

State and Tribal Empowerment: A Case Study of the Provisions of the Panchayats
(Extension to the Scheduled V Areas) Act in Erstwhile Andhra Pradesh

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BY

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DECLARATION

I Sakru Naik Banavath hereby declare that this thesis entitled "State and Tribal Empowerment: A Case Study of the Provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled V Areas) Act in Erstwhile Andhra Pradesh" submitted by me under the supervision of Dr. E. Venkatesu, is a bonafide research work which is also free from plagiarism. I also declare that it has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this university or any other university or institution for the award of any degree or diploma. I hereby agree that my thesis can be deposited in Shodhganga/INFLIBNET.

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled “State and Tribal Empowerment: A Case Study of the Provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled V Areas) Act in Erstwhile Andhra Pradesh” submitted by B. Sakru Naik bearing Regd. No. 09SPPH02 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Department of Political Science is a Bonafide work carried out by him under my supervision and guidance which is a plagiarism free thesis.

The thesis has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this or any other University or Institution for the award of any degree or diploma.

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- B. Sakru Naik

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Dedicated to my parents

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ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|----------|--|
| AP | Andhra Pradesh |
| APTAC | Andhra Pradesh Tribes Advisory Council |
| BNVs | Bharat Nirman Volunteers |
| CCDP | Conservation-cum-Development Plans |
| DK | Do not Know |
| DTG | Dispersed Tribal Groups |
| DTWOs | District Tribal Welfare Officers |
| DWCRA | Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas |
| FRA | Forest Rights Act |
| GCC | Girijan Co-operative Corporation |
| GO | Government Order |
| GP | Gram Panchayat |
| GS | Gram Sabha |
| ILO | International Labour Organization |
| ITDA | Integrated Tribal Development Agency |
| ITDPs | Integrated Tribal Development Projects |
| JFM | Joint Forest Management |
| LTR | Land Transfer Regulation |
| MADA | Modified Area Development Approach |
| MFP | Minor Forest Produce |
| MRO | Mandal Revenue Officer |
| NAC | National Advisory Council |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organization |
| NTFP | Non Timber Forest Products |
| OBC | Other Backward Classes |
| PAFs | Project Affected Families |
| PESA | Panchayats Extension to Scheduled Areas |
| PESA Act | Panchayats Extension to Scheduled Areas Act |

| | |
|----------|---|
| PG | Post Graduation |
| PO ITDA | Project Officer, ITDA |
| POA | Programme of Action |
| PRIs | Panchayati Raj Institutions |
| PTGs | Primitive Tribal Groups |
| RTI | Right to Information |
| SC | Scheduled Castes |
| SDC | Special Deputy Collector |
| SFG | Special Focus Group |
| SHG | Self Help Group |
| ST | Scheduled Tribes |
| TAC | Tribes Advisory Council |
| TCR & TI | Tribal Cultural Research & Training Institute |
| TMCSs | Tribal Mining Cooperative Societies |
| TRICOR | Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Tribes Cooperative Finance Corporation Limited |
| TRIMCO | Andhra Pradesh Tribal Mining Company |
| TRIPCO | Andhra Pradesh Tribal Power Company |
| TSP | Tribal Sub Plan |
| VSS | Vana Samrakshana Samithi |
| VTDAAs | Village Tribal Development Associations |
| VTG | Vulnerable Tribal Group |

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Chapter – I

Introduction

*“Tribals continue to form the poorest, most backward, most vulnerable section of Indian society, deprived of developmental strategies, programmers and schemes including Tribal Sub-Plan strategy.... As globalisation and liberalisation usher in fierce economic competition, only the fittest can survive and weakest, particularly the tribes may be driven to the wall unless protective measures are taken for safeguarding the tribal from the onslaught and urgent steps are taken to develop their skills and competitive ability”.*¹

Unity in diversity is the strength and unique feature of the Indian subcontinent compared with rest of the world. The Indian society is highly segregated and hierarchical in nature. The stratified and hierarchical nature of Indian society involves institutional processes that economically and socially exclude, discriminate, isolate and deprive some groups, based on characteristics like caste, ethnicity, religious background, etc. These groups constitute a vast section of India's population, which includes backward classes, Dalits, tribal and religious minorities. They, together, account for about one fourth of India's population. A vast majority of marginalised sections in the developing nations is under the threat of ‘development’. They are deprived of adequate access to basic needs of life, such as health, education, housing, food, security, employment, justice and equity. In addition, the marginalised sections are unable to acquire and use their rights. Issues of sustainable livelihood, social and political participation of these groups exists as the major problem in developing nations such as India. They have low purchasing power; have poor housing conditions and low access to resources and entitlements. The members of these groups face systemic violence, in the form of denial of access to land, housing, education and employment.

¹ Working Group of the Ninth Five Year Plan (1996), in Singh, S.K. (ed.), (2005), *Self-Governance for Tribals: Empowerment of Gram Sabha and Social Audit*, Vol. IV, Hyderabad: National Institute of Rural Development, p. 1

Exclusion and immense deprivation of the weaker sections, in general, and tribes, in particular, is closely associated with the denial of property rights, civil rights, and lack of access to education. In course of time, due to their physical and social isolation from the rest of the mainstream society, the extent of deprivation became more intense, and was further aggravated in the process of planned development. It is this institutionalised exclusion of the tribes from access to economic rights, civil rights and human development, which has caused severe poverty and deprivation among them. The colonial era had given shape to the concept of tribe. Since the colonial period, tribal society has been experiencing hindrances like land alienation and exploitation by landlords, moneylenders, and the ruling classes, etc. Further, the Scheduled Tribes have been suffering from isolation, neglect and exclusion, which resulted in considerable deprivation and poverty among them. The pathetic situation of the *Adivasis* (aboriginals) is a sad commentary on the development experience of the last sixty-seven years of political Independence in India. Unlike the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes are a product of marginalisation, based on ethnicity. In India, the Scheduled Tribes population is around 84.3 million and is considered socially and economically disadvantaged. They are mainly landless with little control over resources, such as land, forest and water, and constitute a large proportion of agricultural labourers, casual labourers, plantation and industrial workers, etc.

Even after independence, India has been systematically adapting the colonial type of exclusion in Scheduled Areas.² In this way, colonial legacy has been continuing in *Adivasi* societies. While the Constitution was being framed, the vocal advocates of tribal rights, like Jaipal Singh, had raised the issue of tribal development. Since the tribal world was unique from the rest of the society, there was no force for inclusiveness, which might have hampered the tribal autonomy at an early stage. It paved the way for special privileges. In recognition of the unique problems of the weaker sections, the Indian government has consistently launched policies for their economic, social and political empowerment. 'Positive interventions', 'affirmative measures', and accompanying policy

² Jagannath Ambagudia, (2010), Tribal Rights, Dispossession and the State in Orissa, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLV (33), pp. 60-67

processes were initiated for an encompassing empowerment of these social groups over half a century ago. Though these policies have brought some positive changes, the process of transformation has been extremely slow and inadequate to minimise the handicaps and disabilities of the past and in reducing the gaps between them and the rest of the Indian society. Further, post-independent initiatives attempted to include the excluded communities, particularly *Adivasis* who were ‘partially and totally excluded’ communities, during the colonial period, in order to bring them into the mainstream and, yet, preserve their identity. The Indian Constitution has given special privileges in terms of policies, programmes and legislations.

Decentralisation has been a tool for deepening the democracy in developing nations like India. Apart from electoral representation, decentralisation happens through the devolution of powers to Panchayati Raj Institutions. However, in a heterogeneous society, variations among the different social groups in any given society tend to mould its directions based on their socio-economic, political and cultural features. In order to administer a society smoothly, the state seeks to democratise the society through governance, which plays a very vital role in shaping the path of developmental destiny, particularly in developing nations like India.

The Constitution makers, while drafting the Constitution and enacting 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, conferred special privileges to *Adivasis*, especially in the area of self-governance in Fifth Schedule Areas, in which neither central nor any state government could intervene. Keeping away *Adivasis* from the dominant model of governance had led the provincial governments to impose their respective rules on them, which ultimately resulted in discontent turning into agitations in the Schedule Areas. Ever since, there have been disturbances in Scheduled V Areas, also known as Fifth Schedule Areas, against the state oriented Panchayati Raj Acts which were intended to dilute the state’s Constitutional obligation. The Indian government has realised that the 73rd Amendment could not be extended, unless there was a proper contextual understanding on how to extend the Amendments. In order to extend these amended provisions, the Bhuria Committee was appointed in 1994. The Committee suggested that the state should not intervene in tribal traditions, ethos and autonomy. Based on the Committee

recommendations, Part IX of the Indian Constitution delineate the Panchayat system was extended to Scheduled V Areas with certain exceptions and modifications, in the form of PESA (Panchayats Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act. However, while drafting the central Act, the parliament did not consider all the views given by the Committee. However, with certain themes, it enacted the PESA Act in 1996, even without inviting a healthy debate on the issue. The main purpose of PESA Act is to empower the *Gram Sabhas* (Village Assemblies)³ and gram Panchayats in Scheduled Areas by recognising and safeguarding tribal self-governance, traditions and customs, as well as allowing them to decide their own course of developmental destiny. However, the face of tribal destiny is being disturbed in many dimensions by different factors, among which state comes in the first position. Hence, the state itself has been a key player in diluting the importance of the PESA Act. Therefore, the state-initiated devolution of powers and functions and denial of operational rules for longer times can be understood in a way that the state can dilute democratic decentralisation to these areas, in general, and tribal autonomy, in particular, which has been existing naturally. Even then, PESA is one of the pioneering legislations for tribes, focusing on empowerment of Gram Sabhas and Gram Panchayats in Schedule V Areas across India. Self-governance is always an imperative, as well as an emerging, issue for tribal empowerment. The distinguishing feature of PESA has been to recognise the tribal self-governance, which was ignored since times immemorial and their customs in the Scheduled V Areas or ‘Agency Areas’ (as commonly known in Andhra Pradesh). Further, it empowers the Gram Sabhas to function as units of self-governance in planning and implementation of tribal developmental policies and programmes, apart from supervisions.

The welfare state is a concept of government in which the state plays a key role in the protection and promotion of economic and social well-being of its citizens. A welfare state is based on the principles of equality of opportunities and equitable distribution of wealth. Constitutionally, India is a welfare state.⁴ Hence, protecting and promoting its

³ Mahi Pal (2013), *Gram Sabha in Fifth Scheduled Areas: Precept and Practice*, Kurukshetra, Vol. 61 (1): pp.10-15

⁴Vachaspati Shukla & U.S. Mishra, (2014), *Is the Recent Reduction in India’s Poverty Inclusive?*, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XLIX No 47, pp. 70-75

citizens is the primary responsibility of India. The colonial state was not a welfare state, as such; it did not ensure both protection and promotion of the rights of its citizens. Due to the prevailing situations like social discrimination, developmental imbalance and poverty, the Constitution makers had adopted the concept of “welfare state”. India is a welfare state because it has adopted the idea of welfare by introducing Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy. The fundamental rights ensure only political democracy, but through the Directive Principles, only social and economic democracy is ensured. Under the concept of welfarism, tribal empowerment is ensured - particularly in the form of different policies and programmes. Empowering the tribes is the basic responsibility of a welfare state like India. The PESA Act is one such attempt. Empowerment seeks to provide more formal opportunities to the hitherto deprived sections of society.

The notion of development of state has been changing gradually from protection to development and (now) to empowerment. The concept ‘empowerment’ means giving power or authority to someone or a group of people to do something or to give more control over their livelihood or the situation in which they are placed.

Tribal empowerment means empowering them through certain formal feedback. It may be in the form of policies or programmes, or any legislation. Further, the state has initiated a number of Constitutional provisions for the development of the Scheduled Tribes. In continuation to that, it also created a context for empowerment of these communities. The PESA legislation is purely meant for empowering the *Adivasis* in the socio-economic, cultural and developmental dimensions. All these powers are entrusted to the Gram Sabhas in Fifth Schedule Areas. Further, it also gives autonomy for self-governance. Tribes are the masters of their developmental destiny. In other words, they organise their developmental activities in keeping with their traditional customs and norms.

According to 2001 census, Scheduled Tribes constitute 8.2 percent of India’s total population.⁵ The Indian Constitution had adopted protective measures in the form of the

⁵ *Basic Statistics on Scheduled Tribes of Andhra Pradesh*, (2008), Tribal Cultural Research & Training Institute (TCRTI), Hyderabad: Tribal Welfare Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh, p. 399

Fifth and Sixth Schedules. Both Schedules are intended to facilitate self-governance by the tribes. Further, these Schedules paved the way for autonomous rights, through which the *Adivasis* could mould their conventional model of development based on their traditions, customs culture and ethos.

The Sixth Schedule deals with the North-Eastern states like Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura. Generally, Northeast states have Autonomous District Councils (ADCs), which play a vital role in deciding their developmental dimensions in social, economic and political spheres.⁶ Further, these autonomous councils are community-oriented agencies. These ADCs are part of Indian federal systems, since they fall in the middle of the sequence like central, state and local governments.⁷ Further, these Councils play a very vital role in developing the Sixth Schedule Areas, in general, and preserving the tribal customs, rights in terms of social, economic, political and autonomy dimensions. Moreover, the Sixth Schedule attempted to give these institutions, legislative, judicial, administrative and financial powers within its purview in the Constitution. Based on Bardoloi Committee recommendations, only the Sixth Schedule areas have been institutionalised. Under the Sixth Schedule, the ADCs primarily perform activities such as legislating laws on land use, developmental policies on social customs, including succession of traditional leaders, marriage, divorce and inheritance. However, the ADCs suffer from issues like: poor disbursements of funds, lack of weak financial sources and having to depend on central government sponsored supports. The Governor does not give assent to the ADC bills independently, except with the approval of the state's council of ministers through which the state controls the ADCs.

Like the Sixth Schedule, the Fifth Schedule is also intended to enable the tribes to develop their livelihood based on their traditional roots. However, the Fifth Schedule does not have autonomous councils at district levels. For Fifth Schedule areas, the major institutional bodies are the Tribal Advisory Councils (TACs) operating at the state level. Under, the Schedule, scheduled villages are identified in tribal dominated regions. The Governor of the Fifth Schedule state is the caretaker of the Fifth Schedule areas. As part

⁶ David Stuligross, (1999), "Autonomous Councils in Northeast India: Theory and Practice", *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, Vol. 24: (4), pp. 497-525

⁷ Ibid

of it, the Governor is expected to report to the President of India on the matters of welfare and development of the Scheduled Tribes. Further, the Governor promulgates the laws for this Schedule and he / she can modify and reject both the central and state government laws regarding the Fifth Schedule for the wellbeing of Scheduled Tribes. The Fifth and Sixth Schedules are considered as ‘Constitution within the Constitution, as far the tribal rights are concerned.’⁸

Presently, there are nine states having Fifth Schedules, viz., Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh Maharashtra, Orissa, and Rajasthan.⁹ In AP, the Scheduled Areas are located in nine districts - Srikakulam, Vijayanagaram, Vishakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari (now part of the residuary state of Andhra Pradesh) and Khammam, Warangal, Adilabad and Mahaboobnagar (now in the newly created state of Telangana).

