavari	75,702 42	27,979 16	36 96
6	Khammam	7,71,604 93	4,07,368 33	52 79
7	Warangal	1,42,533 00	1,02,104 50	71 64
8	Adilabad	2,97,170 95	1,80,349 40	60 69
9	Mahaboobnagar	42,391 60	1,444 18	3 41
Total		18,48,209.56	7,53,435.66	48.29

(Excluding Visakhapatnam) (Source Tribal Welfare Department, GoAP, 1999)

Table V.2. Disposal of cases filed under APSALTR, 1959 (as amended in 1970) in the court of the SDC-TW, Kotaramachandrapuram upto 28-2-2003

S. No.	Particulars	No. of Cases	Extent (Acres)
1	No of cases detected upto 8/2002	10,698	54,397-00
2	Cases filed during the months of 9/2002 To 2/2003	28	128 76
3	Total cases detected	10,726	54,525 76
4	Total cases disposed off upto 31-8-2002	10,622	54,052.00
5	No of cases disposed off during the months	11	58,04
6	Total cases disposed off up to 2/2003	10,633	54,110 04
7	No of cases disposed off in favour of STs	2,345	9,652 75
8	No of cases disposed off in favour of Non-tribes.	5,026	29,117 68
9	Drooped cases	1,246	5,003 61
10	No of cases U/S 3a Land Mortgage	2,016	10,336 00
11	Total cases disposed off	10,633	54,110 04
12	Break up for disposal		
	1 Allowed	6	33 75
	2 disallowed	4	17 68
	3 dropped	1	5 61
	Total	11	57 04
13	No Of cases pending		
	1 SDC-TW Kotaramachandrapuram	56	210 72
	2 SDC-TW Polavaram	37	205 00
	Total	93	415 72
14	No of appeals filed by non-tribals before the agents	13	(not available)
15	No of appeals filed by Special Deputy Tahasildar (SDT) the agent to the government	189	(not available)
16	Revision petitions filed before the government	46	(not available)
17	No of writ petitions pending	58	(not available)

(Source: SDC-TW, ITDA, Kotaramachandrapuram and Revenue Divional Officer, Jangareddigudem, West Godavari district, 2003)

Table V.3. Population of tribal and non-tribal in scheduled area as per 1991 census

Name of the Mandal	No. of Villages	STs	Non-STs	Total
		Population	Population	
Polavaram	20	9207	27367	36574
Buttayagudem	53	22080	13391	35471
Jeelugumilli	29	5,481	14,953	20,434

(Source: Revenue Divisional Officer, Jangareddigudem, West Godavari district, 1999)

Table V.4. Lands (APSA LTR, 1959 cases and AWD) assigned to the tribals and non-tribals since, 1995

Name of the Mandal	No. of Tribals	Extent (acres)	No. of Non-Tribes	Extent (acres)
Polavaram	2333	3738 01	159	211 48
Buttayagudem	904	2134 43	--	--
Jeelugumilli	943	1535 46		--

(Source. Revenue Divisional Officer, Jangareddigudem, West Godavari district, 1999)

Table V.5. Extent of uncultivated lands due to land disputes

S. No	Name of the Mandal	Total Extent (acres)
1	Buttayagudem	3,068 92
2	Jeelugumilli	1,090 96
3	Polavaram	558 81
Total		4,718 69

(Source Revenue Divisional Officer, Jangareddigudem, West Godavari district, 1999)

Table V.6. Lands occupied by the tribals encroached by the non-tribals

S. No	Name of the Mandal	Total Extent (acres)
1	Buttayagudem	344 65
2	Jeelugumilli	1,065 57
3	Polavaram	1,949.89
Total		3,360 11
(Source. Revenue Divional Officer, Jangareddigudem, West Godavari district, 1999)		

Table V.7. Lands taken possession by the government but not assigned to the tribals due to court orders

S. No	Name of the Mandal	Extent to be taken Possession (acres)
1	Buttayagudem	746 11
2	Jeelugumilli	4,731 87
3	Polavaram	61 24
Total		5,539 22
(Source. Revenue Divional Officer, Jangareddigudem, West Godavari district, 1999)		

Table V.8. Particulars of land held by tribals and non-tribals in Jeelugumilli mandal (extent in acres)

S.No.	Name of the Village	Scheduled Tribes		Non-Tribes	
		No	Extent.	No	Extent.
1	Jeelugumilli	255	983 71	156	1261 40
2	P Rajavaram	27	33 80	177	1105 12
3	Tatikayalagudem	--	--	61	208 82
4	P.Ankampalem	45	177 56	146	693 44
5	P Narayanapuram	31	283 65	147	2133 52
6	Routhugudem	111	482 65	17	485 23
7	Mulagalampalli	40	88 11	123	950 98
8	Gangannagudem	279	1145 51	54	203 97
9	Swarnavarigudem	87	179 83	218	1131 52
10.	Veerampalem	3	11 23	5	51 12
11	Janganaddhapuram	21	46 76	10	160 84
12	Puchikapadu	101	585 33	50	620 59
13	Ankamagudem	297	987 16	12	145 19
14	Kamayyapalem	33	35 76	201	1716 24
15	Jillallagudem	65	441 53	28	176 44
16	Bothappagudem	99	631 18	14	41 60
17	Lankalapalli	28	148 62	--	--
18	Taturamudugudem	79	490 06	40	179 61
19	Gopalapuram	2	92 54	53	335 17
20	Rachamagudem	74	399 93	105	641 51
21	Barrinkalagudem	127	398 25	96	940 26
22	Nersugudem	65	136 55	9	59 89
23	Vankavarigudem	45	244 39	25	218 90
24	Darbhagudem	78	106 22	328	3266 86
25	Madakamvarigudem	91	755 85	--	9 17
26	Datlavarigudem	150	647 22	-	-
27	Danamvarigudem	-	-	4	57 69
28	Kandrikapadu	1	-	16	142 28
29	Ramannapalem	15	264 46	89	175 49
	Total	2249	9797.88	2401	17113.45

(Source: Revenue Divisional Officer, Jangareddigudem, West Godavari district, 1999)

le V.9. Particulars of lands on which APSALTR, 1959 (as amended in 1970) cases insisted as per the decision of gram- sabha after enjoyment survey and record verification

S.No	Name of the Village	Name of Cases	Total Extent (in acres)
1.	Darbhagudem	84	402.72
2	Vankavarigudem	9	18.92
3	Damaragudem	There are no disputes regarding ownership of lands	
4	Barrinkalapadu	An extent of AC 17.00 was disposed of by the pattadar Violating the conditions and rules Hence the extent was taken possession under Act 9/77	

(Source Revenue Divisional Officer, Jangareddigudem, West Godavari district, 1999)

Table V.10. Particulars of cases in which appeals have to be filed as per the decision of grama- sabha after enjoyment survey and record verification

S. No	Name of the Village	Name of Cases	Total Extent (in acres)
1	Darbhagudem	8	50.81
2	Vankavarigudem	5	45.65
	TOTOAL	13	96.46

(Source Revenue Divisional Officer, Jangareddigudem, West Godavari district, 1999)

Table V.11. Details of lands with court stay orders in P.Rajavaram and Jeelugumilli villages by the time of enjoyment survey 1996-1998

S.No	Village	Particulars	No. of Cases	Extent (in acres)
1	Palacharla Rajavaram	a) Covered by stay	10 (20 28)	MRO proposed to distribute an extent of
		b) H F	1 (1 00)	2 75 acres to two
		c) S F	4 (7 35)	individuals to take
		d) Below five acers	1 (1 00)	delivery claiming from the entire extent
		e) Above five acers	2 (5 00)	of 34-63 acres covered by stay
		TOTAL	18 (34 63)	
2	Jeelugumilli Village	a) Covered by stay	2 (20 18)	No assigned land in the village
		b) Below five acers	1 (1 84)	
		TOTAL	3 (22 03)	
3	Barrinkalapadu			No assigned land in the village
4	Vankavarigudem			
5	Tatryakulagudem			
6	Nersugudem		135 00	Covered by stay

(Source Revenue Divisional Officer, Jangareddigudem, West Godavari district, 1999)

Table V.12. Physically handed Land as per APSALTR, 1959 (as amended in 1970) in Jeelugumilli mandal

S. No	Type	No. of Cases	Extent (acres)
1	Physically handed over on 12-5-1999 and 13-5-1999	19	67 33(+2 88)
2	Covered by high court stay orders	2	16 43 ½
3	Land to be physically handed over	19	47 23 ½
4	In 5 cases stay bits left over for assignment	--	1 74
TOTAL		40	132.74
(Source Revenue Divional Officer, Jangareddigudem, West Godavari district, 1999)			

Table V.13. Details of enjoyment survey in Jeelugumilli mandal 1996-1998

S. No	Village	Ext. of STs Land Surveyed	Ext of Non-STs Surveyed	AWD	Ext of Govt Land Surveyed	Total Extent Land Surveyed	Surveys for	Year of Survey
1	Jeelugumilli	120 00	426 00		14 00	560 00	1	1997-98
2	Danamvarigudem	-	57 69		1 07	58 76	1	1997-98
3	Barrinkalapatu	398 25	1,409 96	26-34	70 29	1,904 84	3	1997-98
4	Darbhagudem	398 25	3247 46	02 00	228 00	3,622 30	3	1997-98
5	Vankavargudem	219 29	244 00		40 92	504 21	1	1997-98
	Total	881 49	5385 11	28 34	335 17	6,650 11	9	Not Cm

(Source Revenue Divional Officer, Jangareddigudem, West Godavari district, 1999)

ble V.14. Particulars lands (APSALTR, 1959 cases and AWD) assigned to tribals in Jeelugumilli mandal

S. No	Name of the Village	Name of Cases	Total Extent (acres)
1.	Gangannagudem	149	Ac 172 40
2.	Swarnavarigudem	46	47 43
3	Ankamagudem	50	111 32
4	Tatikayalagudem	2	2 50
5	Gopalapuram	1	0.60
6	Routhugudem	50	154 85
7	Barrinkalagudem	28	63 37
8	Jangareddipuram	11	10 85
9	Vankavarigudem	9	5 80
10	Rachamagudem	19	54 12
11.	Kamayyapalem	21	26 51
12.	Mulagalampalli	39	70 91
13	P.Narayanapuram	27	82 74
14	P.Ankampalem	40	66 51
15.	Lankalapalli	12	16 65
16	Nersugudem	70	143 05
17	Tatiramudugudem	8	15 98
18	Bothappagudem	36	91 96
19	Puchikapadu	36	102 93
20	Verrampalm	1	1 29
21	Jeelugumilli	73	152 50
22.	Jillallagudem	2	2 00
23	P Rajavaram	24	32 80
24.	Ramannapalem	7	7 62
25.	Darbhagudem	50	85 38
26	Rauthugudem	12	16 33
	Total	823	1538.40

(Source Revenue Divisional Officer, Jangareddigudem, West Godavari district, 1999)

**Table V.15. Lands owned by tribals and non-tribals in Buttayagudem mandal
(extent in acres)**

S. No	Name of the Village	Scheduled Tribes		Non-Tribes	
		No	Extent.	No	Extent.
1.	Lakshmiapuram	100	294 26	98	148 14
2	Muddappagudem	211	632 05	37	97 07
3.	Kovvada	87	213 78	9	53 07
4	Rajanagaram	67	301 43	1	53 66
5.	Kotaramachandrapuram	72	383 93	10	2 61
6.	Kursakannapagudem	33	232 31	5	44 30
7	Pandugudem	155	457 10	--	13 12
8	Kamayakunta	190	550 68	--	--
9	Lankapalli	124	242 72	--	--
10.	Bandarigudem	107	477 15	--	--
11.	Ravurigudem	63	400.16	--	--
12.	Puliramudugudem	211	571 17	--	--
13	Itikilakunta	119	385 07	--	--
14	Merakagudem	107	325 48	--	--
15	Ammapalem	79	177 66	8	71 77
16	Gunjavaram	25	110 22	--	--
17.	Cheemalavarigudem	81	185 62	9	26 22
18.	Kandrikagudem	109	225 07	19	94 30
19	Nutiramannapalem	57	226 70	8	8 72
20	Ragappagudem	158	359 64	11	24 03
21.	Atchiahpalem	53	421 50	1	1 75
22	Nimmalagudem	1	19 55	75	254 50
23	Palakunta	130	608 38	7	37 15
24	Chintalgudem	81	311 17	--	--
25	Nagampalem	36	153 79	--	--
26	Mangaiahpalem	17	107 79	1	31 64
27	Koya Rajhamandry	373	1,109 76	208	748 67
28.	K Bothappagudem	57	191 03	3	6 41
29	Yerragudem	81	202 90	3	13 78
30	Dondipudi	46	199 23	--	--
31	Ramnannagudem	20	132 93	144	378 95

32	Ganapavaram	744	1,460 64	498	3678 66
33	Marigudem	113	361 64	44	141 56
34	Buparajupalli	125	238 80	177	663 76
35	Laxmudugudem	207	462 36	310	1426 86
36	Jainavarigudem	30	114 23	47	28 62
37	Sitaramandugudem	14	82 57	84	256 22
38	Kopalli	118	267 52	--	--
39	Jaggisetigudem	139	627 39	--	--
40	Kannarapadu	34	65 25		
41	Vorrinka	41	79 26	--	--
42	Munjuluru	110	566 88	--	--
43	Kotrupalli	16	42 95	--	--
44	Upparelli	51	200 8	--	--
45	Gummuluru	26	53 85	--	--
46	Veerannpalem	25	47 21	--	--
47	Gogumilli	1	1 78		
48	Chamanapalli	17	62 84	-	--
49	Kosavarigudem	217	1,747 60		
50	Aliveru	204	1199 79	--	--
51	Antrivedigudem	485	4313 13	--	--
52	Doramamidi	837	3662 56	18	123 71
53	Buttayagudem	1,836	6278 35	45	276 86
	Total	8,797	32,859.43	2,212	12,419.74

(Source. Revenue Divisional Officer, Jangareddigudem, West Godavari district, 1999)

Table V.16. Particulars of lands on which APSALTR, 1959 (as amended in 1970) cases to be initiated as per the decision of *grama-sabha* after enjoyment survey and record verification

S. No	Name of the Village	Name of Cases	Total Extent (acres)
1	Lakshmiapuram	9	23 09
2	Muddappagudem	10	28 84
3.	Kovvada	--	--
4.	Rajanagaram	2	4 23
5	K R Puram	1	8 88
6.	Kursakannapagudem	--	--
7.	Ammapalem	2	20 18
8	Cheemalavarigudem	2	4 15
9	Kandrikagudem	1	4 26
10.	Nutiramannapalem	2	1 95
11	Ragappagudem	5	9 63
12	Atchayyapalem	4	7 30
13	Nimmalagudem	1	8 21
14	Palakunta	--	--
15	Mangayyapalem	2	22 24
16	Kammarabothappagudem	--	--
17	K.Rajamundry	26	71 93
18	Yerrayagudem	2	6 53
19	Ramnannagudem	5	11 72
20	Marlagudem	18	45 06
21	Busarajupalli	20	83 06
22	Laxmugudem	56	205 06
23.	Jainavarigudem	45	69 29
24	Seetharamanagaram	22	50 75
25	Jaggisetigudem	21	39 73
	Total	256	726.09

(Source Revenue Divisional Officer, Jangareddigudem, West Godavari district, 1999)

Table V.17. Particulars of cases on which appeals have to be filed, as per the decision of grama-sabha after enjoyment survey and record verification

S. No	Name of the Village	Name of Cases	Extent (in acres)
	Lakshmipuram	--	--
	Muddappagudem	1	1.18
3.	Kovvada	--	--
4.	Rajanagaram	--	-
5.	K R.Puram	1	7 46
6.	K Kannapagudem	--	--
7.	Ammapalem	--	--
8.	Cheemalavarigudem	--	--
9	Kandrikagudem	--	--
10.	Nuti Ramannapalem	1	3.45
11.	Ragappagudem	1	4 25
12.	Atchiahpalem	--	--
13	Nimmalagudem	--	--
14	Palakunta	1	7 89
15	Mangarahpalem	--	-
16	Kammarabothappagudem	--	--
17.	Koyarajhamandry	11	23 92
18	Yerrayagudem	1	4 80
19.	Ramnannagudem	1	1 66
20	Marlagudem	2	22 40
21	Busarajupalli	22	61 75
22	Lakshnudugudem	47	180 60
23	Jainavarigudem	11	28 87
24	Seetharamanagaram	--	--
25	Jaggisetigudem	2	5 50
	Total	102	353.61

(Source Revenue Divinonal Officer, Jangareddigudem, West Godavari district, 1999)

Table V.18. Particulars of government lands (AWD) assigned to tribals and non-tribals in Buttayagudem mandal (extent in acres)

S. No	Name of the Village	Government Land (AWD, UAW and Poramboke) Assigned			
		Scheduled Tribes		Non-Tribes	
		No	Extent.	No	Extent.
1.	Lakshmipuram	41	42 64	--	--
2	Muddappagudem	89	230 69	--	--
3	Kovvada	34	20 42	--	--
4	Rajanagaram	15	10 70	--	--
5.	K R Puram	30	36 93	--	--
6.	K Kannapagudem	21	42 83	--	--
7	Pandugudem	102	102 34	--	--
8	Kammayakunta	81	76 34	--	--
9	Lankapalli	67	141 42	-	--
10	Bandarigudem	60	109 15	--	--
11	Ravurigudem	23	76 09	--	--
12	Puliramudugudem	73	90 49	--	--
13	Itkilakunta	59	71 29	-	--
14	Marakagudem	52	76 76	-	--
15	Ammapalem	41	67 89	--	--
16	Gunjavaram	9	2 77	-	--
17	Cheemalavarigudem	33	47 05	--	--
18	Kandrikagudem	55	71 39	--	--
19	Nuti Ramannapalem	7	2 61	--	--
20	Ragappagudem	57	81 65	--	--
21	Atchayypalem	13	45 65	--	--
22	Chintalagudem	23	22 10	--	--
23	Palakunta	19	45 34	--	--
24	Nagampalem	10	5 95	--	--
25	Mangayypalem	3	1 85	--	--
26	K Rajamundry	144	217 42	11	21 31
27	Yerragudem	7	3 63	--	--
28	Dondipudi	16	21 14	-	--

29	Ramnannagudem	3	4 35	--	--
30	Ganapavaram	450	978 33	49	57 93
31	Marlagudem	50	88 22	--	--
32	Buparajupalli	79	142 38	80	48 21
33	Laxmudugudem	98	119 82	119	84 03
34	Jainavarigudedm	9	7 84	--	--
35	Sitaramandugudem	3	4 20	--	--
36	Kopalli	4	14 22	--	--
37	Jaggisetigudem	64	159.08	--	--
38	Urrinka	39	72 39	--	--
39	Munjuluru	66	295 91	--	--
40	Kotrupalli	16	42 19	--	--
41	Upparelli	22	65 15	--	--
42	Gummuluru	21	40 37	--	--
43	Veerannapalem	25	47 21	--	--
44	Chamanapalli	17	62 84	--	--
45	Aliveru	53	197 53	--	--
46	Doramamidi	38	125 81	--	--
47	Buttayagudem	149	520 71	--	--

(Source Revenue Divisional Officer, Jangareddigudem, West Godavari district, 1999)

Table V.19. Details Enjoyment Survey in Buttayagudem Mandal 1996-1998

(in acres)

S No	Village	Ext of STs	Ext of	AWD	Ext of Govt.	Total Extent
		Land Surveyed	Non-STs Surveyed		Land Surveyed	Land Surveyed
1	Buttayagudem	5783 34	2365-41	-	3498-81	11647-56
2	Lakshmiapuram	251 62	148-14	-	229-52	629-28
3	Muddappagudem	401-36	97-07	-	679 63	1178 06
4	Kovvada	193 36	53 66	-	72-12	319-00
5	Rajanagaram	289-73	2-61	-	113 26	405 00
6	K R.Puram	347-00	44 30	-	130-50	521-00
7	K Kannappagudem	189-48	13-12	-	87-79	290-00
8	Ammapalem	109-77	71 77	-	152-85	334-39
9	Chimalavangudem	138-57	26 22	-	84 21	249 00
10	Kadrikagudem	153 68	94-30	-	127-08	375-06
11	Nutiramannapalem	266 09	8-72	-	34 17	266-00
12	Ragappagudem	277 99	24 03	-	111 08	413-10
13	Achayyapalem	375 85	1-75	-	109-85	487-45
14	Nimmalagudem	19 55	254 50	-	92 85	366 90
15	Palakunta	563 04	37-15	-	331-36	931-55
16	Mangayyapalem	105-94	31 64	-	52 97	190-55
17	Koyarajhamandry	892-34	727-37	-	481-13	2,100 84
18	K Bottapagudem	191 03	6-41	-	16 71	214 15
19	Yerrayagudem	199-27	13-78	-	47 48	260-53
20	Ramannagudem	126 58	378-97	-	67 98	573 53
21	Marlagudem	273-42	141 56	-	118 45	533-43
22	Busarajapalli	96 42	663-76	-	345-97	1,106-00
23	Lakshnudugudem	262-54	1426-86	-	539 15	2228 55
4	Jamavarigudem	106-39	281 62	-	86 09	474-10
25	Sitharamanagaram	78-35	256 22	-	115-15	449-72
26	Jaggisetigudem	468-31	-	-	415-97	884 28
27	Ganapavaram (Estate Village)	606 67	3554-30	-	1467 98	5628 95
28	Doramamidi (Estate Village)	3644-29	1088-98	-	1000 52	5735-79
29	Anthervedigudem (Estate Village)	4313-13	133-09	-	1214-29	5660-51
	Total	20,683-12	11947-31	-	11,826-91	44,457-34

(Source: Revenue Divisional Officer, Jangareddigudem, West Godavari district, 1999)

Table V.20. Particulars of lands held by tribals and non-tribals in Polavaram mandal (extent in acres)

S. No	Name of the Village	Tribals		Non-Tribes	
		No	Extent.	No	Extent.
1	Pydipaka	13	14 41	87	497 73
2	LND Peta	319	1751 59	150	1501 22
3.	Nagampalem	119	261 85	68	574 91
4	Pragadapalli	77	478 15	321	1812 83
5	Vinjaram	244	947 56	16	135 02
6	Kondrukota	472	396 4	67	269 41
7	Tutigunta	187	507 35	21	133 31
8	Sirivaka	43	93 88	2	15 77
9	Tekuru	50	182 53	15	67 27
10	Polavaram Agency	242	692 55	21	69 19
11	Chegondapalli	151	523 31	7	19 17
12	Geddepalli	182	723 31	--	--
13	Chilakaluru	28	98 72	--	--
14	Dharwada	10	49 54	--	--
15	Singanapalli	43	67 00	12	46 00
16	Ravigudem				
	Total	2180	7328.22	787	5141 83

(Source Revenue Divisional Officer, Jangareddigudem, West Godavari district, 1999)

