



THE CHOICE OF GRAIN

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The Choice of Grain

- Adivasis & Food Sovereignty in the Nilgiris -

(Photo, photo)

This document addresses:

Crop & Food Diversity
Traditional Agriculture Revival
Food Sovereignty
Indigenous People
Indigenous Knowledge & Use
Land Rights

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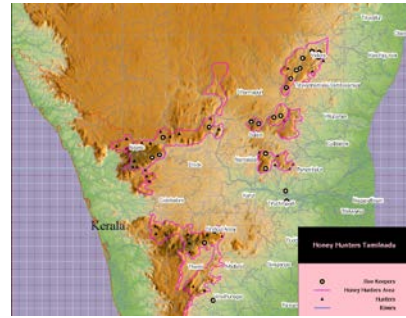
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The Nilgiris & its People

- The Nilgiris, located in the Western Ghats in the State of Tamil Nadu
- A hill district, with an area of 2479 sq. kms.
- Population - 7.65 lakhs (2001 Census)
- Elevation ranges from 700-2600 metres
- Forest land - 57%
- Average rainfall - 800mm - 2000mm



Natural Vegetation- Shola and grasslands, evergreen, moist deciduous, dry deciduous, evergreen and scrub. Nilgiris is part of the Nilgiri Biosphere Reserve, an ecologically important area, with a distinct flora and fauna.

Landuse - Predominantly tea plantations, coffee, vegetables.



Indigenous People in the Nilgiris - Todas, Kotas, Irulas, Kurumbas, Betta



Kurumba, Kasaba, Paniya, Mullu Kurumba, Chettis. Together, a population of approximately 30,000. The Badagas, not assigned 'tribal' status are also major roleplayers in the cultural ecology of the Nilgiris. They number approximately 200,000 across the Nilgiri region.



Agriculture in the Hills

Before the advent of the British, the indigenous people of the hills including the Badagas, used to grow mixed crops on the hill slopes. This comprised a variety of crops - the main grains being, Ragi, Samai, Tenai and Amaranthus. Whereas Badagas practiced settled cultivation, other communities like Irulas and Kurumbas, practiced shifting cultivation in the lower (1500-900 metres) slopes. According to Government Statistics in 1949-50, Nilgiri District had 4564 acres of Samai, 4183 acres of Ragi and 295 acres of Tenai.

The history of change from this traditional cropping to the newer commercial cash crops of coffee, tea and vegetables is interesting. In 1820s vegetables were first introduced by the British and beans, cauliflowers, cabbages, carrots, etc. started to be cultivated by the Badagas.

In 1885, tea was introduced and this spread steadily, now covering 50% of total cropped area of the Nilgiris. It contributed significantly to change in land use from mixed diverse food crops to mono-cultural cash crop.

(photo of tea cultivation)

Coffee was introduced in 1838. This was in the elevation where the hunter gatherers lived. Their lands were soon introduced to this crop, which spread within the forested lower zones. Coffee soon became an integral part of the homesteads of indigenous people and developed into diverse cropped, shaded lands, with many fruit and forest trees like lime, jack, orange, rosewood, guava, Albizzia, Erythrina, Glyricidia, etc.

The introduction of cash crops resulted in the following:

- Mono crops replacing mixed cultivation practices
- Extensive use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides
- Lack of food security and nutrition amongst small and marginal communities
- Reduced water retention capacity
- Destruction of vast extents of forest land for tea cultivation
- Increased fuelwood needs for processing tea

Besides the ecological damages, these crops eroded the basis of socio-cultural interactions amongst the communities in the hills. It brought with it land ownership, individual profits and an economic hierarchy. It also eroded the knowledge amongst the people related to cropping, forests, wild animals and weather.

Sedantary Vs Mobile

Post Indian independence, settlements got regularized and slash and burn was illegal. The movement of communities like the Irulas and Kurumbas, got restricted to the demarcated village lands. This changed the mobile lifestyle and ecosystem responses to one of sedentary ways. The intensity with which land is being used increased. With the

spread of plantations closer to village areas, and schemes by the government, these lands also got converted into small plantations of mainly coffee and tea.

However, in most of the villages, some of the land was left fallow. This was occasionally cultivated for millets, but became overgrown with secondary growth and weeds - a home for wild animals like boar, bison and elephants. The easy access to wage labour, the break down of community systems, crop raiding by wild animals and unpredictable rainfall - soon led to the virtual disappearance of this cultivation practice. A community which once cultivated these crops, bought it from the neighboring state for ritual needs.