1.2 Review of the Literature

The studies on tribal streams are available from the time of establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1874.¹⁰ Later on, in Indian academia, most of the research done on *Adivasis* is primarily anthropological in nature and focused on their indigenous origin, tradition, culture, livelihood, dressing style, language, etc. These studies were carried out by scholars of anthropology and sociology. The studies lack the lines of policy, governance, administrative and deepening of the democracy at the grassroots level. Therefore, the present study will focus on the Fifth Schedule Areas and their governance in the context of the changing nature of welfare state.

Srivastava, A.R.N. (1986),¹¹ briefly describes how the tribal freedom fighters in pre-independence India fought against the brutal feudal interests, in general, and for securing tribal rights, in particular. The book deals with the movement perspective including an

⁸ (2014), Lest We Forget the Other Panchsheel, *Yojana*, Vol. 58, p. 3

⁹ Singh, S.K. (ed.), (2005), *Self-Governance for Tribals: Awareness Building Efforts*, Vol. V, Hyderabad: National Institute of Rural Development, p. 9

¹⁰ Xaxa, Virginius, (2003), ‘Tribes in India’, in Veena Das (ed.), *Oxford India Companion to Sociology and Social Anthropology*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, p. 373

¹¹ Srivastava, A.R.N. (1986), *Tribal Freedom Fighters of India*, New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.

analysis of the struggles of tribal fighters, namely, Birsa Bhagavan, Atra Bhagat, Jadonang, Rani Gaidinliu, Raj Mohinidevi, Narayan Singh, Thamman Dora, Alluri Seetharama Raju and Komaram Bhimu. Very importantly, it points to the existence of a tribal Panchayat system in the colonial period, i.e., both Munda and Oraon tribes had a democratic way of administering their societies. In course of time, they developed a system called 'Parsha' a territorially organised tribal Panchayat for settling inter-village disputes and regulations of tribal laws.¹² The head of the Panchayat in Munda community is known as 'Munda Parsha' and 'Parsha Raja' in the Oraon community respectively. This system existed until the arrival of the British.

Deogaonkar, S.G. (1994),¹³ in '*Tribal Administration and Development*,' argues that tribal people are the original inhabitants of India. Further, he points out that these tribal groups can be traced back to ancient period - particularly in literature of Ramayana and Mahabharata periods.¹⁴ He classified the tribes on the basis of (i) geographical or regional distribution, (ii) language they speak, and (iii) ethnic roots. The system of tribal administration in tribal areas was paternalistic in mode and totally depended on the attitudes of the administrators. In 1874, The Scheduled Districts Act was enacted. The 'Partially Excluded Areas and Excluded Areas Act' was passed. However, in Acts like the Government of India Acts 1909 of 1935, the tribal people were deliberately and gradually suppressed so as keep them away from Indian National Movement.¹⁵ There were evidences of tribal leaders participating in national movements after Mahatma Gandhi's call to the nation. For instance, the Tana Bhagat Movement in Bihar was an expression of solidarity with the Non-Cooperation Movement.¹⁶ Due to this kind of getting together, the national leaders came to know the conditions of these aboriginals. From there onwards, the national leadership started thinking about including the primitive community in the mainstream society. Apart from that, some social workers like A.V.

¹² Ibid, p.10

¹³ Deogaonkar, S.G. (1994), *Tribal Administration and Development*, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 9

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 13

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 13

Thakkar of the Servants of India Society created a context for a more focused attention on the issues and concerns of tribal areas. Sardar Patel also emphasised on the betterment of tribes. All these factors led for providing various safeguards in the Constitution of India in terms of welfare and development of Scheduled Tribes in India.¹⁷

Today, acculturation is an important subject in any debate on tribal issues. It is in a broad sense categorised into four groups: primitive tribal groups; acculturised tribal groups; highly acculturised tribal groups and modernised tribal groups.¹⁸ Consideration of these groups is very essential for policy makers and implementing agencies because primitive tribes are different from those living in plain areas.

B.D. Sharma, (1995),¹⁹ posits that the Fifth Schedule did not cover tribal people in certain areas, because of administrative problems and policy confusions.²⁰ The focus of the work is the issue of self-governance in tribal areas. He points out that in the process of declaring areas as Scheduled Areas, under the Fifth Schedule in India, certain group of people in Karnataka, Kerala, Tamilnadu and West Bengal were not included.²¹ He opines that it is necessary to cover all the tribal areas, for the development and protection of tribes, but that has not happened. The striking point is that they forgot to put in place a special institutional and legal framework. Therefore, the general laws and administrative rules, which were extended to the tribal areas, have led to the emergence of conflict between tribal traditional institutions and formal institutions.²²

The new strategy, called TSP (Tribal Sub Plan), was introduced in 1974 for the protection and advancement of the tribal people and the elimination of exploitation, and providing education, health and economic development. However, it has not fully achieved its objectives.²³

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 14

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 16

¹⁹ Sharma, B.D. (1995), *Whither Tribal Areas: Constitutional Amendments and After*, New Delhi: Sahyog Pustak Kuter.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 11

²¹ Ibid, p. 11

²² Ibid, p. 12

²³ Ibid, p. 14

Tribal community is a living institution where the perception of the elite is represented, but not of the tribes, in general. It is clear that all formal institutions from village Panchayats to the district have almost violated the Constitution.²⁴ On the one hand, the traditional institutions, which have been functioning for ages, do not require any authority to do so, and are not recognised by the Constitution.

Tribal traditional institutions are functioning as vibrant entities in the administrative, religious, political, economic, justice spheres. Further, Sharma points out that the traditional institutions should be the foundation for modern formal institutions. Almost all tribal institutions are functioning as democratic bodies with an egalitarian spirit.²⁵ He also asserts that the tribal way of life should be continued and all the ethnic, regional and other variations should be given up and equal priority should be ensured.

The article by Mahi Pal, (2000),²⁶ brings out some important issues of PESA, like devolution of powers, over which almost all states have differences with the Central Act. Further, the Constitution (73rd Amendment) Act, 1992, says that “nothing in this part shall apply to the Scheduled Areas referred to in Clause (1), and the tribal areas referred to in Clause (2) of Article 244”.²⁷ Even though Parliament did not enact any law on this matter, states like Andhra Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan have extended the 73rd Amendment Act to the Scheduled Areas. AP Panchayat Raj Act, 1994, was extended to the Agency Areas. This created a number of problems and led to tribal agitations on the plea that this would impinge on tribal rights. Eventually, the matter went to the AP High Court, where the Act was declared as unconstitutional.

In fact, even though PESA empowers tribes to preserve their identity, culture and control over resources through participatory approach by consolidating the institution of the Gram Sabha, the Act itself has created confusion over the authority (the Gram Sabha or the Gram Panchayat) authorised to exercise the power. Moreover, all most all states have diluted the spirit of this legislation. The actual meaning of decentralised participatory

²⁴ Ibid, p. 29

²⁵ Ibid, p. 61

²⁶ Mahi Pal, (2000), “Panchayats in Fifth Scheduled Areas”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 35 (19): pp. 1602-1606.

²⁷ Ibid, p.1602

democracy, in terms of the Gram Sabha, has lost its vibrant characteristics because most of the states are not very keen about the idea of decentralisation of power. Even the AP conformity Act is also not an exception to such a dilution, but it has assigned the activities either to the Gram Sabha or the Gram Panchayat. With respect to the resolution of customary disputes, it has empowered the institution of police, instead of the Gram Sabha. Furthermore, the functions of acquisition of land, maintaining of minor water bodies and mining minerals, and so on, are given to the Gram Panchayat, instead of the Gram Sabha.

Vidhya Das, (2003),²⁸ has analysed issues like underdevelopment and poor governance in the tribal dominated areas. Apart from that, he has also examined the nexus of bureaucracy-contractor-politician in denying the right to identity and livelihood to the *Adivasis*. The writer further highlights the strategy of government that ‘strength of government lies in people’s ignorance’. No wonder, that government opposes the peoples’ enlightenment. It has been clearly brought out that both decentralisation and right to information are the pseudo ones. According to Das, the administration and governance in Scheduled V Areas have been helping the rich people (non-tribes) to become more and rich - but not the innocent tribes. Further, he says that independent Indian laws are based on personal and individual interests, but not on Constitutional considerations. In order to utilise the natural resources of the Scheduled Areas, the Multi National Corporations are reaping huge benefits by denying the identity and rights of the tribal communities.²⁹

Virginius Xaxa, (2003),³⁰ posits that a tribal community as a new category had emerged during the colonial period, apart from existing four social categories, i.e., religion, territory, language and caste. From the emergence of the tribe to switching over to

²⁸Vidhya Das, (2003), “Democratic Governance in Tribal Regions: A Distant Dream”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 38 (42): pp. 4429-4432.

²⁹ The writer has tried to examine the reasons for the democratic failure in the state of Orissa, apart from sensitising readers about the general issues across India.

³⁰Virginius Xaxa, (2003), ‘Tribes in India’, in Veena Das (ed.), *Oxford India Companion to Sociology and Social Anthropology*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, p. 373

development, there has been a discussion about the nature of the tribal development policy.³¹ The issue emerges from Elwin volumes, called *The Baiga* (1939) and *The Aborigines* (1944). He argues that in order to protect the tribes from outsiders, they should be kept in isolation, whereas Ghuyre proposes the policy of assimilation, by treating them as backward Hindus. He further says that in order to uplift them from poverty, they should be assimilated with the larger society. However, the Indian Constitution follows neither isolation nor assimilation, but only integration. There is no document with an explicit, clear policy formulation for tribal integration.³² Xaxa has also pointed out about what Nehru meant for Indian tribes, they should develop on their own interests, their life system governing them, administration and development, respecting their customary laws.

Singh, K.S. (2006),³³ brings out that the present popular tribal acts like The Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996, and the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers Act of 2006 offer a great opportunity to provide equitable governance in tribal-dominated backward areas. Unfortunately, these laws are skeletons and need the flesh and sinews of operational rules and guidelines for the removal of legal incongruence to ensure a dignified tribal life and awareness campaigns on self-governance and community control over natural resources.

Based on the Report of the Bhuria Committee, the PESA Act came into existence.³⁴ The main purpose of the committee was to examine the tribal related issues and recommend the extension of the 73rd Amendment to the Scheduled V Areas. It suggested the setting up of advisory committees like the Central Advisory Committee (CAC); Tribal Advisory Committee (TAC); Autonomous District Committee (ADC); Autonomous District Sub-Committee (ADSC) at various levels. The lower bureaucratic functionaries, such as the

³¹ Ibid, p. 385

³² Ibid, p. 386

³³ Singh, K.S. (ed.), (2006), *Tribal Movements in India*, Vol. II, New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, p. 25

³⁴ Singh, S.K. (ed.), (2005), *Self-Governance for Tribals: Empowerment of Gram Sabha and Social Audit*, Vol. IV, Hyderabad: National Institute of Rural Development, p. 2

police, excise, forest and revenue, are supposed to be playing a nominal role and should work under the control of the Gram Sabha.

The Panchayats Extension to the Scheduled Areas (PESA) Act, 1996,³⁵ sought to provide self-rule for the tribals. It contained the following important provisions:

- Extending Part IX of the Indian Constitution to the Schedule Areas relating to panchayats;
- Making it mandatory for any legislation on the panchayats for the tribal areas to be in consonance with the customary laws, social and religious practices and traditional practices of management of community resources;
- A village has to manage its affairs according to traditions and customs;
- Establishment of a Gram Sabha for every village;
- Empowering the Gram Sabha for safeguarding the traditions, customs and culture and community resources;
- Empowering the Gram Sabha to identify the beneficiaries;
- Acquisition of land for development and projects should be with the consultation of Gram Sabha only.

According to Vasudha Dhagamwar (2006),³⁶ *“Among the most depressed or disadvantaged people in any country in the world are the tribal people, or indigenous people, as they are called in some discourses.”* He focuses on how globalisation has affected the tribals. True, rural poverty decreased from 55.5 percent during 1972-73 to 33.3 percent in 1989-90. However, after globalisation, in the 1990s, this has increased to a very high level in rural India.³⁷ As Streeten points out, globalisation is good for rich countries like USA, but bad for developing countries like India and further it increases the gap between different strata of people and countries.³⁸ Also, the income distribution

³⁵ Ibid, p. 7

³⁶ Vasudha Dhagamwar, (2006), *Role and Image of Law in India the Tribal Experience*, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

³⁷ Ibid, p. 30

³⁸ Ibid, p. 32

situation has worsened further, with 33.33 percent of the tribals living in conditions of extreme poverty.

Globalisation may have brought out a degree of prosperity to the educated and skilled persons. However, it has turned into almost a curse for the tribal community whose livelihoods have been seriously threatened. Instead of safeguarding the interests of the tribals, the state has tended to act like a passive spectator. It would not be fully wrong to state that the state is in a systematic way keeping the tribal community away from enjoying the fruits of sustainable development.

For tribals, globalisation is associated with rising prices, loss of job security, and lack of healthcare development programmes.³⁹ Furthermore, it is weakening the Constitutional protections in terms of education and job reservations. It is observed that markets are not friendly to the poor, weaker and vulnerable sections of the third world societies, either nationally or internationally.

Since independence, over 1500 major irrigation projects were launched and over 16 million rural people, displaced. Of these, 40 percent have been tribals.

It is emphasised that tribes are vulnerable people.⁴⁰ This book also brings out that there is no reliable and complete information on the number of tribals displaced in the country since independence.⁴¹

The *Adivasis* have been gradually reduced to the status of casual labourers from owners of their Lands and forests. They have been forced to shift to other desperate forms of unskilled labour like construction work, domestic servants and vending, petty traders.⁴²

Dhagamwar has also made a mention of tribal revolts like those opposing the Utkal Alumina Project in Orissa and NMDC Steel Plant in Chhattisgarh, which were perceived

³⁹ Ibid, p. 33

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 34

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 35

⁴² Ibid, p. 40

to be against tribal interests.⁴³ The author observes that we do not have a law, which provides for rehabilitation of the displaced. Such issues are generally dependent on the vagaries of companies. Further, he says that ventures like the Sardar Sarovar Project, have degraded the cultural values of tribals, exposing the children and youth to vices like gambling, alcoholism, idleness, prostitution and crime. In traditional *Adivasi* cultures, women enjoy a higher social status compared to the women in our mainstream society, mainly due to their significant contribution to the tribal economy and agriculture.⁴⁴

Menon, Ajit, (2007),⁴⁵ argues that both PESA and FRA Acts are the two major legislations which give rights to tribes for self-governing and exercise control over their natural resources. He pointed out that these Acts were enacted because of *Adivasi* movements only. As the major focus is on Constitutional provisions, he adds that Article 13 denies the state making laws against anybody's fundamental rights, apart from other Articles, which are protected in a sense by Articles 14 and 15 for empowerment, and against discrimination.⁴⁶ Further, in order to protect the *Adivasis* rights, apart from these Constitutional provisions, other Acts have also been enacted. He asserts that the state is responsible for the denial of these rights. As Vandergeest and Peluso highlighted, "all modern states divide their territories into complex and overlapping political and economic zones, rearrange people and resources within these units and create regulations, delineating how and by whom these zones can be used".⁴⁷ In India, this process is applicable to *Adivasi* lands. The wildlife Protection Act of 1972 has empowered the state to exercise control over forestlands. PESA implementation has been watered down by individual states since land and decentralisation are state subjects. In order to control tribal areas, there have been state oriented attempts to dilute even the tribal welfare provisions, including the Schedule Fifth Areas. Laws not only give rights, but also deny

⁴³ Ibid, p. 43

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 46

⁴⁵ Menon, Ajit, (2007), "Engaging with the Law on Adivasi Rights", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 42 (24): pp. 2239-2242.