Table V.21. Distribution of assignment lands in Polavaram mandal

No	Name of the Village	No. of Beneficiaries	Total Extent (acres)
1.	Nagampalem	35	49.09
2.	Pragadapalli	11	14.93
3.	Vinjaram	4	8.94
4.	L N D Peta	38	102.42
5.	kondrukota	18	10.22
6.	Tekuru	49	49.93
7.	Singanapalli	5	7.64
8.	Sirivaka	7	4.73
9.	Sunnalagondi, H/o Vinjaram	17	41.31
Total		184	289.21

(Source: Revenue Divisional Officer, Jangareddigudem, West Godavari district, 1999)

**le V.22. Particulars of cases in which ejection orders were issued by the
SDC-TW, ITDA, Kotaramachandrapuram, West Godavari district**

No	Name of the Village	Name of Cases	Total Extent (acres)
1	Koruturu	2	9 8
2	Cheeduru	1	0 84
3	Tekuru	5	11 22
4.	Tutugunta	9	89 58
5	Dharwada	1	0 87
6	Kondrukota	25	67 18
7.	Singanapalli	11	76 50
8	Pydipaka	39	55 26
9	Itakalakota H/o Polavaram	4	12 73
10	Thotagondi H/o Polavaram	1	1 00
11	Mamidigondi H/o Polavaram	2	1 60
12	L N D Peta	57	479 92
13.	Devaragondi H/o Polavaram	3	6 00
14	Vinjaram	6	18 02
15	Nagampalem	33	205 19
16	Pragadapalli	82	246 24
	Total	281	1281.97

(Source Revenue Divisional Officer, Jangareddigudem, West Godavari district, 1999)

**Table V.23. Details of enjoyment survey relate to STs lands in Pragadapalli and
Paidipaka villages of Polavaram mandal 1996-1998 (extent in acres)**

S. No	Name of the Village	Ext of STs Land Surveyed	Ext of Non-Tribes Land Surveyed	AWD	Ext of Govt. Land Surveyed	Total Extent Land Surveyed
1	Pragadapalli	499-04	1110-64		525-37	2,135-05
2	Paidipaka	14 41	269-10		117 01	400 52
	Total	513-45	1,379-74	-	642-38	1,535-57

(Source Revenue Divisional Officer, Jangareddigudem, West Godavari district, 1999)

Table V.24. Details of court litigation and settlement pattas allowed as per enjoyment survey in Polavaram mandal 1996-1998 (extent in acres)

Name of the Village	AWD	Settlement Patta Allowed	Court Litigation	S&M Farmers	No of Patta dars	D-Form Pattas	Unfit for Cultivation	Occupied by Ryotu Cooly Samgam
Paidipaka	330-77	222-22	84-09	24 14	-	-	0 32	-
Nagampalem	487-31	309 10	61-12	48-23	43	56-93	5 70	-
Vinjaram	63-63	12-07	-	29 41	4	8 94	-	13-21
Pragadapalli	568-72	331-50	161 19	59-99	5	6-37	3-99	2-68
LND Peta	734-96	288-83	108 68	221 70	25	71-05	44 70	-
Kondrukota	204-83	40-33	46-27	67-11	16	9 35	8-56	33 21
Tutigunta	131-15	23-55	9-37	2-32	47	44-49	2-35	49-07
Total	2521-37	1227-60	470-72	452 90	140	197-13	65 62	98-17

e Revenue Divional Officer, Jangareddigudem, West Godavari district, 1999)

Conclusions

Welfare discourse in the third world countries has revolved around western experiences and theories, missing the nature, and context of their own problems. India as the welfare state, wedded to the idea of democratic socialism, aims at providing a minimum desirable standard of living to every citizen without any sort of discrimination. In order to meet this avowed objective, the whole developmental process is directed not only towards the advancement of resources, but also towards their equal distribution, so that every citizen of the country can get the fruits of development and his due share in the national wealth. This process involves protection of weaker and vulnerable sections of society by the state, in order to bring them closer to the normal living standard of their fellow citizens by overcoming the short comings caused by their social and economic backwardness. Keeping this goal in view, various legislative and welfare measures for the upliftment of these sections have been envisaged in the Indian Constitution, in the form of various concessions and special benefits and protection to them to raise their position in the social ladder as well as their economic advancement (Arora 1995: 955-961).

The concept of sustainable development is almost being treated by some planners and administrators as food security. But this important concept has to be properly understood and it should be followed scrupulously in letter and spirit in formulation of various plans. Brundtland commission's report defined 'sustainable development as development that meets the need of the present development without compromising the ability of future generations' (Brundtland 1987). The various indigenous methods followed by the tribals in eking out their livelihood and their social relationship with the flora and fauna of nature indicate the inbuilt and invisible mechanism for sustainability of life supporting systems. The totemic affiliations, taboos followed by simple pre-literate societies indirectly promote, protect and regulate the resources. The ingenuity, traditional skills and knowledge have to be made as fulcrum for formulation of schemes for sustainable development.

Different five year plans brought a new hope and created awareness regarding various welfare schemes as they have been designed to achieve all-round development of tribals and tribal areas. It was in the first five year plan that the policy for tribal welfare was shaped and well-defined to assist the tribal people to develop their natural resources and to evolve a productive economic life wherein they will enjoy the fruits of labour and will not be exploited by the more organized economic forces from outside. According to the reports of the planning commission, 1956, welfare programmes for the tribal people have to be based on respect and understanding of their culture and traditions and appreciation of their social, psychological and economic problems with which they are faced (Swaminadhan 2005).

Land assumes great importance in the scheme of tribal development. The dependence of tribals on land has enormously increased with degradation of forests and consequent depletion of MFPs / NTFPs in the tribal area. In fact, land is crucial for survival of most of the tribals. The tribals also have emotional and sacred ties with their ancestral lands and territory, because the tribal areas which are now called scheduled areas in the state constitute the traditional habitats of the majority of the tribals of Andhra Pradesh. The immigrant non-tribals taking advantage of the ignorance, illiteracy and simplicity of the tribals devised various dubious methods to grab the lands from tribals. The prevalent modes of alienation of tribal lands by non-tribals in the scheduled areas of the state are through money-lending, marital relations, traditional friendship, tribal servants otherwise known as *bimami* transfers, producing bogus tribal certificates or *pattas* or fake judgments, and adoption of non-tribal children. As the tribals have an emotional attachment with their land and habitat, they have been resisting all through the threats of land displacement and alienation and occurrence of peoples movements are its testimony.

In recent times, due to large scale industrialization and urbanization, the relative isolation of the tribal areas is broken down. The tribals, and their lands and other resources are now exposed to the exploitative market forces, mostly due to the state and MNCs sponsored developmental projects. These are large scale irrigational projects, dams, reservoirs, mining, wild life sanctuaries, industries and tourism. The

acquisition of lands by the state in tribal areas is a common phenomenon, in contravention to the agency laws and court orders. The tribals are deprived of their rights due to absence of rehabilitation act at the national level and violation of protective laws, regulations, legislations, policies and court orders. Likewise, the agency land laws and other protective regulations, and the R&R policies at the national and state levels, though are expected to safeguard the interests of the displaced tribals, they are not practiced in the right spirit.

India is the third largest in dam building in the World and the development policies and strategies have focused attention on indispensability of irrigation as important input for agriculture. Large-scale irrigation projects are important for higher agriculture growth, besides establishment of industries, power projects, etc. India gave tremendous encouragement to the large river valley projects or large multipurpose dams. The dominant ethos was 'big is the best', and the conviction is that large multipurpose projects are the panacea to all the problems of poverty and under development.

The various developmental programmes implemented in the tribal areas brought untold misery to the local tribal population. The mining activities, irrigation projects, wild life sanctuaries, establishment of various industries and other developmental activities resulted in displacement of lakhs of tribals in the tribal region and these so called developmental projects created many hardships in the tribal areas. Displaced tribal families and PAPs were not properly rehabilitated. Even the small irrigation projects are not properly planned and executed and this situation brings many more problems to PAPs. In order to mitigate hardships faced by the tribals due to developmental backlash, the total participatory approach with total transparency at every stage of implementation has to be followed.

The present study is an attempt to examine the processes of development, problem of land alienation, displacement, rehabilitation and resettlement in the tribal area of the West Godavari district in the context of constitutional enactments and welfare policies. For this purpose extensive fieldwork was carried out in the three agency

mandals i.e. Jeelugumilli, Buttayagudem and Polavaram of the West Godavari district during 2000-2003. The conclusions in this study are drawn on the basis of ground realities and feedback received from the tribal people such as the Koyas, Konda Reddis and other weaker sections, who are the beneficiaries of APPTDP, victims of land alienation and the PAPs of irrigation projects, and other stakeholders like peoples representatives, government and non-government functionaries in the study area, as well as the analysis of secondary data collected from various government sources relevant to tribal developmental programmes of the APPTDP implemented by the ITDA during 1994-2003.

The study area is the tribal region which was declared as scheduled area, under the scheduled areas (Part-A State) order 1950. Out of the total number of 136 Villages comprising of erstwhile Polavaram taluk, 101 villages of both government and of erstwhile estate were formed into the agency area. Most of the Koyas and Konda Reddis of the West Godavari agency live in isolated areas as a distinct group both culturally and ethnically, and are backward socially, educationally and economically. Because of their distinct ways of living, customs and traditions, the programmes for their advancement should be in consonance with the social realities of their life. With this reason, various government programmes of both the central and state are being planned and implemented for the upliftment of them, so that they may join the mainstream of national life.

In the past, various tribal development programmes have not created perceptible impact on the living conditions of tribals. The tribals have participated in various programmes as wage earners and there is no coordination among different development agencies. Further, these programmes were formulated by routine mechanism with the top-down approach. But after introduction of externally aided projects, the total emphasis is laid specially on 'participatory approach'. The local tribals are being associated actively in the survey, preparation of social maps of villages, identification of resources, plans formulation, implementation, monitoring and maintenance of assets created. All the staff and other specialists like CDCs and ADCs concerned are being trained at MANAGE, a research and training institute of

the Prof. N G. Ranga Agriculture University in Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques and almost all the schemes are formulated and grounded by following the methods of participatory development

The developmental programmes implemented by the ITDA, under APPTDP have created awareness among the tribal communities regarding their livelihood concerns. Special emphasis in this project was given to horticulture activities especially for raising cashew orchards, technical support in horticulture by providing seeds, organic fertilizers, pesticides and power sprayers. In addition, the project undertook water management initiatives for agriculture by construction of check dams, supporting farming techniques by training and encouraging progressive farmers, promotion of cattle, sheep, goat and poultry rearing activities, creating resource base through land development schemes and formation of VTDA, SHGs, GBGs, CHWs, SERPs and WUAs. Most of the groups formed under the APPTDP project are involved in advocacy and liaison with the ITDA in bringing developmental schemes to the door steps of the tribal communities.

It is observed that the illiteracy and ignorance is not at all coming in the way of implementation of project as the tribals are endowed with sufficient indigenous skills, traditional knowledge and practical experience. Therefore, the real empowerment is the crucial factor for promoting suitable development of tribal communities and villages. In this process, the APPTDP funded by the IFAD of Rome, Italy was started in 1994-2003. Prior to implementation of the APPTDP, various five year plan programmes along with other TSP schemes were launched since 1951. In the context of these programmes, the focus of the present study is on the APPTDP implemented in the jurisdiction of ITDA, Kotaramachandrapuram, West Godavari district, during 1994-2003. The aim of this project was to ensure food security to tribal communities by empowering them through VTDA and also to address their local issues such as land alienation, displacement, rehabilitation and resettlement that resulted in the process of development in tribal areas of the West Godavari district.

The SHGs and GBGs were initiated by the APPTDP for the first time in the agency area. SHGs have also not succeeded as like other developmental schemes, due to lack of capacity building and further follow-up as part of the post-project initiatives. Later, these groups are merged into IKP and have been flourishing in the wake of the popular credit scheme *pavala vaddi* (25 paise interest). Schemes like poultry and cattle rearing units, given to groups have not yielded anticipated results. Sericulture, agriculture, land development programmes have not achieved much progress. Ashram schools, residential schools and colleges run by APSWRS have been functioning properly with excellent results, due to improved hostel conditions. Dietary and environment conditions of schools and hostels have to be improved to achieve further results. Housing schemes grounded long back under the IAY scheme were not completed. Most of the houses are still at different stages such as basement, lintel and roof levels. It is observed that a large amount of housing grants have illegally drawn by the government officials, even without completing the houses. On the other hand the beneficiaries are unable to complete their houses as the cost of building material has been increasing tremendously.

Electricity, roads and transport facilities have been laid properly in almost all the agency villages, excepting for a few Konda Reddi villages, since they live in hillocks surrounded by forests. Konda Reddis have to face lot of risks to visit shandis by foot. Due to forest rules, the government officials are unable to lay the electric poles in the forest villages. Even though there is a possibility for providing solar energy to all the hilltop villages as an alternative to conventional energy sources, the ITDA officials have not taken any initiative to provide solar lights. Health conditions in the agency have been in horrible condition and the occurrence of tribal deaths due to ill-health, malnutrition and hunger are common even to day, as it was reported in news papers regarding the well-known serial deaths in Mothugudem and other Konda Reddi villages. In most cases the worst affected are women and children. No one of the health staff stays in the quarters, located at PHCs, although they have to stay compulsorily in the hospital quarters. If at all the staff are available, required medicines, technical equipment, will not be available. Most of the posts in these health centers have remained vacant and no doctor is coming forward to serve in tribal

areas, inspite of special incentives offered by the government These PHCs have been working as referral centers, even for small ailments Children, women and old people have no escape from all the health problems. Malaria and viral fevers are common in the agency. Malnutrition among children is common Efforts of Anganwadi centers have not been upto mark due to lack of special efforts from government Since children are considered as source of income by most of the tribal parents, their children have been engaged in cattle grazing, agriculture and construction works as child labour

The GoAP has taken a pioneering step to abolish the private contract system in order to entrust the civil works and other construction activities like check dams, tanks, roads and other construction works to the VTDA's (local tribal institutions, associations and agencies) as per the GO Ms No 30, SW (V2) department, dated 17-2-1994 The main objective of abolition of the contract system is to develop entrepreneurial skills in the local tribals and to ensure good quality of works It is significant to note that the quality of the construction works taken up by the VTDA's is superior to the works completed earlier by private contractors Empowerment of VTDA's by allotting construction works costing below Rs 5,00,000 each has been made mandatory and that the tribals alone should be employed in the construction works such as school complex buildings, hostels, roads, restoration of minor irrigation tanks and check dams The SHGs and GBGs have been encouraged by providing matching grants of Rs 5,000 each and Rs 7,000 each respectively, in addition to their savings in the form of cash and grain

In general, in the government supported programme, in contrast to community controlled programmes, the project functionaries treat tribals as objects of development The tribals should rather be treated as subjects with whom they have to work They should be given a freehand according to their abilities to make choices which are beneficial to them Training tribal youth in participatory techniques will really be helpful to make them conscious of the consequences of the choice they make for their development. All they need is proper support system and access to their resources which are locally available The new knowledge and skills provided to them

through participatory methodologies must be to augment their naturally endowed and culturally acquired knowledge and skills. This should not be based on discounting and discrediting their knowledge, skills and values. The augmentation must be in the direction of marketing their MFPs / NTFPs gainfully.

In this aspect the existing role of GCC must be modified to cater to the marketing needs of tribal products by removing its control and monopoly rights over the tribal products. This market should go beyond producing handicrafts, running boats on Godavari river for tourists and performing cultural shows for the main stream people. To give an example, the detailed knowledge of medicinal plants and their uses for alternative health care, expertise in tracking wild animals for wild-life management should be used for the benefit of all and the economic returns must be given to the tribals. Wherever such knowledge is collective, the economic benefit should go to the community as a whole for its development instead of going to the hands of a few individuals. Most of the benefits of various development schemes including education facilities are going to the tribal elite, politically influential or manipulative tribals, non-tribals through *benami* transfers i.e. non-tribals married to tribal women and their children, at the cost of needy tribals. This trend is more common in Koyas, comparatively to the Konda Reddis.

The calendar of operations for implementation of agricultural activities was not followed, especially in providing seeds, fertilizers and pesticides. Most of the tribal farmers are reluctant to take these agricultural inputs provided by the project, just after the closure of agricultural operations. This is also due to negligence of the project authorities and staff. Whatever the tribals benefitted through the project that was at the mercy of project staff. Only a few sincere project officials have contributed a real help to the poor tribals for their advancement. All the schemes were grounded according to target orientations, rather than aspirations, needs and requirements of the communities. The aim of the project officials was completing the targets, and spending all the project amount was considered as a biggest achievement, rather than the impact of the project on tribal beneficiaries as envisaged by the project planners. There was no scope for discussions or review with field level staff and communities.

on ground realities in the implementation of the project according to its applicability and feasibility

Most of the project staff have been transferred or removed just after completion of the project without giving any scope for further follow-up action to the project. Owing to lack of sufficient capacity building among the tribal beneficiaries and support from project functionaries most of the schemes grounded under this project did not bear fruits. Owing to lack of bank linkages and market tie-ups, the beneficiaries of some schemes under the project have faced lot of problems. To add to this, non-tribal groups who managed to get the tribal tag have been depriving the tribals, the benefits of reservations and constitutional safeguards apart from tribal land alienation. Administrative problems which are affecting the tribal development are frequent transfers of sincere POs of ITDA by political leaders, posting inefficient staff to the agency areas as punishment, lack of coordination among staff of various departments and fraudulent mind-set of some staff in all the departments.

The developmental programmes being pursued in the West Godavari agency areas by different departments, lack effective co-ordination. Consequently, there is no visible impact on the tribal population. It is against this background that the present study has been undertaken, in order to analyse various concessions made available to the tribal community and the programmes for their education, training, employment, economic assistance, health, housing and medical facilities. The study is focused for the purpose of minimizing the chances of duplication in services, as well as to improve their effectiveness on the tribal community for the improvement in the quality of their life, as perceived by them.

As a part of promoting empowerment effective schemes have to be taken up in every tribal village or hamlet in order to evolve sustainable tribal societies. The emphasis should be on education and functional literacy, encompassing constitutional benefits and protective regulations, safeguards, health and nutrition education, development of skills and knowledge of agriculture, processing of NTFP income generating activities, social and cultural development, formation of women SHGs, thrift and

credit societies, gram banks and reinforcing indigenous or traditional customary practices through traditional village and inter village *panchayats*. The VTDA's formed under APPTDP should be effective in creating sustainable tribal societies through *grama-sabhas* as per provisions of the PESA, 1996. Such organisations are essential and local tribals have to be educated to shoulder the new responsibilities in their respective fields. Leadership camps have to be organized frequently in these villages in order to educate the local people and youth about constitutional provisions, protective regulations, various concessions, privileges and approaches for improving their living conditions.

It is important to note that most of the projects are located in the most backward scheduled areas of various tribal communities. The resources, which are available in the tribal areas, are being perceived, by the policy makers, as the property of the Nation, but not as the basis of the people who live. Majority of the PAPs due to Kovvada and Polavaram projects are the tribal communities in the West Godavari agency. The question as to how the Polavaram PAPs would be rehabilitated in their natural environments without disturbing their livelihoods before construction of the dam and with what package is not clear. The R&R policies at both national and state levels, though expected to safeguard the interests of the displaced persons, they are not practiced in the right spirit. Violation of protective laws, regulations, legislations, and court orders is a common phenomenon. There is a politician-bureaucrat-contractor nexus, which causes a drain in the resources allocated for the R&R programmes depriving the tribals and weaker sections. All the same, the work of the committed NGOs and CBOs by sensitizing the tribals and others about their rights and providing appropriate initiative helps the PAPs in deriving benefits for which they are entitled. The R&R endeavours of anthropologists, committed social activists, NGOs and CBOs at the settlements of Reddigudem and Lakshmiapuram displaced tribal communities due to Kovvada reservoir in West Godavari agency stand as examples to show that advocacy, motivation and peoples participation, and negotiations can make successful implementation of such programmes.

The state or development induced displacement and land alienation negate the very

Vth Schedule of the Constitution and also stands to question the control and ownership of land and natural resources which is so essential to tribal way of life. Alienation of land due to displacement also leads to destruction of the surrounding livelihood resources on which the tribals depend. Impacts related to displacement have not been taken into account or properly compensated, while setting up projects

The displacement caused by Kovvada and Polavaram irrigation projects in this region has resulted in the transfer of resources from the weaker sections of society to more privileged ones. The oustees who bear the pain never share the gains of development. It can be said that the bigger the development project, the greater the centralized control over it. This centralization has a bias in favour of large landholders, rich farmers, politicians, bureaucrats and engineers. Unless there is change in this process, there will be no use for the displaced tribals. Absence of the R&R Act at the national level, and violation of protective laws, regulations, legislations and court orders were the causes in the negation of tribal rights. Well conceived rehabilitation measures have not been practiced in true spirit and the successful rehabilitation of people who were uprooted and dispersed decades back is a big un-solved question. Efforts of committed NGOs, action anthropological interventions can yield good results in rehabilitation of displaced as reflected in Kovvada reservoir displacement issue.

Thus most of the developmental schemes adopted by the government for the wellbeing of tribals ignored nature and context of their problems. The narrow and superficial conceptualisation of welfare needs of the PAPs has no scope for alternate ways of policy interventions and introducing correctives in addressing welfare issues in specific contexts. The study suggests that these areas need to evolve alternative approaches to welfare that are appropriate for tribal communities.

The GoI and each state must urgently initiate a wide social consultation involving various sections of the population, especially the disadvantaged sections, through mass-based, active peoples' organizations, to work out and declare a sectoral policy with a clear vision, purpose and objectives, modus operandi, and process. This should be in keeping with the values of the constitution, respecting national policies and

international covenants protecting the poor and disadvantaged, including dalits, adivasis, women, peasants, informal sector workers, manual labourers and fishermen

For every project, the government concerned must publicly justify the 'public interest' sought to be served by the proposed project or activity, prior to clearance by the concerned authority and consent by the affected community, and this should be legally challengeable. In every sector, the project or the plan, the clear objective should be to minimize displacement. All options and alternatives for a project must be assessed, and the non-displacing or least displacing option must be chosen. Eviction and deprivation of adivasis should be avoided to the maximum, in the spirit of Vth Schedule of the Constitution. All attempts to amend Schedule Vth that would weaken the rights of tribals should be stalled.

In project implementation, displacement or evictions should not be forced or permitted without concurrence of the Commissioner for SCs and STs. No project should be finalized, unless the affected communities are fully informed of the social, environmental and economic costs and benefits and its consent is sought through *grama-sabhas* in tribal areas with a participatory process involving all communities and families, paying special attention to issues of class, caste and gender. Detailed legal rules and resolutions must be worked out for each sector of both the government and private agencies, in the spirit of the 73rd constitutional amendments and the PESA, 1996 aiming at tribal self-rule.

After evaluating all options, if displacement is found inevitable in a certain project, it must be kept to the minimum, and it must be ensured that all affected people are properly rehabilitated, ensuring that they are not worse off than they were before displacement. The process of rehabilitation should be humane, just, and participatory to the maximum extent and care should be taken to provide livelihood opportunities in formal or informal sectors and access to private or community resources should not be decided by the project and related works.

