

CHENCHU – FOREST DWELLERS KNOWLEDGE SOCIETIES OF OUR BIO-DIVERSITY

Dr.P.Sivaramakrishna, SAKTI
saktiskr@yahoo.com

The Primitive Tribal Group: Chenchus of Nallamala Hill Ranges in Eastern Ghats:

The Chenchu reside in small habitations dispersed over the western and southern stretches of the Nallamala ranges mostly in isolated groups spread over Mahaboobnagar and Nalgonda districts and the southern side in the Rayalaseema and Andhra area, mostly in Kurnool, Prakasam and Guntur districts. Their population is around 6000 families. The existence of the Srisailem shrine of all-India fame in the heart of Nallamala, where the river Krishna passes through the hill ranges, create an atmosphere which seems to pervade the life of tribal inhabitants of this area and has been an important cultural factor in linking up the Chenchus with the plains people. The Chenchu gudems (tribal habitations) most of which are not accessible are spread over in these forest and hills on both sides of the river Krishna.

Chenchu, an expert animal psychologist and a social organizer:

"Traditionally the Chenchus are semi-nomadic food gatherers living in the midst of forests. In olden days they subsisted completely on various types of food stuffs available in the forest. There was no specific staple food and the people engaged themselves in obtaining seasonal food stuffs.

An expert Chenchu hunter is very much shrewd in locating the animal, capable of bequiling it by stalking silently. He is also an expert animal psychologist and ethnologist and know the animal bionomics. He can identify the animal either from its foot prints or fecal matter. He knows the animal food habits, mating seasons aggression periods. This knowledge not only facilitates him in the successful hunt but also prevents him meeting dangerous animals like tiger, panther and bear. In contingent situations like a snake-bite, he knows what medicine is to be taken. All the more he knows the vulnerable parts of the animal body shooting at which he can paralyse the animal. There were only few people in each village with all the above qualities. However many people can hunt with some limited knowledge and this is the major factor which force people with different skills to come together to make out hunting party.

Honey is one of the seasonal foodstuffs, which the Chenchu collect with great interest, commitment and dexterity. Unlike the other pursuits of food gathering, collection of honey is a difficult task, requiring great skill, courage and expedient material for operation of the activity. Honey is collected from different sources like trees, furrows, bushes, ant hills, cliffs and gorges. While collecting honey from bees located on trees and bushes is somewhat easy, it is hazardous expedition in sites located in gorges and ravines. They have developed remarkable techniques of collecting honey specially in order to overcome difficulties that arise in reaching the bee-hive.

Collection of honey is something more than a mere subsistence activity. Developed out of quest for food, it has emerged into a more systematic, socially, politically and religiously determined and organised form of activity. Several rules and regulations are strictly observed in order to avoid dangerous competitions and disruptive tendencies that may arise in claiming ownership of beelines. A Chenchu who intends to collect honey must invariably seek help from others. The community ownership of these natural resources is known as '*miras*' among Chenchus. This word '*miras*' is popular referring to traditional ownership in Rayalaseema part of Andhra Pradesh.

During favourable seasons, most of the people actively engage in collecting forest produce, both for consumption and selling purpose. During such seasons the Chenchus do not want to work for daily wages in the forest department. They prefer to go to forest and collect food materials and eat."¹

The intervention of the State – restrictions imposed on Chenchus:

British government found that the extraction of timber from these forests is tough engaging the Chenchu tribe. However they came to conclusion that "We must first accept the existence of the Chenchus and the fact that they cannot be removed from their present habitations. That is to say, a policy of deportation is out of the question. Firstly, on humanitarian grounds, the removal to some distant center-it would have to be remote from their hills would probably mean their gradual extermination, secondly, the maintenance whether removal was effected by forming a regular settlement or by attempting to establish them in an agricultural settlement, thirdly, if they were removed, their place in the economy of the forest Department would have to be taken by others and there is no guarantee that those new comers would be more amenable in the long run to forest discipline than the Chenchus.

While quoting the above remarks R.D.Richmond, Chief Conservator of Forests, Madras in his proceedings No.321, Press, Dt.15-7-32 observed that "evidently as a result of the above masterly exposition of the fundamentals of the Chenchu problem, the question of their (Chenchus) isolation has been abandoned once for all and we are now faced with the problem of regularizing the position of the Chenchus in Nallamalas."²

Adopting therefore the postulate that they must remain, there is a suggestion that they should be confined to a central area in Nallamalas. In tune with this policy, the govt.