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 2240

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 2240

other rights. Sustainable development is not visible whenever there are large-scale projects, but it becomes a very serious issue, when it is related to *Adivasi* rights.⁴⁸

Aruna Kumar, M. (2008)⁴⁹ conducted a field-based study in the coastal district of Vishakhapatnam in Andhra Pradesh. His study came up with fundamental and interesting findings on the governance in Scheduled V Areas, with special reference to three village panchayats – Laxmipuram and Kilagada from Munchingput Mandal and Vanjangi from Paderu Mandal. The findings show that awareness is very low and bureaucracy is ignorant of the provisions of the PESA Act. Even after 67 years of independence, the aims of PRI have not been properly achieved. The new system of PRI in Agency Areas has created tensions and minor opportunities as well. The attempts to impose formal rules on tribes have created further tensions. Participation of tribals in self-governance is under severe threat because of denial of access to basic resources like land, water and forests. The emerging new political leadership controls the governance and is neither accountable to the community, nor its leadership. Since the Gram Sabha meetings are not being conducted on a regular basis, participation has reduced relatively the last few years. The new system of governance is gradually alienating tribes culturally that is why it has been diluting the participation level. Regarding public participation in meetings of PTGs (Primitive Tribal Groups), it is very limited than that in non-PTGs. Shortage of resources is one of the basic problems for the lack of smooth functioning of the activities here. Information access to ordinary people is very limited. People have little control over decision-making and little faith in the new mechanism. Women participation is significantly lower than that of men. There is no cordial cooperation between locally working bodies. Traditional institutions have been performing better than PRIs.

Nageswara Rao, B. (2008),⁵⁰ undertook his research on Scheduled V Areas of AP⁵¹ on tribal land alienation, labour exploitation and poverty as the three themes, around which

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 2241

⁴⁹ Aruna Kumar, M. (2008), *Local Governance in a Scheduled Area: a Case Study of Vishakhapatnam District*, Ph.D. Thesis, Hyderabad: University of Hyderabad.

⁵⁰ Nageswara Rao, B. (2008), *Land, Labour and Poverty in Tribal Economy: a Village Study of West Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh*, Ph.D. Thesis, Hyderabad: University of Hyderabad.

the interdependence affects each other. He asserts that landlessness leads to chronic poverty, which is also increasing due to issues like ignorance of the tribals and the increasing apathy towards traditional occupations and forest as an alternative source. Through money lending and forcible purchasing, Vaisyas, Kammas, Reddys and Kapus have alienated tribal land. The Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Areas Land Transfer Regulation of 1959 failed in controlling the alienation. NGOs are encouraging tribes to agitate against non-tribes for restoration of their alienated land. In order to restore their land, tribes have been approaching People War Group and the CPM party. The poverty is more in agricultural labourers than in land holding tribes. High debt is the main reason for tribal land alienation and it is turning the landless labourers into farm servants. Low working wages, more working hours and the decreasing number of working days are due to more SC labourers being available as alternative labour force for the landlords. Wage difference is there between tribal males and females. As a result of tribal movements, some of the lands have been restored to the 'original owners'. NGOs have had a positive impact in Agency Areas. The restored land helped the tribes to increase their income level, be less dependent on non-tribes and overcome poverty also. The complicated revenue system also helped the non-tribals to exploit the tribals.

The study by Rambabu Mallavarapu, (2008),⁵² is mainly focused on the tribal developmental prospective.⁵³ Basically, it covers Constitutional provisions, land alienation issues, displacement, Rehabilitation and Resettlement (R&R), health, and so on. Even though protective provisions are there in Agency Areas, land alienation has been increasing from time to time. This land alienation leads to further poverty, because land is the main source for livelihood and can protect the owner from poverty too. The writer states that large scale projects like dams, reservoirs, mining, wild life sanctuaries, industries and tourism are aggravating the situation further. The study also analyses how

⁵¹ Three villages have been selected from Scheduled V Areas of West Godavari District, i.e., Darbhagudem, Reddy Ganapavaram and Reddy Nagampalem from Jeelugumilli, Buttayagudem and Polavaram Mandals respectively.

⁵²Rambabu Mallavarapu, (2008), *Development in Tribal Areas of West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh: Perspectives, Problems and Prospects*, Ph.D. Thesis, Hyderabad: University of Hyderabad.

⁵³ For an extensive field based study, three mandals were selected from Scheduled V Areas of West Godavari District. These were Jeelugumilli, Buttayagudem and Polavaram.

politicians put pressure to transfer sincere ITDA Project Officers in order to get benefits from Agency Areas. Land alienation is the major issue for which tribals have been fighting against non-tribals. There is changing paradigm in tribal awareness that tribes have been agitating through which a number of them have succeeded in getting their alienated land restored to them. Almost all the functionaries like district administration, revenue department, ITDAs, etc., have failed to restore the tribal lands. It is mostly through tribal movements that many tribals got their land back. In contrast to that, there are non-tribal groups that are countering the tribes to control the Agency Areas against the existing agency laws. The writer posits that the NGOs have positive role in tribal development - but not the formal system.

Ramdas Rupavath, (2009),⁵⁴ in his book, argues that all the tribal revolts or movements were meant for protection from dominant outsiders, in general, and against tribal land alienation, in particular, with respect to Andhra Pradesh. The author focuses on the colonial period, when there were innocent *Adivasis* and there was a large scale non-tribal penetration into the tribal areas. The study has extensively covered Adilabad and Khammam districts of Telangana and slightly touched upon the coastal Andhra region. The in-depth analysis of the text is about how the tribal's natural society started getting polluted and exploited due to the penetration of dominant three groups, namely, (1) Indian non-tribals, i.e., contractors, landlords and moneylenders, (2) the Nizam's state and (3) the British rulers

The tribal traditional power structure was dismantled by the Nizam's state.⁵⁵ Land alienation can take place in a number of ways, like manipulation of land records by the local administration; benami transfers; leasing or mortgaging of the land; encroachment and marital alliance. The author has emphasised that the loopholes in the land related Acts supported the non-tribes and ultimately led to the transfer of the tribal land to non-tribals. The process adopted by the outsiders, directly or indirectly, forced the innocent

⁵⁴ Ramdas, Rupavath, (2009), *Tribal Land Alienation and Political Movements: Socio-Economic Patterns from South India*, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 14

tribal groups into heavy debts due to which many of them had to become agricultural and industrial workers in their own lands.⁵⁶

The movements in Andhra Pradesh have been against the exploitation and dominance and siphoning off of their natural resources by outsiders. Roughly five movements took place in this region. These were: in the Rampa Area of East Godavari district in 1802-03 and 1829; by Konda Reddis in 1915-16; led by Alluri Seetha Ram Raju in 1922-23, by the Gonds of Adilabad in the 1940s and the Telangana Armed Struggle in 1956-51.⁵⁷ Even though both central and state governments made efforts to uplift the tribes, due to poor implementation, not much success was achieved.⁵⁸

Sanjay Upadhyay, (2010),⁵⁹ argues that both PESA and FRA acts are ‘like skeletons, which require immediate attention’. There is a need for awareness campaigns regarding self-governance and control over natural resources. The PESA Act was enacted after very little discussion.⁶⁰ Still, the author feels that PESA offers a pertinent opportunity in Scheduled Areas for self-governance and community control over natural resources. He categorically points that PESA has not been implemented in the spirit in which it was conceived. In order to manage these areas, Constitutional privileges have been created, in terms of Scheduled Areas. The present Scheduled Areas are the earlier partially excluded areas. During the Constitutional framework, the Constitution-makers, through three sub-committees, discussed the issues related to tribals.⁶¹ It is imperative to remove the incongruence, which obstructs to tribal decent livelihood.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p.100

⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 60

⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 100

⁵⁹Sanjay Upadhyay, (2010), “Scheduled Areas Need a Fresh Legal Perspective”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, XLV (41): pp. 25-26.

⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 25

⁶¹ In order to consider The Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas, the Advisory Committee on Fundamental Rights and Minorities under the Constituent Assembly set up three Sub-Committees in February, 1947. These are 1) ‘the Bordoloi Committee’ for North-East Frontier (Assam), 2) ‘the North-West Frontier Tribal Areas Sub-Committee’ for North-West Frontier and 3) ‘the Thakkar Committee’ for other than Assam Areas.

Anand Teltumbde, (2011),⁶² argues that the Panchayat is India's traditional governing institution, is a *Jati* (community) Panchayat. After Independence, panchayati raj was re-incarnated in 1959, following the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee recommendations in 1957, but they 'miserably failed'.⁶³ After the adoption of the neo-liberal reforms, informally from the mid- 1980s and formally from July 1991 onwards, concrete steps were taken to implement the panchayati system.

The ground reality is that, in a substantial number of cases, candidates who have won the Panchayat elections are mere fronts for the old power holders. In case the reserved seat is for a woman, it is usually the wife or daughter-in-law of the old sarpanch who is usually made to sign papers, while the husband or the father-in-law transacts all business. In case, the reservation is for SC/STs, it is generally the bonded labourer of the current, or previous, sarpanch who will become a proxy for his rule. In other cases, some SC/STs may be lured to share the booty with the power elite under the tutelage of the latter. Only in exceptional cases, have the Dalits challenged and confronted the dominant classes/castes. Thus, it is rich peasants and landlords of the dominant castes that generally exercise de facto political power at the local level and control the Panchayati Raj Institutions.

Prasad, R.R. (2012),⁶⁴ argues that tribes are the children of the nature and tribal areas are the significant underdeveloped areas of the country. He further says that this area represents 15 percent of the Indian geographical area. There are 533 tribes⁶⁵ and their status is very poor in developmental indicators like health, education and income level. Relatively, they are most backward ethnic communities than SCs and OBCs.

Further, he points out that PESA Act gives the tribals rights over their natural resources and is a radical self-governing act for this community. PESA not only extends the provisions of Part IX of Constitution, but confers special privileges too. He argues that, although PESA prohibits the state legislature in making laws on tribal areas, in reality,

⁶² Anand Teltumbde, (2011), "India's (Jati) Panchayati Raj", *Economic and Political Weekly*, XLVI (36): pp. 10-11.

⁶³ Ibid, p. 10

⁶⁴ Prasad, R.R. (2012), 'Empowerment of Tribals for Self-Governance', *Social Action*, 62 (1): pp. 16-32.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 16

the Scheduled Areas have to depend on the state for empowerment. This dependence on the state is one of the major loopholes of this Act. The actual enactment varies from state to state.⁶⁶ Further, Prasad asserts that many provisions of PESA have been forgotten, and is not part of either the political or the policy discourse. Implementation of PESA has been hampered by almost all the state governments while making laws in conformity with the spirit of PESA.⁶⁷ He says that PESA has been deepening democracy by ensuring legal, procedural and administrative powers and facilitating tribal self-governance, for which they fought since the pre-independence period.

1.3 Research Hypotheses

This study will consider the following hypotheses:

- *Adivasis* are adversely exploited and marginalised by the non-tribals.
- Since Scheduled Tribes are extremely backward from developmental perspective, there is a need for effective implementation of developmental policies and programmes, particularly the panacea - PESA Act.
- In order to preserve and empower the tribal traditional system, particularly panchayats, PESA Act came into existence.

1.4 Research Questions

The following issues are proposed to be examined:

- ❖ Are tribal traditional panchayats strong enough to organise tribes together?
- ❖ Even though a number of tribal pro-activities were initiated after independence, why is the state not empowering these effectively?
- ❖ In jure, why the state is not decentralising the PESA provisions effectively, even though the Constitution itself has given space for it.
- ❖ The extent to which the PESA Act has empowered the Scheduled Tribes in Scheduled V Areas.

⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 22

⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 23

1.5 Research Objectives

The study has been undertaken with the following objectives:

- ⊕ To study the socio-economic and cultural conditions of the Scheduled Tribes
- ⊕ To highlight the tribal movements focusing on their identity and restoration of their traditional social fabric from exploitation and marginalisation
- ⊕ To critically examine the role of the state in empowering tribes through developmental policies and programmes
- ⊕ To find out restraints, constraints and gaps in implementing the PESA Act
- ⊕ To suggest effective measures for the implementation of the PESA Act

1.6 Research Methodology

The research will primarily rely on both primary and secondary sources. Since it has closed-ended and open-ended questions, purposive sampling method will be used for respondents to apply the interview schedule as a tool.

Primary Sources: primary data will be collected from fieldwork in Scheduled V Areas (as it is widely known as ‘Agency Area’ in AP) of Khammam, East Godavari and Mahabubnagar districts in AP, apart from other agencies, like ITDA, NGOs and voluntary organisations, while conducting interviews with structured questionnaire.

Secondary Sources: These include: books, encyclopedic sources, articles from different research journals, journalistic literature from various newspapers, particularly local tabloids, unpublished theses, working papers, seminars reports and different views from implementing mechanism, i.e., politicians and local bureaucracy, apart from other sources like the Union Ministry of Tribal Affairs, and TCRTI, Hyderabad.

The study will primarily cover three different tribes from two geographical regions of the erstwhile AP, i.e., Coastal Andhra and Telangana. It will not cover the Rayalaseema Region, since there are no Scheduled Areas there. The tribes to be studied will include: Koyas from Khammam district (Nuguru (Z) village), the Konda reddy tribe from East Godavari district (Nimmalapalem village) and the Chenchu tribe from Mahabubnagar district (Mannanur village). The primary criteria for selecting the respondents will be that they must be from Scheduled V Areas, second there should be a very high concentration

of that particular tribe in the district, according to 2001 census (since 2011 census on Scheduled Tribes is not available at the district level. The study will refer to the 2001 census only). While the Konda Reddi and Chenchus are primitive tribes, the Koyas are non-primitive.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

The study was hampered by the limited timeframe available and financial limitations. Next, the study was basically confined to three tribal groups, Koya, Konda Reddi and Chenchu tribes, whose hamlets are notified as Fifth Schedule Areas. Therefore, all the tribes have not been covered. To that extent, it may not be possible to draw broadbased generalisations on all the tribes in the state. As already mentioned, the focus of the study has been on the Fifth Schedule Areas in the erstwhile state of Andhra Pradesh (since bifurcated into the residuary state of Andhra Pradesh and and Telangana).