Unless former displaced people are fully rehabilitated, no new projects should be sanctioned. Land reforms for equitable redistribution and recognition of common property rights over natural resources should form an integral part of any development plan. The planning process must begin with full benchmark surveys of families and their private and public / community resources, with a time-frame of at least one year prior to the survey and two years prior to acquisition. Investigations regarding these must be undertaken to estimate all impacts of the project and related works on livelihoods. Incomes, health, social matrix, natural environs, and equity / inequity in development. This should be applicable to every public and private agency.

There should be an Auditor General to review the ownership and distribution of natural resources including land and forests, and present regular audits before the people and the government. Prior to any acquisition of land in rural or tribal areas, all land rights must be settled through a special drive ending before land acquisition commences. Prior to acquisition in an urban or semi-urban area, a zonal plan and a city / town plan updating all records of habitats, houses, amenities, livelihoods must be prepared and taken as a basis for granting due rights and replacement, if necessary.

In all cases the policy of land to land should apply to all project affected landholders, losing more than 25% of their landholding or those who are left with less than 5 acres. A special effort must be made to provide land to all peasants, landless families, and especially to all tribal families, apart from land compensation. In the case of a medium or major irrigation project, land should be purchased / acquired from farmers in the benefited areas. This land should be allotted according to the principle of rehabilitation as public purpose. Alternative livelihoods must be caused for all project-affected non-agriculturalists and urban poor, including traders, artisans, hawkers, and providers of other services in the affected area. Similarly, for urban displaced persons too, alternative livelihoods must be ensured and until this is done, all schemes applicable to the urban poor must be made available to them.

Land for housing of tribals should be provided in appropriate places nearer to their natural environments. Industrial and urban land ceiling laws should be formulated to

prevent concentration of land Compensation for any property should be based on replacement value at actual market prices Compensation should be for lost property and for lost livelihoods or opportunities CPRs should also be replaced or compensated. The community (as defined by the affected people themselves) not individuals or families, should be the basic unit for R&R

No physical displacement of any families should take place until one year or more after providing the basic means and resources for social and economic rehabilitation The process of selecting R&R sites as well as agricultural land for rehabilitation must be done along with the consent of the PAFs The PAFs must have the first right to, and be granted an appropriate share in, the benefits arising out of the project, including livelihood opportunities, irrigation water, power, fisheries, etc It must be ensured that no individual family is displaced more than once within two decades, on account of any developmental project or land acquisition for public purpose

The Land Acquisition Act of 1894 (amended in 1984), a remnant of the colonial era must be abolished and replaced by a National Enactment, which defines all development parameters, indicators, processes of planning, the least-cost technological option, along with the objective of minimizing displacement and ensuring just rehabilitation of people whose lands are acquired In addition, the National Forest Act of 1927 must also be abolished and replaced with another law that ensures peoples rights over their resources

The NRP must be reformulated, keeping in mind all these principles, and this must lead to the formation of the National Rehabilitation Act These must be applicable to both publicly and privately owned development projects Special commissions on displacement and rehabilitation should be constituted both at national and state levels with judicial powers in certain cases, and quasi-judicial powers in others In due course of time, these should be made constitutional authorities These bodies must approve the rehabilitation plan for all projects causing displacement; the state commissions to approve in the case of state-level projects and the national

commission in case of inter-state projects. Each commission should have an in-built grievance redressal mechanism.

Big dams are not at all suggestible in view of the large scale displacement of indigenous peoples and their natural environments. Instead, preference should be given to small, local and decentralized projects suitable to the needs of local communities. The neo-liberal economic globalization, privatization and increasing commercialization, as propagated by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) lead to alienation of people from their rights and resources, instead of advocating a pro-people economy and society.

Tribal areas of the West Godavari district which were once known as pleasant and placid places have been periodically rocked by violent outbursts of disturbances because of exploitation of innocent tribals and encroachment of their natural resources. These recurring struggles of tribals for their survival have always been waged against ruthless exploitation by non-tribals, money lenders and liquor vendors, and against stringent forest conservation laws and land assignment policies and procedures. The land problems have become more acute in the West Godavari agency and consequently there is a threat for food security of the local tribals. Poverty, hunger, ignorance and failure to catch-up with the changing world around them have driven them to an unsuccessful state in securing a decent and dignified life. On the other hand several changes have taken place in tribal societies due to expansion of roads, communication and business net-works, migration or influx of non-tribals to scheduled areas, numerical and political domination of non-tribals over tribals communities and regions, declaring forest villages as reserve forests and imposing cases on tribals by forest officials and putting restrictions on the use of forest lands and forest products.

The revenue officials have failed to settle the tribal land problems by issuing the *pattas* to all the eligible tribals. They have taken advantage of this issue by taking bribes from both the tribals and non-tribals to settle their land problems. Most of the

tribal land cases are pending in different courts Tribal land issues in this region were taken up by several voluntary organisations and leftist groups such as CPI, CPM, CPI (New Democracy), AGS and APRCS, which organized agitations and demonstrations on behalf of tribal victims of land alienation and displacement The district administration, RDO, MROs, SDCs, and the PO of ITDA have failed to tackle the land related unrest among the tribal communities Consequently the law and order situation in Kotaramachandrapuram agency deteriorated badly and the poor innocent tribals resorted to struggles, sometimes violently, with their traditional arms like bow and arrows The situation has become so vulnerable that the law and order and peace could not be maintained for years together This situation is also witnessed when some of the judgments produced were declared to be fake by CBCID Government efforts to purchase the non-tribal lands for settling the tribal land problem by redistributing this land to them have failed Non-tribals in the Jeelugumilli mandal formed their society and led a counter movement in support of their rights over lands in tribal area Corruption has been rampant in all the departments of ITDA and as well as other line departments. It is evident from Anti Corruption Bureau's (ACB) raids in the offices of PO, ITDA and SDC-TW, followed by news paper reports on various development schemes in the wake of alleged corruption charges and fake judgments' scam and arrests of PO of ITDA, MRO, MDO of Buttayagudem mandal and many other during 2000-2007

Tribal land struggles were witnessed in Busarajupalli, Buttayagudem, Palacharlarajavavaram, Jeelugumilli, Tatiakulagudem, Lankalapalli, Tatiramannagudem, Darbhagudem, Madakamvarigudem, Rachannagudem, T Gangannagudem, Reddiganapavaram, Pakalagudem, Koyarajhamandry, Manugopula, Venkareddigudem, Singanapalli, Tellavaram, Kondrukota and Tekuru villages of West Godavari agency Impact of these land struggles on all other agency villages was very high Huge number of police cases were booked on tribals and their leaders by the non-tribals due to land issues Most of these cases are pending at different courts It was reported that Karam Parvathi, a tribal leader belonging to Koya tribal community was shot dead by the Ex-Jamindars of Hukumpeta Crops raised by the non-tribals were raided or destroyed by tribals Police have raided the

houses of tribals in the disputed villages to arrest tribal agitators and leaders in the wake of these disturbances. Most of the disputed lands in the agency area have remained as barren lands for years, without any agricultural operations due to tribal struggles.

Alienation of tribal lands has increased and the numbers of cases are pending in different courts. All the pending land cases in different courts should be settled on war-footing, so as to decrease the unrest and land clashes in the agency. Lands alienated by non-tribals through illegal methods must be restored to the tribals who lost their lands. Settling land disputes is the basic responsibility and subject matter of Revenue department but not the Police department, since the issue will not come under purview of law and order problem. All the eligible tribals and non-tribals should be given *pattas* to prevent future land disputes as suggested by the NHRC members during their visit to this agency in 2002 to review land alienation problem. Agency land laws like APSALTR, 1959 (as amended in 1970) should not be altered and at the same time they should be implemented very strictly along with APMLR, 1960, APSDRL, 1960, APSDRL, 1970, PESA, 1996, RIA, 2005, land mark judgments pronounced by various courts from time to time like *Samata vs GoAP* and as well as all other protective provisions made in the Constitution for the welfare of tribals.

In this context, the only silver line is the large-scale assignment of lands to the tribals by the administration and it proved to be very useful. According to ITDA records, lands to an extent of 14,206 acres were assigned to landless poor tribals in the agency mandals. They are waste lands and land development and reclamation is urgently required to make them suitable for plough and agriculture. Against this scenario, land development is essential not only to increase production and food security for tribals, but also to develop faith and trust in the minds of tribals towards administration. This will pave the way for solving the social unrest prevailing in the agency.

The GoAP has taken a very good initiative to verify the validity of the *pattas* given to non-tribals pertaining to AWD lands in the former estate and government villages.

The SDC-TW from all the ITDAs were called to West Godavari and they were entrusted with the responsibility of verification of AWD lands and *poramboke* lands under the occupation of non-tribals. They were also asked to verify the land records of non-tribals as per the provisions of APSALTR, 1959 (as amended in 1970). The SDCs are assisted by surveyors. These special teams have been verifying the records from 1917 with the coordination of the PO, ITDA. As per the SDC-TW reports, there are 1,024.82 acres related to different categories of lands by the end of June, 1997, under the occupation of non-tribals and assigned the same to 586 tribal beneficiaries along with *pattas*.

The resurvey and verification was done in the presence of representatives of tribals, NGOs, revenue department and ITDA officials. The district administration has been preparing plans to further assign the lands to local tribals after due verification of lands illegally occupied by non-tribals. These efforts have to be continued and total verification in the entire scheduled area of the West Godavari district has to be completed and lands under the illegal occupation of non-tribals should be assigned to landless local tribals. Similar exercise of re-survey for verification of validity of lands under occupation of non-tribal cultivators / landlords may be carried out in all the scheduled area of agency by following due process of law in order to avoid similar disturbances in future.

The APSALTR, 1959 (as amended in 1970) should be amended further to have overriding powers over all the Acts and regulations pertaining to survey and settlement, abolition of former estates, *muthas* and introduction of *ryotwari* settlement regulation and assignment of *pattas*. Further, this regulation has to be given retrospective effect from 1917 in tribal areas of Andhra region. Moreover, the Governor of the State is vested with special powers under Vth Schedule of Constitution in relation to tribal areas, not only to make regulations to control money lending, indebtedness and land alienation, but also to introduce these regulations retrospectively in order to maintain peace and good governance. A special programme has to be introduced in tribal areas to settle all the land alienation problems as per the provisions of APSALTR, 1959 (as amended in 1970) within a period of two years. All

efforts may be taken to file counter affidavits in the Hon'ble High Court and obtain the orders of the court. In this regard, the required legal aid should be provided by government in order to utilize the services of eminent lawyers / advocates. The GoAP may offer prevailing market rate to those non-tribals who possess valid *patta* rights over the lands under their cultivation in case they propose to sell away and assign the lands to landless tribal families.

The GoAP has to impose total ban on assignment of *poramboke* waste-lands or forest lands to non-tribals in scheduled areas. The non-tribal land lords / cultivators who have been creating innumerable hurdles in restoration of lands to tribal transferes should be excluded from scheduled areas. At present, as per section 6 of the APSALTR, 1959 (as amended in 1970) the violations are considered as cognizable offence. Those non-tribals who are booked under this section should be excluded from tribal areas. Similar provision existed in the notified areas of Telangana region in the erstwhile Hyderabad State. Further, the provision of SC&STPoA, 1989 also can be invoked to initiate similar action on those persons who continue to exploit the local tribals by creating all sorts of hurdles in restoration of lands and continue to cultivate lands belonging to STs under different sections. Such cases may be transferred to special courts of SCs and STs constituted under the Act.

In the West Godavari agency, the concerned MROs are not immediately restoring the alienated land to the tribal victims, rather advising them to occupy it, without bringing necessary changes in the village land records. In such situations, police are booking tribal owners as if he / she has trespassed into the land of the others. The MROs should make necessary changes in land records and hand over the possession to rightful owners immediately soon after passing the restoration order by the Agent to the Government (District Collector) or SDC-TW. The VTDA, SHGs and tribal youth should be given comprehensive training in revenue matters such as understanding of *adangal* or *pahanis*, survey and settlement matters as per the APSALTR, 1959 (as amended in 1970) provisions and other important regulations and Acts, to take up their own land problems and to get them solved in the legal way. This training

programme may be organized in respective ITDA areas. The trained should assist the *grama-sabhas* proposed to be reconstituted as per the provisions of the PESA, 1996. The APSALTR, 1959 (as amended in 1970) has to be also amended to associate *grama-sabha* in identification, investigation and restoration of lands to tribals. In the absence of any valid records the majority views of *grama-sabha* should be considered and the lands should be restored to tribals. The *grama-sabha* should work as a watchdog in implementation of APSALTR, 1959 (as amended in 1970) provisions strictly. As some of the advanced and rich tribals have been purchasing the lands from other tribals who are small and marginal farmers, such transfers have to be stopped. Transfer of lands from one tribal to another tribal should be allowed after title verifications. The transfer of the land from one tribal to another tribal should be permitted by the PO, ITDA only under genuine reasons. The PO, ITDA or SDC-TW should investigate and regulate the well-to-do tribals from acquiring more lands.

Reputed NGOs with commitment for tribal upliftment may be encouraged to take up cases of STs in the courts and necessary legal aid may be extended to them by concerned ITDAs. Sympathetic lawyers may be associated to take up the cases in the higher courts on behalf of tribals. The scope of definition of alienation or transfer should include *benami* transfers, transfers to concubines / wives of non-tribals, bonded labourers, tribal friends and adopted children. This will prevent *benami* transactions in the name of innocent tribals. Mobile squads consisting of concerned revenue officials, ITDA representatives, tribal representatives and NGOs may be constituted for detection of alienation cases as well as for enforcement of restoration orders of Agents, SDC-TW and other apex courts. The cases relating to wrongful occupation or cultivation or dispossession of STs from his land may be booked under Section 3 (4) and (5) on the SC&STPoA, 1989. Similarly cases relating to insults, intimidations, humiliation of institution of false cases against STs, especially tribal women should also be booked under this Act.

All that is needed is political will and streamlining of ITDA as well as all the line departments, for proper implementation of welfare programmes, with the committed staff by using participatory methodologies and appropriate alternative technologies in

accordance with the needs and aspirations of tribal communities. At the same time all the funds under SCP, SCA, TSP, SP and others must be allocated by both central and state governments according to the proportion of SCs and STs population in the state and national plans / budgets, and make sure that all these pooled / earmarked funds must be spent for the tribal welfare, unlike diverting or un-spending of these funds by earlier state governments for other purposes at the cost of SCs and STs. The major drawback in tribal development is non-utilization of allocated funds as per plans. It is estimated that the amount spent under TSP, by all the states in India, during 1990-2004 was Rs 2,067.85 crores, as against the total allocation of Rs 2,558.87 crores. It means an extent of 491.02 crores was lost by the STs in the above specified period and this reflects indifferent attitude of states to the tribal welfare (Dara and Babu, 2007).

There has not been any remarkable progress on health, education and infrastructure development in tribal areas, even though several specialized schemes and programmes have been initiated by the ITDA in different Five Year Plans as well as with the support of externally funded agencies like IFAD. The tribal communities have been uprooted from their lands and natural resources. It has been viewed by the governments that setting up of projects would lead to a corresponding improvement in these sectors among the local tribals. It has only proved that they have been further marginalized from whatever rights and resources, earlier enjoyed by them. There has been no attempt to improve the skills of the tribals to compete with the mainstream societies in taking up any responsible position in the projects set up in their areas. All the projects established by the governments in tribal areas are considered as 'public purpose', even for private industries. There must be a change in this kind of development paradigm in tribal regions by taking appropriate measures for the overall development of tribals by the State.

In spite of these developmental efforts, there is no marked change in the conditions of most of the tribal communities under the APPTDP. The impediments are political interference, frequent transfers of ITDA project officers, non-recruitment of various vacant positions in the project, non-cooperation among the project staff, more

emphasis on series of training programmes and exposure visits for farmers, teachers, CHWs, anganwadi workers, members of VTDA, SHGs, GBGs, project functionaries like CDCs and ADCs, and lack of feed back or impact assessment or evolution studies on the progress of the project from time to time

The problem that has been in anticipation is merging of 28 tribal villages situated in non-scheduled areas, to scheduled areas of the agency These tribal villages are of T Narasapuram, Gopalapuram and Koyyalagudem (non-agency / non-scheduled) mandals bounded by the agency area The tribals of these villages will get a few benefits from ITDA Non-tribal population in the agency areas has been increasing and crossed more than 50% over tribal population and this trend always is a threat to the very existence of Polavaram constituency, a reserved segment for STs The efforts of the peoples representatives reorganizing committee of constituencies are appreciated for safeguarding the Polavaram assembly segment by merging, 28 tribal villages of the non-scheduled villages, by excluding the non-tribal dominated villages

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Deccan Chronicle
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ఈ సోదరులు 12-08-2001
పంపిణీ జిల్లా నిధి వద్ద

AMENDMENT

A.P. POLLUTION CONTROL BOARD

Regional Office, 6-10-3, 3rd Floor, Innispet,
Hota Street, RAJAHMUNDRY - 533 101

It is to inform that the proposed Public Hearing to be held on 17.8.2001 has been postponed to 27.8.2001 in view of the Gram Panchayat Elections. The time and venue of the Public Hearing remains the same.

Sd/- XXX
Environmental Engineer

సవరణ

ఆంధ్రప్రదేశ్ కాలుష్య నియంత్రణ మండలి

రీజనల్ ఆఫీసు (10-3వ అంతస్తు ఇన్ స్పెక్టర్, హోటా స్ట్రీట్
రాజమండ్రి-533 101

ఇందు మూలముగా తెలియజేయబడి ఏప్రిల్ 17, 2001 లో జరిగిన పబ్లిక్ హీరింగ్ కు 17-8-2001 తారీఖునకు వాయిదా వేసి 27-8-2001 తారీఖున జరిగిన గ్రామ పంచాయతీ ఎన్నికల వలన 17-8-2001 తారీఖున జరిగిన పబ్లిక్ హీరింగ్ సమయము స్థలము యందు మార్పులేదు అని తెలియజేయబడుచున్నది.

పం/ XXX
ఎన్వైరాన్మెంటల్ ఇంజనీరు

2 Kovvada hearing held at LND Peta, New Indian Express, dated 4-9 2004, Rajhamandry

'Kovvada hearing held at LND Pet'

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE

Rajhamandry, Sept 3 The executive engineer of Kovvada Kalva Project division P Gopal Krishna Reddy, has claimed that a public hearing on the project was held at LND Pet on August 30, 2001, and that the tribals of Lakshmpuram and Reddygudem people had participated in it.

Referring to reports published in these columns on the plight of tribals affected by the project, he also averred that a gram sabha was held at Reddygudem on April 19, 2002 where the details of Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R) package were read out by the executive engineer of Kovvada project. He also claimed that an amount of Rs 43 09 lakh was recovered towards seignorage

for sand and Rs 17 64 lakh towards seignorage for stone from the contractor's bill.

Referring to the tribals demand to extend the left canal of the Kovvada reservoir to bring additional tribal villages under the command area, the EE said that the yield from the catchment area was not sufficient to supply irrigation facilities to any additional ayacut.

OUR CORRESPONDENT REPLIES: We mentioned that a public hearing was held at LND Pet. However, the point is that the affected tribal villages fall under Rajanagaram panchayat and not LND pet, which is non tribal dominated and is not affected by the project.

The EE also claims that Rajanagaram sarpanch was a member of the public hearing panel but xerox copies of the minutes show

only the word sarpanch written against his name and his signature is there. The sarpanch told this paper that he was not present at the hearing. We stand by our claim that the people of Reddygudem and Lakshmpuram did not attend the public hearing as claimed by the EE.

Similarly Rajanagaram sarpanch Mediyam Gangaraju told this paper that no gram sabha was held at Reddygudem on April 19, 2002 as claimed by the EE.

The panchayat minutes book did not refer to any gram sabha on the claimed date.

The rejoinder does not specify whether the amount was given to the Rajanagaram panchayat. According to panchayat records of Rajanagaram and the testimony of the sarpanch, no amount accrued to the panchayat towards seignorage.

New Indian Express,
dated: 4/9/2004.

List of lands held by tribals and non-tribals in the two affected villages 1 e Reddigudem and Lakshimpuram due to Kovvada reservoir according to the records of the settlement register of Polavaram taluk of the erstwhile East Godavari district

VILLAGE OF LAKSHIMPURAM, No 2, POLAVARAM TALUK
EAST GODAVARI DISTRICT.

పూర్వం గోదావరి జిల్లా, పోలవరం తాలూకా, 2 నెం. లక్ష్మీపురం (నానంబయ్యల-
పేట) గ్రామం పేరిట ఉన్న భూముల వివరాలు.