1. enforced the provisions of criminal tribes act to Chenchus
2. armed certain number of forest guard.
3. empowered district forest officer to issue warrants within their division.
4. appointed a special Chenchu officer
 - a) to continue to exercise magisterial powers over the Chenchus and
 - b) work out and implement the works by forest department to provide employment for the Chenchus and to run schools for their education.
5. "Special provisions were made for the Chenchus with the declaration of Chenchu reserves by the Nizam(Telangana part of A.P.). Madras presidency created the provision of forest enclosures in which the Chenchu were permitted to engage in cultivation. In the latter enclosures for which rights of cultivation were granted in 1932, around 2500 ha was set apart in Kurnool district on the basis of 2.5 ha per family. Under the erstwhile Nizam Government in Telengana region. 40,000 ha in Mahaboobnagar District was declared Chenchus Reserve in 1942 for collection of minor forest produce grazing of cattle and cultivation of garden crops."³

Development after independence: The formation of Ghat road to Srisailem temple:

1. Livelihood associated with the temples is lost:

"Chenchus protected the temple when there were not so many devotees around after Sivaratri festival. Even priests did not stay back after Sivaratri and the temple remained in the care of Chenchus for the remaining part of the year. The temple was inaccessible to devotees without the help of Chenchus. The tribals escorted the devotees for a nominal fee to give protection from wild animals and highway robbers. Until the road was built in the 60s, Chenchus carried the sick and the old in "dolis" to the temple.

The system of collecting "metta" fee, a kind of toll levied by Chenchus on devotees passing through their village for security, existed till recently. The proceeds were shared by all Chenchus in the village. When the motorable road was built, devotees started reaching the temple site in vehicles which deprived the Chenchus of their income."⁴

2. Multi purpose projects were constructed:

"For rehabilitation and re-settlement of submerged villages under Nagarjuna Sagar reservoir, Srisailem Hydro Electricity Project, Sanjivareddy Sagar, large chunks of forest lands in parts of

Guntur, Prakasam & Nalgonda dist. were de-reserved. Forests were cut for cultivation and human habitation. Much of the forest was cut and converted into charcoal.³

3. Most of the Chenchu habitat is notified as protected area – attained the status of tiger reserve:

The geographical area of Nallamala catchment is 10,416.76 Kms.

In 1978 more than 50% (6197 sq k.ms.) the Nallamala hill ranges were notified as wild life sanctuary and the sanctuary attained tiger reserve status in 1983.

1. Nagarjuna Sagar-Srisailem Rajiv Tiger Reserve	3,568 Sq.km.
2. Gundala- brahmeswaram Sanctuary	1,194 Sq.km
3. Rollapenta	614 Sq.km
4. Koundinya Sanctuary	357 Sq.km
5. Sri Lankamalleswaram Sanctuary	464 Sq.km
Total:	6,197 Sq.km

This is the largest tiger reserve in extent in South Asia. Most of the lands allotted to Chenchus and reserves earmarked for them had become part of the protected area. Forest Department so far did not take up the settlement of rights following the directions of Supreme Court in 1997. *Centre for Environmental Law (WWF-India) Vs. Union of India, W.P.(C) No.337 of 1995*.

The wildlife protection Act 1972 prescribes that state should convene a wild life advisory board with not less than 3 tribal members along with others. An honorary wild life warden should be appointed for each district. No Chenchu was taken as a member of Wild Life advisory board nor as an honorary wild life warden.

4. Chenchus removed from core area of the sanctuary returned back:

"Consequent to the formation of Project Tiger in the year 1983 an area of 1200 sq.kms. (1/3 of total area of the Sanctuary) has been identified as Core zone, on either side of the river Krishna in three districts (Kurnool, Prakasam & Mahaboobnagar). There are about 24 Chenchu settlements inside this zone. The Project Directorate had the opinion to shift all the 24 villages in a phased manner to declare it as National Park. To start with, the first phase has been successfully launched to relocate the Peddacheruvu village along with small gudems in Pangidi etc villages. Due to the non-compliance of total rehabilitation and non-fulfilment of the commitments made before relocation, the Chenchus went back to their old habitation. Now they are not willing for relocation."³

High Impact Villages (Core Zone):

"Palutla a village in Prakasam Core zone with 700 population is the highest impact village among all the Core villages in NSTR. There are 311 no. of Chenchus and 389 of Lambada living in this village. Lambada is the dominant tribe which has encroached about 3500 acres (1416 Ha.) of forest land. Whatever little land the Chenchus had, was mostly been cultivated by Lambadas. They are raising commercial crops like cotton and subsistence crops sorghum, jowar etc. They are using high concentrated pesticides to protect the crops from pests which polluting the Eco-system. Unable to bear the harassment from them, the young Chenchu boys offering for voluntary relocation."³

Fishermen - The people of this community is seen all along river Krishna over 130 Km. They stay on the dry receding slopes of the river. Most of them have migrated from the Coastal areas and settled here."³ Most of these villages are in the core area.