An important challenge before the researcher was of accessibility and the related security issues (since many backward districts seem to have become ‘safe havens’ for militant groups like the Maoists and the PWG). Many of the survey villages were located in inhospitable terrain, with its lack of adequate accommodation. There was also the problem in accessing information regarding land alienation and other issues, since government records on Fifth Schedule Areas were not also readily available.

1.8 Chapterisation

Chapter – 1. Introduction

The chapter will present a detail picture of the thesis like introducing the research problem, review of the existing literature, research hypotheses, research questions, research objectives, research methodology, limitation of the study and chapterisation.

Chapter – 2. Scheduled Tribes: Socio-Economic and Cultural Dimensions

This chapter will contain a definition of Scheduled Tribes, their status during the colonial period and after independence, with specific reference to the socio-economic system, agriculture, forest sources, livelihood, culture and tradition.

Chapter – 3. Tribal Movements for Identity – An Overview

This will chapter focus on different contextual agitations and their nature and repercussions of tribal movements in India during the colonial and post independent periods. It will also cover their struggle against colonial rule and local exploiters. Furthermore, it will analyse tribal revolts in AP, particularly Rampa Movement, Khomaram Bhim of Adilabad, agitations led by leftist parties and self-governance agitations by Lambadas, and so on.

Chapter – 4. State Response in the form of Policies and Programmes

This chapter will deals with Constitutional privileges in the form of policies, programmes and Acts during the colonial and post-independence periods. Apart from that, it will also cover Schedules, 73rd Amendment Act with specific reference to Andhra Pradesh, and the provisions and implementing rules pertaining to the amended PESA Act. The chapter will discuss the reports given by the state Governor on the matters of welfare and development of tribes in Scheduled Areas.

Chapter – 5. Operationalisation of PESA Act – A Field Analysis in the Erstwhile Andhra Pradesh

The chapter will cover the profile of the study area, respondents' education, occupation, agricultural land, economic position, annual income, government schemes, performance of Gram Sabha, land alienation, participation in Gram Sabha activities, awareness and organisation of community, as well as statutory panchayats, perceptions about political parties, infrastructural facilities and the role of emerging tribal leadership. Further, an attempt is made to understand the provisions of the PESA Act among Koya, Konda Reddi and Chenchu tribes. It also includes the perceptions of elected representatives, i.e., Gram Panchayats, sarpanches, tribal organisations and NGOs working in Scheduled Areas.

Chapter - 6 **Conclusion and Suggestions**

The chapter will contain the overall summary of the research work, findings and suggestions for effective implementation of the PESA Act.

Chapter – II

Scheduled Tribes: Socio-Economic and Cultural Dimensions

“A freedom that does not guarantee him the freedom to decide how he will mold his destiny, official programs that does not give him the choice of how he will organize his own development and to what end, will be sad imposition on him”

- Verrier Elwin⁶⁸

India's strength lies in her diversified religions and ethnic communities as its major social components, especially their mode of living together. Maintaining unity in the heterogeneous social system is India's uniqueness in modern times. However, there are evidences that some of the vulnerable communities have been disappearing, as India is considered the melting pot of races and tribes.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, it is a fact that Indian tribes have been surviving from the later prehistoric ages.⁷⁰ Further, the Indian society is highly stratified and hierarchical in character. The stratified and hierarchical nature of Indian society involves institutional processes that economically and socially exclude, discriminate, isolate and deprive some groups because of characteristics like caste, ethnicity, or religious background. These groups constitute a vast section of India's population and include low caste untouchables, tribals, and religious minority. They together account for about one fourth of India's population (equivalent to about 250 million). A vast majority of marginalised sections in the developing nations is under the threat of 'development'. They are deprived of adequate access to basic needs of life such as health, education, housing, food, security, employment, justice and equity. In addition, the marginalised sections are unable to acquire and use their rights. Issues of sustainable livelihood, social and political participation of these groups exists as the major problem in the developing nations.

⁶⁸ Nadeem Hasnain, (2007), *Tribal India Today*, Lucknow: New Royal Book Company. p. in Prologue

⁶⁹ <http://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/sociology/classification-of-indian-races-essay/4007/>

⁷⁰ Arvind Kumar, (ed.), (2004), *Tribal Development and Planning*, Vol. I, New Delhi: Anmol Publications. p. 1

In a heterogeneous society like India, tribes, who comprise around 8 percent of the country's population, stand as a community whose development have been severely hampered. They have meager purchasing power; poor housing conditions and low access to resources and entitlements. The members of these groups have been facing problems for centuries.

Further, Scheduled Tribes face structural deprivation within the Indian society. Unlike the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes are a product of marginalisation based on ethnicity and are considered to be socially and economically disadvantaged. They are mainly landless, with little control over resources such as land, forest and water, and constitute a large proportion of agricultural, casual, plantation, industrial labour. This has resulted in poverty, low levels of education and poor health among them. Scheduled Tribes belong to the poorest strata of the society as per the Planning Commission of India 2004-05 report, the poverty among the Scheduled Tribes is 61.9 percent.⁷¹ Further, they are the last in receiving the fruits of development from the so-called growth approach.⁷²

Exclusion and immense deprivation of the Scheduled Tribes is closely associated with the denial of property rights, civil rights, and lack of access to education. Over a period of time, due to their physical and social segregation from the rest of the Hindu society, the extent of deprivation became even more intense, and was further aggravated during the process of planned development. The *Adivasi*, or the tribes suffered from isolation, neglect and exclusion of a type, which is primarily causative of a considerable deprivation and poverty among them.

While recognising the problems of *Adivasis* and other socially backward people, the Indian state has initiated policies for their economic, social and political empowerment. Though these policies have brought some positive change, the process of transformation has been extremely slow and inadequate to minimise the handicaps and disabilities of the past and in reducing the gaps between them and the rest of the Indian society. These social groups continue to suffer from a high degree of poverty, and social and economic

⁷¹<http://tribal.nic.in/WriteReadData/CMS/Documents/201306110235532886343PovertyamongScheduledTribesPopulationofIndia.pdf>

⁷² Ajay Dandekar & Kaveri Gill, (2014), Democracy and Its Inconvenient Questions, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLIX, (19), pp. 14-17

deprivation. Appropriate remedies need to be incorporated against discrimination, to ensure equity participation of the marginalised communities in the private and the public sectors for inclusive development. In this context, it is proposed to focus on issues like education, health, employment, poverty and livelihood inequality and questions of social exclusion and marginalisation of Scheduled Tribes.

2.1. Definition of Scheduled Tribe

Constructive attempts were made by different scholars, particularly anthropologists, to understand the definition of the tribal communities, in the Indian context. They have defined tribes and tribal communities in different ways. Some of them are presented below to understand the issue in a contextual manner, i.e., an Indian formal system.

The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, (2010) has given definitions for the following terms, namely, aboriginal, aborigine, indigenous, tribe and Scheduled Tribe.

'Aboriginal' *"relating to the original people, animals, etc., of a place and to a period of time before the Europeans arrived"*⁷³

'Aborigine' *"a member of a race of people who were the original people living in a country"*⁷⁴

'Indigenous' *"belonging to a particular place, rather than coming to it from somewhere else"*⁷⁵

'Tribe' *"a group of people of the same race, and with the same customs, language, religion, etc., living in a particular area and often led by a chief."*⁷⁶

'Scheduled Tribe' (in India) *"a tribe that is listed in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution and recommended for special help in education and employment"*⁷⁷

⁷³ Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, (2010), 8th edition, UK: Oxford University Press, p. 3

⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 3

⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 792

⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 1652

⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 1365

Majundar D.N.⁷⁸ defines **tribe** as: “*A social group with territorial affiliation, endogamous, with no specialisation of functions, ruled by tribal officers, hereditary or otherwise, united in language or dialect, recognising social distance with other tribes or castes, without any social obloquy attaching to them, as it does in the caste structure, following tribal traditions, beliefs and customs, illiberal of naturalisation of ideas from alien sources, above all conscious of homogeneity of ethnic and territorial integration.*”

Benedict Kingsbury,⁷⁹ in a text titled “*Indigenous Peoples in International Law,*” defines indigenous peoples as: Those which, have a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. At present, they form non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems.”

The English term ‘tribe’ came from the Latin word ‘*Tribus,*’ which means a group of people living together in a particular place for certain time.⁸⁰

Anthropologists used the term tribe to refer to two distinct, yet related, realities, field of facts. One is a type of society and the other is a stage of evolution - almost everyone uses the term to distinguish a type of society from others, one specific mode of social organisation from other modes of organisation in society bands and states, etc.⁸¹ According to evolutionists, each state of evolution is characterised by specific mode of social organisation and they used the term tribe as a stage of evolution. Initially, Indian Anthropologists looked at the tribal as an archaic base of development of Indian civilisation. Later on, they were found to show more interest in the nature and type of the society in relation to the caste-based Hindu society in India. The tribe is, therefore, found

⁷⁸ Arvind Kumar, (ed.), (2004), *Tribal Development and Planning*, p. 7

⁷⁹ Benedict Kingsbury, (2012), *Indigenous Peoples in International Law*, New Delhi: Critical Quest, p. 10

⁸⁰ Kakali Paul Mitra, (2004), *Development Programmes and Tribals: Some Emerging Issues*, New Delhi: Kalpaz Publications. p. 1

⁸¹ *Ibid*, p. 17

to refer to a group of people who are characterised by a series of social and cultural features, distinct from those of the caste society.

It is understood from the above definitions, that the tribe is a social group with territorial affiliation, endogamous, with no specialisation of functions, ruled by tribal officers, hereditary or otherwise, united in language or dialect, recognising social distance with other tribes and, above all, conscious of homogeneity of ethnic and territorial integration. A tribe is a group of people with common race, customs, language, etc., and living in remote areas and not accessible to developmental activities and often led by tribal chief. For hundreds of years, tribal communities lived in relative seclusion and isolation and in varying states of the economy. In spite of their contacts with the non-tribals, they maintained their separate identity. Every social group / community maintained its own socio-religious and cultural life and its political and economic organisations. Until the arrival of the British, the basis for production and subsistence of the tribals were land and forests. They had customary rights to use the minor forest produce, like firewood, flowers, fruits, leaves, honey, housing material, and medical herbs fashioned the essential things of the daily requirements of tribals. They used the forest for food, constructing homes and shifting cultivation. The forests provided them with security. Concerning the importance of the forests for the tribals, K.S Singh says: "They (Tribal communities) will, therefore, subsist on conditions within which members of those additional civilised races could not exist. When the crop fails, jungle fruits and vegetables of every kind area unite valuable reserve. With the assistance of those they achieve development over the amount of stress that could play disturbance."⁸² In addition, the tribals practice weaving, basket creating, fishing, looking and food gathering. Their instruments of labour and sustenance are not adequately developed. Bows and arrows are the instruments of self-protection and hunting. The tribal communities have their individual chiefs and kindred councils (panchayats) to see them and manage their social, religious, and economic affairs of state. Every community allocates some quantity of land and manufacture to his/her respective chief. However, it is not mandatory; it is absolutely an ethical norm.

⁸² Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India, retrieved from http://www.ansi.gov.in/download/latest_issue_online.pdf

The chief gets voluntary contribution in a similar way and a few days of free labour every year by the folks.

The British policies disturbed the traditional community systems. The group land system was marked by community ownership of the land and the absence of landlords. However, in course of time, the land system of the tribes changed. The zamindari (landlordship) system was introduced in the area and Rajputs were brought into the group of Chotanagpur to perform military and other services. For their services, they were assigned zamindari rights on the land. The zamindars were perceived as outsiders by the tribals. The tribals were reduced to the position of tenants. The tribal councils were replaced by the councils of *Rajas*, consisting of their followers. The normal land system of a person was turned into an abidance system. At the same time, contractors (*Thekedars*) entered the tribal areas. The zamindars and *thekedars* introduced the land rent system in the tribal areas. Following the introduction of economy, a class of traders developed in these areas. The tribal tenants had to pay the rent in cash, borrowing from the moneylenders. Hence, a class of moneylenders came into being in the tribal areas. The isolated group communities were connected with the surface world, following the introduction of communication and transportation. The self-sufficient tribal economy was degenerated. The customary system of justice was replaced by the new system. The new legal system was not acceptable to the tribals. The tribals could not afford to use the new system, as they were not educated and could not afford the fees of the lawyers. Pretty soon, a variety of petty government officials and clerks established themselves in the tribal areas.

All these classes - zamindars, thekedars, traders, money-lenders, government officials – were not natives of the tribal areas; nor did they belong to the tribal communities. They could be Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs or Europeans. Hence, they were considered as outsiders - dikus - by the tribals.⁸³ These classes collaborated with the British administration for the purpose of exploitation and oppression of the tribals. The landlords extracted outrageous amount of forest resources from the tribals, evicted them from their

⁸³ Bipan chandra, India's Struggle for Independence 1857-1947.

[http://www.upscsuccess.com/sites/default/files/documents/India's_Struggle_for_Independence_\(Bipan_Chandra\)_@VikasMaurya.pdf](http://www.upscsuccess.com/sites/default/files/documents/India's_Struggle_for_Independence_(Bipan_Chandra)_@VikasMaurya.pdf), pp. 35

land and extracted begar (forcible labour) from them. In case of defiance, the tribals were beaten up by the zamindars. The moneylenders exploited the tribes by charging outrageous amount of interests for them. For number of times, the tribes were forced to sell out their belongings and children and wives to satisfy the needs of the landlords and moneylenders. The government officials took advantage of their innocence. They were the allies of landlords, moneylenders, contractors and traders.⁸⁴ The colonial system brought the tribes into the network of new policy and administration.⁸⁵ As a result of the new policy, the tribal communities were distributed in many parts of India. Different scholars have classified tribal people into different types. L.P. Vidyathi has classified them into six types (i) North-Eastern, (ii) Himalayan, (iii) Central India, (iv) Western, (v) Southern, and (vi) Island, on the basis of ecological, social, economic, administrative, ethnic and racial factors.⁸⁶ The government of India identifies all the Scheduled Tribes as primitive races, which means original inhabitants.⁸⁷ Further, the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, in its report in 1961, stated that Scheduled Tribes are known as indigenous people at the international level.

The issue of development of the Scheduled Tribes in modern India emanates from Article 46 of the Constitution of the India, which reads thus, “the state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.”⁸⁸ Article 339 lays down that the President shall appoint a Commission at the expiry of ten years from its commencement to report on the administration of what are known as the Scheduled Areas (that is to say, areas which have a preponderance of tribal population) and the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the states.

⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 37

⁸⁵ Singh, K. Suresh, (1983), *Birsa Munda and His Movement, 1874-1901. A Study of Millenerian Movement in Chotanagpur*, Calcutta: Oxford University Publication, p. 2

⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 19

⁸⁷ Sundara Rao, M. and Majji Sankara Reddi, (ed.), (2007), *Tribal Development: Issues and Prospects*, Ambala Cantt: the Associated Publishers, pp. 199

⁸⁸ R.S. Mann, (ed.), (1996), *Tribes of India: Ongoing Challenges*, New Delhi: MD Publications PVT. Ltd, p. 1

However, the word tribe has not been defined anywhere in the Constitution of the India. It states in Article 342 that the Scheduled Tribes are ‘tribes or the tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities’ which the President may specify from time to time by public notification. As these communities are presumed to constitute the oldest ethnological segment of the Indian society, the term ‘*Adivasi*’ (‘*Adi*’ means oldest and ‘*vasi*’ means ‘inhabitant’) is commonly used to designate them. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention 107 held at Geneva on 5 June 1957 classified these people as indigenous.⁸⁹

The ILO Convention, held at Geneva on 27th June 1989, adopted new international standards for indigenous and tribal people in all regions of the world, and thereby removed the assimilationist orientation of the earlier standards. For instance, it recognised the aspirations of these people to exercise control over their own institutions, ways of life and economic development and religion within the framework of the states in which they live. According to the policy of the indigenous and tribal people’s conventions, 1989, India has been pursuing a policy of cultural pluralism since its independence.⁹⁰ Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, had declared, “We should help the tribal people to develop along the lines of their own tradition and genius, teaching them not to despise their past, but to build upon it.”⁹¹

In India, tribes are categorised into the following categories:⁹²

1. Hunter-gatherers and shifting cultivators living in hilly and forest areas, and are somewhat isolated. They are found in pockets in south and central India and in the Andamans.
2. Settled agriculturists, who are more techno-economically advanced than their neighbouring peasant communities and are not isolated from peasant communities.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 1

⁹⁰ Ibid, p. 2

⁹¹ Ibid, p. 2

⁹² Ibid, p. 3

3. Educationally, politically and economically advanced tribes; with some exceptions, in the north east, south east, North West and central India.

4. The industrial and urban unskilled tribal labour in the states of West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh.

Arup Maharatna argues that as part of the process of British colonial enumeration, religion was chosen as one of the basic criterion for categorising the Indian population. As part of it, tribes were categorised under 'tribal religion'. Later on, for the first time in 1941, the Indian tribes were categorised based on their birth, rather than religion or faith. He further states that, in the course of history, the concept of tribe in the Indian subcontinent has neither assimilated nor isolated the tribes completely as to keep them quietly in an ambivalent situation.⁹³ Subsequently, tribal identity with legal perception emerged in the 1950s only. Later on, the concept 'tribe' assumed all spheres, as well as dimensions of usage like social, cultural, economic and political.

Relative deprivation among the Scheduled Tribes is one of the extreme phenomena, according to survey done by the NSS from four rounds of studies.⁹⁴ Further, it points out that the inclusionary economic growth process has left out the SCs and STs, driving them away from the mainstream society. Every Five-Year Plan has some sort of object about the development of tribes, but even after 12th Five-Year Plans they continue to remain as the poorest of the poor in almost all the developmental dimensions. Poverty among the Indian tribes, for the year 2009-10, was 47.1 percent in rural areas and 28.8 percent in urban areas.⁹⁵

The tribal communities used to function like little autonomous republics. In the process of modernisation, their autonomous system has been gradually becoming less important. In order to protect their social system, economy and culture, in general, and self-

⁹³ Arup Maharatna, (2011), How Can 'Beautiful' Be 'Backward'? Tribes of India in a Long-term Demographic Perspective, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLVI (4): pp. 42-52

⁹⁴ M H Suryanarayana & Mousumi Das (2014), 'How Inclusive Is India's Reform(ed) Growth?' *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLIX :(6), pp. 44-52.

⁹⁵ Statistical Profile of Scheduled Tribes in India, (2013), Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Statistics Division, Government of India, p. 94

governing inherent rights, in particular, they have been launching protest movements. It appears that the government has been in the habit of enacting Acts for tribes in a perfunctory manner.

The Scheduled Tribes are highly concerned about the intervention of government system in their lives, which can be understood from the words of a well-known tribal activist, B D Sharma

*“God Created the Earth
We Are the Children of God
Pray, wherefrom has the Government Appeared?”⁹⁶*

2.2 Demography of Scheduled Tribes

Out of the total Scheduled Tribe population of 67.76 million, about 49 percent of them lives in three states, viz., Madhya Pradesh (27.73 percent), Maharashtra (10.80 percent) and Orissa (10.38 percent), whereas in the states/Union Territories such as Haryana, Punjab, Chandigarh Delhi and Pondicherry, not even a single Scheduled tribe is there.

About 93 percent of the Scheduled Tribes live in forest-cum-rural areas. Out of the major 15 States, only three states, viz., Karnataka, Maharashtra, and Tamil Nadu had more than 10 percent of the Scheduled Tribe population residing in rural areas. The percentages are 14.94 percent, 12.47 percent and 12.01 percent respectively.⁹⁷

However, the percentage of Scheduled Tribe population with regard to their state general population is: Andhra Pradesh (7.6 percent), Assam (3.4 percent), Bihar (7.0 percent), Gujarat (8.1 percent), Kerala (3.5 percent), Madhya Pradesh (4.8 percent), Orissa (5.1 percent), Rajasthan (4.6 percent), Utter Pradesh (5.9 percent) and West Bengal (5.2 percent). In some of the States and Union Territories, tribals constitute a significant part of the total population, viz., Mizoram (94.75 percent), Lakshadweep (93.15 percent), Nagaland (87.10 percent), Meghalaya (85.83 percent), Dadra & Nagar Haveli (79.98 percent) and Arunachal Pradesh (63.66 percent).

⁹⁶ Madhusudan Bandi, (2013), ‘Implementation of the Forest Rights Act; Undoing Historical Injustices’ *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. XLVIII: (31), pp. 21-24.

⁹⁷ Retrived from http://www.spc.tn.gov.in/tenthplan/CH_8_1.PDF

Table 2.1: State-wise Scheduled Tribe Population in India

| <i>Sl. No.</i> | <i>State</i> | <i>Total Population</i> | <i>ST Population</i> | <i>Percent of STs in the State to Total State Population</i> | <i>Percent of STs in the State to Total ST Population in India</i> |
|----------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|--|--|
| 1. | Andhra Pradesh | 76210007 | 5024104 | 6.60 | 5.99 |
| 2. | Arunachal Pradesh | 1097968 | 705158 | 64.20 | 0.84 |
| 3. | Assam | 26655528 | 3308570 | 12.40 | 3.92 |
| 4. | Bihar | 82998509 | 758351 | 0.90 | 0.90 |
| 5. | Chhattisgarh | 20833803 | 6616596 | 31.80 | 7.85 |
| 6. | Goa | 1347668 | 566 | -- | 0.001 |
| 7. | Gujarat | 50671017 | 7481160 | 14.80 | 8.87 |
| 8. | Haryana | 21144564 | -- | -- | -- |
| 9. | Himachal Pradesh | 6077900 | 244587 | 4.00 | 0.29 |
| 10. | Jharkhand | 26945829 | 7087068 | 26.30 | 8.40 |
| 11. | Karnataka | 52850562 | 3463986 | 6.60 | 4.11 |
| 12. | Kerala | 31841374 | 364189 | 1.10 | 0.43 |
| 13. | Madhya Pradesh | 60348023 | 12233474 | 20.30 | 14.51 |
| 14. | Maharashtra | 96878627 | 8577276 | 8.90 | 10.17 |
| 15. | Manipur | 2166788 | 741141 | 34.20 | 0.88 |
| 16. | Meghalaya | 2318822 | 1992862 | 85.90 | 2.36 |
| 17. | Mizoram | 888573 | 839310 | 94.50 | 1.00 |
| 18. | Nagaland | 1990036 | 1774026 | 89.10 | 2.10 |
| 19. | Orissa | 36804660 | 8145081 | 22.10 | 9.66 |
| 20. | Punjab | 24358999 | -- | -- | -- |
| 21. | Rajasthan | 56507188 | 7097706 | 12.60 | 8.42 |
| 22. | Sikkim | 540851 | 111405 | 20.60 | 0.13 |
| 23. | Tamil Nadu | 62405679 | 651321 | 1.00 | 0.77 |
| 24. | Tripura | 3199203 | 993426 | 31.10 | 1.18 |
| 25. | Uttaranchal | 8489349 | 256129 | 3.00 | 0.30 |
| 26. | Uttar Pradesh | 166197921 | 107963 | 0.10 | 0.13 |
| 27. | West Bengal | 80176197 | 4406794 | 5.50 | 5.23 |
| 28. | Andaman & Nicobar Island | 356152 | 29469 | 8.30 | 0.03 |
| 29. | Chandigarh | 900635 | -- | -- | -- |
| 30. | Dadra & Nagar Haveli | 220490 | 137225 | 62.20 | 0.16 |
| 31. | Daman & Diu | 158204 | 13997 | 8.80 | 0.017 |
| 32. | Delhi | 13850507 | NST | -- | -- |
| 33. | Lakshadweep | 60650 | 57321 | 94.50 | 0.07 |
| 34. | Pondicherry | 974345 | -- | -- | -- |
| 35. | Jammu & Kashmir | 10143700 | 1105979 | 10.90 | 1.31 |
| Total | | 1028610328 | 84326240 | 8.20 | -- |

States like Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand were created in the year 2000 after bifurcation of the States of Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh

(Source: Census of India, 2001)

As India conducts census every 10th years, it covers Scheduled Tribes also for designing suitable policies and programmes for their development. The uneven concentration of Scheduled Tribes across India indicates that they are spread across the country. Maximum tribes are concentrated in the central part of India and Northeastern states as well. If we examine the intra-state tribal population, Mizoram has the highest tribal population (with 94.50 percent), followed by Nagaland (89.10 percent), Meghalaya (85.90 percent), Arunachal Pradesh (64.20 percent), Manipur (34.20 percent), Tripura (31.10 percent) and Chhattisgarh (31.80 percent). Almost all northeastern states have a very high tribal population, relative to other states. Union territories like Lakshadweep (94.50 percent), Dadra & Nagar Haveli (62.20 percent) too have a significant tribal population. In contrast, lower tribal populations can be seen in Bihar (0.90 percent), Uttar Pradesh (0.10 percent), Kerala (1.10 percent) and Tamil Nadu (1.00 percent).

If we consider the tribal population of a state in relation to the total tribal population of the country, we can see that Madhya Pradesh (with 14.51 percent), is leading the pack, followed by Maharashtra (10.17 percent), Orissa (9.66 percent), Gujarat (8.87 percent), Rajasthan (8.42 percent), Jharkhand (8.40 percent) and Chhattisgarh (7.85 percent). Madhya Pradesh is perhaps one state which has both a very high share of tribals both in relation to the overall state population and the total tribal population of the country. Another significant that emerges is that even the relatively high industrialised states like Maharashtra and Gujarat have a significantly noticeable tribal population. Yet another salient point that comes to the fore is that highly populous states like Uttar Pradesh and Bihar need not necessarily have a high tribal population.

2.3 Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh

Table 2.2: List of Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh ⁹⁸

| <i>SI No</i> | <i>Name of the Tribe</i> | <i>SI No</i> | <i>Name of the Tribe</i> |
|--------------|---|--------------|--|
| 1 | Andh | 18 | Koya, Doli Koya, Gutta Koya, Kammara Koya, Musara Koya, Oddi Koya, Pattidi Koya, Rasha Koya, Lingadhari Koya (ordinary), Kottu Koya, Bhine Koya, Raja Koya |
| 2 | Bhagata | 19 | Kulia |
| 3 | Bhill | 20 | Malis (Excluding Adilabad, Hyderabad, Karimnagar, Khammam, Mahboobnagar, Medak, Nalgonda, Nizamabad and Warangal Districts) |
| 4 | Chenchu | 21 | Manne Dhora |
| 5 | Gadabas, Bodo Gadaba, Gutub Gadaba, Kallayi Gadaba, Parangi Gadaba, Kathera Gadaba, Kapu Gadaba | 22 | Mukha Dhora Nooka Dhora |
| 6 | Gond, Naikpod, Rajgond, Koitur | 23 | Nayaks (in the agency tracts) |
| 7 | Goudu (in the agency tracts) | 24 | Pardhan |
| 8 | Hill Reddis | 25 | Porja, Parangiporja |
| 9 | Jatapus | 26 | Reddi Dhoras |
| 10 | Kammara | 27 | Rana, Rena |
| 11 | Kattunayakan | 28 | Savaras, Kapu Savaras, Maliya Savaras, Khutto Savaras |
| 12 | Kolam, Kolawar | 29 | Sugalis, Lambadas |
| 13 | Konda Doras, Kubi | 30 | Thoti (in Adilabad, Hyderabad, Karimnagar, Khammam, Mahbbobnagar, Medak, Nalgonda, Nizamabad and Warangal Districts) |
| 14 | Konda Kapus | 31 | Valmiki (in Schedule Areas of Visakhapatnam, Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, East Godavari, and West Godavari Districts) |
| 15 | Konda Reddis | 32 | Yanadis, Challa Yanadi, Kappala Yenadi, Manchi Yanadi, Reddi Yanadi |
| 16 | Kondhs, Kodi, Kodhu, Desaya, Dongria Kondhs, Kuttiya Kondhs, Tikiria Kondhs, Yenity Kondhs, Kuvinga | 33 | <u>Yerukula</u> , Koracha, DabbaYerukula, Kunchapuri Yerukula, Uppu Yerukula |
| 17 | Kotia, Benthoriya, Bartika, Dulia, Holva, Sanrona, Sidhopaiko | 34 | Nakkala, Kurvikaran |
| | | 35 | Dhulia, Paiko (in the Districts of Visakhapatnam and Vijayanagaram) |

⁹⁸ <http://aptribes.gov.in/oldsite/tcrti/tribalgroups.html>

According to the AP Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute (TCRTI), Department of Tribal Welfare, Government of AP, there are 35 Scheduled Tribes in the state. Of these, 12 are categorised as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs). According to the 2001 Census, tribals constitute 6.59 percent of the total state population.⁹⁹ For the sake of convenience, the above Table has been arranged in alphabetical order. Some of them, like Lambadas, Gonds and Koyas, are dominant groups.