INDEX OF COLUMN NUMBERS

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Survey number and location.	Government (G) or Inam (I).	Class and sort of soil.	Area in guntas.	Area in acres.	Area in cents.	Area in guntas.	Area in acres.	Area in cents.	Number of patta or title deed and name of registered holder or muddar.	Remarks.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	G	D	8-4	14	0 5	0 51	0 5	1	1 యాచి కొలత.	
2	G	D	8-4	14	0 5	7 15	2 6	1	పేట	
3	G	D	...	...	...	5 54	0 0	...		
4	G	D	8-4	14	0 5	1 5	0 0	1	1 యాచి కొలత.	
5	G	D	8-4	14	0 5	3 86	1 3	1	పేట	
6	G	D	8-4	14	0 5	0 28	0 1	1	1 యాచి కొలత.	
6	G	D	8-1	11	0 5	0 72	0 4	1	పేట	
6	G	D	8-4	14	0 5	0 50	0 0	1	పేట	
						1 50	0 5			
7	G	P	...	...	...	0 77	...	...
8	G	D	8-1	14	0 5	1 99	0 10	2	2 ఫీదల కొలత.	
9	G	D	8-1	14	0 5	6 2	1 1	3	3 నాల్గవ దుప్పి మక్కయ్య.	
9	G	D	8-4	11	0 5	1 50	0 0	4	4 ఫీదల మొత్తం	
						7 33	2 0			
10	G	D	8-1	11	0 5	4 30	2 0	6	6 ఫీదల మొత్తం	
11	G	D	8-1	11	0 5	4 1	1 0	6	6 యాచి మొత్తం	
12	G	D	8-1	11	0 5	6 0	1 1	7	7 ఫీదల మొత్తం	
13	G	D	8-1	11	0 5	4 50	1 2	7	పేట	
14	G	D	8-3	14	0 5	11 20	4 5	3	3 నాల్గవ దుప్పి మక్కయ్య.	
15	G	D	8-1	11	0 5	3 11	1 1	8	8 ఫీదల మొత్తం	
16	G	D	8-1	11	0 5	1 15	0 10	9	9 ఫీదల మొత్తం	
						4 25	1 0			
17	G	D	8-1	14	0 5	1 61	0 2	8	8 ఫీదల మొత్తం	
17	G	D	8-1	11	0 5	2 57	0 15	10	10 ఫీదల మొత్తం	
						4 18	0 17			
18	G	D	8-3	11	0 5	1 50	0 0	5	5 ఫీదల మొత్తం	
19	G	D	8-3	11	0 5	6 10	1 1	3	3 నాల్గవ దుప్పి మక్కయ్య.	
20	G	P	...	...	...	1 0	...	...
21	G	D	8-3	14	0 5	0 1	2	423	1 నాల్గవ దుప్పి మక్కయ్య.	
22	G	P	...	...	...	0 77	...	...
23	G	D	8-3	14	0 5	0 81	2 0	11	11 ఫీదల మొత్తం	
24	G	D	8-3	14	0 5	1 5	0 0	5	5 ఫీదల మొత్తం	

VILLAGE No. 2

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
74	1 74-1	...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	1 77	0 9	30	...	
	2 74-2	...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	1 26	0 6	28	...	
							3 3	0 16			
75	...	75	...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	1 19	4 2	31	...
76	...	76	...	G P	...	...	...	87	...	...
77	...	77	...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	2 24	0 14	12	...
78	...	78	...	G P	...	...	...	9 66	...	...
79	...	79	...	G D	4-3	11	0 5	3 11	1 2	5	...
			...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	2 91	0 16	28	...
			...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	5 00	1 12	11	...
81	...	81	...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	...	...	...
82	1 82	...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	1 85	0 10	32	...	
	2 82	...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	1 56	0 8	11	...	
							3 54	1 2			
83	...	83	...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	7 40	2 5	12	...
84	...	84	...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	1 50	0 8	12	...
85	1 85	...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	0 15	0 3	...	...
	2 85	...	G P	...	...	...	13 15	...	...	...
	3 85	...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	2 11	0 11	...	...
	4 85	...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	1 30	0 7	...	...
							18 1	1 5			
86	...	86	...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	2 25	0 11	33	...
87	1 87	...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	6 35	2 0	31	...	
	2 87	...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	5 15	1 10	32	...	
							11 10	3 10			
88	...	88	...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	1 67	0 8	34	...
89	...	89	...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	1 32	0 7	27	...
90	...	90	...	G P	...	...	...	2 21	...	...
91	...	91	...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	1 16	0 6	37	...
92	...	92	...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	4 17	1 5	20	...
93	...	93	...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	6 78	1 13	37	...
94	...	94	...	G P	...	...	...	1 74	...	...
95	...	95	...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	1 79	0 11	36	...
96	...	96	...	G P	...	...	...	2 30	...	...
97	...	97	...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	13 00	1 0	34	...
98	...	98	...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	1 40	1 0	34	...
99	...	99	...	G P	...	...	...	1 73	...	...
100	...	100	...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	4 10	1 5	20	...
101	...	101	...	G P	...	...	...	0 97	...	...
102	...	102	...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	3 49	1 3	37	...
103	...	103	...	G P	...	...	...	0 1	...	...
104	...	104	...	G D	8-3	14	0 5	0 93	0 5	37	...
105	...	105	...	G U	...	...	...	7 14	...	...
							62 26	14 6			

DETAILED LIST OF JOINTLY REGISTERED HOLDERS

Village of Lakshimpuram, No. 2, Polavaram Taluk, East Godavari District,

గ్రామము, పోలవరం జిల్లా, పోలవరం తాలూకా, గె 2 లు, లక్ష్మీపురం గ్రామం

జాయింట్లు పట్టాదారుల లిస్టు వివరం.

పట్టాదారుల పేర్లు.

(2)

40 భర్తయ్య కుమార్తె మైసర్లు చిన్నయ్య 1, యీ రామప్ప 2, మైసలు యీ వీరభద్రుడు కుమార్తె రామప్ప గార్లయ్యల కుంకమ్మ 3.

30 రామప్ప 1, యీ గంగమ్మ 2.

27 వేణుకపాపయ్య 1, యీ వీరయ్య 2, యీ శంకరాచారి 3, యీ భర్తయ్య కుమార్తె మైసర్లు చిన్నయ్య 4, యీ రామప్ప 5, యీ వీరభద్రుడు కుమారుడు రామప్ప 6, కుంకమ్మ.

పట్టాదారుల పేర్లు

పట్టాదారుల పేర్లు.

(1)

(2)

17 పడిశం వీరభద్రుడు కుమారుడు రామప్ప 1, యీ భర్తయ్య కుమార్తె మైసర్లు చిన్నయ్య 2, యీ రామప్ప 3 గార్లయ్యల కుంకమ్మ.

25 వేణుకపాపయ్య 1, యీ శంకరాచారి 2.

26 శేష ముప్పయ్య 1, యీ శాన్తారయ్య 2.

28 శేష వెంకట 1, యీ తులసయ్య 2.

31 శర్ల సత్యన్నారావు 1, మైసరు యీ భర్తయ్య గార్లయ్యల కుంకమ్మ 2.

36 గురింక వెంకట 1, యీ రామయ్య 2.

బుట్టాయగూడెం, సెప్టెంబరు 16 (ప్రభాతపాఠ్ర)

కొవ్వడ ప్రాజెక్ట్ నిర్మాణం వల్ల తమ గ్రామం కూడా ముంపునకు గురవుతున్నందున రెడ్డిగూడెం గిరిజనులకు కల్పించిన సౌకర్యాలను తమకు కూడా కల్పించాలని కోరుతున్నామని మండలంలోని లక్ష్మీపురం గ్రామస్థులు జిల్లా కలెక్టర్ కు దృష్టికి తెచ్చారు. పౌలవరం మండలంలో పర్వతలను ముగించుకోని దీని వీల సమావేశానికి వచ్చున్న ఆయనను గ్రామస్థులు అతి సమన్వయాలను విన్నపించుకున్నారు. అందుకు స్పందించిన కలెక్టర్ బదిలీ పత్రం వచ్చి అలాగే రుంతో చర్చించి సమన్వయం చేయబడినందున పోలి ఉన్న అలాగే సర్దుబాట్లకు సమావేశం తర్వాత పిఎఆడిని సమావేశం ముందిరంటి వారికి చర్చించారు. కొవ్వడ రిజర్వాయర్ బంజులూరి అరికాయల లక్ష్మీపురం గ్రామానికి నీరు వచ్చే అవకాశాలేమీ ముంపునకు గురికావని స్పష్టం చేస్తున్నందున అరికలి ప్యాకేజీని అమలుచేయలేమని తెలిపారు. గ్రామస్థులు కోరిన మీదట బంజులూరింగ్ రెవెన్యూ, బదిలీపత్రం సర్దుబాటు అరికలి, ప్రతినిధులతో సమన్వయం కుదిరిన ఏర్పాటు చేస్తున్నామని, గ్రామంలోని సమన్వయాల అభ్యయనం చేసి నివేదిక సమర్పించిన మీదట తగుచర్యలు తీసుకోవాలని పోలి ఉన్న రెడ్డిగూడెం మాలిగారి మీకు అభ్యయనం జరిగితే అరికలి ప్యాకేజీని అమలు చేస్తున్నామని, వర్తమాంబలో జలాక

యంలోకి నీరు వచ్చే కొద్ది మొత్తంలోనే రిజర్వాయర్ సాగండి అమలించారు. తర్వాత నీరు తగ్గి భూములు బయటపడిన పంటి కంకా కన్న అటవంటి భూముల్లో బామాంబర్ మొక్కలు వేసి అయిన పొందవచ్చని బదిలీపత్రం ద్వారా చెప్పారు. అందజేస్తున్నారని అలాగే బాగాయంలో వేసేట పట్టుకున్నాడు. వలసలు బోటు వంటివి చేపట్టిన తెలిపారు. గ్రామాది వ్యక్తులకు ఏదీ అభివృద్ధి కలగజాలదు.

లక్ష్మీపురం గిరిజనులకు సమన్వయం కనబడదు

తనదామని కలెక్టర్ గ్రామస్థులకు సూచించారు. సమన్వయం కనబడదు నివేదిక వచ్చినవరకు ప్రాజెక్ట్ నిర్మాణం పనులకు అటవం కలిగించవద్దంటూ నిరంబించారు. దీనికి గిరిజనులు అరికలిరందంలో సమావేశం ముగించి, ఈ సమావేశంలో జాయింట్ కలెక్టర్ ఓ.కొండారాజుగారిని ఎమ్మెల్యే రెడ్డింబాబులూ, లక్ష్మీ పట్టణం డి.కె.రెడ్డిగూడెం బదిలీపత్రం కలెక్టర్ అరికలిమూలూ మనం ఏం చెంబట్టేరం అని అంటూ, కింది రెడ్డిగూడెం కలెక్టర్ కి తెలిపారు. సెప్టెంబర్ 16న జరిగిన గ్రామస్థులు సాధ్యమైన

రెడ్డిగూడెం గ్రామస్థులకు సదుపాయాలు కల్పించాలి

పౌలవరం, జూలై 27 (కె.ఎన్.ఎన్) కొవ్వడ రిజర్వాయర్ నిర్మాణం పనుల నిమిత్తం బాధితులకు అనుకూల సౌకర్యాలను అందజేస్తూ కల్పించడంలో అనేక జిల్లాలదులకు గురవుతున్న ముంపు రిజర్వాయర్ గ్రామస్థులు తీవ్ర అసహనం వ్యక్తం చేశారు. మండలంలో ఎల్లరిందే పేట పర్వత కొవ్వడ రిజర్వాయర్ నిర్మాణం నిమిత్తం పునరావాసం గా రెడ్డిగూడెం గ్రామ నిర్వాహకులకు కల్పించాలని సౌకర్యాలను వ్యక్తంగా కల్పించు కారణంగా సరైన మోడో సదుపాయాలు కల్పించాలంటూ కోరుతున్నామని దేవున్న కొవ్వడమండలం బాగాయల పాపాచారి నుండి దీక్షాదీరణం నిర్వహిస్తున్నారు. ఈ సందర్భంగా మంగళవారం రిజర్వాయర్ పనుల నిమిత్తం పునరావాసం తీసుకోవాలని కోరుకున్నామని జిల్లా ఎమ్మెల్యే సూరంపాటి రిజర్వాయర్ పనుల నిమిత్తం పునరావాసం కోరారు. గ్రామ బాధితులకు కల్పించినట్లుగా కొవ్వడ రిజర్వాయర్ బాధితులైన రెడ్డిగూడెం గ్రామస్థులకు కూడా కల్పించాలని విజ్ఞప్తి చేశారు.

కానీ, కమ్యూనిటీవారు, అనుపల్లి, రోడ్డు, విద్యుత్ సౌకర్యం, వాలంటరీలు లు కల్పించాలని 34వేలకు 2 గదులు ఉన్న గృహాలను నిర్మించారు. మారంపాటి రిజర్వాయర్ బాధితులకు 2 గదుల అంటిలూ వరండా, కిచ్చె ఉన్నట్లుగా కానీనిర్మించారు. మరొకటి తీవ్రంగా దుష్టమైతూ కొవ్వడ రిజర్వాయర్ వల్ల లక్ష్మీపురం గ్రామంకూడా ముప్పు వాల్చి ప్రమాదం ఉంది, అయినా ప్రభుత్వం తమ గ్రామాన్ని పక్కనకు వేసిన రేమి ఆ గ్రామ గిరిజనుల అంజులూరు బదిలీపత్రం కలెక్టర్ అరికలిమూలూ మాట్లాడుతూ రెడ్డిగూడెం లక్ష్మీపురం గ్రామస్థులకు జాయింట్ సర్వే చేయించాలని అరికలిమూలూ ప్యాకేజీ చూపించాలని, రిజర్వాయర్ పునరేర్పాటు గ్రామస్థులకు చూపించాలని అయిన తెలిపారు. ప్రాజెక్ట్ జి.కె. కృష్ణారాజు మాట్లాడుతూ జాయింట్ సర్వే జరిపించాలని రెడ్డిగూడెం లక్ష్మీపురం గ్రామస్థులు కోరారు. రిజర్వాయర్ పనుల నిమిత్తం పునరావాసం కోరారు.

పౌలవరం, జూలై 31 (ప్రభాతపాఠ్ర)

పౌలవరం మండలంలోని ఎల్లరిందే పేట గ్రామం వద్ద నిర్మిస్తున్న కొవ్వడ రిజర్వాయర్ కు సంబంధించి అరికలి అరికలి ప్యాకేజీలో లక్ష్మీపురం గ్రామాన్ని చేర్చుకోవడంలో ఈ సమన్వయం అందజేయడం దారి తీసింది. ప్రాజెక్ట్ నిర్మాణానికి ముందం సర్వే జరిపి ముంపునకు గురయ్యే ప్రాంతాలను అరికలి ప్యాకేజీలో చేర్చుకునేందుకు అయితే అప్పట్లో రెడ్డిగూడెం గ్రామం మాత్రమే ముంపునకు గురవుతుంది. ఈ జిల్లా గ్రామాన్ని అరికలి ప్యాకేజీలో చేర్చారు అయితే ప్రస్తుతం రిజర్వాయర్ అయిన పున్న గ్రామాన్ని అరికలి ప్యాకేజీలో చేర్చుకోవడంలో చేర్చుకోవడానికి ప్రధాన కారణం ఎటువంటి ప్రశ్న తరఫుకొంది కేవలం ముంపునకు గురవేసే పునరావాసం కల్పించడం సమంజసం కావని రిజర్వాయర్ వల్ల జిల్లాలదులు ఎదుర్కొనే అందరికీ అరికలి ప్యాకేజీని అమలు చేయడం న్యాయమని తూర్పుగోదావరి జిల్లా మారంపాటి ప్రాజెక్ట్ నిర్మాణంలో ఈ విషయం సౌకర్యాలను అమలు చేశారని అందరికీ సర్వే చేయించాలని వారు చెబుతున్నారు. ఏదీమైనా అరికలి ప్యాకేజీలో చేర్చే సౌకర్యాల కల్పిస్తామని అంటూ వచ్చి వచ్చి వివరించుకుంటున్న గిరిజనులు స్పష్టం చేశారు. లక్ష్మీపురం వరసకి

లక్ష్మీపురం వీరి పాపం చేసింది? ఆరీఆరీ ప్యాకేజీకి దూరం

లక్ష్మీపురం గ్రామస్థులు ఈ రిజర్వాయర్ నిర్మాణం వలన తాము అనేక జిల్లాలదులు ఎదుర్కొన్నామని వస్తుంది చెబుతున్నారు. తాము భయంకరంగా మళ్ళీ జీవనం సాగించే పరిస్థితులు ఎదురైనందున లక్ష్మీపురం గ్రామాన్ని కూడా అరికలి ప్యాకేజీలో చేర్చే పునరావాసం కల్పించాలని అందరికీ సేవలూ అరికలి ప్యాకేజీలో తీసుకుంటే లక్ష్మీపురం గ్రామస్థులకు కేవలం గృహనిర్మాణం తప్ప అన్ని వసతులు కల్పించలేమని అరికలి పునరావాసం చెబుతుంది. లక్ష్మీపురం గ్రామస్థులకు వసతులు కల్పించేందుకు నిధులు అడిగితే రెవెన్యూ వారికి ఉన్నామని అనేక తప్ప అరికలి ప్యాకేజీలో చేర్చాలని తమకు సంబంధం లేదా ప్రాజెక్ట్ అరికలిమూలూ చెబుతున్నారు ఇప్పటి వరకీ లక్ష్మీపురం

జిల్లా పునరే రెడ్డిగూడెం గ్రామ గిరిజనుల పరిస్థితి చూడాలి. అరికలి ప్యాకేజీలో చేర్చుకోవడం అందుకు అనుకూలంగా సౌకర్యాల కల్పించలేమని రెడ్డిగూడెం గ్రామ గిరిజనులు లక్ష్మీపురం గ్రామస్థులతో కలిసి అందరికీ సేవలూ అరికలి ప్యాకేజీలో చేర్చాలని నిర్ణయించుకున్నారు. ఈ విషయం బాగాయంలో జరిగింది. గ్రామస్థులకు కేవలం గృహనిర్మాణం తప్ప అన్ని వసతులు కల్పించలేమని అరికలిమూలూ చెబుతుంది. అయితే లక్ష్మీపురం గిరిజనులకు వివరించడం వారు సేవలూ అందరికీ అరికలి ప్యాకేజీలో చేర్చాలని గిరిజనులు చెబుతున్నారు. అరికలి ప్యాకేజీలో చేర్చాలని గిరిజనులు చెబుతున్నారు.

మాకు న్యాయం కావాలి

కొవ్వడ నిర్వాసితులు ఆవేదన

గంగవరం జూలై 24 తమ కుటుంబాలకు తగిన న్యాయం జరగలేదు పశ్చిమగోదావరి జిల్లా బుట్టూరు గూడెం మండలం కొవ్వడ ప్రాజెక్టు నిర్వాసిక గిరిజనులు ఆవేదన వ్యక్తం చేశారు సూరంపాలెం ప్రాజెక్టు ముంపు బాధితులకు ప్రభుత్వం ఏర్పాటు చేసిన పనరావాస కార్యక్రమాలను కనివారం సాయంత్రం వారు పరిశీలించారు ఈ సందర్భంగా కొత్తడ పనరావాస కాలనీలో గల కమ్యూనిటీ హాలులో కొత్తడ గిరిజనులు, ప్రగతి, సమత స్వచ్ఛంద సంస్థల ప్రతినిధులతో కొవ్వడ ప్రాజెక్టు ముంపు బాధితులైన రెడ్డి గూడెం లెక్టీపురం గ్రామాల గిరిజనులు సమావేశమయ్యారు. వారి సమస్యలను స్వచ్ఛంద సంస్థల దృష్టికి తీసుకువెళ్లారు సూరంపాలెం ప్రాజెక్టు బాధిత గిరిజన కుటుంబాలకు ప్రగతి సమత స్వచ్ఛంద సేవా సంస్థం ఆర్గనైజర్ కిరణ్ కుమార్ తమను

లతో పోలిస్తే తమకు ఏ విధమైన న్యాయం జరగలేదని వారు ఆవేదన వ్యక్తం చేశారు తమ సమస్యలను అక్కడ ఇటీవలి పీఠి దృష్టికి తీసుకెళ్లినా పట్టించుకోవడంలేదని వారు ఆరోపించారు జక్కడ పనరావాసంలో ఇళ్ల నిర్మాణం మౌలిక సౌకర్యాల ఏర్పాటు చాలా బాగుందని వారు వ్యాఖ్యానించారు తమ బతుకులకు ఒక్క దారి చూపించితగిన న్యాయం చేరదాని సమత, ప్రగతి స్వచ్ఛంద సంస్థల ప్రతినిధులను గిరిజనులు వేడుకున్నారు ఈ సందర్భంగా ఇనీషియేట్ సాసైటీ వైరెక్టర్ జి అనిల్ కుమార్ మాట్లాడుతూ కొవ్వడ ప్రాజెక్టు గిరిజనులకు ఏ విధమైన లబ్ధి చేకూరలేదని వారు రెడ్డిగూడెం, లెక్టీపురం గ్రామాలకు చెందిన సుమారు 150 మంది గిరిజన కుటుంబాలు ఆ ప్రాజెక్టు నిర్వాసితులు నిర్వాసితులు అయ్యారని విదికి కనీస న్యాయం జరగలేదని నిర్వాసితులను

వారు రెడ్డిగూడెం గిరిజనులకు ఇళ్ల నిర్మాణం చేపట్టినా లెక్టీపురం గిరిజనులకు పనరావాసం ఏర్పాటు చేయలేదని ఆయన అన్నాడు లెక్టీపురంనకు చెందిన బాధిత గిరిజనుడు కనీస వీరయ్య మాట్లాడుతూ మళ్లడోలలో ఉన్న భూమికి ఎకరాకి 80 వేలు సాగు భూమికి 60 వేలు వో ధూను 80 శాతం మాత్రమే నష్టపరిహారం అందించారు తప్ప తమ బాగోగులను ఎవరూ ఇప్పటి వరకూ పట్టించుకోలేదు ఆవేదన వ్యక్తం చేశారు రెడ్డిగూడెంనకు చెందిన గిరిజన మహిళలు మాట్లాడుతూ ఇళ్ల కట్టినా ఆవి హాల్లులానే నిర్మాణం అయ్యి నాణ్యత లేదు వారు ఎంపీలకు ఈ సందర్భంగా ప్రగతి డైరెక్టర్ జానీ విక్టర్ సమత కో ఆర్గనైజర్ టి ఆప్పారావు మాట్లాడినవారి వీరలూ పరిశీలించాలంటే సమస్యలు ఎదుర్కొరను అలా చేయండి ఇందుకు హాల్లు పహకారాన్ని అందించామని కోరారు ఈ సమావేశంలో రాజాబాబు ప్ర.కా ప్రతినిధులు పాల్గొన్నారు.