The Revival

It is in this background that Keystone started its work in the Nilgiris in 1994. Working with honey bees initially, the team observed the low nutritional status, got reports from hospitals regarding low blood counts amongst women and children. After discussions with community members, an effort to revive traditional agriculture practices was undertaken.

(insert pic 2 - report)

This was to address the issues of:

- Food sovereignty
- Nutrition
- Land demarcation between village & forest lands
- Community based agriculture

Overall lands of adivasis had difficult features

- Soils: Lateritic soils - gravelly and loose soil, thin soil cover with low humus content

(Insert Pic 1 -report)

- Topography/Terrain: Hilly terrain - slopes range from 20-70 degrees. The land belonging to the indigenous people are usually degraded and steep, with wild bushes.
- Annual Rainfall: 800 mm. Some areas received only 400-500 mm in the years 2000-2003.

Vagapanai led the way and a group of 27 farmers from the village undertook millet cultivation, popularly known as 'Tenai kadu' in 30 acres of land. As the cultivation expanded and spread all over the hills in 16 villages covering approx. 200 acres of land only for millet cultivation, many interesting aspects emerged.

The Crops

Local Name: Ragi

Common Name: Finger Millet

Botanical Name: *Eleusine corocana*

Other Vernacular Names: Mandua, Madua, Kodu, Nachani, Mandal

Indigenous Varieties Grown: Cent, Seevai, Chembu

Local Recipes: Powdered and cooked as porridge (kali) with broken Maize, Dosas (pancakes), Mudde (balls) eaten with different chutneys and beans curry. Ragi is also eaten as roti, uppuma and idly. Ragi idly is prepared by kneading dough, rolling it in a leaf and placing it on sticks floating on boiling water. (insert pic 3 & 9-report)

Local Name: Samai

Common Name: Little Millet

Botanical Name: *Panicum miliare*

Other Vernacular Names: Kutki, Gundli, Shavan, Samalu, Chama, Gondula

Indigenous Varieties Grown:

Local Recipes: Rice, kali, payasam, murukku and uppuma

Local Name: Tenai

Common Name: Fox Tail Millet

Botanical Name: *Setaria italica*

Other Vernacular Names: Kauni, Navane, Koralu, Thina, Kakun, Pandi

Indigenous Varieties Grown: Kaar, Muduga, Sembu, Kongu, Sukku

Local Recipes: Rice, Kali & Uppuma (insert pic c)

Local Name: Keerai

Common Name: Amaranthus

Botanical Name: *Amaranthus caudatus*

Other Vernacular Names: Marsha, Ramdana, Harave

Indigenous Varieties Grown: Joghi, Vellai, Red

Local Recipes: Puffed and dry roasted and eaten with honey (insert pic b)

Local Name: Macca Cholan

Common name: Maize

Botanical Name: *Zea mays*

Other Vernacular Names: Bhutta, Makai, Kukri, Macca

Indigenous Varieties Grown: Jinicholan, Matpal

Local Recipes: Soft - roasted on fire and eaten; Ripe - made into small grainy powder and cooked like Uppuma; Puffed (insert picture 4,7 -report)

Local Name: Kadugha
Common name: Mustard
Botanical Name: *Brassica juncea*
Other Vernacular Names: Sarson, Rayi, Avalu, Sasive
Indigenous Varieties Grown:
Local Recipes: Flavouring spice (insert picture 5-report)

Local Name: Varaghu
Common name: Kodo Millet
Botanical Name: *Paspalum scrobiculatum*
Other Vernacular Names: Kodra, Harka, Arikelu, Koda, Menya, Harik
Indigenous Varieties Grown:
Local Recipes: rice, kali and uppuma

Local Name: Milagai
Common Name: Chillies
Botanical Name: *Capsicum frutescens*
Other Vernacular Names: Mirch
Indigenous Varieties Grown: Jinimas, Vara, Guda, Banmas
Local Recipes: Spice for masala and chutneys

Local Name: Pusinikai
Common name: Pumpkin
Botanical Name: *Cucurbita pepo*
Other Vernacular Names: Kumbalakai, Kaddoo
Indigenous Varieties Grown: Kumbhkai, Sakarkai
Local Recipes: Cooked in clay pot covered with leaves, sambar & curry