Table 2.3 District-Wise Population of Scheduled Tribes of AP

| <i>Sl. No.</i> | <i>Name of the District</i> | <i>Total Population</i> | <i>ST Total</i> | <i>ST Male</i> | <i>ST Female</i> | <i>percent of ST Total Population</i> |
|----------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 0 | Andhra Pradesh | 76210007 | 5024104 | 2548295 | 2475809 | 6.59 |
| 1 | Adilabad | 2488003 | 416511 | 209586 | 206925 | 16.74 |
| 2 | Nizamabad | 2345685 | 165735 | 83135 | 82600 | 7.07 |
| 3 | Karimnagar | 3491822 | 90636 | 45807 | 44829 | 2.6 |
| 4 | Medak | 2670097 | 134533 | 68966 | 65567 | 5.04 |
| 5 | Hyderabad | 3829753 | 34560 | 17862 | 16698 | 0.9 |
| 6 | Ranga Reddy | 3575064 | 146057 | 75054 | 71003 | 4.09 |
| 7 | Mahabubnagar | 3513934 | 278702 | 143115 | 135587 | 7.93 |
| 8 | Nalgonda | 3247982 | 342676 | 178373 | 164303 | 10.55 |
| 9 | Warangal | 3246004 | 457679 | 235451 | 222228 | 14.1 |
| 10 | Khammam | 2578927 | 682617 | 344027 | 338590 | 26.47 |
| 11 | Srikakulam | 2537593 | 151249 | 75284 | 75965 | 5.96 |
| 12 | Vizianagaram | 2249254 | 214839 | 106079 | 108760 | 9.55 |
| 13 | Visakhapatnam | 3832336 | 557572 | 278399 | 279173 | 14.55 |
| 14 | East Godavari | 4901420 | 191561 | 95234 | 96327 | 3.91 |
| 15 | West Godavari | 3803517 | 96659 | 47887 | 48772 | 2.54 |
| 16 | Krishna | 4187841 | 107611 | 55201 | 52410 | 2.57 |
| 17 | Guntur | 4465144 | 208157 | 106101 | 102056 | 4.66 |
| 18 | Prakasam | 3059423 | 118241 | 60670 | 57571 | 3.86 |
| 19 | Nellore | 2668564 | 242257 | 123554 | 118703 | 9.08 |
| 20 | Kadapa | 2601797 | 61371 | 31643 | 29728 | 2.36 |
| 21 | Kurnool | 3529494 | 69635 | 36097 | 33538 | 1.97 |
| 22 | Anantapur | 3640478 | 127161 | 65722 | 61439 | 3.49 |
| 23 | Chittoor | 3745875 | 128085 | 65048 | 63037 | 3.42 |

Source: Census of India, 2001

⁹⁹ *Basic Statistics on Scheduled Tribes of Andhra Pradesh*, (2008), Tribal Cultural Research & Training Institute (TCR&TI), Tribal Welfare Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad. p. 51

The most remarkable feature that comes to the fore regarding the gender distribution among tribals in all the districts of the state is that the number of females is very close to that of males. This reveals that, unlike in the so-called developed societies, the tribals are generally not resorting to obnoxious practices like female infanticide.

If we consider the distribution of tribals across the three regions of the erstwhile state of Andhra Pradesh, it can be seen that Telangana (with 8.87 percent of the total population) has the highest concentration, followed by Coastal Andhra (5.95 percent) and Rayalaseema (2.86 percent).

Within the Telangana region, Khamman (26.47 percent), Adalabad (16.74 percent) and Warangal (14.1 percent) have very high tribal populations. On the other side of the spectrum, Rangareddy (4.09 percent), Karimnagar (2.6 percent) and Hyderabad (0.9 percent) have the least proportion of tribals in relation to the total population.

As regards Coastal Andhra region, the districts with a high tribal population, vis-à-vis the overall population are Vishakapatnam (14.55 percent), Vizianagram (9.55 percent) and Nellore (9.08 percent). At the same time, Prakasam (3.86 percent), Krishna (2.57 percent) and West Godavari (2.54 percent) have the least concentration of tribals.

When we consider the Rayalaseema region, the proportion of tribals to the overall population of the region is Anantapur (3.49 percent), Chittoor (3.42 percent), Kadapa (2.36 percent) and Kurnool (1.97 percent).

It may be noted that more tribes are located in districts adjoining states like Maharashtra, Chhattisgarh and Orissa.

Table 2.4 Tribe-Wise and Sex Wise Scheduled Tribe Population in Andhra Pradesh

| Sl.No. | Name of the Tribe | Total S.T. Population | | | Percent to Total Tribal population |
|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|---------|---------|------------------------------------|
| | | Total | Male | Female | |
| 1 | Andh | 9735 | 4920 | 4815 | 0.19 |
| 2 | Bagata | 133434 | 66920 | 66514 | 2.65 |
| 3 | Bhil | 421 | 213 | 208 | 0.008 |
| 4 | Chenchu | 49232 | 24962 | 24270 | 0.98 |
| 5 | Gadaba | 36078 | 17836 | 18242 | 0.72 |
| 6 | Gond | 252038 | 125212 | 126826 | 5.02 |
| 7 | Goudu | 7749 | 3796 | 3953 | 0.15 |
| 8 | Hill Reddi | 77 | 37 | 40 | 0.001 |
| 9 | Jatapu | 118613 | 58021 | 60592 | 2.36 |
| 10 | Kammara | 45010 | 22188 | 22822 | 0.89 |
| 11 | Kattunayakan | 161 | 85 | 76 | 0.003 |
| 12 | Kolam | 45671 | 22863 | 22808 | 0.90 |
| 13 | Konda Dhora | 206381 | 103468 | 102913 | 4.10 |
| 14 | Konda Kapu | 11780 | 5820 | 5960 | 0.23 |
| 15 | Kondareddi | 83096 | 41459 | 41637 | 1.65 |
| 16 | Kondh | 85324 | 42530 | 42794 | 1.70 |
| 17 | Kotia | 48408 | 23781 | 24627 | 0.96 |
| 18 | Koya | 568019 | 283106 | 284913 | 11.30 |
| 19 | Kulia | 368 | 182 | 186 | 0.007 |
| 20 | Mali | 2513 | 1242 | 1271 | 0.05 |
| 21 | Manna Dhora | 13579 | 6828 | 6751 | 0.27 |
| 22 | Mukha Dhora | 37983 | 18941 | 19042 | 0.76 |
| 23 | Nayak | 14222 | 7104 | 7118 | 0.28 |
| 24 | Pardhan | 23724 | 12029 | 11695 | 0.47 |
| 25 | Porja | 32669 | 16132 | 16537 | 0.65 |
| 26 | Reddi Dhora | 1721 | 874 | 847 | 0.03 |
| 27 | Rona | 200 | 104 | 96 | 0.003 |
| 28 | Savara | 122979 | 61410 | 61569 | 2.44 |
| 29 | Sugali | 2077947 | 1071589 | 1006358 | 41.35 |
| 30 | Thoti | 2074 | 1032 | 1042 | 0.04 |
| 31 | Valmiki | 66814 | 33195 | 33619 | 1.33 |
| 32 | Yenadi | 462167 | 236137 | 226030 | 9.19 |
| 33 | Yerukula | 437459 | 220518 | 216941 | 8.70 |
| Generic Tribes | | 26458 | 13761 | 12697 | 0.52 |
| All Scheduled Tribes | | 5024104 | 2548295 | 2475809 | 100.00 |

Source: Census of India, 2001

It can be seen from the above table that Sugali tribes (constituting 41.35 percent of the total tribal population of the state) are the most dominant in numbers. The other

noticeable figures are of Koyas (11.30 percent), Yenadi (9.19 percent), Yerukula (8.70 percent), Gonds (5.02 percent) and Konda Reddis (4.10 percent). On the other hand, the minor tribal groups are Hill Reddis with only 77 persons (0.001 percent), Kattunayakan with 161 people (0.003 percent), Rona (0.003 percent), Kulia (0.007 percent) and Bhil (0.008 percent).¹⁰⁰ All these minor tribal groups are virtually facing ‘extinction’.

While the almost equally number of males and females can be seen in almost all the tribes, surprisingly, in the case of Kulas and Hill Reddis, there were slightly more females than males.

2.4 Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs)

In AP, certain tribal groups who are following primitive mode of lifestyle and are extremely underdeveloped within the tribal communities have been recognised as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs). Except Konda Reddis and Thoti, figures about other PTGs are not available separately as these are notified as sub-groups/sections of main communities. As of now, there are twelve PTGs in AP. These are: Bodo Gadaba, Gutob Gadaba, Bondo Poraja, Khond Poroja, Parangiperja, Chenchu, Dongaria Khonds, Kuttuya Kondhs, Kolam, Konda Reddis, Konda Savaras, and Thoti

¹⁰⁰ *Basic Statistics on Scheduled Tribes of Andhra Pradesh*, (2008), Tribal Cultural Research & Training Institute (TCR&TI), Tribal Welfare Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad. p. 54

Table 2.5 Primitive Tribal Groups and their Population - District wise

| Sl. No. | District | Chenchu | Konda Reddi | Kolam | Gadaba | Porja | Thoti | Khonds | Savara | Total |
|---------|---------------|---------|-------------|-------|--------|-------|-------|--------|--------|--------|
| 1. | Srikakulam | 222 | 7 | 3 | 1054 | 1048 | - | 2511 | 92165 | 97010 |
| 2. | Vizianagaram | 85 | 8 | 4 | 19502 | 4 | - | 340 | 29005 | 48948 |
| 3. | Visakhapatnam | 278 | 632 | 7 | 15133 | 29550 | - | 81755 | 430 | 127695 |
| 4. | East Godavari | 690 | 67793 | - | 331 | 1800 | - | 303 | 103 | 71020 |
| 5. | West Godavari | 1452 | 6964 | - | 8 | - | - | 31 | 210 | 8665 |
| 6. | Khammam | 98 | 7252 | 4 | - | 36 | - | 1 | 3 | 7394 |
| 7. | Warangal | 700 | 6 | - | 4 | - | 154 | 21 | - | 885 |
| 8. | Adilabad | 892 | - | 45437 | 1 | 22 | 1043 | 81 | 13 | 47489 |
| 9. | Mahabubnagar | 8272 | - | - | - | 67 | - | 1 | 15 | 8355 |
| 10. | Krishna | 1575 | 156 | - | 10 | 4 | - | 46 | 122 | 1913 |
| 11. | Guntur | 9791 | 31 | - | 11 | - | - | 7 | 129 | 9969 |
| 12. | Prakasam | 10413 | 128 | - | - | - | - | 21 | 82 | 10644 |
| 13. | Nellore | 281 | 23 | - | 1 | - | - | 1 | 25 | 331 |
| 14. | Chittoor | 64 | 43 | - | - | 28 | - | 3 | 62 | 200 |
| 15. | Kadapa | 588 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 588 |
| 16. | Anantapur | 103 | - | - | 1 | - | - | 4 | 5 | 113 |
| 17. | Kurnool | 7282 | - | - | - | - | - | 13 | 31 | 7326 |
| 18. | Ranga Reddy | 2706 | 17 | 24 | - | 60 | - | 72 | 507 | 3386 |
| 19. | Hyderabad | 40 | 18 | 42 | 2 | 19 | 21 | 17 | 39 | 198 |
| 20. | Medak | 431 | 3 | 10 | 6 | - | 89 | - | 40 | 579 |
| 21. | Nizamabad | 482 | - | 29 | - | 22 | 281 | 19 | - | 833 |
| 22. | Karimnagar | 1795 | 11 | 111 | - | 5 | 450 | 31 | 68 | 2471 |
| 23. | Nalgonda | 992 | 4 | - | 14 | 4 | 36 | 46 | 15 | 1111 |
| Total | | 49232 | 83096 | 45671 | 36078 | 32669 | 2074 | 85324 | 122979 | 457123 |

Source: TCRTI, Tribal Welfare Department of AP. p. 185

It can be seen from the above Table that Chenchus can be found in every district. Still, the highest numbers can be seen in Prakasam (with 10,413), Guntur district (with 9,791) and Mahabubnagar (with 8,272). PTGs like Savaras and Konda Reddis too are spread in almost all the districts. However, the remaining PTGs are concentrated unevenly. As of now, enumeration figures about only eight communities are available.

2.5 Tribal Social and Economic System

Generally, Scheduled Tribes live in an extremely isolated and excluded area from the mainstream society, especially in small and tiny areas called hamlets and *Thandas*. In

fact, *Adivasis* are backward and continue to be exploited by others.¹⁰¹ Moreover, tribes have a self-sufficient economy from times immemorial.¹⁰² Basically, tribal economies are traditional and based on activities like shifting cultivation, forest dependency, seasonal migration, and so on.¹⁰³ They suffer from lot of issues like seasonal diseases, migration for livelihood and low income levels. Tribes like Lambadi, Gond and Chenchu live in forest areas. For centuries, tribal society has been far away from mainstream society and has been generally living in hilly and forest areas and dependent upon the forest for their livelihood. They build their houses as per their traditions with the sources available around them. Each tribe lives in a separate geographical location. For instance, Sugalis in *Thandas* and Chanchus in Gudems, etc. Traditionally, the economy of the Konda Reddis is based on the periodic felling of trees and cultivation of crops like millets, maize, pulses, and vegetables in the resulting clearings.¹⁰⁴

The tribes living in the forests and hills usually earn their livelihood by means of food gathering, hunting and fishing. The hunters leave the females behind to carry out household activities in the morning and return in the evening after hunting. In some tribes, there is a usual custom of hunting collectively. The Nagas use spears, arrows, and bows. The Bhils are very much adept in the use of bows and arrows. The tribes living nearby rivers and seas usually earn their livelihood by catching fish. The hilly tribes like Goojars and Chamas rear cattle. The Todas of Nilgiri rear buffaloes. Some tribes also carry out cultivation, but they are generally shifting from one place to another.¹⁰⁵ The cultivating tribes are the Santhals and Gonds. Further, cottage industries, such as weaving cloths, preparing ropes and skins and utensils of different metals are prevalent in tribal communities. The Kharia people are very much specialised in cottage industries.

¹⁰¹ Singh, S.K. (ed.), (2005), *Self-Governance for Tribals: Tribal Lands and Indebtedness*, Vol. I, Hyderabad: National Institute of Rural Development, p. 45

¹⁰²Jain, P.C., (2001), *Globalization and Tribal Economy*, Jaipur: Rawat Publications, p. 9

¹⁰³ Sakru Naik Banavath, (2008), *Primary School Drop-Out among the Lambadas: A Case Study of Pullalacheruvu Mandal, Prakasam District, Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad: University of Hyderabad.

¹⁰⁴ Christoph Von Furer-Hiamendorf, (1982), *Tribes of India: The Struggle for Survival*, Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 8

¹⁰⁵ Retrieved from <http://www.preservearticles.com/essay-on-the-general-characteristics-of-tribal-economy-in-india.html>

Classification of Economic Organisation

The Indian tribes can be divided into the following classes in the economic organisation:¹⁰⁶

1. Hunting and food gathering tribes which include Kadar, Chenchu, Kharia and Korawa.
2. Cattle rearing tribes such as the Todas and Bhils.
3. Cultivating tribes such as Kumar, Vega and Birhor.
4. Industrial tribes such as Kharia and Nagas.

General Characteristics

The tribal economic organisation is mainly concerned with producing things that are necessary for their daily needs and consumption. These activities are generally determined by the geographical environment of the tribe. Usually, the tribals have to struggle hard to meet their economic needs. The following are some of the important characteristics of Indian tribal economic organisation.

1. Production with indigenous technology

Since the tribals are illiterate and staying way from the mainstream society, they generally practice production without adequate technological knowledge, which does not provide them much sustenance. The tribals are, therefore, generally very poor, in spite of their being very hard working.