కొవ్వడ ప్రాజెక్టు నిర్వాసితులకు ఏ విధమైన న్యాయం జరగలేదని వారు ఆవేదన వ్యక్తం చేశారు తమ సమస్యలను అక్కడ ఇటీవలి పీఠి దృష్టికి తీసుకెళ్లినా పట్టించుకోవడంలేదని వారు ఆరోపించారు జక్కడ పనరావాసంలో ఇళ్ల నిర్మాణం మౌలిక సౌకర్యాల ఏర్పాటు చాలా బాగుందని వారు వ్యాఖ్యానించారు తమ బతుకులకు ఒక్క దారి చూపించితగిన న్యాయం చేరదాని సమత, ప్రగతి స్వచ్ఛంద సంస్థల ప్రతినిధులను గిరిజనులు వేడుకున్నారు ఈ సందర్భంగా ఇనీషియేట్ సాసైటీ వైరెక్టర్ జి అనిల్ కుమార్ మాట్లాడుతూ కొవ్వడ ప్రాజెక్టు గిరిజనులకు ఏ విధమైన లబ్ధి చేకూరలేదని వారు రెడ్డిగూడెం, లెక్టీపురం గ్రామాలకు చెందిన సుమారు 150 మంది గిరిజన కుటుంబాలు ఆ ప్రాజెక్టు నిర్వాసితులు నిర్వాసితులు అయ్యారని విదికి కనీస న్యాయం జరగలేదని నిర్వాసితులను

హామీ ఇన్సేన్ దీక్షలు విరమిస్తాం
 పోలవరం ఆగస్టు 14 (హ్యూరికాడ) జిల్లా కలెక్టర్ వద్ద నిర్వహించిన హామీ ఇన్సేన్ దీక్షలు విరమించే దిశలో కొవ్వడ ప్రాజెక్టు ముంపు బాధిత గ్రామాల ప్రజలు స్వచ్ఛంద చేస్తున్నారని పోలవరం మండలం ఎంపీ ఎన్ టి కేట సమీపంలో నిర్వహించిన ప్రాజెక్టు వలన లెక్టీపురం పరిస్థితి దీనిని మారుతుందని జలుపంపి పోస్టియల్ అక్కడ తాము విజ్ఞాపించినా నివాసం ఉండలేమన్న అంధాశ్రయం ఇప్పటికీ గ్రామస్థులు వ్యక్తం చేసిన విషయం పాఠశాలకు విడితేమ ఇటీవల కాలుష్యం కలెక్టర్ రెడ్డిగూడెం సందర్భం లెక్టీపురం గ్రామస్థులకు మరకలు పురాలూ చూపించి ఎప్పుడైతే మాట్లాడి ఇంపై కాలనీలు మంజూరు చేయాలని మన హామీ ఇచ్చారు. అయితే జి సి ఇద్దరు హామీలు నరరేపిస్తున్నా అటు ఇంకా రావాస ప్యాకేజీ అమలు కాక జలు మరకలకు ఇళ్లు చూపించక తమ పరిస్థితి రెండింటి రెక్క రేపటిలా మారదన్న అంధాశ్రయ ప్రాజెక్టు పనులు పరిపేసే శని వారం గిరిజనులు అంధాశ్రయ చేయవలసి వినతి పై అధికారుల ఆకేసు చేస్తూ పోలవరం సెన్సిటివ్ జిల్లా కలెక్టర్ వారి ద్వారా చాలాసమయం వెంటబెట్టుకుని అప్పటివరకు వెళ్ళి వారికి మాట్లాడారు ప్రభుత్వం అక్కడక్కడా తీసుకుంటుండే ఏ ఏ ఏ ఏ ఏ ఏ సుందర్ దీక్షా శిబిరాన్ని అర్ధచేయాలిందిగా వచ్చిపోతూ వారు ఎవరెటు పైగా అందించారు మంచి రిలే నిరాశోరదీక్షలు ప్రారంభిస్తున్నట్లు బాధితుల కంటికి కళ్ళ వల్ల కి అనిల్ కుమార్ కోల్పోయి కలిపి లెక్క రెడ్డి పుచ్చుకు మరకలకు రెడ్డి గూడెం రాసినట్ల పనరావాస పనులు ఉపయోగపాలు ముందగా అంధాశ్రయం చేయగ వలెందుక కరెంటు లైట్ చేసే వంటి దుడుకు సాగులున్నాల్సి

కలెక్టర్ కు కలిసిన కొవ్వడ బాధితుల కమిటీ
 పోలవరం ఆగస్టు 24 (అనల్డెన్) పోలవరం మండలం కొవ్వడ రిజర్వాయర్ నిర్మాణం బాధితుల కమిటీ మంగళ వారం ఇంటి ఎన్ డైరెక్టర్ జి అనిల్ కుమార్ ఆదర్శంలో కలెక్టర్ కు కలిసినట్లు తెలిపారు ఈ సందర్భంగా కలెక్టర్ వారికి మాట్లాడుతూ గిరిజన సమస్యలపై బాధితుల సమస్యలపై 27వ తేదీన అంగారెడ్డిగూడెంలో జన్మిన పువయ్య పై కమిషన్ నిర్వహిస్తున్నట్లు తెలిపారు కలెక్టర్ కు కలిసిన వారికి ప్రగతి డైరెక్టర్ జానీవిక్టర్ సమతా కో ఆర్గనైజర్ ప్రగతి అప్పారావు బాధితులు రవి బాస్కర్ రాంబాబు కలిగియున్నా

Tribals bemoan official apathy

KOVVADA PROJECT IN WGT THREATENS TO SUBMERGE VILLAGES

By K RAKA SUDHAKAR RAO

Kovvada (West Godavari), Aug 28: For the last one month, hundreds of semi-clad and emaciated Kondareddy and Nayakpudi tribals from Reddygudem and Lakshmpuram villages are squatting at the entrance of the bund road leading to the spillway of Kovvada reservoir in Buttayigudem mandal of West Godavari district demanding resettlement with dignity and rehabilitation with honour as their villages would be submerged once the project gets underway. The administration, is neither stirred nor shaken.

Not only have the local officials

flouted norms while taking up the project and relocating the affected people, they are even threatening the tribals of dire consequences if they tried to stall project works.

Designed chiefly to rein in the unruly Kovvada hill stream which causes widespread damage and destruction in Pattiseema region every year, the reservoir, spread in 250 hectares, would also irrigate crops in 13 villages. Initial estimates had put the project cost at Rs 51 crore and the second spillway could cost another Rs 30 crore. The administration claims that only Reddygudem would be submerged and Laksh-

mipuram would be unaffected

"This is untrue. We have to live in constant fear once the crest gates of the reservoir are fixed as the water level is likely to rise," says Kovvada Reservoir Victims Committee con-

venor G Anil Kumar. Already 7.5 hectare of orchards raised by the Vana Samrakshana Samiti (VSS) and 8.86 acres of funeral site are submerged "Due to the project, there is no way we can reach the 56 acre of forest land," points out Lakshmpuram VSS president Guruvinda Korralah. "The officials have strange logic: The full reservoir level is fixed

at 90.50 metre Reddygudem is situated at 88 metre contour level and part of Lakshmpuram is also 88 metre. But, officials say that Reddygudem will be submerged and Lakshmpuram would be safe," avers Kusine Ravibhaskar of Lakshmpuram.

The plight of Reddygudem is no different. The officials forced the people out of the village and herded them into 66 half-completed two-room tenements built just on the bank of the project "Our houses have been built without foundations, complain Kovala Lakshmi and Chaduvula Nagamani

(To be continued)

EXPRESS CAMPAIGN

New Indian Express,
dated: 29/8/2004.

K RAKA SUDHAKARA RAO GRTU
 Reporte

The New Indian Express
 Rajahmundry

గౌరవనీయులైన అయ్యో!

నిషయం కొవ్వడ రిజర్వాయర్ నిర్మాణం మరియు మా రాజానగరం గ్రామ పంచాయితీ పరిధిలోని వనరులను ఉపయోగించుట గురించి, మా పంచాయితీ నే నిధిపై సమాచారము సంబంధిత ప్రభుత్వ అధికారుల నుండి మాకు అందవేదు మరియు మా పంచాయితీకి జరిగిన నిష్పము గురించి.

కొవ్వడ రిజర్వాయర్ నిర్మాణం గురించి సంబంధిత

అధికారులవరూ మా రాజానగరం గ్రామ పంచాయితీకి నే నిధిపై సమాచారం ఇప్పటివరకు ఇవ్వవేదు. మా రాజానగరం పంచాయితీ పరిధిలోని రెడ్డిగూడెం మరియు లక్ష్మీపురం గ్రామాలకు, ఈ రోజు వరకు కొవ్వడ రిజర్వాయర్ నిర్మాణం ముంపు, ఎత్తు, పునరావసాన షాడోజీ గూర్చి అయీ గ్రామాలలో గ్రామసభ సెట్టింగు జరిగవేదు మా రాజానగరం గ్రామ పంచాయితీలోని కొవ్వడ కొచ్చిలోని ఇసుక, కొండరాళ్ళు, మట్టిని మొదలైన వనరులను రిజర్వాయర్ గట్టి నిర్మాణానికి విరివిగా అరిగేసిన డిపార్ట్ మెంట్ వారు వాడుకున్నారు ఇందున మనకు కూడా మా రాజానగరం పంచాయితీకి ఏ నిధిపై సమాచారం అరిగేసిన శాఖవారు గాని, రెవెన్యూ శాఖ వారు కాని ఇప్పటివరకు తెలియ చేయవేదు మా రాజానగరం పంచాయితీకి "సినరేటి" అనబడుచున్న చెక్ డిమాండ్ చాంజ్ కోటెజ్జి కొవ్వడ రిజర్వాయర్ నిర్మాణం వల్ల మా రాజానగరం గ్రామ పంచాయితీకి వేతన సస్థం వాణిజ్యం నిషా పంచాయితీ పరిధిలోని రెడ్డిగూడెం మరియు లక్ష్మీపురం గిరిజన గ్రామాల రిజర్వాయర్ ముంపు వారివ గ్రామాలయ్యాయి

మీరు ప్రతి తరఫున అయి నిషయం అయి నిషయం దృష్టికి ఉపకుశల నిరుపేద గిరిజన ముంపు రిమాంజు, మా రాజానగరం పంచాయితీకి న్యాయం జరుగునట్లు గౌరవనీయులైన అయ్యో కొవ్వడ రిజర్వాయర్

పుత్ర భీతలతో



2-9-04
 గౌరవనీయులైన అయ్యో!

Kovvada tribals feel cheated as State flouts norms

By K RAKA SUDHAKAR RAO

Kovvada (West Godavari), Aug 29: There are well-defined norms for taking up developmental projects in tribal regions and also for a Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R) package for the people who are likely to be displaced by the project.

According to circular dated November 11, 1996, of the Rural Development Department of the Government of India and order dated February 12, 2002, by the

EXPRESS CAMPAIGN

Andhra Pradesh High Court on petition No 8476 of 2001, a gram sabha should be held in the affected villages and the full reservoir level (FLR) be decided in the gram sabha.

The decision should be ratified by the mandal parishad concerned. The State Government should also specify the nature of the R&R package, based on a report on the extent of loss likely to be incurred by the affected villagers, prepared by a reputed research organisation.

In case of Kovvada reservoir, none of these norms have been followed "No gram sabha was held and we were not told about any R&R package. Instead, the

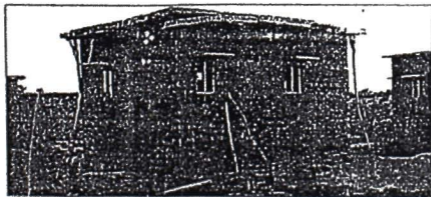
tribals were herded into half built houses," says Kovvada Reservoir Badhitula Committee convener G Anil Kumar

The Government did organise a public hearing on Kovvada reservoir on August 27, 2001, at LND Peta. But no one from the tribal area or from the ITDA was included in the panel for the public hearing "Isn't it strange that the government which goes out of the way to meet the demands of the non-tribals downstream of the reservoir, is insensitive to the plight of the tribals," he asks.

Also, there is confusion about the amount to be spent for the R&R package. Initially, the officials said the package was worth Rs 1.22 crore. Now, it has been hiked to 2.55 crore. In the aftermath of the siege by the tribals, electrical poles are being hurriedly set up to provide power connections.

Strangely, on the other side of Godavari, at Surampalem in Gangavaram mandal of East Godavari, the administration is implementing a well defined R&R package worth Rs 7.55 crore for the displaced tribals. The tribals too want a similar package

(To be continued)



The roof of this house built by the Government for the Kovvada



08 2004 న ఉదయం 10 గంటలు రెడ్డి గూడెం

గ్రామ సభ నివేదికను పరిశీలించి

పరిశీలించి ND విభాగం కింద రిజిస్ట్రేషన్ వల్ల బుట్టాయి గూడెం గ్రామాల ముంపువకు గురి అవుతున్న దుష్ట

విధంగా అనుబంధ పరచు విలువలకు కేంద్రం గ్రామాల ప్రజల మేర

ందించుటకు Integrated Tribal Development Society (ITDS) య 'అక్షయ' అను స్వచ్ఛంద సంస్థల సహకారం కలిపి

ల: దిండి ముఖ్యమంత్రి

విధులు వ్యవహారాల

ముఖ్యమంత్రి కార్యదర్శి కె.కె.ఎస్. కృష్ణారావు

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Secretary
Grama Panchayat
Rajaragam
తెలంగాణ ప్రభుత్వం, రాజ్ గఱం.
(వ.క.వి.)

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కుంజ. ఎల్.కె. - వారు మొదటి - కుంజ. ఎల్.కె. వారు నుండి
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IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE OF A P
HYDERABAD

W P NO 8476/2001

etween

Sarapu China Potu Raju Dda
and others

Petitioners

AND

The District Collector
E G Dist Kakinada
and others

Respondents

COUNTER AFFIDAVIT FILED BY THE 1ST RESPONDENT

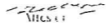
I Satisli Chandra S/o Prabhudayal aged about 40 years working as
Collector East Godavari District Kakinada do hereby solemnly affirm and state
on oath as follows


1 I am the first respondent herein and as such I am acquainted with the
facts of the case well I am filing this counter affidavit in compliance with the
order of the Hon'ble High Court in W P No 8476/2001 dt 6-11-2001

2 Before submitting reply to the various contentions raised in the Writ
Petition it is necessary to state in brief certain relevant facts

3 I submit that agriculture wise East Godavari District can broadly be
classified into three Zones. The first is the uplands and the second is the Agency
tribal areas. In the District almost every piece of
agricultural land is utilized for growing different crops such as paddy sugarcane
turmeric red gram etc. owing to the abundance of water supply. In the upland
areas agriculture is carried to a limited extent through rain water and

Page Conts


Administrative Officer,
Collector of Kakinada


District Collector,
Kakinada

10. Counter affidavit submitted by the Collector of East Godavari district in
liance with the order of Hon'ble High Court in WP No 8476/2001, filed
Sarapu China Potu Raju for proper implementation of R&R package to

the wells and the people are relatively poor on account of non-availability of assured water supply for their lands. In the agency tracts the tribals generally resort to shifting cultivation (Shifting cultivation) and to a very limited extent rain fed cultivation. The people in the agency tracts are socially, educationally and economically backward and many live below the poverty line.

4. I submit that there is an enormous irrigation potential in Sitapalli Vagu basin and Buradacalva basin located in the Agency tracts of East Godavari District. However, there is no assured water supply to the upland areas and the agency tracts. Besides lack of irrigation facilities, these areas are frequently subjected to floods which destroy and devastate the standing crops, agricultural infrastructure etc. and sand cast the area. During monsoon season the Buradacalva is subjected to heavy and flash floods, fully laden with sand and silt. It has become a recurring feature for the flood banks to get breached. These floodwaters inundate the area and devastate the standing crops and sand cast the area to an extent of 1600 hectares (approx. 4000 acres i.e. approx. 1500 acres in Tribal areas and 2500 Acres in upland areas) both in agency tracts as well as upland areas resulting in huge recurring losses every year. Therefore it became essential to formulate a scheme to utilize the available water resources for socio-economic upliftment of the people of the Area. The Reservoir Scheme across Buradacalva near Surampalem (located across Sitapalli Vagu) was under contemplation since 1957 to take care of the problems of lack of assured irrigation and the recurring floods. The Surampalem Reservoir Scheme cannot therefore be viewed in isolation but has to be examined comprehensively with the Sitapalli Vagu Reservoir scheme.

5. I submit that the comprehensive Sitapalli Vagu - Buradacalva Scheme comprises of construction of a Reservoir (called Buradacalva Reservoir) across

The Sitapalli vagu near Bhupatipalem village in Rampachodavaram Mandal of East Godavari District envisaging provision of Irrigation facilities to an extent of 17100 acres of ayacut located in 32 tribal villages i.e. 20 villages in Rampachodavaram Mandal and 12 villages in Gangavaram (M) besides drinking water facility to a population of 14595 residing in those villages. There is ample surplus water in the Sitapalli vagu which was hitherto going a waste to the Downstream side and joining River Godavari at Veeravaram Village of Devipatnam Mandal and flows down to the Dawleshwaram Barrage near Rajahmundry. While the yield of Sitapalli vagu is much more than its command area the stream flowing mainly through hilly tracts, the yield of Buradacalva is much less than its command area. In order to effectively utilize the surplus waters of sitapalli vagu an extent of 620 M cft is proposed to be diverted from the main canal of Bhupatipalem Reservoir Scheme to Buradacalva which is a local stream.

6 I submit that for optimum utilization of all available water resources a reservoir at Surampalem village is proposed across Buradacalva, a hill stream envisaging irrigation facilities of an extent of 15482 acres, located in 9 Tribal villages of Gangavaram Mandal (3466 acres) and 10 villages in drought prone up-land Mandals of Gokavaram Korukonda and Rajanagaram (12016 acres) besides providing drinking water facility to the population residing in the 19 villages enroute the alignment of the main canal. Thus, the available water resources in Sitapalli vagu and Buradacalva are proposed to be utilized to provide irrigation to local ayacut of approx. 15600 acres and then to extend the same to upland area of 12016 acres which depend so far on rainfed agriculture. Further about 4000 acres in the above villages (in the command area of Buradacalva) which was hitherto subjected to the adverse effect of frequent flash floods, insect infestation and sand casting are also proposed to

FILE NO.

Administrative Officer,
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TOR,
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be safeguarded by construction of a dam at Burudachava

The limited yield of Burudachava was the result of the low level of water resulting in inundation of the area and the low yield of the area. This limited yield could not be used for the purpose of irrigation, which led to a reservoir for the purpose of available water and thereby prevent inundation of the area and provide assured water supply. The present site of location of Burudachava project has been selected so as to connect the existing lock on the right bank with high ridges of ground on the left side by means of an earthen dam. The present site is favorable because it provides maximum catchment in that vicinity with minimum submerision. Sites on the upstream side will not yield the required quantities of water while the sites below the present one increase the submergible area which would include Surampalem village also. The present site is also favorable for locating the spillway regulator at a lesser cost as good foundations are available. Hence aiming at the overall development of the backward area this scheme is formulated and taken up after getting administrative approval from the Government of Andhra Pradesh. The scheme has been cleared at the highest level of the Government of Andhra Pradesh.

I submit that the project is a Minor Irrigation Project. The project was examined for technical feasibility from various angles by the Water Commission on the recommendation of the Government of Andhra Pradesh and was finally cleared by the Technical Advisory Committee Central Water Commission. Subsequently, the scheme was cleared by NABARD for financial assistance. At present, the project is being executed by a team of experts.

them NABARD agreed to extend financial assistance of Rs 44.38 Crores to the Project. The Project was considered for implementation at the State Government level and administrative sanction for taking up the Scheme was accorded by Government of Andhra Pradesh for Rs 4437.68 Lakhs vide GO Ms No 40 dt 27-03-2000. Further I submit that action has already been initiated to get the consent of the Tribal Welfare Department for the scheme as required under G O Ms no 64 SW(T) dated 18-4-1990.

8 I submit that Bhupatipalem Reservoir Scheme and Surampalem Reservoir Scheme are formulated in a comprehensive package. In the former Scheme an extent of 180.00 Hectares (445 acres) reserve forest land is likely to be affected due to submersion and de-forestation and compensating afforestation proposals are in the process of being submitted to the Government of India. However the later scheme pertaining to Surampalem reservoir involves no Reserve Forest and as the required Central Water Commission clearance has been obtained the Scheme was presented to NABARD for financial assistance for implementation. NABARD has cleared the scheme stipulating a time schedule of 3 years from March 2000 for construction of the Project. The work was commenced in February 2001. The Bhupatipalem Reservoir Scheme has also been cleared by the Central Water Commission and The Japanese Bank For International Cooperation has agreed to extend financial assistance of Rs 80.00 Crores for implementation of the Project and efforts are being made to ground the Project by January 2002.

9 At the request of the Government it is submitted that the Schemes of Bhupatipalem Reservoir and Surampalem Reservoir are part of a comprehensive proposal (under the Tribal Welfare Schemes Sitapallivagu and Burada Calva) so as to provide adequate facility to 41 Tribal villages and 10 Divisions.

Administrative Officer,
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land villages aiming at the overall development of the socio economic structure of the area. The Schemes are to be examined as a comprehensive proposal and not on individual basis as is erroneously thought to be done by the petitioner herein.

10 I submit that comprehensive proposals have been prepared to cover the ayacut under the 41 tribal villages of Rampachodavaram and Gangavaram Mandals and the balance water which is otherwise going waste into the River Godavari, is proposed to be utilized to provide Irrigation and Drinking water to both the tribal villages and the drought prone upland villages of East Godavari District.

11 The Executive Engineer, Sir Arthur Cotton Barrage Division Dowlaiswaram submitted a requisition for acquisition of lands in the following villages for construction of Surampalem Project. After conducting Grama Sabhas and public meetings with the villagers and land losers of Surampalem, Donelapalli, Kothada and Chinagarlapadu villages, the LAO-cum-RDO Rampachodavaram had submitted proposals for acquisition of the lands for the above purpose. The details of Grama Sabhas conducted by the LAO/Mandal Revenue Officer, Gangavaram are detailed below.

S No	Mandal	Village	Dates of Grama Sabhas conducted
1	Gangavaram	Surampalem	(3) 28.4.2000, 08.05.2000, 19.9.2001
2	do-	Donelapalli	(5) 12.9.2000, 25.9.2000, 03.10.2000 15.04.2001, 30.5.2001
3	do-	Kothada	(3) 26.9.2000, 05.10.2000, 16.5.2001
4	do-	Chinagarlapadu	(1) 19.9.2001

The details of the lands under acquisition are submitted below.

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C.C. 11

Adm. & C.O. Officer,
Col. Ad. Dept.

CC - T. R. D. A.

12 A Comprehensive Rehabilitation and Resettlement package has been evolved as per the latest guidelines of Government of India Government of Andhra Pradesh and rules in 1986 in 1986. The people affected through a consultancy namely "Centre for economic and Social Studies (CESS), Hyderabad. This organisation conducted Socio-Economic Survey in the affected villages and collected comprehensive data

13 The main features of the comprehensive Rehabilitation and Resettlement package are as follows -

S No	PARTICULARS	AMOUNT (Rs IN LAKHS)
1	Compensation for agriculture land	256 800
2	Solatium	54 540
3	Compensation payable to productive trees (Sub Total from 1 to 3)	50 000 (361 340)
4	Compensation for 243 Residential Structures	24 300
5	Housing Assistance under WSHS	59 180
6	Transport to 243 PAF hhds @Rs 300 per household	7 290
7	Subsistence allowance for 243 families @Rs 600 per month	9 684
8	Cattle maintenance allowance for 6 months @ Rs 300 per month	4 374
9	Provision for civic amenities at their new location such as roads, drainage, lighting water supply, school temple etc	60 500
10	Implementation of Economic Rehabilitation Programmes	17 040
11	Compensation to the wells and other structures (Sub Total from 4 to 11)	3 000 (185 360)
12	Cost of NGOs service including their establishment and travel	5 000
13	Engaging outside agencies to carry out mid term and impact evaluation	12 000
14	Cost of transportation for supervising implementation works (Sub Total from 12 to 14)	5 000 (22 000)
	Total 1 to 14	560 0

P. G. Corra

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 Administration Office
 Collector, Nalkunda

FOR
 DESTINATION

Contingency @ 10% of total amount	56 871
Ground total for R&R Plan Implementation	625 579
Proportion of the total project cost	14.33%

14 To ensure least disturbance to the traditional way of life of the Tribal population the site for location of Rehabilitation villages has been identified very near to the original villages, located at non-submergible areas in the same vicinity Besides construction of Houses it is also propose to construct temples, school buildings, internal roads, protected water supply, Farm service centre/community halls and other infrastructural facilities with project funds No prominent flora and fauna archeological monuments, Rare SPECIES of animals are affected due to construction of the project

15 The comprehensive Rehabilitation and Resettlement package will be implemented through a separate cell under the Project Officer, Integrated Tribal Development Agency in association with the District Collector Necessary funds required will be provided by the Irrigation Department Details of the Submerged Villages and Assignment of land is furnished in the form of charts, which are as under

Sl No	Mandal	Village	Assignment of land already provided to Tribals		Assignment of land being provided to Tribals		No of houses will be submerged and families affected	
			No	Extent (Acs)	No	Extent (Acs)	Houses	Families
1	Ganga	Dondlapalli	21	43.37	31	53.37	50	62
2					51	105.00	166	156
					14	144		

Administrative Officer,
Collector's Office, Ganga

Collector,
District, Ganga


4	-do-	Chingari					
		Apadu					
		Total	21	43 37	96	222 81	216 228

SUBMERGED VILLAGES

Sl No	Mandal	Village	Extent of land for proposed Rehabilitation (Acres)	Infrastructures to be relocated
1	Gangavaram	Donelapalli	5 15	Ramalayam, GVVK School, 3 Hand pumps, Roads and Electricity
2	-do	Kothada	9 50	Ramalayams, Ashram School, Hand pumps 5 Teacher Quarters Roads and Electricity
	Total		14 65	

16. I submit that in Donelapalli village there are 62 tribal families residing in 50 thatched houses. There is one Ramalayam in a tiled building and one Gijana Vidyalaya Vikas Kendra School in a tiled shed. There are 3 hand pumps which are being used for drinking water. There are no other public structures in this village. This village is electrified. All these tribal families are being rehabilitated in Govt land in S No 8/2 covering an extent of Ac 3 02 cents of the same village which is elevated and does not come under submersion. The Displaced families will be provided 5cents of land each towards homestead and pucca houses will be constructed thereon (both under IAY Scheme of A P State Weaker Section Housing Corporation Ltd providing addl amounts of Rs 10,000/- to each house from the available Rehabilitation Funds of the Project). In addition to the houses proposed to be constructed all amenities.