Local Name: Toghari
Common name: Pigeon Pea
Botanical Name: *Cajanus cajan*
Other Vernacular Names: Tuvaram, Arhar, Kandalu
Indigenous Varieties Grown:
Local Recipes: Sambar, sundal

Local Name: Avarai
Common name: Lablab

Botanical Name: *Dolichos lablab*
Other Vernacular Names: Sem, Mochkotta, Anumulu
Indigenous Varieties Grown: Karapu, Vellai, Soni
Local Recipes: Curry is made with Avarai (insert picture a)

Local Name: Takkali
Common name: Tomato
Botanical Name: *Lycopersicon esculentum*
Other Vernacular Names:
Indigenous Varieties Grown:
Local Recipes: Ingredient for curry and chutney

Local Name: Manjhal
Common Name: Turmeric
Botanical Name: *Curcuma longa*
Other Vernacular Names: Haldi, Holud,
Indigenous Varieties Grown:
Local Recipes: Spice for curries

Other plants grown are Castor (*Ricinus communis*); Niger (*Guizotia oleifera*); Bottle Gourd (*Lagenaria siceraria*); Brinjal (*Solanum* spp.); Sugarcane, Ginger, Green gram,

Tools and Methods

The Irulas usually sow Samai & Tenai together, but Ragi separately. Amaranth and mustard are mixed with these cereals and grow scattered in the fields. Rocky areas are selected for Avarai and deep soils for Macca Cholan. Hoes with narrow blades (mattas), spade (mammatti) and hoe-forks (kuthu) are implements used to prepare the soil. Broad cast grains are worked into the earth with hoes and hoe-forks. Very small sickles are used for harvesting grain, (insert picture 8 report) whereas thick stems of Amaranth require a stronger knife (vettu katti). Harvests are collected in baskets and the crop is visited over a long cycle to cut off ripe ear-heads. Stubble left in the fields is for livestock, mainly goats.

(Insert pic 25 & 11 or 12 jpg from CD)

Threshing sticks are used to thresh all the grain, sometimes also being crushed by feet. When thoroughly sun dried grains are kept in large woven bamboo baskets (Darsi) and stored on a platform inside the house. All openings are sealed with a clay and cowdung mixture.

Season cycle

A family usually owns some planted area and a millet field. The plantation 'garden' has a variety of plants - mainly, coffee - both Robusta and Arabica, silver oak, jack fruit, pepper, papaya, banana, coconut, custard apple, mango, guava, orange, passion fruit, yam, Canna, sweet potato, tapioca. The garden is a perennial shaded area and usually closer to the main house, providing relief from wind and rain. This combination of garden and millet field provides seasonal fruits and vegetables to the family & besides a stock of grain for 6-8 months, on an average.



Traditions

Irulas

(as told by Veran, Semmanarai; Perumal, Banglapadigai; P. Sivanan, Vakkanamaram; and documented by B. Sivaraj)

The traditional leaders of the community like the Gowda (headman), Urali (leader), Jathi (clan leader), Bhandari (Messenger) and the villagers will sit together to decide about the millet cultivation for the year. There are 3 'seemai' or traditional boundaries, namely Thangadu seemai, Poiman seemai and Rekodue seemai, which belong to the community. The selection of the land for cultivation is done by digging a pit in each of the seemai and collecting the soil on a new cloth. These pits are refilled with the soil. The extent of fertility is determined by the amount the soil overflows out of the pit, when put back. (If the soil is hard and without biomass, it will fill back completely and be heavy). The first land clearing is done by the Urali & Gowda, the Bhandari conveys this news to the rest of the people, who then start clearing. Bushes are cleared and burnt on a fixed day.

Karikutti Offering

A lamb is bought with the contribution of all the families. The traditional leaders and the men assemble in the land at 2.30 am This is taken to the land on a Thursday and cut as an offering, amidst chorus of Tho..ho..ho.

Verede

The heart of the lamb is picked up with a sharp stick made from Poola (.....) or Ulumai (*Grewia tilifolia*) and roasted on fire. This is given as an offering to the deities Kurumane and Arumane. These gods protect the community and the millet cultivation. The men return home before the rest of the family gets up.

Ducca

The unburnt pieces of wood and bushes are collected and placed along the slopes to stabilize the soil. The Urali and Gowda perform the 'Ducca' first, followed by the rest of the community.