2. Mixed economic activities with religious sustainability

The tribals live in a natural environment where there is no distinction between economic and religious activities. There is, therefore, a tendency to mix all these. The economic and religious activities are recognised to attain economic ends. Many superstitions in this

¹⁰⁶ Retrieve from <http://www.preservearticles.com/essay-on-the-general-characteristics-of-tribal-economy-in-india.html>

respect are prevalent among the tribals. For instance, among Nagas, there is a custom of human sacrifice and sprinkling human blood over the land in order to increase its fertility.¹⁰⁷

3. Production for self-sustenance

In the absence of sufficient technological aids and scientific knowledge regarding agricultural and other production, the tribals generally produce only for domestic consumption. Hardly anything is left for exchange or hoarding. In the materials of consumption, food and clothing are generally given first preference, and then there is the place for the home.

4. Absence of currency

The tribal people do not use currency in deciding the price of commodities and in exchange. They do not have banks of economic exchanges in their societies. They hardly carry out any exchange of economic goods with outside groups.

5. Absence of link with regular markets

There are no regular markets in tribal societies and, therefore, there is no competition, monopoly, business or trade in their economic organisation.

6. Absence of profiteering

There is absence of profiteering in tribal economic organisation due to two important causes; firstly, the absence of currency to fix the price of commodities and, secondly, the connection of unity sentiments with economic activities.

7. Community basis of economic activities

The chief aim of economic activities in a tribal society is to fulfil the community duties. The organisation of most of the economic activities is on cooperative and community basis.

¹⁰⁷ Retrieved from <http://www.preservearticles.com/essay-on-the-general-characteristics-of-tribal-economy-in-india.html>

8. Absence of specialists

There are no specialists in different branches of economic organisation in tribal societies, with the result that there is no specific division of labour and specialisation.

9. Concept of property

Conception of personal property is found in almost every tribal society. A person is allowed a right over the things produced by him or his family. There is, however, group ownership over the ponds, the land and the forests, etc.¹⁰⁸

10. Economic backwardness

The above mentioned characteristics of tribal economic organisation account for their economic backwardness. Many of them do not know the new changes and inventions in different fields of production. Their methods and implements of cultivation, hunting and fishing are very primitive. Most of them do not know much about trade and commerce. The cottage industries are carried on by means of unrefined and primitive tools and methods. Hence, the economic status of most Indian tribes is very much backward.¹⁰⁹

As MV Rao points out, tribal economy is broadly understood to be subsistence in nature.¹¹⁰ Therefore, there is generally no surplus value in tribal economy. Tribal society has tended to have community property, but not individual properties. Rao has classified the tribal economy in six stages, namely:¹¹¹

1. Food-gatherers and hunters
2. Shifting cultivators
3. Simple artisans
4. Livestock raisers
5. Settled agriculturists and
6. Industrial-urban wage earners

¹⁰⁸ Retrieved from <http://www.preservearticles.com/essay-on-the-general-characteristics-of-tribal-economy-in-india.html>

¹⁰⁹ <http://www.preservearticles.com/essay-on-the-general-characteristics-of-tribal-economy-in-india.html>

¹¹⁰ Rao, M. V. (2012), *Persistence and Change in Tribal India*, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company PVT. LTD, p. 98

¹¹¹ Ibid, p. 99

The economic activities of the tribes have tended to be based on these categories. Still, one can say that the tribal economy is traditionally forest based. However, over a period, the dominant peasant groups and middlemen have started grabbing the tribal land and exploiting forest resources for commercial purposes. This has led to the tribal economy being weakened to a considerable extent. In this way, tribals have been losing the land and economy as well.

2.6 Land

According to the Constitution of India, land is a state subject. Hence, many forms of land reforms have been initiated by the state governments only.¹¹² In fact, there are rules that land should be distributed equally - particularly to landless poor like STs. Land is one of the most important sources for them. It has been alienated on a massive scale. Many studies have been suggesting that land alienation is one of the primary issues of concern in Fifth Schedule Areas.¹¹³ However, large parts of tribal lands in the Fifth Schedule are concentrated in the hands of predominantly dominated elite sections of non-tribals. Consequently, the Scheduled Tribes are being further marginalised and deprived of their traditional land rights. Moreover, an alien system of land tenures imposed upon them by outside forces has had far-reaching consequences on the dignity of *Adivasis*.¹¹⁴ Their rights have generally been ignored and frequently violated, leading to a sense of helplessness. This has amounted to nothing less than an assault on their identity. Importantly, land alienation has been one of the major reasons for tribal revolts across India. However, even now, lot of land is in the hand of non-tribals in AP.¹¹⁵ Frequently, there were agitations because of land issues. Tribals perceive of land as not only income source, but also as something, that strengthens their social status. Common property is one of the basic characteristics of tribal society. However, the state recognises only

¹¹² Singh, S.K. (ed.), (2005), *Self-Governance for Tribals: Tribal Lands and Indebtedness*, Vol. I, Hyderabad: National Institute of Rural Development, p. 45

¹¹³ Trinadha Rao Palla, (2014), Politics of Tribal Land Rights: Notes from Andhra Pradesh, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLIX: (16), pp. 67-70

¹¹⁴ Ibid, p. 67

¹¹⁵ Palla Trinadha Rao, (2014), Politics of Tribal Land Rights notes from Andhra Pradesh, Vol. XLIX (16), *Economic and Political Weekly*, pp. 67-70

individual rights, but not community rights, where the tribal societies lose their community rights.

2.7 Shifting Cultivation

Shifting cultivation is also known as slash-and-burn cultivation and podu cultivation.¹¹⁶ Shifting cultivation is not only an age-old agricultural practice, but also intrinsically related to the culture and identity of those practicing it.¹¹⁷

Shifting cultivation is also called rotational farming and is a form of land use, characterised by:

1. An alternation between a short span of cultivation and a comparatively long span of natural or improved fallow agriculture
 2. The regular, in most cases, cyclical shifting of fields, and
 3. The removal of the fallow vegetation, normally (though not exclusively) by use of fire.
- Podu cultivation is well known in AP tribes. Usually, shifting cultivation is undertaken in hill sloping areas, since tribes are located nearby surroundings. In fact, the tribes naturally decide the boundaries of these areas collectively. However, if someone is not using the land, then with the help of hamlet chief, other tribe can cultivate it. This type of cultivation is shifting or rotating, depending on the season. Prior to starting the shifting cultivation, tribes worship their God, *Konda Devatha*, followed by cutting all trees and bushes and burning these before spreading on the land. However, they do not burn the trees that give them fruits like gum, etc.¹¹⁸ The main tool they for this cultivation is *Katuuva*. They cultivate mixed crops also. They have to protect the crops from forest animals like pigs, bears, etc. When the crop is ready for cutting, again they worship the *Konda Devatha*. The festival is called *Kotha Panduga* (literally means new festival). Usually, these types of crops have to be consumed within three to six months only.

¹¹⁶ Christoph Von Furer-Hiamendorf, (1982), *Tribes of India: The Struggle for Survival*, Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 6

¹¹⁷ Mayuri Sengupta, (2013), Shifting Cultivation and Reang Tribe in Tripura, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLVIII: (40), pp. 59-66

¹¹⁸ Sastry, V.N.V.K., (2005), *Andhra Pradesh Girijana Samskruthi, Parivarthana, (Andhra Pradesh- Tribal Culture and Change)*, Hyderabad: TCR&TI, p. 137

Later on, they have to depend on forest sources.¹¹⁹ Generally, they cultivate a land for three years continuously. Then, they go for new land. They can return to the original piece of land only after nine years, by when it will regain its fertility. However, due to infiltration by non-tribes in tribal areas, and strict forest laws, shifting cultivation is being losing its popularity.¹²⁰

In tribal communities, tremendous transformation has been taking place particularly with respect to economy and is posing serious challenges as how to cope up with the impact of globalisation.¹²¹ However, in AP large-scale land is in the hands of non-tribals, where tribes have been depriving land rights and being marginalised further.¹²²

As already mentioned, the tribals in the study area generally produce commodities for their own consumption. Hence, they do not have a formal market system. Traditionally, in a cluster of villages, they have one or two weekly markets depending on geographical convenience.¹²³ These weekly markets are platform not only for purchasing the commodities, but also for socialising with other tribes and non-tribes. These types of market system paved a way for the establishment of marriage relations, apart from social and cultural interactions. The introduction of a formal market system has changed the nature of functioning process of buyers and sellers at the tribal weekly markets. Further, the tribe self-sufficiency is being replaced with dependence on market forces.

Even though agriculture and forest are primary sources for tribal economy, the recent changes have slightly changed the livelihood patterns of a number of tribals, with some of them opting to work as agricultural labourers or seeking wage employment in other

¹¹⁹ Sastry, V.N.V.K., (2005), *Andhra Pradesh Girijana Samskruthi, Parivarthana, (Andhra Pradesh- Tribal Culture and Change)*, Hyderabad: TCR&TI, p. 138

¹²⁰ Sastry, V.N.V.K., (2005), *Andhra Pradesh Girijana Samskruthi, Parivarthana, (Andhra Pradesh- Tribal Culture and Change)*, Hyderabad: TCR&TI, p. 139

¹²¹ Palla Trinadha Rao, (2014), Politics of Tribal Land Rights notes from Andhra Pradesh, Vol. XLIX (16), *Economic and Political Weekly*, pp. 67-70

¹²² Ibid, pp. 67-70

¹²³ Ibid, p. 10

areas. Nevertheless, some tribal families have been surviving with the resources whatever available in the forest.¹²⁴

Even though, tribes are custodians of the richest natural resources in India, they are the primary victims of the ‘development-induced displacement’ and are particularly vulnerable to exploitation by landlords, moneylenders and contractors, and so on. Further, even today, land alienation continues as to tribes are not legally recognised as owners of land.¹²⁵ Most of the industrialists and contractors, responsible for displacing the tribals, are not the original inhabitants of that particularly area. Tribals have been losing their homelands, their traditional means of livelihood, and a clean and safe environment. The advent of industrialisation in the name of development is also playing havoc with their simple, and yet healthy, lifestyles. Tribals are being increasingly drawn towards vices like tobacco/drug/liquor addiction. At the same time, some of the unique strengths of tribal societies like respect for elders, consideration towards women and children their love for nature are being weakened. In this context, it would be pertinent to cite the following lines from Oliver Goldsmith’s *The Deserted Village* to describe the life of a typical tribal youth:

“His best companions, innocence and health,

His best riches, ignorance of wealth.”

True, there is a need to spread awareness on issues like cleanliness, need for sanitation, a degree of education (to prevent them from being exploited by loan sharks and petty minded government servants) and better health practices. However, such initiatives should not totally disrupt the social fabric of tribal societies. Education provided to their children should enable them to be more responsible members of their respective communities – and not something that would make them look down on their tradition and culture.

¹²⁴ Sakru Naik Banavath, (2008), *Primary School Drop-Out among the Lambadas: A Case Study of Pullacheruvu Mandal, Prakasam District, Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad: University of Hyderabad.

¹²⁵ Ramdas, R. (2013), A Separate Telangana: Promises and Prospects for Tribal People, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLVIII: No.29, pp. 118-122.

During colonial times, tribal communities were excluded from mainstream societies. Later on, during the process of national development, particularly with the inception of Five-Year Plans, massive infiltration of non-tribes into tribal areas took place. Further, under the garb of development, lot of land has been taken from tribes and massive displacement took place because of construction of dams, etc in their homelands. Gradually, *Adivasis* had started articulating their autonomy specially land, forest resources and customs and so on. In order to protect their century's existing autonomous system, they fought with British and later on, with native rulers.

2.8 Tribal Culture and Tradition

One can understand the uniqueness of tribal culture in the Indian subcontinent. Warm hospitality, simple ways of living and sincere judgment of the opinions are some of the traits that are the hallmarks of the tribal culture in India. Their custom depicts their belief in simplicity. Most of the tribes in India have their own Gods and Goddesses that reflect their love for nature. Most of the tribes in India are sociable, hospitable, and fun loving along with strong community bonds. Some of the tribes shares patriarchal cultural ties and some of the tribal societies are women-oriented. They have their own festivals and celebrations. The tribal people are also fiercely protective of their cultural identity.¹²⁶

Common culture of a tribe springs out from the sense of unity, common language, common religion, and common political organisation. Common culture produces a life of homogeneity among the tribals. The tribal culture has been quite rich, maintaining closeness or symbiosis with nature and the environment. But now, it has become vulnerable to the forces of globalisation that are technological and capital-oriented.¹²⁷ Bodley points out, "*civilization's progress is destroying the environment, as well as other peoples and cultures and that modern civilization may become a victim of its own progress.*"¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Retrieved from http://www.indiatourismecatalog.com/india_tribal_rural/tribal_rural_culture.html

¹²⁷ Jain, P.C., (2001), *Globalization and Tribal Economy*, Jaipur: Rawat Publications, p. 21

¹²⁸ Nadeem, Hasnain, (2007), *Tribal India Today*, Lucknow: New Royal Book Company.

Eclectic tribal culture is one of the permanent features of Indian diversity. With the combination of different varieties within different sub-tribes, every tribe has its own culture, language, dress, tradition, way of living style, which is visible in every tribe and every part of India. Tribes may be poor in terms of development, but not in terms of own culture and tradition. Their dances and songs are very vibrant and depict their rich heritage. These costumes are very colourful. The themes too are very varied and include folk tales, stories of valour, celebration of festivals and zest for life.

Tribals have a symbiotic relation with nature, which provides them with most of their daily requirements, be it food, or shelter. From birth to death, they follow different types of rituals depending on their particular community norms. Moreover, their unwritten dialects and they speak regionally dominated languages of concern states. Tribes have been following their culture and traditions for ages, but due to the penetration of other cultures, it can be seen that tribal culture is weakening gradually.¹²⁹

According to Mann R.S.¹³⁰ contemporary tribal India continues to represent a variety of uniqueness in terms of life and culture. Though a single tribe has, usually, been characterised as homogenous, multi-tribal situations have always led to heterogeneity of various forms and magnitudes.

2.9 Scheduled Tribes and Education

It is a known fact that education can play a very important role in developing any society. Further, both public and private institutions have been providing education in India. Private institutions do not follow any equality rules like providing education to socially weaker sections. Providing education to STs is one of the objectives based on social justice guaranteed by the Constitution of India.