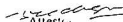
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 Administration
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like construction of community hall roads Electricity and drinking water facilities etc are also being provided in an extent of 5.15 acres by acquiring an extent of Ac 2.13 cents in S No 15 of the same village for which the land owner has already given his consent to spare his land on compensation in addition to the Govt Poramboke land in S No 8 as of an extent of 3.02 acres Out of these 62 Tribal families in Donelpalli village 52 families own agricultural lands while the remaining 10 families do not own any land I respectfully submit that an extent of Ac 53.37 cents of Government land was already assigned to 21 tribal families in Donelpalli village as compensation for the agriculture lands under submergence Action is also being taken to assign Govt land to the remaining 31 land loser families As against an extent of 226.26 acres of patta land in Donelpalli village under submergence an extent of 97 acres of cultivable agricultural lands is being given as compensation under the land for land scheme It is relevant to submit that only an extent of 97 acres of Government land is available in that area and the remaining portion is all hilly terrain I submit that the Assignment Committee comprising the local MLA as Chairman and others, such as the MPP President, Gangavaram Mandal, RDO, Rampachodavaram, MRO etc decided upon the extents to be assigned individually, taking into the account the land loser's loss of holding situation and advantage of the assigned land etc, It is submitted that land being provided under the land for land scheme, of approximately 2 Acres for each land losing family is in addition to the compensation being paid for lands under submergence Every attempt is being made to determine reasonable market value of the lands under acquisition in consultation with the land losers and to the extent possible have a consent award passed

I submit that in Kothada village 166 families living in 144 thatched houses and 22 tiled houses are being affected Out of the 166 families 67 families are affected due to submergence on impounding of water in February 2000 and the

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remaining 99 families, who are residing on the banks of Burada Kalva may also be affected, due to their proximity to the level of submergence at FRL level. All these 166 families are being rehabilitated by providing 5 cents of homestead land each in Govt land available in the nearest village of Chinnaga, Buradu in S No 17 measuring Ac 9.50 cents (by constructing pucca houses under IAY Scheme of A P State Weaker Section Housing Corporation Ltd providing addl amounts of Rs 10,000/- for each house from the available Rehabilitation Funds of the Project). In Kothada village, there are Two Ramalayams in tiled houses, 4 Hand pumps which are being used for drinking purpose, one Ashram school in a terraced building with Hostel facilities and 4 Teachers quarters. In addition to the houses to be constructed, the Dist Administration is also taking action to provide all amenities like Electricity, Roads, Construction of Hostel Buildings, Ramalayam and drinking water at the relocation site. Further, the Revenue Divisional Officer, Rampachodavaram and the Mandal Revenue Officer, Gangavaram are taking necessary action for rehabilitation of the affected families under this Project under the supervision of the District Collector. An extent of Ac.105.00 of Government land is being assigned to the affected families of Kothada village under the land for land scheme. As against acres 132.92 cents under submergence, the entire available extent of Government land of 105 acres is being assigned under the land for land scheme. This assignment of land, of approx. 2.00 Acres each to the land looking family, is in addition to the compensation being paid for acquisition of the 132.92 acres of land under submergence.

18 It is submitted that in Surampalem village no houses face submergence under the project, but only agricultural land to an extent of Ac 45.03 cents belonging to 14 families are being affected. An extent of 25 acres of Government land available at Surampalem village and an extent of 39.44 acres of

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remaining 99 families, who are residing on the banks of Burada Kalva may also be affected, due to their proximity to the level of submergence at FRL level. All these 166 families are being rehabilitated by providing 5 cents of homestead land each in Govt land available in the nearest village of Chiraga Paradu in S No 17 measuring Ac 9.50 cents (by constructing pucca houses under IAY Scheme of A.P. State Weaker Section Housing Corporation Ltd providing addl amounts of Rs 10,000/- for each house from the available Rehabilitation Funds of the Project). In Kothada village, there are Two Ramalayams in tiled houses, 4 Hand pumps which are being used for drinking purpose, one Ashram school in a terraced building with Hostel facilities and 4 Teachers quarters. In addition to the houses to be constructed, the Dist Administration is also taking action to provide all amenities like Electricity, Roads, Construction of Hostel Buildings, Ramalayam and drinking water at the relocation site. Further, the Revenue Divisional Officer, Rampachodavaram and the Mandal Revenue Officer, Gangavaram are taking necessary action for rehabilitation of the affected families under this Project under the supervision of the District Collector. An extent of Ac.105.00 of Government land is being assigned to the affected families of Kothada village under the land for land scheme. As against acres 132.92 cents under submergence, the entire available extent of Government land of 105 acres is being assigned under the land for land scheme. This assignment of land, of approx. 2.00 Acres each to the land looking family, is in addition to the compensation being paid for acquisition of the 132.92 acres of land under submergence.

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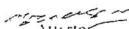
Government land in the nearby village of Neladonlapadu, which is about 2 Km away from Surampalem Village, has been identified for assignment to the affected 14 land loosing families in Surampalem village who will be assigned approx 2 Acres each apart from land compensation

19 I submit that there is no specific intention to acquire only lands belonging to tribals in Agency Area or to dislocate them. As stated earlier, the site for the proposed Project to store rain water between two hillocks at Surampalem village of Gangavaram Mandal was selected only due to its strategic geographic location. The benefit of the Project goes both to the Agency area and to the upland Mandals which are adjoining the Agency areas.

20 The distribution of house site pattas to the affected families will be completed within a fortnight and the programme for construction of houses by the Housing Corporation will be taken up immediately and the construction of housing for 166 families (62 of Donalapalli and 104 of Kothada villages) will be completed on or before 30.6.2002 and only thereafter the Project authorities will impound water in the Reservoir. It is further assured that the rehabilitation measures referred to supra will be completed on or before 30.6.2002. No person will be displaced from his house till he is provided with an alternative house in the rehabilitation colony.

21 I submit that sufficient provision has been made in the financial estimates of the project costs attached to GO Ms No 40 dated 27.3.2000 for the component of rehabilitation and resettlement of the displaced tribals (738.88 Lakhs for Land Acquisition and Rehabilitation and Resettlement). As submitted earlier alternate Government lands have been identified for the purpose of providing houses to these tribals and steps have also been taken to grant pattas to the affected families on other Government lands for agricultural purposes. The

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P State Housing Corporation Ltd also prepared a detailed Project Report with respect to the proposed construction of houses and all these targets are to be accomplished within a time bound frame. It is proposed that the issue of Pattas for house sites (of 0-05 cents each) will be completed within a fortnight after clearing and leveling of the Government site, which is to be allotted for this purpose. The formation of roads and provision of water is proposed to be completed by the end of January, 2002. The construction of houses and other public amenities including electrification is proposed to be completed between February and June, 2002. All the above aspects are being coordinated with the District Housing Wing and the Integrated Tribal Development Agency under the direct control of the District Collector and sufficient financial support is being drawn from the allotted project funds.

22 It is submitted that the L A O -cum-R D O Rampachodavaram has already paid 80% of the estimated land compensation to the land owners. The Writ Petitioner No. 1 has also received 80% estimated land compensation and he has also given his Written consent to part with his land for acquisition and handover the land to the Government of A.P. The work on Head works was commenced and work to a tune of Rs 500 Lakhs has been so far carried out. In obedience to the orders of the Hon'ble High Court of Andhra Pradesh, the work was stopped.

23 It is reiterated that in compliance with this Hon'ble Court's orders dated 26.4.2001 in WPMP No 10776 and 10777/2000 in V.J.P.No 8476/2001 the entire project work was stopped in September, 2001. It is submitted that if the Project is not completed within stipulated time i.e. before March 2003 there is every possibility of the sanctioned loan given by the NABARD, getting lapsed.

11. Judgment of Hon'ble High Court of Andhra Pradesh in favour of Surampalem PAs in WP No. 8476/2001, pronounced on 2-2-2002.

Sarapu Chinna Potharaju Dora vs. East Godavari District Collector

(W.P. 8476/2001[2.12.2001] Reservoir Construction)

01/12/2001

In the High Court of Judicature of Andhra Pradesh at Hyderabad

Sarapu Chinna Potharaju Dora and another

vs.

The District Collector, East Godavari District, Kakinada and others

Writ Petition No. 8476 of 2001

12-2-2002 dd

B. Sudershan Reddy J.

JUDGMENT:

1. The decision of the respondents proposing to acquire the lands in Surampalem, Donelapalli, Kothada and Tekuluveedhi villages of Gangavaram Mandal in East Godavari District (Agency Area) for construction of Surampalem Reservoir Project is assailed in this writ petition

2. The first petitioner herein is a tribal and he is directly affected by the proposed acquisition of the land by the respondents. The second petitioner is a voluntary organisation representing the cause of the tribals. The proposal is challenged on various grounds

3. The petitioners contend that the proposed acquisition is contrary to the mandatory provisions of the Andhra Pradesh Panchayat Raj Act, 1994 (for short 'PR Act') as made applicable to the scheduled areas of the State of Andhra Pradesh. It is the further case of the petitioners that the proposed acquisition is contrary to the guidelines issued by the Government of India from time to time and the policy decision of the Government of Andhra Pradesh reflected in G O Ms.No 64, Social welfare (T) Department, dated 18-4-1990. The petitioners contend that all the safeguards and protection afforded to the tribals in the matter of providing rehabilitation are thrown to winds. The action of the respondents, according to the petitioners, may lead to a large-scale dispossession and displacement of tribals in the above villages and adjoining areas. The tribals are sought to be dispossessed without any comprehensive rehabilitation programme. It is submitted that the safeguards envisaged for the tribals under the Constitution of India are violated

4. Initially, the first petitioner alone filed the writ petition inter alia stating that he belongs to 'koya dora' community. His family, consisting of two brothers, father and two sisters together, owns nearly Ac.20-00 of dry land. They are small farmers. The said land actually consists of slopes along the hillocks comprising of boulders and rocks. The family members personally cultivate the land by raising dry crops. The same is the only source of their livelihood.

5. Later on the second petitioner came on record representing the interest of the tribals who are likely to be affected by the action of the respondents in proposing to acquire large extents of land belonging to the tribals of Surampalem, Donelapalli, Kothada, Tekuluveedhi villages etc. The credentials and bona fides of the second petitioner-organisation are not in dispute. The services rendered by the second petitioner-organisation and its contribution in espousing the genuine cause of the tribals are well recognised. Certain aspects, regarding the safeguards and the constitutional protection given to the

tribals, perhaps could not have been highlighted by the first petitioner alone. The presence of the second petitioner-organisation in the instant proceedings made all the difference to the ongoing debate with regard to the constitutionality and validity of the proposals initiated by the respondents to compulsorily takeover the lands belonging to the tribals in the scheduled area.

6. It would be necessary to notice the kind of protection and the safeguards provided to the tribal people affected by the acquisition of land for public purpose in the scheduled area. The government having carefully considered the entire question of acquisition of land for public purpose and rehabilitation of tribal people in the scheduled areas and ensuring the tribal people in the scheduled area to enjoy the safeguards envisaged for them under the Constitution of India issued instructions in G.O Ms.No 64, Social Welfare (T) Department, dated 18-4-1990 to all the concerned in order to avoid discontent and unrest in the scheduled areas on account of dispossession and displacement of tribals. The government having taken note of some of the special features of the tribal situation, such as, their association with the territory, their emphasis on community life and cooperation, non-monetised, self-sufficient and undifferentiated economy and self-governance, felt that these aspects have not been taken into consideration at the time of displacement and dispossession of the tribals while executing projects and establishing industries etc. Mere payment of compensation for the land acquired in the tribal areas without taking such factors into consideration was not enough to avoid social disorganisation and economic destitution of the affected tribals. Such social disorganisation and economic destitution of the affected tribals created conditions of discontent and unrest in the scheduled areas.

In the circumstances, the government issued orders and instructions inter alia directing that:

(i) There should no displacement of tribals nor any disturbance of tribal way of life for the purpose of execution of irrigation projects, mining activities, industries, establishment of wild life sanctuaries, etc

(ii) The flora and fauna in tribal areas which help the tribal economy should not be disturbed

(iii) Clearance of Tribal Welfare Department of the State shall be taken before taking up any schemes in the tribal areas of the State.

(iv) No new Irrigation Schemes should be taken up, areas where there will be submergence of tribal land. In such cases, construction of major and medium irrigation projects shall be avoided to the extent possible and small check dams, lift-irrigation schemes etc, should be taken up

(v) No projects including establishment of industries, mining projects wild life sanctuaries etc, shall be cleared in the scheduled areas unless detailed comprehensive plan for rehabilitation of the people adversely affected by the projects/including those directly displaced is prepared and the concerned authority satisfies the government that there is full administrative preparedness for the execution of the rehabilitation plan.

(vi) The plan for the rehabilitation of affected families shall be prepared in association with the people adversely affected and in accordance with the guidelines contained in the annexure to this G.O. It shall be approved by the ITDA concerned and it must be ensured that the people have not only been fully compensated for the loss of their economic base but are also rehabilitated completely.

(vii) The plan of rehabilitation shall form part of the Project Report and the entire costs of rehabilitation shall be the first charge on the project. If this cannot be done, the amount that is required for meeting the rehabilitation cost may be given by the Government either as grant or as equity depending upon the merits of each case.

(viii) Wherever it is unavoidable to take up scheme involving submergence of tribal lands, rehabilitation shall be taken up on land to land basis and even if the extent of land lost by a tribal family cannot be entirely made good by alternative land, it must be ensured that some land is provided so that the family is not completely uprooted from its traditional occupation

(ix) If adequate land cannot be provided, employment should be provided at least to one member of each family displaced. The list of displaced tribals and their dependents should be put on rolls of the

project and if necessary, they should be sent for requisite training. If the displaced tribals cannot be accommodated within the projects, efforts shall be made to find jobs for them in other sister projects as well as in the Government.

(x) The rehabilitation plan shall be executed under the direct supervision of ITDAs concerned. The concerned department shall provide logistic support to the ITDA for implementation of the rehabilitation plan before dispossession and displacement of tribals.

- (xi)
- (xii)
- (xiii)
- (xiv)

7. The Central Government has enacted an Act to provide for extension of the provisions of Part IX of the Constitution relating to the Panchayats to the Scheduled Areas titled 'The Provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996' (Act 40 of 1996). The said Act inter alia provides under sub-section (1) of Section 4 that 'the Gram Sabha or the Panchayats at the appropriate level, shall be consulted before making the acquisition of land in the Scheduled Areas for development projects and before re-settling or rehabilitating persons affected by such projects in the Scheduled Areas'.

8. The Union of India issued executive instructions to describe the modalities of consultation with the Gram Sabhas or Panchayats and the procedure to be followed for acquisition of the land in the V schedule area. Part-I of the said instructions prescribes the procedure to be followed by the requiring bodies for initiating land acquisition proposal in the V schedule area. The instructions inter alia provide that all the requiring bodies initiating any land acquisition proposal for acquiring any land in the V schedule area, shall require to enclose with their land acquisition proposals, inter alia, the following:

(i) Gram Panchayat-wise schedule of land proposed to be acquired (separate sheet for separate Gram Panchayat).

(ii) A separate letter of consent from each of the concerned Gram Panchayat, in favour of the proposed acquisition of land, with or without modifications, as the case may be. Such letter of consent shall be specifically enclosed with the land acquisition proposal, before sending it to appropriate authority or Land Acquisition Collector. It is further clarified that such letter of consent may be obtained in the form of a written resolution of the Gram Sabha, containing the full text of the resolutions consenting with or without modification and the date on which such Gram Sabha meeting was held shall be duly referred in the consent letter.

9. The Collector shall, on receipt of any land acquisition proposal concerning any land falling within the V schedule areas, examine whether requisite letter(s) of consent of the concerned Gram Sabha(s) of the Panchayat Raj Institutions consenting to such acquisition proposal is/are enclosed or not. The Collector shall, before issuance of any notice under Section 4 of the Land Acquisition Act, 1894, make a reference to the objecting Gram Panchayat concerned and arrange a joint meeting of the requiring body, land acquisition authorities and the concerned Gram Panchayat objecting to such acquisition and attempt, through such consultative meetings, to arrive at a consensus for selecting specified land agreed for acquisition. The Collector is entrusted with the duty to make an appropriate enquiry into the matter and of course authorised to reject the objections made by the Gram Sabhas and Panchayats, if they are frivolous in their nature.

10. The instructions inter alia provide a detailed procedure for organising re-settlement and rehabilitation of displaced families of any land falling within the V schedule areas. The resettlement and rehabilitation department and in the absence of such department, the Revenue Department of the State Government is required to monitor the progress of the implementation of the land acquisition proceedings as well as the resettlement and rehabilitation scheme.

11. Part VI-A of the PR Act contains special provisions relating to the Panchayats, Mandal Parishads and Zilla Parishads located in the scheduled areas. The provisions contained in the said Part shall prevail over anything inconsistent therewith elsewhere in the provisions of the PR Act.

Section 242-F of the PR Act mandates that the Mandal Parishad shall be consulted before making the acquisition of land in the Scheduled Areas for development projects and before resettling or rehabilitating persons evicted by such projects in the Scheduled Areas shall be co-ordinated at the State Level.

12. In the affidavit filed in support of the writ petition, it is categorically averred and stated that none of the provisions of the PR Act and Act 40 of 1996 referred to hereinabove and the instructions issued by the Government of Andhra Pradesh from time to time have been followed before setting the law in motion for acquisition of the lands belonging to the tribals and located in the Scheduled Areas. It is contended that no Gram Sabhas were conducted as is required and the proposals were never placed before the Gram Sabha for its opinion. The Mandal Parishad was not consulted. The local population was not informed. No resettlement and rehabilitation package/scheme is prepared.

13. Number of counter affidavits are filed - one by the District Collector, East Godavari District; Land Acquisition Officer (Revenue Divisional Officer, Rampachodavaram), Superintending Engineer, Construction Circle, Dowlaiswaram, East Godavari District and another by the Secretary to Government, Irrigation & CAD Department (Projects). The proceedings of the Gram Sabhas are made available for perusal of the court.

14. The counter affidavit filed by the District Collector is an elaborate one, in which all the relevant facts are stated and placed before the court. It is evident from the counter affidavits that the land acquisition proposals were initiated in the year 2000. Draft notifications are published in the locality in respect of the lands located in Surampalem and Donelapalli villages on 29-11-2000 and 12-1-2001 respectively. Draft declarations were published in the locality on 29-11-2000 and 17-1-2001 respectively. In the counter affidavit filed by the District Collector it is stated that the Land Acquisition Officer-cum-Revenue Divisional Officer, Rampachodavaram had submitted proposals for acquisition of the lands for construction of Surampalem Reservoir after conducting Gram Sabhas and public meetings. None of the proceedings of the Gram Sabhas that are made available for the perusal of the court would reveal any consultation with Gram Sabhas as such. There are no letters of consent obtained from any of the Gram Panchayats as such. There are no written resolutions of the Gram Sabhas consenting, with or without modification, for land acquisition proposals. The proceedings make an interesting reading. None of them are certified by the Gram Panchayats. They are not in the form of resolutions. The Gram Sabhas are stated to have been convened by the Mandal Revenue Officers. The people in general and the ryots who are likely to be effected by the land acquisition proposals are stated to have been informed by the Mandal Revenue Officers about the proposals and the details of rehabilitation scheme. Only one Gram Sabha held on 28-4-2000 at Surampalem appears to have been presided over by the person-in-charge of Surampalem Gram Panchayat. Even in that Gram Sabha there is no evidence that the proposals as such were placed for the consent and approval of the Gram Sabha.

15. At any rate, the land acquisition proposals are not placed before the Mandal Parishad for its consideration.

16. The record does not disclose any compliance with the instructions issued by the Government under G.O.Ms.No.64, Social Welfare (T) Department, dated 18-4-1990. In the affidavit filed by the District Collector it is stated that action has already been initiated to get the consent of the Tribal Welfare Department for the scheme. The letter addressed by the District Collector dated 29th December, 2001 in this regard is self-explanatory. The proceedings requesting to accord consent of the Tribal Welfare Department are initiated after filing of the counter affidavit in the court. Nobody ever thought of seeking clearance of the Tribal Welfare Department of the State before taking up the scheme as is required under the instructions issued in G.O.Ms.No.64, Social Welfare (T) Department, dated 18-4-1990. Evidently, it is just an after thought. The Project Officer, ITDA, Rampachodavaram addressed a similar letter dated 28-12-2001 to the Secretary, Tribal Welfare Department requesting to accord consent for Surampalem Reservoir Project immediately. It appears that but for the writ petition filed by the petitioners, none of the authorities were even aware of the governmental instructions issued in G.O.Ms.No.64, Social Welfare (T) Department, dated 18-4-1990. Such is the state of affairs.

17. It is thus clear that the respondents and all the concerned with impunity violated the provisions of the PR Act and Act 40 of 1996. The norms prescribed for formulating such schemes as the one on hand

effect of frequent flash floods in resulting in crop inundation and sand casting, are also proposed to be safeguarded by construction of the Surampalem Reservoir across Burudacalva

22. The limited yield of Burudacalva was mainly in the form of flash floods resulting in inundation of the area and sand casting, as a result of which even this limited yield could not be utilised effectively. It was therefore necessary to construct a reservoir thereat for storage of available water and thereby prevent inundation of the area and provide assured water supply. The present site of location of Burudacalva project has been selected so as to connect the existing hillock on the right flank, with high margins of ground on the left side by means of an earthen dam. The present site is favourable because it provides maximum catchment in that vicinity with minimum submersion. Sites on the upstream side will not yield the required quantities of water while the sites below the present one increase the submergible area which would include Surampalem village also. The present site is also favourable for locating the spillway regulator at a lesser cost as good foundations are available. Hence aiming at the overall development of the backward area, this scheme is formulated and taken up after getting administrative approval from the Government of Andhra Pradesh. The scheme has been cleared at the highest level of the Government of Andhra Pradesh.

23. In the counter affidavit filed by the District Collector it is stated that the work was commenced in February, 2001 itself.

So far as the resettlement and rehabilitation scheme is concerned, it is stated:

'To ensure least disturbance to the traditional way of life of the Tribal population, the site for location of Rehabilitation villages has been identified very near to the original villages, located at non-submergible areas in the same vicinity. Besides construction of Houses, it is also proposed to construct temples, school buildings, internal roads, protected water supply, Farm service centre/community halls and other infrastructural facilities with project funds. No prominent flora and fauna, archeological monuments, Rare SPECIES of animals are affected due to construction of the project.