"Sanctuary authorities complain that in the villages of Vatwarpalli, Mannanur, Chintala, Tummalabailu, Bairluti, Naguluti, Palutla, Devarpalli, Mosampeta etc., number of activities, such as electricity, road, irrigation, housing and other facilities are extended by all the government departments." But the ground reality is that these were Chenchu villages once upon a time but since other communities started settling, Chenchus receding into the forests or migrating as wage labourers to lowlands.

Development Programmes:

With the support of IFAD (International Fund for Agriculture Development), Rome, Tribal Welfare department, implemented natural resource development programme for Chenchus and forest department with the support of World Bank implemented eco-development programme.

It is suggested that "certain products and income from the PA (Protected area) can be shared with EDC (Eco-development Committee) members without compromising sections 29 and 35(6) of the Wildlife (Protection) Act, 1972. Management should deliberate on the issue in participatory forums involving a cross section of Forest Department staff of the wildlife wing of all ranks and MC (Managing Committee) members to identify these products and permit their collection by issue of an amendment to the EDC resolution."⁵ Foresters are pleading helplessness in this regard since wild life act doesn't contain these provisions for such sharing.

Government of India has drawn the attention of the state government to take necessary steps to prevent starvation deaths among Chenchus. A monitoring committee is convened with Chief Secretary as the Chairperson.

Government created lot of infrastructure for eco-tourism. But the involvement of Chenchus is nominal. The guesthouses were blasted and mechanized boats were wrecked by the Naxal groups.⁶

The minutes of Chief Secretary meetings, the management plans of NSTR eloquently speak about the lack of coordination and a concerted approach in such a resource rich catchment.⁷ As result the six districts in the heart of A.P. depending on the catchment are gradually turning out as deserts.

The population of these five districts is virtually depended for fuel, fodder and water on this forest habitat. Sri T. Hnaumantha Rao, retd. Chief Engineer, proposed for harnessing the natural springs of Nallamala for sustaining the irrigation and recharging of ground water in the districts depending on these forests.⁸ Since Nallamala is having important pilgrim centers, the rulers in the medieval times created hundreds of water sources, tanks, ponds, wells for benefit of pilgrims, temples. In course of time, the resources of Nallamala were exploited in an un-sustainable way. The pilgrims earlier used to walk to the temples using these traditional endowments. Ever since the roads were formed, the pilgrims traffic has come down. The resources were ignored for want of maintenance. Looking at the importance of this area, the govt. of India declared most of the forest as wildlife sanctuary in 1978. Now it is a tiger reserve. These measures implemented without human face has alienated the local tribal group Chenchus from the institutions meant to conserve the Nallamalals.

ITDA, Srisailem engaged SAKTI to train Chenchu youth in hand pump repair. This opportunity provided the contacts with the Chenchu youth. SAKTI was able to get the Chenchu enumerated as voters and they were elected for PRI as Sarpanch, MPTC, ZPTCs. Water bodies (Rasul tank in Konda nagula of Balmoor mandal in Mahaboobnagar district) were restored to tribals. The knowledge of Chenchus was documented by Chenchus youth themselves. In course of its work, we recognized the importance of water bodies for the wildlife and Chenchus and found absence of proper maintenance is creating conflicts between Chenchus and wildlife. A letter of Chenchu of Thummala bayalu is reproduced here.

09-03-2001
Thummalabailu Chenchugudem

Respected Journalists
Dornala

We are facing an increasing threat to our village from tigers. Presently there are 5 tigers, 2 male and 3 female around our Chenchugudem. The tigers are killing at least 4-5 domestic cattle or goats every month. An old male tiger is presently eating mud also. Our elders fear that it will turn into a man-eater. At present it is roaming beyond one to 4 furlongs from our village. Due to the tiger we are grazing our cattle close to our village. Our elders say that a tiger that eats mud will not hesitate to attack humans.