(insert picture d)

Kundali

All the tools used by the community for cultivation last year are given to the blacksmith for sharpening. The sharpened tools are marked with charcoal. They are first used on a Nagha (*Syzygium cumini*) tree while reciting "Kotha pallu murunchu po kundali pallu muruga vena" (The blacksmiths teeth may break but the teeth of the sharpened tool will not break)

Kambalam

This is the seed sowing activity. The community decides a day for sowing seeds. The Gowda sows some seeds symbolically on the previous day, without the knowledge of the rest. Usually people have their own seeds or can take from the Gowda. On the day of the sowing at least one person from all the families participate. All the lands are sown together, one after the other. The sowing is accompanied by playing of drums and *kuvalu* (piped instrument). All people present eat jack, coffee and pumpkin together.

(insert pictures e & f & g)



After the sowing is complete, the tools are kept in a common place and prayer offered by all families.

Korakatti

The Urali is carried by two people from the field to the village, where a mat is placed for him. The day ends with coffee and traditional dance.

Kavasali

Field huts are erected individually according to their convenience and weeding is also done. A fence is set up and scare crows made to drive away hare, porcupine and wild boar.

Insert picture h & i

Mandala

The Gowda and Karundale collect well grown panicles from the whole land before sunrise. These are later offered to the Gods as Pongal by all families. Similarly, panicles are collected and kept at the entrance of the field huts by individuals. Some are given to the Poojari, to offer to the evil forces.

Harvest (No traditional name??)

Once the crop is ready, each family worships their deities and starts harvesting the grown crop. Traditional songs, stories and legends are shared during harvesting - this relieves tiredness. First, Tenai is threshed, cooked and offered to the Gods, after which it can be eaten by the family members.

(insert pic j)

Samai

Samai is grown in winter and is the last crop in the field. Meanwhile, the harvest of amaranthus, pumpkin and tubers is already done and eaten during the period when Samai has to be weeded and tended to. When Samai is ready for harvest, relatives are called and food is offered to them. The harvest is kept in a heap in the yard - called 'mothei'. During the harvest traditional songs are sung by all relatives. This is followed by 'Samai okkal' the threshing of the grain, which is done by all present. This is done through the night from 9 pm, interspersed with food and dance. Sometimes two teams are made and it is like a competition.

Annarasi

When threshing is completed in the morning, the straw is kept aside. Samai grain is separated by winnowing with the traditional 'vesu gudu' (long winnowing basket) and heaped on the yard. A line is drawn with ash around the heap and the field guard knife is placed on top of the heap to drive away the evil spirits. Later Samai is shifted to the house and stored in 'kutti' (granary). When the relatives leave, all are given grain as a wage/offering. This is equivalent to 1 kolagam (6 litres) per day.

"This is how we grow Tenai and Samai traditionally. During Pongal, we offer food to all and everyday is like a celebration. We do not sell the harvest ever. Like this, food is grown traditionally with the blessings of nature - clean water, rain and air. Like this, our ancestors have lived healthily for more than 100 years. Our lives are made happier by domestic animals, small game and forest collection during leisure.....and so our community lives...with the blessings of the Gods - an honest & happy life"

Kurumba

(As told by Rasu, Semanaria; Mahalingam, Thalamokkai; Joghee, Vellerikombei and Joghi, Veerakombei and documented by P. Chandran)

Ola Idippu

The Mannukaran, is the leader for millet cultivation. He has to observe strict rituals for 8 months and cannot eat non vegetarian food, no food outside and use no soap.

On a Tuesday, the community offers a puja & pongal with avarai, poosani, thubarai and Samai to Arumane and Kurumane (Ancestral deities). The same day a patch of land is cleared and discontinued. The rest of the land is cleared from the next Tuesday onwards and the bushes fired. The un-burnt sticks are taken and stacked in the field along the slopes, to prevent erosion. One burnt stick is taken, tied with a cloth and placed in a corner of the field or house. We offer to this stick - Avarai, Thogari, Poosinikai, Keerai, Ragi, Samai and Tenai. The Mannukaran does a small pooja. The left over unburnt woody material is collected and kept across the slopes as contour bunds to stabilize the soil. The activity is completed before Chittrai.