24. The comprehensive Rehabilitation and Resettlement package will be implemented through a separate cell under the Project Officer, Integrated Tribal Development Agency in association with the District Collector. Necessary funds required will be provided by the Irrigation Department. Details of the submerged villages and assignment of land is furnished in the form of charts, which are as under.

Sl.No. Mandal Village Assignment of land already provided to Tribals Assignment of land being provided to Tribals No. of houses will be sub-merged and families affected. No. Extent (Acs) No. Extent (Acs.) Houses Families 1 Gangavaram Donelapalli 21 43 37 31 53 37 50 62 2 -do- Kothada--51 105.00 166 1663 -do- Surampalem--14 64 44 - 4 -do- Chingarlapadu -- Total 21 43 37 96 222.81 216 228 SUBMERGED VILLAGES Sl.No. Mandal Village Extent of land proposed for Rehabilitation for houses (Acres) Infrastructures to be Relocated 1 Gangavaram Donelapalli 5 15 Ramalayam, GVVK School, 3 Hand Pumps, Roads and Electricity. 2 -do- Kothada 9 50 Ramalayam, Ashram School, Hand pumps, 5 Teacher Quarters, Roads and Electricity Total 14.65.

25. The District Collector in his affidavit assures that the rehabilitation measures will be completed on or before 30th June, 2002. No person will be displaced from his house till he is provided with an alternative house in the rehabilitation colony.

26. In the light of the foregoing discussion, the question that falls for consideration is as to what is the relief that may be granted at this stage?

27. It is required to notice that, whether intentionally or otherwise, the lands exclusively belonging to the Tribals in Agency Area are proposed for acquisition for the proposed Surampalem Reservoir. Admittedly, the benefit of the project goes both to the Agency Area and predominantly to the upland Mandals, which are adjoining the Agency Area. It is all in the name of the sustained development. The tribals have to leave their lands and face forced eviction.

28. In the half-century since independency, tens of thousands of medium and small irrigation projects have been executed and 1600 major dams built over the vast network of rivers and waterways crisscrossing the country. Consequently, an estimated 495 people have been uprooted and uncountable

hectares of fertile land and forests lost through clearing, waterlogging, salination and resettlement. In many cases, among those displaced were indigenous communities whose lives and livelihoods are intrinsically dependent on the ecosystem they inhabit. According to official estimates, while indigenous peoples make up 7.5% of the Indian population, over 40% of people displaced by dams till 1990 were from tribal communities and their proportion is steadily increasing.

29. Sri K.S.Murthy, learned counsel for the petitioner, however made wide ranging submissions attacking the very policy of the State to have such dams and reservoirs in the Scheduled Areas inevitably leading to forcible eviction of Tribals from their land and community life. He made an attempt to contend that such unilateral development thrust upon Tribals may lead to discontentment among the tribals and ultimately resulting in their alienation from the mainstream of civil society.

30. Sri Ramesh Ranganathan, learned Additional Advocate General appearing on behalf of the respondents contended that it is the prerogative of the elected government to follow its own policy. The court would not intervene and judicially review the policy decision unless it is demonstrated that such policy is contrary to any statutory provision or the Constitution. The relative merits of different economic policies can never be weighed by the courts in exercise of their judicial review jurisdiction, is the submission made by the learned Additional Advocate General.

31. In *Narmada Bachao Andolan Vs. Union of India*², the petitioners therein challenged the validity of the establishment of a large dam. It was held by the majority:

'It is now well settled that the Courts, in the exercise of their jurisdiction, will not transgress into the field of policy decision. Whether to have an infrastructural project or not and what is the type of project to be undertaken and how it has to be executed, are part of policy-making process and the Courts are ill-equipped to adjudicate on a policy decision so undertaken. The Court, no doubt, has a duty to see that in the undertaking of a decision, no law is violated and people's fundamental rights are not transgressed, upon except to the extent permissible under the Constitution . . .'

In *BALCO Employees Union (Regd.) Vs. Union of India & Others*³ the Supreme Court reiterated the principle that 'it is the prerogative of each elected Government to follow its own policy Unless any illegality is committed in the execution of the policy or the same is contrary to law or mala fide, a decision bringing about change cannot per se be interfered with by the Court. Wisdom and advisability of economic policies are ordinarily not amenable to judicial review unless it can be demonstrated that the policy is contrary to any statutory provision or the Constitution. In other words, it is not for the Courts to consider relative merits of different economic policies and consider whether a wiser or better one can be evolved. For testing the correctness of a policy, the appropriate forum is the Parliament and not the Courts'.

32. In the light of the law laid down by the Supreme Court in the decisions referred to hereinabove, it is not open for this court to judicially review the very policy decision of the government, which is undoubtedly economic in its nature to construct reservoir at Surampalem village. This court is bound by the law declared by the Apex Court. The debate and the question raised 50 years ago when India began its 'tryst with destiny' whether the country would follow the Gandhian path towards the decentralised and sustainable village based social system or launch into a grand march on the highroad of growth oriented development continues and may have to be debated elsewhere.

33. Be that as it may, in the instant case, it is clear from the averments made in the counter affidavit and the records made available for the perusal of the court that the respondents have not followed the mandatory prescriptions before initiating proposals for acquisition of the land for construction of the reservoir in the scheduled area. It is needless to emphasize that the officers of the Government are bound by the instructions issued by the government and particularly such instructions which are not routine in their nature. We have, in detail, adverted to the instructions of the government in the matter of acquisition of lands belonging to Tribals in the Agency areas and the procedure required to be followed by the authorities concerned. The authorities have neither followed the executive instructions nor the provisions of the PR Act and Act 40 of 1996.

34. Sensitive issues have been dealt with by the respondents in a very casual and mechanical manner. No attempt has been made by the authorities concerned to involve the local tribal population in the

proposed scheme. Nobody ever thought of taking the tribals into confidence. All the concerned failed to appreciate that the very object of establishment of the panchayats in tribal areas backed by the authorities is to instill confidence in the tribesmen that they could run their affairs without being influenced and interference from outsiders. It is well known that even the well intent innovations could not be sustained because the tribesmen were mentally not adjusted to economic pursuits different from the traditional way of gaining livelihood. It is precisely for the said reason, a provision is made to involve the local tribal population and get their consent before the schemes are taken up for implementation. The Tribal Welfare Department of the State is supposed to be the custodian of the interest of the tribals. Clearance of the Tribal Welfare Department of the State is required to be taken before taking up any scheme in the tribal areas of the State. This procedure is observed more in breach than practice.

35. It cannot be heard in saying that the State is bound to protect the interest of the Tribals and as well as the non-tribals in the scheduled areas. Necessary priorities and measures are required to be taken by the State and its instrumentalities in order to protect the interest of the Tribals and their development. It is inherent in any plan for the protection and support of tribal minorities that whatever benefits are envisaged for tribesmen must adversely affect the interests of some more advanced sections of the population. In its very nature any policy of tribal rehabilitation arouses the opposition of vested interests. It is said that only an administration of high integrity can successfully implement a policy of tribal development, 'and it would seem that the failure of many plans for tribal betterment is due to the lack of such integrity in high places and not to any inherent fault in the plans worked out by civil servants'.

36. Lack of interaction and involvement of the tribesmen in the developmental schemes inevitably leads to confrontation and alienation

37. A few quotations from a report prepared in 1975 by D Bandyopadhyaya, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Labour, Government of India, and B N Yugandhar, Special Assistant to the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, which are thought provoking are apt and worth reproducing:

38. The Girijans came in touch with the administration only in a state of confrontation when they were tackled for infringement or infraction of one or the other regulation which in fact abridged, annulled or tinkered with their customary rights and privileges. Thus the Girijans of the Parvathipuram agency tract found themselves totally alienated from the administrative machinery and newly set up self-governing institutions and were denied opportunities of gainful economic activities. They suffered not only from poverty but also from a deep sense of insecurity. They found themselves deprived at each point and at each front. A deep sense of grievance and injustice enveloped the entire tribal population through decades of neglect by the local administration. The indifference and the neglect was so much that when the agency tracts were redefined large areas of hill tracts inhabited by the tribal Girijans were left outside the agency through an administrative mistake.... Later attempts by some energetic district officials to bring them within the fold of the agency tracts have not met with any success.... The Girijan is suspicious of every move of the administration. He cannot rely on it. Today after the experience he had of the Naxalite movement and its consequences, he is slightly confounded but not cowed down. He has a sullen look and defiance is apparent.

39. The government and its officials are fully aware of the reasons for the justified sense of grievance felt by the so many tribal populations. It is precisely for the said reason and in the light of its own experience, the government thought it necessary to formulate its policy and enunciate the same by way of consolidated instructions to all the concerned as to the steps required to be taken in order to avoid displacement and dispossession of tribals due to projects, industries, mines etc. It is shocking to realise that each of the instructions has been violated in formulating the scheme leading to acquisition of the lands of the tribals, which may ultimately result in forcible evictions.

40. In the normal course, this court would have interfered in the matter and quashed the very proceedings initiated for compulsory acquisition of the lands in the Agency areas on account of non-compliance of the statutory requirements and executive instructions issued by the government. But the work of the project had already commenced and any interference of this court at this stage may result in wastage of substantial public finances already spent and invested by the State.

41. The learned Additional Advocate General, however, ⁴⁵⁷very fairly stated that an opportunity may be

given to the respondents to comply with the requirement, so as to enable them to proceed further in the matter and complete the scheme of construction of reservoir.

42. Having regard to the totality of the facts and circumstances of the case, this writ petition is disposed of directing the respondents herein to forthwith

(a) Place the proposals of the land acquisition for construction of the reservoir in question before each of the Gram Sabhas for its consent; receive the objections, if any, and suitably deal with the same in accordance with the instructions on the subject referred to hereinabove. However, the consent or otherwise of the Gram Sabha shall be in the form of resolution,

(b) Place the proposals before the Mandal Parishad as is required under Section 242-F of PR Act;

(c) The scheme of resettlement and rehabilitation of the persons effected shall be co-ordinated at the State level;

(d) Necessary steps shall be taken to have a rehabilitation cell which will work under the direct supervision of ITDA. The task of identification of the persons who are to be treated as dispossessed persons shall be entrusted to the cell to be so created. The progress of rehabilitation of dispossessed and displaced families will be monitored by the ITDA concerned and the Tribal Welfare Department

(e) The rehabilitation plan shall be executed under the direct supervision of ITDA concerned. Necessary logistic support to the ITDA for implementation of the rehabilitation plan shall be provided before the actual dispossession and displacement of tribals.

(f) The rehabilitation measures shall be completed on or before 30th June, 2002 as undertaken by the respondents in their counter affidavit. No tribal shall be displaced from his house till he is provided with an alternative house in the rehabilitation colony;

The respondents shall submit detailed periodical reports about the resettlement and rehabilitation measures taken by them to this court, at every two months. With the directions as above, the writ petition shall stand disposed of, without any order as to costs. Consequently, the interim orders earlier granted by this court shall accordingly stand modified and merged into the final order.

Tribals concerned over displacement threat

By Our Staff Reporter

ELURU, DEC. 21. For the primitive tribe of Kondareddis in Reddygudem hamlet like their peers elsewhere in the agency area of West Godavari district, 'Kovvada Jatara' celebrated in March every year in reverence to the abutting hill stream, called Kovvada Kalva, is a joyful event as they regard 'goddess Kovvadamma' as their 'kuladevata'.

Yet, the innocent tribals seemingly find no escape from the threat of 'project-related displacement' on account of a reservoir across the Kovvada Kalva being built at a brisk pace. As it brings miseries in the form of devastating floods for people all along the course very frequently, the stream is known as the 'sorrow of uplands' in the district. However, the hitherto 'sorrow of uplands' is all set to turn into a boon for all of them to the exclusion of the Reddygudem tribals.

Obviously, the hustle and bustle of a fleet of proclains and trucks and hordes of workers engaged in the project work close to the habitation hardly enthuse the tribals.

The identity, culture, ethos and the source of livelihood of this forest dependent community (FDC) have come under a serious threat following a recent survey undertaken by the irrigation department authorities, marking the habitation to be submerged due to the backwaters of the proposed reservoir. While Reddygudem was officially stated to be displaced, the adjacent Lakshmpuram situated on the other side of the stream is also said to be facing a similar threat of displacement. Lakshmpuram has about 300 inhabitants belonging to the Nayakapodu tribe, which is also a forest dependent community.

The two tribal habitations apart, an extent of 286.27 hectares, including patta land to the extent of 208 hectares, 39 hectares of forest land and a similar extent of government waste land, was estimated to be submerged on account of the reservoir. The stream has its origin in the Papi hills at an altitude of +600 metres in Chintapalli reserved forest in West Godavari district. And it flows from southwards from the origin and is called 'Peddavagu' up to Lakkapalli village limits and is named Kovvada Kalva downstream. The proposed reservoir is intended to supply water for irrigation on 7179 hectares in nine upland villages in Gopalapuram mandal, besides provision of drinking water to a population of 35,000 in 15 villages en route the canals.

To quote the Village Tribal Development Author-

ity (VTDA) president, Mr K Chinnakannama Reddy, a tribal himself, the officials told the inhabitants of Reddygudem that they would be relocated at a Kovvada village situated in the plains. They are apprehensive of being deprived of their livelihood which mainly depends on forests in case of their relocation in the plains. Collection of forest produce like tamarind, 'palateegalu' with which a sieve-like apparatus is made for catching fish, adda leaves, gum and bamboo constituted major part of the income for the forest dependent communities. Of course, they also undertake podu cultivation by raising irrigated dry crops like jowar and maize, but sustenance of such crops is doubtful due to scanty rainfall.

Mr. K Lakshmi Reddy, resident of Reddygudem and Vice-president of Rajanagaram gram panchayat under which his habitation falls, said the proposed reservoir was in no way beneficial for the tribals. Instead, it poses a serious threat to our lives, he said. He apprehended that over 250 members of Kondreddy tribe from the habitation would be isolated from their fellow tribals living in forests in case of their relocation in the plains.

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IV. 13. Tribal habitation wears desolate look, Hindu, dated 20-9-2004.

Tribal habitation wears desolate look

By G.NagaraJa

LAKSHMIPURAM (WEST GODAVARI DT.), SEPT. 19. Gloom has descended on this tiny tribal habitation, tucked away in the agency of Buttayagudem mandal in West Godavari district, as the Kovvada Kalva Reservoir in the vicinity is getting spruced up for inauguration by the Chief Minister, Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy.

Feverish activity at the dam site on the eve of the Chief Minister's visit, probably in the last week of September, hardly cheers the Adivasi habitation comprising over 60 families of the Nayakapodu tribe. Instead, the camping of engineering personnel of the Irrigation Department at the site, giving finishing touches to the dam, presents a forlorn picture for the inhabitants. Located in the foreshore of the reservoir, the fate of the age-

old Adivasi habitation appears to be precariously hanging in the balance.

Boon for agency?

The dam built across the Kovvada and Poletivagu streams at a cost of over Rs 50 crores is billed as a boon for the agency and upland parts in the district. For the Nayakapodus, however, it appears to be a monster poised to engulf their village.

"We are quite afraid of the safety of our village. But they (officials) say there is nothing to worry on the plea that our village does not fall under the purview of submerged areas," says Kusine Venkateswara Rao of Lakshmiapuram. The Kondareddils of the adjacent Reddigudem are rather lucky, unlike those of Lakshmiapuram. All the Kondareddi families are being shifted from Reddigudem and relocated at a colony built by the adminis-

tration as part of a relief and rehabilitation package.

Assurance of official

"The village (Lakshmiapuram), located at a height of 94 metres of the reservoir contour will not be submerged in view of the dam whose full reservoir level is fixed at 90.50 metres. However, we have forwarded a memorandum submitted by the residents of Lakshmiapuram expressing their fears vis-a-vis the safety of their village, to our higher-ups for consideration," maintains K. Venkateswara Rao, Superintending Engineer (Projects) of the Irrigation Department.

The CPI(M) Lok Sabha member from Bhadrachalam, Midiyam Babu Rao, who visited Lakshmiapuram, has urged the official machinery to view the plight of the project-affected persons beyond the frame of technicalities

"It may be technically true that Lakshmiapuram is not submerged by the flood waters as stated by the authorities. But, in practice, the habitation located in between the two streams, upon which the dam is built, is set to become an island and cut off from the outside world and the forests, raising serious livelihood concerns for the forest-dependent community," the MP told *The Hindu*.

"We don't believe in this official machinery. The officials will simply disappear from the dam site after its inauguration. That is why we are insisting on a joint survey, involving the officials and the experts appointed by tribals, to steer clear of our apprehensions. Until then we won't allow the dam's inauguration," states G. Anil Kumar, a tribal himself and convener of the Kovvada Reservoir Badlutula (victims) Committee

Hindu dated, 20/9/2004.

MP backs Kovvada tribals

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE

Polavaram, Sept 4: Bhadrachalam MP Midiyam Babu Rao today visited Reddygudem and Lakshmipuram, which would be submerged by the Kovvada reservoir and extended his support to their agitation. The MP undertook the visit of the tribal villages following reports published in these columns on Kovvada reservoir-affected tribals.

Babu Rao met the tribals from both the villages and discussed their problems. Supporting their agitation, he said he would take up the issue of displacement and inadequate Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R) package with the Union Government. Kovvada Reservoir Badhitula Committee leaders M Rambabu, G Anil Kumar and others apprised the MP of the problems being faced by the tribals.

New Indian Exp
revis
dated: 5/9/2004



నిలువ నీడ కరువు

ఒక సాగునీటి ప్రాజెక్టు నిర్మాణంతో ఆ గిరిజనులకు నిలువ నీడ కరువైంది. ప్రగతికి స్వాగతం వలకడంతో పాపే ప్రజల సంక్షేమాన్ని ప్రభుత్వం విస్మరించకూడదన్న వాస్తవాన్ని ఈ ఉదంతం తెలియచెబుతోంది. ఏజెన్సీ మొట్ట ప్రాంతాల్లోని 17 వేల ఎకరాలకు సాగునీరందించగల కొవ్వొత్త రిజర్వాయరు నిర్మాణంతో రెండు గ్రామాల గిరిజనులకు నిలువ నీడ కరువైంది. యంత్రాంగం ఏర్పాటు చేసిన కాలనీలు దుర్గరస్థితిలో ఉండడంతో వీరు గత్యంతరం లేక ఆందోళన చేపట్టారు.

-శ్యామలదేవి 'స్కాట్ లెట్'..... 9వ పేజీలో



డిమాండ్ను నింపేరకూ దిక్కారందాన లిస్

వాయిదా, జూలై 27 (నూర్జుమిడి) యాభ్యుదయ కలెజ్ లోని పాఠశాల బిల్డింగ్ కు ముంపు వారిరుతుక ఇచ్చిన ప్యాకేజీని కొద్దిగా తగ్గించి ముంపు వారిరుతుక కూడా అమలు చేయాలని కోరుతూ రెండు రోజులుగా డిప్యూటీ, లెక్జీవలర్ గిరిజల సమితి ప్రాతినిధ్య వ్యవస్థ అందరికీన కొనసాగిస్తున్నాడు. అన్ని వస్తువుల అమలు చేసిన పునరావాస ప్యాకేజీ ఇచ్చిన అమలు చేయాలని కోరుతున్నాడు. అందరికీ సమ పాతాల్ని ఇవ్వాలని కోరుతున్నాడు. ముంగళవారి వారిరుతుక కలిపి వడ్లకు వెళ్లిన విదేశీయులతో రాజావరం ఎవర్సైనికీ కేరెం లెక్జీవలర్ మాట్లాడడం గృహనిర్మాణ శాఖకు రూ 34 వేలతో డిప్యూటీ సహాయక 88 కాంటిన్లు కట్టించాలని వారి రాజకీయ అభిప్రాయం, పైగా డిప్యూటీ, ఇన్స్పెక్టర్ సాంకేతిక అభివృద్ధి చేసుకుని రెయిండుకేసులు పెట్టి వారు పెన్షన్ పొందాలని కోరుతున్నాడు. ఇక ఆ కాలనీలో వీరిలోని రెండు, నిర్మాణ సౌకర్యం కల్పించాలని, లాగినిటి సౌకర్యం కోసం రెండు లోడ్లు చేయాలని కమ్యూనిటీ వారు కోరుతున్నాడు. అందరికీనూ వడ్లకు వెళ్లాలని కోరుతున్నాడు. అందరికీనూ వారు వడ్లకు వెళ్లాలని ఆ రెండు కాలనీ వారు కోరుతున్నాడు.

వారి వరకుగా కాలనీలో రూ 4 మందికి దుంపలు మట్టాన్ని రేయలు కాళ్ళ పై పుంపుతో బాధపడుతున్నామని ముందు ముఖ్యమంత్రి పేరుతో చెప్పారు. నిర్మాణ కోసం అడిగిన ఓరు కంటిలు లోనే పుట్టాలని అని ఎదురు ప్రతిస్పందన పట్టిన వారు అభ్యంతరం వ్యక్తం చేశారు. పునరావాస ప్యాకేజీలో రెండు లెక్జీవలర్ గ్రామ స్థలం లాకు రెండు కాలనీ మట్టం ఉన్నామని పురుగు, పట్టణ మట్టం పట్టణం లోని డిప్యూటీ సమితి వారు చెప్పినందువలన సినీ వర్గం ఏర్పడింది అనేదన వ్యక్తం చేశారు. ఇప్పుడే కొరత అందరికీనూ తక్షణం తగిన చర్యలు తీసుకొని కొద్దిగా మేటి

పైన తమకు పునరావాసం కల్పించాలని వారు కోరారు. ప్రాతినిధ్య వ్యవస్థ ద్వారా ప్రారంభించడంలోపాటు అన్నిటి రోజులుగా వంతుకు దింట్లు పునరావాస ప్యాకేజీ అమలు చేసే వరకు అందరికీన కొనసాగిస్తున్నామని గిరిజల సమితి వారు కోరుతున్నాడు. లెక్జీవలర్ యనుకు నామక స్టాండ్ చేశారు. అందరికీనూ డిప్యూటీ కేరెం లెక్జీవలర్ జి అనికమార్ మాట్లాడుతూ పునరావాస, పునర్నిర్మాణ ప్యాకేజీ అమలు చేయాలని ముంపునకు సరైన యాచనలు జాయింట్ సర్వే రేయించాలని డిమాండ్ చేశారు. అంతకుముందు కొద్దిగా ప్రాతినిధ్య పుట్టిన కొద్దిగా అనికమార్ జి అనిక రూ. 2.20 లక్ష, డిప్యూటీ ఎగ్జిక్యూటివ్ ఇంజనీర్ ఎ. ప్రకాశ్ కుమార్ పాటు బుల్డింగ్ కు ముంపు డిప్యూటీ ఎ. ప్రకాశ్ కుమార్ లాకు వ్యక్తం చేశారు. కేరెం లెక్జీవలర్ ఎ. ప్రకాశ్ కుమార్ మాట్లాడుతూ 2002లోనే అది ఆ 5 ప్యాకేజీ లోం రూ 1.22 కోట్లు చెమర్చు శాఖ డిమాండ్ చేశారు. భూములకు వడ్లకు వెళ్లాలని రూ 2001లో రూ 4.05 కోట్లు డిమాండ్ చేసుకున్నామని చెప్పారు.