An incident of a mud eating tiger attacking a human occurred 36 years ago when Bhumana Veerudu, S/o Veerathatha was grazing cattle in the Peddamatta forest. A tiger attacked Bhumana, but he defended himself with a hand stick, the tiger went back into the bush and attacked him again seriously injuring him. The sound made by Bhumana attracted other villagers who went and drove away the tiger after making a lot of noise. Bhumana died after telling the incident to the villagers. Even now the area is called "Peddamata Musaloni Sila" in memory of Bhumana, and there is a stone showing the spot where Bhumana was attacked.

Presently the situation of the tigers is very bad. The lack of water sources surrounding the Chenchugudem is causing the tiger to drink water in a well near the Kotha Kunta tank. Due to the fear of the tiger our Chenchus are not coming out in the night. Even the cattle are being tied up early. The forest department should show sympathy on us and deepen the Kotha Chinna Kunta tank and dig water channels to store more water. This will ensure water for the cattle and also the tiger would not have to descend the well and drink water. As this Kotha Chinna Kunta tank is far from the village in the forest, the tiger would not need to come to the village. For trying to make more water come into the tank, as the Chenchu youth were deepening the tank under the "Neeru Meeru" program, the forest department objected to it and stopped the work. If the forest department allowed us to deepen the tank, today the tigers would not be facing a difficulty for drinking water. The forest department is not building tanks, checkdams and ponds in the required areas. They are not listening to the advice given by the Chenchus. The forest department is also undertaking clear cutting, which is causing a lot of damage to the habitat. They are also clearing out the undergrowth for wanting the tree to get all the nutrients. This has resulted in no shade for the animals.

The forest department should immediately deepen the Kotha Chinna Kunta tank to ensure that the 5 tigers do not go to other areas for water or come to the Gudem well for water.

Yours truly,
Kudu Muganna, ZPTC, Chinnarutla
Dasari Chinna Muganna, President, V.T.D.Y.A., Thummalabailu
Bhumane China Naganna, Secretary, V.T.D.Y.A., Thummalabailu

Chenchus documented the water bodies, their location (in the reserve forest, in the revenue land), the type of repairs they need, the communities depending likely to be involved in reviving these water bodies.

This is the alarming situation not only in Nallamala hills, Allover the hill tracts of India "Forest villages are created originally for meeting the man-power requirements for exploitation and regeneration of forest resources, the forest villages in the country present a confused picture of tribal economy. Once two lakh tribal families residing in about five thousand forest villages (which may be more) possess no right on the land they cultivate. The tenurial arrangements for land in these villages run counter to the existing political and economic norms in the country and stand in the way of extension of full fledged development benefits to these forest dwellers."⁹ Forest Department forces primitive tribal groups to settle out side the forest areas.¹⁰ They have no guts to evict the non-tribal encroachers or advanced tribal groups.

Deforestation – Poaching is not confined to India. But other countries are evolving eco-friendly solutions involving forest dwelling communities.

The Experience of Zimbabwe:

"Illegal hunting began to increase again and by 1982 was worse than before. It didn't take much perception to see why: every villager had worked out for himself that he could obtain whatever small benefits offered and in addition obtain the direct benefits from illegal hunting at least in the short term before the wildlife ran out. And there were benefits to having no wildlife: crops and livestock would be more secure".

In 1981 a group of concerned ecologists and land-use planners in the Sebungwe region began agitating for better regional planning. Human populations were rising rapidly through natural increase and in-migration. While various government agencies pursued independent often conflicting programs in the area. Wildlife was declining fast, despite the greater returns it appeared to offer compared to alternative land uses.

A project was set up under the Ministry of Agriculture and in 1982 a workshop was held to carry out preliminary land-use planning of the Sebungwe on a regional scale.

"From recent studies of the wildlife industry in Zimbabwe, it seems that the net financial returns from land under wildlife significantly exceeded those possible from land under cattle (US\$ 1.11 per hectare versus US\$0.60 on commercial farms in Natural Region IV of Zimbabwe), and the potential for improvement in wildlife returns is far greater than that for cattle (up to US\$5 per ha for sport hunting and up to US\$25 per ha for eco-tourism). For the past 20 years the amount of land allocated by landholders to wildlife has been steadily increasing and, including the state-protected areas, almost one-third of Zimbabwe is now under wildlife. The trend is likely to continue as marketing of wildlife improves."¹¹

Another example from Polar regions:

"Welcome to the icy air of Alaska. The indigenous cultures here are based around hunting and fishing. The communal nature of these activities has often led to clashes with modern governmental systems, of wildlife management. From this conflict has arisen a new approach: co-management based on cooperation and dialogue between the local people and governmental agencies. Two co-management groups provide examples of the success of drawing on both traditional and scientific knowledge in making cooperative decisions. In both cases, indigenous hunters have worked with government scientists and managers to create a collaborative institution that accomplishes for more than either group could by itself. The great value placed on sharing in indigenous cultures is mirrored in the functioning of these groups, which is what makes them such a success."¹²

The Government and civil society in India slowly looking into such practices and solutions.