Bithu Akkothu/ Bithu Arke harappa

In Chittrai, on a Tuesday a pooja is performed to Madheshwara swami and Mari Amman. A pongal is made with traditional food grains. The cooked food is kept on 5 or 7 Thadasu (*Grewia tilifolia*) leaves and offered to the deity. The Mannukaran sows the first seeds, usually at dawn. This pooja is completed by men of the concerned families, between 6-9 am, after which the women will join in the sowing of seeds called 'Bithu kallappa'. In the evening, a puja is performed of the farm tools.

After a month the land is full of Keerai. First Keerai is offered to the Mannukarn, who



in turn cooks offers, it to the ancestors. Each family also performs a pooja in the hut in the field and the Keerai offered. "Till all this is over we do not cook and eat the Keerai. While cooking we do not use oil. We use seeni milaghai (small chilly) and the small tomatoes, which grow in our fields".

Panjakalam

During Chittrai, Vaigasi, Ani, the crop is growing and maturing - there is nothing to eat in the field. So the men go into the forest and collect honey, Keerai (greens) and bamboo shoots. During this period women look after the field. "During this time we soak the broken Eendhkai (seeds of *Canarium strictum*) and wash it seven times. This ground and steamed, like idly. Teak leaves are used for steaming. This is eaten with tomato chutney" Manickam, Vellericombei.

Thoodoo

During the month of Vaighasi, the Mannukaran observes fasting, a prayer and pongal is organized. A goat is offered to the deity with 7 pots of water and greens for blessing the fields with rain. This pooja is also performed by the men and later the women join for weeding operations.

Ariketti pooja

In 3 months the crop starts maturing. The first matured panicles are collected and tied like a tall tower (Anna kedi) with the help of forest vine (Olusu kodi). This is placed in a mud pot. The pooja is performed with the harvest knife in front of the structure and the harvest begins. The harvest is collected and threshed on the yard. First, a measured volume is given to the Mannukaran, who performs a prayer and offers the leaves on Thadasu leaves to the ancestors. After this Pongal is organized and shared by all in the community.

(insert pictures k,l,m)

"The entire season involves not only an exchange of seeds but an overall strengthening of bond between the relatives. There is also improved co-operation between the villagers. Visits of relatives from other villages have increased".

Seed and Storage

Seed selection is done in the beginning and the grain is tied in the cloth and kept above the cooking area in the house. This is used for sowing the fields the next year.

"Tenai, which matures first is first offered to the Gods and harvested. The best large sized panicles are separated for seed and kept in a mixture of ash and Vengai pattai (bark of *Pterocarpus marsupium*). Threshing is done by beating the panicles with sticks and crushing with legs. (insert picture 6-report) The rest of the harvest is stored on the bamboo loft in sacks or in mud pots and kept above the fireplace. The smoke keeps away pests. Sometimes, a hole is dug in the ground and plastered with cow dung. This is also used as a storing place". Joghee, Veerakombei

(insert picture n)

"We grind lemon leaf, red soil and Vasambu (*Acorus calamus*) and mix it with the Thogari seeds, which preserves them for an year", Manickam - Vellericombei

Millets - integral to adivasi rituals

For both the Kurumba and Irula community, millets are used in rituals of death, puberty ceremonies and those related to prayers to ancestors and their family Gods.

In the death ceremony, millets (Tenai and Samai) are kept along with the body - as it is believed that the soul is now undertaking a journey for which certain items are required. Tenai is also used to perform prayers in the home of the deceased. Keerai is scattered all along the journey from the village to the graveyard, in the belief that evil spirits will get distracted by them and not enter the village. After the funeral, Ragi kanji is spread near the entrance to the hut of the deceased and left overnight. In the morning this is checked for footsteps of the spirit, which may have returned home.

For prayers to the ancestors and the family god, Samai is a very important ingredient. This along with Samai is cooked and along with other items of Macca, Ragi, pusinakai, etc offered at the Govai mane. Home extracted castor oil is also used in rituals of puberty ceremonies and spirit stone ceremonies, amongst the Irulas.

Special prayers are offered if the Mannukaran dies, using millets. Around his grave all the millets are planted symbolically, to signify the important role played by him in millet cultivation.

Food Security & Nutrition



This being the starting

point of the whole initiative, it is interesting to see how the families gained in terms of food security and nutrition. It was also interesting to note how people, especially children, actually preferred rice as they were used to eating it. Over the years, there has been a change in food preference because of the high subsidy on rice through the Public Distribution System.