పునరావాస సహాయం అందేవరకూ ఆందోళన

వాయిదా, జూలై 27 (నూర్జుమిడి) యాభ్యుదయ కలెజ్ లోని పాఠశాల బిల్డింగ్ కు ముంపు వారిరుతుక ఇచ్చిన ప్యాకేజీని కొద్దిగా తగ్గించి ముంపు వారిరుతుక కూడా అమలు చేయాలని కోరుతున్నాడు. అన్ని వస్తువుల అమలు చేసిన పునరావాస ప్యాకేజీ ఇచ్చిన అమలు చేయాలని కోరుతున్నాడు. అందరికీ సమ పాతాల్ని ఇవ్వాలని కోరుతున్నాడు. ముంగళవారి వారిరుతుక కలిపి వడ్లకు వెళ్లిన విదేశీయులతో రాజావరం ఎవర్సైనికీ కేరెం లెక్జీవలర్ మాట్లాడడం గృహనిర్మాణ శాఖకు రూ 34 వేలతో డిప్యూటీ సహాయక 88 కాంటిన్లు కట్టించాలని వారి రాజకీయ అభిప్రాయం, పైగా డిప్యూటీ, ఇన్స్పెక్టర్ సాంకేతిక అభివృద్ధి చేసుకుని రెయిండుకేసులు పెట్టి వారు పెన్షన్ పొందాలని కోరుతున్నాడు. ఇక ఆ కాలనీలో వీరిలోని రెండు, నిర్మాణ సౌకర్యం కల్పించాలని, లాగినిటి సౌకర్యం కోసం రెండు లోడ్లు చేయాలని కమ్యూనిటీ వారు కోరుతున్నాడు. అందరికీనూ వారు వడ్లకు వెళ్లాలని కోరుతున్నాడు. అందరికీనూ వారు వడ్లకు వెళ్లాలని ఆ రెండు కాలనీ వారు కోరుతున్నాడు.

కొవ్వడ బాధితులకు న్యాయం చేయండి

మాజీ ఎమ్మెల్యే ఫూనెం సింగన్నదార

పోలవరం, జూలై 29 (ప్రభాతపాఠ్).

పోలవరం మండలం ఎరపల్లి పేట గ్రామం వద్ద నిర్మిస్తున్న కొవ్వడ రిజర్వాయర్ బాధితులకు పోలవరం మాజీ ఎమ్మెల్యే ఫూనెం సింగన్నదార ఎంపీకి వంతు వెంకటసుబ్బారాయణదాజు గురువారం మధ్యాహ్నం పదావస్థించారు వారి ఆందోళనకు మద్దతు తెలిపారు. ఈ సందర్భంగా సింగన్నదార మాట్లాడుతూ రిజర్వాయర్ బాధితులు న్యాయబద్ధంగా ఆందోళన చేస్తున్నారని అధికారులు తగినరీతిలో స్పందించి అగన్యాయం చేయాలని కోరారు. వర్షాలు ప్రారంభమైనందున వివక్షరాలు బారినపడే అవకాశం ఉందని అన్నారు. రెడ్డిగూడెం, లక్ష్మీపురం గ్రామ గిరిజనులకు ఆరీఆర్ ప్యాకేజీని అమలు చేయాలని డిమాండ్ చేశారు. కొవ్వడ ప్రాజెక్ట్ నిర్మాణంలో కేవలం రెండు గ్రామాలకు సౌకర్యాలు కల్పించలేని ప్రభుత్వం పోలవరం ప్రాజెక్ట్ నిర్మిస్తే 272 గ్రామాలకు ఎలా న్యాయం చేస్తారని అయిన ప్రశ్నించారు. ఈ విషయంలో నాగార్జునపురం చేపట్టకపోతే జరిగి పరిణామాలు ప్రభుత్వమే బాధ్యత వహించాలి వస్తుందని అయిన అన్నారు. ఎంపీకి రాజు మాట్లాడుతూ కొవ్వడ రిజర్వాయర్ వల్ల ఎక్కో సమస్యలు ఎదురవుతున్న రెడ్డిగూడెం, లక్ష్మీపురం గ్రామస్థులకు న్యాయం చేయాలని కోరారు. కెపిలారావుల తమకు న్యాయం చేయాలని కోరుతూ గిరిజనులు చేపట్టిన ఆందోళన గురువారం నాటికి ఐదవ రోజుకు చేరింది. ఈ ఆందోళన నిర్వహిస్తున్న ఐటిగ్రేటెడ్ బ్రెజర్ డవలమెండో సొసైటీ సంస్థ చైర్మన్ జి.ఎ.ఎల్.మూర్తి మాట్లాడుతూ జాయింట్ కమిషన్, ఐటిడి పీఐల సమక్షంలో ఆరీఆర్ ప్యాకేజీని అమలు చేస్తామని పూర్తిచేసి ఇస్తేనే ఆందోళన విరమిస్తామని తెలిపారు. మండల పరిషత్ ఉపాధ్యక్షుడు జుల్లిగి లక్ష్మణరావు, ఐటిడిఎస్ సంస్థ ప్రతినిధులు, వందలాది మంది గిరిజనులు పాల్గొన్నారు.

పునరావాస ప్యాకేజీ అమలు చేస్తాం

అర్చివో షర్టిఫ్ హాకు

పోలవరం, జూలై 28 (న్యూస్టుడే) పునరావాస ప్యాకేజీని అమలు చేసి అన్ని వనరులు కలిపి అందరికీ రెవెన్యూ డివిజన్ ఆధికారి ఎం.డి.హెచ్. పబ్లిక్ రెడ్డిగూడెం, లక్ష్మీపురం గ్రామం గిరిజనులకు హామీ ఇచ్చారు. ఐటిడి గ్రేటెడ్ బ్రెజర్ డెవలప్ మెంట్ సొసైటీ అధ్యక్షులు గోత నాలుగు లోజులుగా పోలవరం మండలం ఎల్.ఎన్.డి.పేట సమీపాన నిర్మించిన కొవ్వడ రిజర్వాయర్ వైలు వద్ద ఆందోళన చేస్తున్న గిరిజనులతో బుధవారం అర్చివో మాట్లాడారు. తూర్పుగోదావరి జిల్లా సూరంపాలెం రిజర్వాయర్ ముంపు బాధితుల పునరావాస పనులను పరిశీలించేందుకు నాలుగు లోజుల్లోగా అర్చివో వెళ్ళామని చెప్పారు. రెడ్డిగూడెంలో పూర్తిగా కానీ, వీరిలో వందల మంది, మిగిలిన వనరుల ఏర్పాటును సంబంధిత శాఖ అధికారులకు అప్పగించామని, 15 రోజులలోగా పనులు చేపడారన్నారు. లక్ష్మీపురం గ్రామస్థులు స్టేషన్ చూసుకుంటే ఐ.టి.డి.ఎ అధికారులతో మాట్లాడి వారిని కూడా సురక్షిత ప్రాంతాల్లో తీసుకెళ్ళమన్నారు. జాయింట్ సర్వే విషయంలో కోర్టు నుంచి ఉత్తర్వులు అందాలన్నారు. ముందు డిక్లెయిర్ చేయాలని గిరిజనులకు సూచించారు. ఆనంతరం అయిన పోలవరంలోని రెవెన్యూ సెక్షన్లో న్యూస్టుడేతో మాట్లాడుతూ సూరంపాలెం పునరావాస ప్యాకేజీలో ఐ.టి.డి.ఎ కూడా కొంత బర్నూ భరించి ఉంటుందని భావిస్తున్నామని చెప్పారు. అర్చివో అధికారులతో మాట్లాడి గిరిజనులను వెంట బెట్టుకుని వెళ్లి అర్చివో విషయాలు పరిశీలిస్తామన్నారు. డిక్లెయిర్ చేయాలని గిరిజనులకు సూచించారు. కానీ పూర్తిచేయాలిని బాధ్యత గృహనిర్మాణ శాఖ వారిదన్నారు. గిరిజనులు అర్చివో నుంచి లిథిత ఫోటో తో పాటు ఆశీస్సున్నారు. బీదం జిల్లా కలెక్టర్ ఐ.టి.డి.ఎ ప్రాజెక్టు అధికారి సమక్షంలో పునరావాస పునర్నిర్మాణం పనులపై చర్చలు జరగాలని అంతవరకు ఈ ఆందోళన కొనసాగిస్తామంటున్నారు.

కొవ్వడ బాధిత రైతులతో ఆర్డీవో చర్చలు

పొలవరం, జూలై 28 (ప్రభాతవార్త): పొలవరం మండలంలోని ఎరపనడి పేట గ్రామం వద్ద నిర్మిస్తున్న కొవ్వడ రిజర్వాయర్ బాధితులతో జరిగిన రెండో సమావేశం ఆర్డీవో ఎంపావ్ వరకు బుధవారం చర్చలు జరిపారు. రెడ్డిగూడెం బాధితులకు మంచినీరు, విద్యుత్, పాఠశాల, కమ్యూనిటీ హాలు వంటి సౌకర్యాలు కల్పిస్తామని హామీ ఇచ్చారు. అయితే లక్షీపురం గ్రామానికి సంబంధించి స్థల సేకరణ చేసే కాలనీలు నిర్మిస్తామని తెలిపారు. మిగిలిన వనరులు కల్పించడానికి

ముంపు ప్రాంతంలో లక్షీపురం లేనట్లుగా ప్రాజెక్ట్ రిపోర్టులో పేర్కొన్నారని తెలిపారు బాధిత గిరిజనులను తన కార్యాలయానికి రావలసిందిగా కోరామన్నారు అందోళన విరమించడానికి వారు సుముఖత వ్యక్తం చేశారని ఆర్డీవో తెలిపారు. ఇదిగోతుండగా రెడ్డిగూడెం, లక్షీపురం గ్రామ గిరిజనులు అన్ని సౌకర్యాలు కల్పించే వరకు అందోళన కొనసాగిస్తామని ఇండిగ్రేటెడ్ ట్రైబల్ డెవలప్ మెంట్ సొసైటీ డైరెక్టర్ జి.అనలకుమార్ తెలిపారు.

వార్త

కొవ్వడ జ్యోతి

పొలవరం రోజుకు చేసిన దీక్షలు

పొలవరం, జూలై 29 (ఆన్లైన్): పొలవరం రెండో గ్రామాలకు కనీస సౌకర్యాలు అందించే ప్రయత్నం పొలవరం ప్రాజెక్ట్ కేసులో 272 గ్రామాలకు కనీస వనరులు ఏలా సమకూరుస్తోందని పొలవరం మాజీ ఎమ్మెల్యే హనుమంత్రావు అన్నారు. కొవ్వడ రిజర్వాయర్ నిర్మాణంలో నివాస భూములు కోల్పోయిన బాధితులు చేపట్టిన దీక్షా కార్యక్రమం గురువారం పదవ రోజుకు చేరుకుంది. దీక్షా శిబిరం వద్ద ఆయన మాట్లాడుతూ బాధితులు న్యాయబద్ధమైన సౌకర్యాలు చేపడుతున్నారని అభివ్రావారు తగు రీతిలో స్పందించి తక్షణ చర్యలు చేపట్టాలని కోరారు రెడ్డిగూడెం, లక్షీపురం గ్రామాల గిరిజనులకు ఆర్ అర్ ప్యాకేజీని అమలు చేయాలని డిమాండ్ చేశారు అనంతరం పటిడిఎస్ డైరెక్టర్ జి అనిలకుమార్ మాట్లాడుతూ బాధితులకు కనీస వనరులు కేటగిరితరం దీక్షా శిబిరం కొనసాగిస్తామని ఈ విషయం జాయింట్ కలెక్టర్, పటిడిఎం పి. సునంద్రయ్యతో చర్చలు చేపట్టాలని డిమాండ్ చేశారు ఈ కార్యక్రమంలో ఎంపిపి డివియన్ రాజు, గ్రామ కార్యదర్శి వెమ్మన్న బాధితులు పటిడియన్ కార్యదర్శి సవ్యము పార్థసారథి

రైల్వే కార్యవర్గ సమావేశం కార్యదర్శులకు ఎలికే వరప్రసాద్ అధ్యక్షులలో గురువారం జరిగింది. దోతల ప్రైవేటులో ఉద్యమించాలని ఈ మేరకు ధర్మా ఆయన కోరారు. దోతల ప్రైవేటును ఎన్ఎస్ఐ గ్రూపుగా గుర్తింపాలని దోతల ప్రైవేటుపై రెవెన్యూ, దాడులు జరిపాలని కోరారు. జిల్లా కలెక్టర్ ఆన్లైన్ కేసులో, సెల్ నిర్వహించాలని సమావేశంలో నిర్ణయించారు. జిల్లా ప్రధాన కార్యదర్శి పి.ఎల్. డివిజన్ అధ్యక్షుడు పి.పార్థసారథి, కార్యదర్శి జి.జాన్సన్ తదితరులు పాల్గొన్నారు.

కొవ్వడ బాధితుల సమస్యలు పరిష్కరించాలి

జిల్లా రెడ్డిగూడెం, జూలై 29 (ఆన్లైన్): కొవ్వడ రిజర్వాయర్ ముంపు బాధితులైన రెడ్డిగూడెం, లక్షీపురం గ్రామాల గిరిజనుల సమస్యలు పరిష్కరించాలని ఎమ్ గిరిజన సంఘం జిల్లా కమిటీ అధ్యక్షుడు బొర్రం భూ చంద్రారావు గురువారం ఆర్ డి.కె వినోదవరం వచ్చి సమస్యలు తెలిపారు. రిజర్వాయర్ కట్టి ముందు రెండు గ్రామాల గిరిజనులకు ప్రభుత్వం పునరావాసంపై ప్రయత్నం అనేక వ్యాసాలు చేసినందు ప్రాజెక్ట్ ఫర్మి కావచ్చినా చాలిందిన హామీలు నిరవేదికపడడంతో రోడ్డు వదలాలని ప్రభుత్వ అందోళనకు ఉపజ్ఞమించారు పేర్కొన్నారు. గ్రామస్థులు ఆర్ అర్ అండ్ ఆర్ ప్యాకేజీని అమలు చేయాలని, ఇరుగ్రామాల గిరిజనులకు ప్రయత్నం ఇచ్చి నిర్మించాలని, లాగునీరు, విద్యుత్, పాఠశాల, కమ్యూనిటీ హాలు, రోడ్లు తదితర సౌకర్యాలు ఏర్పాటు చేయాలని ప్రతి కుటుంబానికి రెండురూపాయి భూమి వంటి వేయాలని, ప్యాకేజీ వివరాలు బహుళం గవర్నర్ అమలు చేయాలని లైజేషన్ సబ్డివిజన్లు సంబంధిత అధికారులకు ఇవ్వాలని వినవలెనన్నారు కోరారు.

భూములు ఉన్నవారికే పట్టాలు : సిపిఎం ఆరోపణ

జిల్లా గుమ్మిల్లి, జూలై 29 (ఆన్లైన్): జిల్లా గుమ్మిల్లి ఏజెన్సీ మండలంలో భూములు ఉన్నవారికే అసర్వీలు అధికారులు పట్టాలు జారీ చేస్తున్నారని సిపిఎం మండల కమిటీ ఆరోపించింది. వీటిపై అధికారులు స్పందిస్తే యు.ప. కేస్సులను మండల కమిటీ ప్రకటించింది. ఈ మేరకు గురువారం ఒక ప్రకటన విడుదల చేసింది. అలాగే మండలంలో నకిలీ పాస్ పుస్తకాలు కొనసాగుతున్నాయని వీటిపై పూర్తి స్థాయిలో జిల్లా అధికారులు విచారణ జరపాలని మండల కార్యదర్శి ఎన్ మోహన్ డిమాండ్ చేశారు. గిరిజనతర రైతులను ఎటువంటి విచారణ లేకుండా యరేచేర్నా పట్టాలు జారీ చేస్తున్నారని గత ఎమ్మార్వో యు.ప.కమా ఇచ్చి టికి పాఠ తేలిపై పాస్ పుస్తకాలు జారీ చేస్తున్నారని ఆరోపించారు.

వార్త

బుట్టాయగూడెం, ఆగస్టు 11 (ప్రభాతవార్త)

బుట్టాయగూడెం మండలం కొవ్వారం రిజర్వాయర్ నిర్మాణం వలన నిర్మాణం అవుతున్న రెడ్డిగూడెం, లక్ష్మీపురం గ్రామాల గిరిజనులను ఆదుకుంటున్న జిల్లా జాయింట్ కలెక్టర్ బి.రామాంజనేయులు వసీమ ఇప్పారు బుధవారం రెడ్డిగూడెం గ్రామంలో ప్రాజెక్ట్ నిర్మాణం వలన వసీమ చేయాలంటూ దీక్షలు చేస్తున్న రెడ్డిగూడెం, లక్ష్మీపురం గ్రామాల గిరిజనులతో ఆయన చర్చలు జరిపారు ఈ సందర్భంగా జాయింట్ కలెక్టర్ మాట్లాడుతూ రెడ్డిగూడెం గిరిజనులను ఆదుకోనందుకు రెండు కోట్ల 51 లక్షల 77 వేల 500 రూపాయలు మంజూరుచేయమని తెలియజేశారు ఈ నిధులను రెడ్డిగూడెం గిరిజనులకు మోడల్ కాలనీ, ఊటనగర్, రోడ్డు, మంచినీటి సదుపాయం, కమ్యూనిటీ హాలు, అంగన్ వాడీ భవనం దివ్యుల్ సౌకర్యం, కాలనీల మరమ్మత్తులు తదితర సదుపాయాలను కల్పించే

10 లక్షల రూపాయలు, కమ్యూనిటీ హాలు నిర్మాణానికి 10 లక్షల రూపాయలు మంజూరు చేయమని 10 లక్షల రూపాయలు మంజూరు చేస్తున్నామని తీవ్రంగా వసీమలు పూర్తియైతే వసీమలు తీసుకుంటామన్నాడు. గ్రామంలో కేవల వసీమలనే వాటిదే, సర్కం, గ్రామకమిటిలకు ఆస్తిగలవడం జరుగుతుంది. వారు స్వయంగా వర్కవుట్లనుకావాలి. ముందుగా అలాగే భూమి కేటాయింపు రెడ్డిగూడెం గిరిజనులకు చేకూరు ఉంటుంది కానీ, ఇప్పుడు జేసే తెలిపారు. వంట భూములకు 80 వేల రూపాయలు, ఇతర భూములకు 60 వేల రూపాయలతో కొనుగోలు చేసేందుకు ప్రతిపాదనలు సిద్ధం చేస్తుంది వివాదం లేని భూములు వంటలకు అనుకూలమైన వాటిని 60 కిలో స్ట్రక్చర్లును, 18 సంవత్సరాలు నిండిన ప్రతి ఒక్కరికీ భూములు ఇవ్వాలని గిరిజనుల డిమాండ్ చేస్తున్నందున గ్రామంలో 120 మంది వసీమగర్లు, వారం 60



రెడ్డిగూడెంలో గిరిజనులతో చర్చలు జరుపుతున్న జాయింట్ కలెక్టర్ బి.రామాంజనేయులు

ఆర్టీసీ ఎంపాచ్ వరకు వెలిగిపోవడం వల్ల కలెక్టర్ బి.రామాంజనేయులు

దుకు బిచ్చం చేయడం జరుగుతుందన్నారు. అలాగే గ్రామంలో ఏర్పాటు చేసే రెండు కేటెంపులలో ఒక వంపులో నీరు మూత్రమే బాగుంటుంది, రెండవ వంపు నుంచి బుధవారం, నలుపువరం వచ్చింది, తర్వాత తమకు అంటి ప్యాగులు ప్రజలుకున్నట్లు ఆయన దృష్టికి తీసుకువచ్చారు. అలాగే ఇళ్లకు ప్యాస్టింగ్, ఫ్లోరింగ్ చేయలేదని, వాటిని పూర్తి చేయాలని కోరారు. రిజర్వాయర్ నిర్మాణం వలన భూములు కోల్పోయిన తాముంటా తోనూ అలాగే తమకు తున్నామని జేసే దృష్టికి తీసుకువచ్చారు. తాము ఎదుర్కొంటున్న ఇబ్బందులను తెలియజేశారు. గిరిజనులు కోసం ఏర్పాటు రెడ్డిగూడెం, లక్ష్మీపురం గిరిజనులను ఆదుకుంటున్న జాయింట్ కలెక్టర్ బి.రామాంజనేయులు ఆయనను ఆదుకుంటున్నామని తెలిపారు. అందుకు ముందుగా రెండు కోట్ల 51 లక్షల 77 వేల 500 రూపాయలు మంజూరు చేయమని తెలిపారు. గ్రామంలో అందరికీ రోడ్డు, మంచినీటి సదుపాయం, కమ్యూనిటీ హాలు, అంగన్ వాడీ భవనం దివ్యుల్ సౌకర్యం కల్పించేందుకు రెండు కోట్ల 51 లక్షల 77 వేల 500 రూపాయలు మంజూరు చేయమని తెలిపారు. అందుకు ముందుగా రెండు కోట్ల 51 లక్షల 77 వేల 500 రూపాయలు మంజూరు చేయమని తెలిపారు. అందుకు ముందుగా రెండు కోట్ల 51 లక్షల 77 వేల 500 రూపాయలు మంజూరు చేయమని తెలిపారు.

జాయింట్ కలెక్టర్ బి.రామాంజనేయులు ఆయనను ఆదుకుంటున్నామని తెలిపారు. అందుకు ముందుగా రెండు కోట్ల 51 లక్షల 77 వేల 500 రూపాయలు మంజూరు చేయమని తెలిపారు. అందుకు ముందుగా రెండు కోట్ల 51 లక్షల 77 వేల 500 రూపాయలు మంజూరు చేయమని తెలిపారు. అందుకు ముందుగా రెండు కోట్ల 51 లక్షల 77 వేల 500 రూపాయలు మంజూరు చేయమని తెలిపారు.

తీర్మానం

ఫేటల్ ప్రదర్శనలను చీల్చేటట్లు

కొంగూరులోని కొవ్వారి ముంపు బాధితుల ఆందోళన

పోలవరం, జిల్లా రోడ్ (నూన్ టుబి) వర్కవుట్లను ఆర్టీసీ గిరిజనులకు పునరావాస పునర్నిర్మాణం పూర్తికావడం వలన వసీమలు తీసుకుంటామని తెలిపారు. అందుకు ముందుగా రెండు కోట్ల 51 లక్షల 77 వేల 500 రూపాయలు మంజూరు చేయమని తెలిపారు. అందుకు ముందుగా రెండు కోట్ల 51 లక్షల 77 వేల 500 రూపాయలు మంజూరు చేయమని తెలిపారు. అందుకు ముందుగా రెండు కోట్ల 51 లక్షల 77 వేల 500 రూపాయలు మంజూరు చేయమని తెలిపారు.

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