Experiences of Documenting traditional knowledge: - The Poiners:

"Documentation is the conversion of traditional knowledge information provided by communities into written documents, drawings or audio recordings. The main aim of such documentation is to ensure that information is not lost and to protect communities by showing that such information is prior art.

In India, where the debate on documentation is most animated, the written form has seen various versions and models ranging from the Community Biodiversity Registers initiated by Foundation for Revitalisation of Local Health Traditions and Centre for Ecological Sciences at the Indian Institute of Science, to the People's Biodiversity Registers of NGOs.

What they have sought to document include resources, traditional practices, populations of flora and fauna, management options and occupational segments of the community. Honey Bee Network operated by the Society for Research and Initiatives for Sustainable Technologies and Institutions (SRISTI) has documented over 9,000 "green" innovations based on indigenous biodiversity knowledge, creativity, and innovation. As a follow-up to documentation, SRISTI has set up the Grassroots Innovation Augmentation Network in Gujarat in collaboration with the State Government to develop innovations into products and then into enterprises. SRISTI's work has further culminated the National Innovation Foundation, innovation multimedia database.¹³

The pioneering experiences in organizing the tribals and patenting their knowledge.

- In Tamilnadu, Irula a tribal community which has been organized into a cooperative is extracting venom of the snakes and selling it to the pharmaceutical companies for manufacturing life saving drugs.
- In Corbett national park, local people are trained as tourist guides
- "The Tropical Botanical garden and research Institute in Kerala has interesting initiative by deciding that royalties based on a land provided by tribals would be split in some fixed ratio between the institute the researchers and tribals."¹⁴

The Polemics of Political Power & Pedagogy:

"Today most scientists governments and aboriginal people agree that, given the pluralistic nature of modern society and ecological dependence among the nations, TEK (Traditional Ecological Knowledge) and western science must be integrated. There is the urgent problem of the disappearance of the TEK.

The intergration of TEK and western science is clearly linked to the question of political power. Under the majority of state systems of resource management TEK is subordinate to western science."¹⁵

Our foresters being brought up in the same western management mould did not see the potential of tribal as knowledgeable partner. They did not go beyond, at the best, the recruitment of some tribals as forest guards and training some local people as eco-tourist guides in Corbet National Park.

The armed forces in India recognizing traditional valor of Sikhs, Marathas, Jats, Goorkha etc. formed regiments. Similar efforts should take place forming teams of tribals of the diverse knowledge systems to assist the scientists of various disciplines.

Situation at international level is fast changing. The governments of developing countries are realizing the necessity to protect and patent the traditional knowledge.

The opportunities

1. The attempts of developing countries to protect traditional knowledge:

"Brazil, China, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, India, Pakistan, Peru, Thailand, Venezuela, Zambia and Zimbabwe had made a submission in the TRIPS Council on the relationship between the TRIPS Agreement and the CBD (convention of bio-diversity) and the protection of Traditional Knowledge in June 2002."¹⁶

2. The Biological Diversity Act 2002:

The monitoring agency National Biological Diversity Authority under this act, likely to be located in Chennai. The knowledge of the forest dwellers is going to play a key role in scouting and protecting our bio diversity. The wild life wing came into existence after wild life protection act 1972

came into force. Similarly a bio-diversity wing with traditional knowledge societies probably shall come into existence. Already "Draft Kerala Tribal Intellectual Property Rights Bill, 1996 – Draft Karnataka Community Intellectual Rights Bill, 1994"⁴ are in circulation.

3. The 2002 Amendment to the Indian Wildlife Protection Act (1972).

"Recognizing communities can take positive action to conserve natural resources, the amendment to the wild life protection act calls for according official recognition to such efforts".¹⁷

The demand for traditional knowledge for commercial use in and out side India, biological diversity act and the follow up measures in achieving the objectives of the act, may force the foresters to change the attitude from getting rid of forest dwellers to understand and to protect their knowledge and share management with them.