(insert no. 32 from cd)

Women too, found it difficult to undertake de-husking of grain by pounding in the `ural' as they were also expected to work in estates for the added income. However, over time and some technological innovations in the programme (de-husking) machine, these aspects were overcome. It will also take more time for the practice to be widely practiced - due to the higher social status attached to rice in Tamil Nadu.

Technically, as rice is available from the PDS, food security is assured. Millet growing adds to their stock and supplements diet. In a study undertaken by Keystone in 2002, it was seen that a family eats approximately 15 meals a month using millets over a period of 6-8 months or till stocks last. The main difference millets make is their nutritional status, Ragi being the most preferred millet and given especially to children and elders. The following table elaborates the nutritional value of crops and compares millets to rice.

Nutritive Value of Crops (per 100 gm.)

Crop	Protein	Calories (mg.)	Calcium (mg.)	Iron	Vitamin A
Ragi	7.3	328	344	3.9	42
Tennai	12.3	290	37	12.9	
Varaghu	8.3	309	27	5.0	
Samai	7.7	341	20	9.3	0
Amaranth	16-19	366	25-389	3-22	14,190
Rice	6.8	345	10	0.7	0

These aspects directly relate to the family and its composition. The same holds for harvests and food security. According to Mannickam,

"From 1 acre we can get - Samai - 1 bag, Tennai - 1 bag, Ragi - ½ bag, cholam - 2 bags, Keerai - ½ bag; beans ½ bag and thogari - ½ bag. The produce lasts for 6 months - though can be kept for upto 3 years".

In an analysis done of harvests and family size in Vagapanai - the average food availability for a family was 6-8 months and millet based meals are interspersed with other foods like rice. (Insert pictures o & P)

It was the older generation that appreciated this food the most, as is amply illustrated by the following case study:

Malli, Pudur Kombai

I am Malli, my husband Lakshmanan died. Here in Pudur Kombai, I stay with my son Nanjan and daughter-in-law, Neelavathi. We work on 2 acres of Tenai land. We have cultivated Tenai, after a gap of 18 years. On this patch, we are the only family cultivating and have lots of wild animals coming and damaging the crop.

Nanjan and Neelavathi decided what to grow where and have grown Ragi, Tenai, cholam, Keerai, beans, thogari, poosani, Kadugu and Samai. These are important food crops. We also grow sweet potato. During the day time Neela guards the fields and Nanjan goes for wage work. At night both stay at the field hut and guard the crop. Whatever crop is grown in our land is used as food, never sold. Grain is given as wages to whoever helps in cultivation. Similarly, we also help them during cultivation.

During the last harvest, we have collected 4 bags of Ragi, 5 bags of Tenai, 3 bags of Samai, 2 bags of beans, 5 bags of cholam, 1 bag of thogari and 1 bag of Keerai.

Ragi and Samai are nutritious, filling and give strength to the body. One is not sick so often.

The Changing Future

This effort aims to raise issues of food sovereignty, amongst a marginalized adivasi community. In the large scenario, it challenges gene modified and hybrid crops and brings back crop diversity in a largely monoculture/plantation area. The programme also had many other benefits of bringing back the community together, marking their boundaries vis-à-vis estates & forest lands and clearing off fallow land for growing high value crops, raising community nurseries and applying soil and moisture conservation activities. Covering approximately 800 acres of adivasi land in 16 villages, the impact of the over all programme is widespread.

(insert picture Q)

Despite the advantages, the effort has been difficult. Several factors play a role in slowing down the acceptance of this type of mixed millet cultivation. Some of the main factors are:

- Changed food habits to subsidized crops, mainly rice
- Breakdown of community systems to sustain this agriculture
- Lack of rights to ancestral land
- Crop raiding by wild animals
- Unpredictable rainfall pattern

These aspects prove the challenges for the future. Even though throughout the world, the recognition of the nutritional value of these crops is established, this awareness needs to be spread with the original growers.

At Keystone, we propose to strengthen this activity by spreading more information and awareness, creating more seed banks, initiating appropriate technology interventions

for post harvest and value addition. We need to increase the scale of operations for viability and enable a common recognition of the benefits, besides helping the younger generation to get more involved in land based activities. It is also necessary to build a larger campaign for making these crops more popular and their use easy, amongst the members of the adivasi community.

(insert picture r)



Kurumba song

Please type

Glossary of Local Terms

Adivasi

Uppuma

Kali

Dosa

Ural

Mannukaran

Gowda

Urali

Bhandari

Govai-Mane

Pooja

Pongal