In Nallamala still there are:

1) Gum pickers	1583
2) Honey hunters	147
3) Myrabolam collectors	114
4) Nuxvomica collectors	421
5) Pungam seed collectors	50
6) Mohwaseed collectors	192
7) Tanikayalu collectors	25
8) Maredugaddalu collectors	157
9) Seeded tamarind pickers	146
10) Naramamidi Bark collectors	342

"There are 3,836 Chenchu students in boarding schools of Tribal Welfare department. 1,168 students in 4 residential schools (one for girls) one plus two college with 80 students, 98 students are in 'best' available schools apart from 5,500 children in primary schools (1999-2000)."¹⁸

NGOs started playing important role in supporting the economic and human rights of Chenchus. Chenchu tribe living in and around the sanctuary enrolled as voters for the first time in 2000 in the Panchayat Raj electoral roles. The commercial fishing in the tanks of the sanctuary was checked. The notification of certain Chenchu villages / hamlets as revenue villages which is pending with the forest department is pursued through court directions.¹⁹ A vigorous documentation of Chenchu ecological knowledge is going on.

The livelihoods, the knowledge systems and the educated tribal youth can be converted into a knowledge society and their abilities can be organized to protect and develop the Nallamala and its bio-diversity.

¹ Gangadhar V. and Anil Gupta, Socio-ecology of a tribe: the Chenchu (a food-gathering tribe in andhra pradesh) Economic activities and social organisation general description and honey collection - Sristi library document no.16-3-25.

² Proceedings of the Chief Conservator of forests proceedings No.321 press – 15 July 1932. Chenchus Forest settlement Rights – Subsequent Changes orders issued.

³ Eco-development plan 1996-97 to 2001 – 2002. Of NSTR (Nagarjuna Sagar Srisaïlam Tiger Reserve), A.P.

⁴ Efforts to re-establish links between Chenchus, Srisaïlam temple :(The Hindu, 26th Feb, 2001)

⁵ Evaluation of JFM & Eco-development programmes in Andhra Pradesh, Final Report November, 1998, Om Consultants (India) Pvt.Ltd., Bangalore.

⁶ Tiger Wilds opens its door for business – Times of India, 12-01-03. Tourism Dept. boat blasted by naxalites – The Hindu, December 3, 2002.

⁷ Improvement of living conditions of Chenchus – A short term action plan, TCRTI (Tribal Cultural & Resource Training Centre) Tribal Welfare Department Government of India, October 1994.

⁸ Hanumantha Rao T, 1998, Development of Water resources and springs in Nallamalai hills region of Eastern Ghats, The Eastern Ghats – Proceedings of the National Seminar on Conservation of Eastern Ghats March 24-26, 1998 pp 195-197

⁹ Report of the working group on development of scheduled tribes during seventh five-year plan – Government of India, Ministry of Home affairs, 1985-90 Page No.129.

¹⁰ Rajiv Dhavan – Evicting 10 million tribals (Laws society). The Hindu Sep 20, 2002.
Report of the working group on development of scheduled tribes during seventh five-year plan – Government of India, Ministry of Home affairs, 1985-90 Page No.129

¹¹ By R.B.Martin, A Voice in The Wilderness, November-December 1994 – FAO in Action.

¹² Henry P.Henry P.Huttington, Whaling knowledge: A question of sharing, Honey bee Vol.13 No.2 June 2002.

¹³ Traditional knowledge of bio-diversity in Asia-Pacific – Problems of Piracy and Protection – GRAIN and Kalpavriksh, November 2002.

¹⁴ R.V.Anuradha, Sharing the Benefits of Bio-diversity: The Kani-TBGRI Deal in Kerala, India, Kalpavriksh and International Institute of Environment and Development.

¹⁵ Martha Jhonson, LORE: Capturing Traditional environmental knowledge Ed., Dene Cultural Institute and the International Development Research Centre 1992.

¹⁶ INDIA consult. Workshop material – SANFEC, GRAIN, Housing and Land rights network. Workshop material, Hyderabad June 18-21, 2003.

¹⁷ Debating community reserves - Down to Earth – August 15, 2003.

¹⁸ Integrated Tribal Development Agency P.T.G.(Chenchu), Basic Statistics, Sri Sailam Dam East, Kunool Dist. Government of Andhra Pradesh, January 1991.

¹⁹ Think Globally – Act locally, Efforts in supporting the economic and human rights of the tribals in Andhra Pradesh, a booklet published by SAKTI in 2003.

--0 0 0 --