¹²⁹ Retrieved from http://www.unep.org/pdf/Cultural_Spiritual_thebible.pdf

¹³⁰ Mann, RS, (1993), *Culture and Integration of Indian Tribes*, New Delhi: MD Publications PVT LTD

Table 2.6: State-wise Literacy Rates of Scheduled Tribes

| Sl. No. | State | Literates | | | Literacy Rate | | |
|---------|-------------------------|-----------|---------|---------|---------------|-------|--------|
| | | Total | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female |
| 1. | Jammu & Kashmir | 337949 | 229222 | 108727 | 37.50 | 48.20 | 25.50 |
| 2. | Himachal Pradesh | 138216 | 81887 | 56329 | 65.50 | 77.70 | 53.30 |
| 4. | Rajasthan | 2480331 | 1775535 | 704796 | 44.70 | 62.10 | 26.20 |
| 5. | Uttar Pradesh | 29536 | 21184 | 8352 | 35.10 | 48.40 | 20.70 |
| 6. | Bihar | 169895 | 125048 | 44847 | 28.20 | 39.80 | 15.50 |
| 7. | Sikkim | 64159 | 36071 | 28088 | 67.10 | 73.80 | 60.20 |
| 8. | Arunachal Pradesh | 281479 | 165874 | 115605 | 49.60 | 58.80 | 40.60 |
| 9. | Nagaland | 998850 | 549061 | 449789 | 65.90 | 70.30 | 61.30 |
| 10. | Manipur ** | 419630 | 235066 | 184564 | 65.90 | 73.20 | 58.40 |
| 11. | Mizoram | 626038 | 323258 | 302780 | 89.30 | 91.70 | 86.90 |
| 12. | Tripura | 469132 | 286953 | 182179 | 56.50 | 68.00 | 44.60 |
| 13. | Meghalaya | 966502 | 498521 | 467981 | 61.30 | 63.50 | 59.20 |
| 14. | Assam | 1723428 | 1010313 | 713115 | 62.50 | 72.30 | 52.40 |
| 15. | West Bengal | 1592603 | 1062671 | 529932 | 43.40 | 57.40 | 29.20 |
| 16. | Jharkhand | 2338793 | 1560404 | 778389 | 40.70 | 54.00 | 27.20 |
| 17. | Orissa | 2508163 | 1720910 | 787253 | 37.40 | 51.50 | 23.40 |
| 18. | Chhattisgarh | 2826686 | 1750602 | 1076084 | 52.10 | 65.00 | 39.30 |
| 19. | Madhya Pradesh | 3955699 | 2607468 | 1348231 | 41.20 | 53.50 | 28.40 |
| 20. | Gujarat | 2943898 | 1847094 | 1096804 | 47.70 | 59.20 | 36.00 |
| 21. | Daman & Diu | 7609 | 4589 | 3020 | 63.40 | 74.20 | 51.90 |
| 22. | Dadra & Nagar Haveli | 44716 | 29845 | 14871 | 41.20 | 56.00 | 27.00 |
| 23. | Maharashtra | 3883924 | 2388006 | 1495918 | 55.20 | 67.00 | 43.10 |
| 24. | Andhra Pradesh | 1541277 | 1005947 | 535330 | 37.00 | 47.70 | 26.10 |
| 25. | Karnataka | 1411116 | 883390 | 527726 | 48.30 | 59.70 | 36.60 |
| 26. | Goa | 266 | 160 | 106 | 55.90 | 63.50 | 47.30 |
| 27. | Lakshadweep | 41699 | 22172 | 19527 | 86.10 | 92.20 | 80.20 |
| 28. | Kerala | 202249 | 109627 | 92622 | 64.40 | 70.80 | 58.10 |
| 29. | Tamil Nadu | 230899 | 140387 | 90512 | 41.50 | 50.20 | 32.80 |
| 30. | Andaman & Nicor Islands | 17119 | 9691 | 7428 | 66.80 | 73.60 | 59.60 |

** Excludes Mao Maram, Paomata and Purul sub-divisions of Senapati district of Manipur State.

There is no notified Scheduled Tribes in the States of Delhi, Haryana and Punjab and the Union Territories of Chandigarh and Pondichery.

Source: Annual Report, Ministry of Tribal Affairs, GoI, 2006-07

The most remarkable fact that comes to the fore is that the North-eastern states and Island Territories are ‘miles ahead’ of other states in terms of literacy rates of tribals – both males and females. Also, the male and female tribal literacy rates are quite close to each other. This leads us to the conclusion that such states, unlike their more ‘developed’ counterparts in other parts of the country, are giving an almost equal importance to the education of male and female children.

On the other hand, in the larger states like Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal, the number of literate tribal males is more than double than that of their female counterparts. This clearly brings out the deep-rooted gender bias operating against girl children in such states.

Interestingly, Mizoram has the highest tribal literacy level (89.30 percent, overall and male, 91.70 percent and female 86.90 percent) followed by Lakshadweep (89.30 percent overall and 91.70 percent male and 86.90 percent female), Sikkim (67.10, overall and 73.80 percent male and 60.20 percent female) and Andaman & Nicobar Islands (66.80, overall and 73.60 percent male and 59.60 percent female).

2.10 Tribal Education in AP

Table 2.7 Tribal Education in AP, 2001 Census

| Sl. No | District | No. of literates | | | Literacy rate | | |
|--------|---------------|------------------|---------|--------|---------------|-------|--------|
| | | Total | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female |
| 1. | Adilabad | 134368 | 89169 | 45199 | 39.68 | 52.32 | 26.88 |
| 2. | Nizamabad | 40710 | 29779 | 10931 | 30.71 | 44.99 | 16.47 |
| 3. | Medak | 29702 | 22401 | 7301 | 28.08 | 41.06 | 14.26 |
| 4. | Karimnagar | 25581 | 17408 | 8173 | 34.23 | 46.04 | 22.14 |
| 5. | Hyderabad | 15998 | 9598 | 6400 | 55.38 | 64.52 | 45.67 |
| 6. | Ranga Reddy | 40350 | 27813 | 12537 | 34.53 | 46.30 | 22.09 |
| 7. | Mahabubnagar | 57156 | 42745 | 14411 | 25.76 | 37.58 | 13.33 |
| 8. | Nalgonda | 98989 | 71853 | 27136 | 35.22 | 49.12 | 20.13 |
| 9. | Warangal | 130460 | 89160 | 41300 | 34.43 | 45.76 | 22.44 |
| 10. | Khammam | 216063 | 138021 | 78042 | 37.85 | 47.97 | 27.57 |
| 11. | Srikakulam | 53838 | 34096 | 19742 | 41.92 | 53.32 | 30.61 |
| 12. | Vizianagaram | 63324 | 39492 | 23832 | 35.28 | 44.60 | 26.21 |
| 13. | East Godavari | 72404 | 40633 | 31771 | 44.60 | 50.36 | 38.91 |
| 14. | West Godavari | 41653 | 22604 | 19049 | 50.86 | 55.87 | 45.96 |
| 15. | Visakhapatnam | 160020 | 107248 | 52772 | 34.34 | 45.98 | 22.67 |
| 16. | Krishna | 39701 | 23893 | 15808 | 43.75 | 51.30 | 35.78 |
| 17. | Guntur | 65190 | 41539 | 23651 | 37.28 | 46.59 | 27.59 |
| 18. | Prakasam | 37728 | 23785 | 13943 | 38.15 | 46.87 | 28.96 |
| 19. | Nellore | 76420 | 43587 | 32833 | 37.42 | 41.90 | 32.77 |
| 20. | Kadapa | 21136 | 13635 | 7501 | 41.20 | 51.70 | 30.10 |
| 21. | Kurnool | 24471 | 16562 | 7909 | 42.73 | 55.75 | 28.70 |
| 22. | Anantapur | 48395 | 32186 | 16209 | 44.52 | 57.22 | 30.89 |
| 23. | Chittoor | 47620 | 28740 | 18880 | 44.44 | 52.78 | 35.83 |
| | Total | 1541277 | 1005947 | 535330 | 37.04 | 47.66 | 26.11 |

Source: TCRTI, Hyderabad, p-189

It can be seen that Hyderabad district has the highest tribal literacy level (64.52 percent male, 45.67 percent female and 55.38 percent overall), followed by West Godavari (55.87 percent male, 45.96 percent female and 50.86 percent overall), East Godavari (50.36 percent male, 28.91 percent female and 44.60 percent overall) and Anathapur (57.22 percent male, 30.89 percent female and 44.52 percent overall).

On the other hand, the lowest education is recorded in the districts of Mahabubnagar (37.58 male, 13.33 female and 25.76 overall) followed by Medak (41.06 percent male, 14.26 percent female and 28.08 percent overall), Nizamabad (44.99 percent male, 16.47

percent female and 30.71 percent overall), and Karimnagr (46.04 percent male, 22.14 percent female and 34.23 percent overall). The overall percentage of tribal literacy in the state is 37.04 percent.

It can be seen that there is gender difference in education as only 26.11 percent tribal women (as against 47.66 percent in respected of their male counterparts). This suggests that tribals, particularly women, in the state are educationally marginalised.

2.11 Summing Up

Scheduled Tribes can be found in almost all parts of the country, who follow primitive mode of life system. In recent times, they have victims of various types of exploitation by forces that have intruded into their homelands and disrupted their simple and peaceful way of life and wrecked havoc on their livelihood sources. The main source for tribal economy is forest resources and agriculture in the form of shifting cultivation. Even though culturally, they are rich, in terms of 'development', they are the most backward people. The tribal culture also has been eroding gradually. The so-called planned development i.e., Five Year Plans, seem to have weaken the tribals leading to their economic marginalisation. Further, due to the adverse impact of development forces, their very existence and sustenance is under serious threat in the context of globalisation. Because of exploitation by non-tribes and formal systems, they had revolted during colonial times and even after independence, they have been revolting against the exploitation and alien governing system.

Chapter – III

Tribal Movements for Identity – An Overview

“Ours is a battle not for wealth or for power, it is a battle for freedom. It is a battle for the reclamation of human personality.”

- Dr. B.R. Ambedkar¹³¹

Social movements generally aim at changing the direction, nature and operational process of democracy, development and the governing system. Such movements have different forms, such as agrarian, tribal, Dalit and, women. Among all social movements, tribal movements have certain unique characteristics.

Tribes fought during colonial times and even today they have been continuing to fight in order to survive and protect their social and autonomous systems for legitimate rights. Tribal movements are, basically, of two types. The first is the fight against the local exploiters such as landlords, moneylenders, traders, etc. The second category is of rebellions against the administration for seeking political autonomy like forming a province, self-governing movements, forest based movements and movements to protect their socio-economic and cultural dimensions. According to Anthropological Survey of India (ASI), there were about seventy tribal revolts from 1778 to 1948. These revolts were anti-colonial. The anti-colonial tribal movements and revolts were native in character as could be seen in: Chotanagpur region – Kherwar Movement of Santhals (1833), Santhal Revolt of 1855, Bokta Movement of 1858-95, Birsa Munda Movement (1895-1901), Devi Movement in Gujarat (1922-23), Tribal Movement in Midnapur (1918-1924), Jitu Santhals Movement in Malda (1924-32) and the Tribal Movement in Orissa (1921-36). All tribal movements are examined in a chronological order.

In general, all the tribal movements have been goal-oriented. The tribals responded to their exploitation and oppression in the form of revolts and movements. They identified their enemies in the outsiders (*dikus*) - landlords, moneylenders, contractors (*thekedars*), missionaries and European government officials. These movements erupted because the

¹³¹ Ghanshyam Shah, (2002), *Social Movements and the State*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, p. 2

tribes were exploited by non-tribals, particularly in terms of land and forest resources and annulment of tribal traditional legal, social, economic and autonomous rights. Therefore, in course of time, in order to restore their traditional land, forest resources and to preserve their culture, livelihood, self-governing rights, they fought against the rulers and local exploiters. That is why an attempt is made to understand the reasons for the emergence of major tribal movements in India. Moreover, all the tribal movements were intended to restore their traditional system, governance, culture, etc. The primary goal of every tribal movement has been to have an autonomous tribal system. In the same way, there were agitations for the introduction of PESA Act, particularly in the states of Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, Maharashtra and AP. These movements were linked with the daily lives of Scheduled Tribes and focused on culture, internal disputes, land alienation issues, money-lending, etc. Irrespective of time, in all the tribal movements, there were mobilisation activities led by their community chiefs, and after independence, various political parties, voluntary organisations, tribal organisations and so on.

3.1 Definition

Different scholars have given the definitions for movements in different contexts. Some of the definitions are examined below.

Movement: According to the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, a movement is "*a gradual change in what people in society do or think*"¹³²

Andre Beteille defines a movement as a kind of collective behaviour mobilised on the basis of a belief, which redefines social action.¹³³

Revolt: According to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, a revolt is '*a protest against authority, especially that of a government, often involving violence*'¹³⁴

Resistance: According to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, a resistance is '*a secret organisation that resists the authorities, especially in a country that an enemy has control of*'¹³⁵

¹³² Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, (2010), Oxford University Press, 8th Edition, p. 1002

¹³³ Venkatesu, E, (2003), *Social Deprivation and Social Mobilisation: A Case Study of Backward Castes in Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad: University of Hyderabad, Ph.D. Thesis, p. 8

¹³⁴ Ibid, p. 1312

Rebellion: According to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, a rebellion is '*an attempt by some of the people in a country to change their government, using violence*'¹³⁶

Uprising: According to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, an uprising is '*a situation in which a group of people join together in order to fight against the people who are in power*'.¹³⁷

According to the Anthropological Survey of India (ASI), there were tribal movements across India and these movements were categorised into four types, as under:¹³⁸

- **Movements for political autonomy** (Gonds and Bhils movements and Jharkhand movements)
- **Agrarian and forest-based movements** (Rampa Movement)
- **Sanskritisation process** (North-East movements), and
- **Cultural movements based on script and language.** (Bhagat Movement)

During medieval times, tribal societies were closely associated with the prevailing colonial system, particularly in terms of economy and administration. The kind of association that existed between tribes and non-tribal peasants led to awareness among the tribes about the cultivation of the land, which was the major source of livelihood. The non-tribal peasants carried cultural values along with them, which inspired and prompted the rise of a religious movement, called Bhagat Movement, among the tribes. On a number of occasions, tribal communities, such as Mundas, Santhals, Bhils and Gonds, who are homogenous and have a strong economic base, have risen in revolt against the perceived wrongs against them. Most of the tribal movements have taken place in central India. The tribes of southern India are relatively small in number and primitive in nature. Hence, organising a movement for (and by) them is not easy as in other parts of the country.

However, there have been some tribal 'uprisings' in AP, particularly in Adilabad and Godavari areas. When we compare both land and forest, tribes are more bound to forest

¹³⁵ Ibid, p. 1301

¹³⁶ Ibid, p. 1267

¹³⁷ Ibid, p. 1701

¹³⁸ Singh, K.S., (ed.), (1982), *Tribal Movements in India*, Vol. II, New Delhi: Manohar

only why because the forest is inextricably connected to their lives. Further, the forest is a sacred place for worshipping the tribal Gods, Goddesses and it was a source of food and employment. However, due to laws of reserve forest, all their customary rights are being infringed upon. Further, as Janardhan Rao, B, (1987)¹³⁹ posits that, even though some researchers romanticized tribals as primitive and naïve people, there are other severe problems like passive poverty and land alienation with which tribals have been living for centuries.

3.2 Tribal Movements in the Colonial Period

The tribals occasionally responded to their exploitation and oppression in the form of revolts and movements. They identified their enemies in the outsiders (dikus) - landlords, moneylenders, thekedars and missionaries and European government officials. They launched movements against their oppressors in their respective regions. Their agitations against the outsiders could be called anti-colonial. They revolted against them because of exploitation in the form of encroachment on their land, eviction from their land, annulment of traditional legal and social rights and customs and enhancement of rent, for transfer of land to the tiller and abolition of feudal and semi-feudal form of land ownership. Overall, these movements had a social and religious overtone. However, these were directed against the issues related to their existence. These 'movements' were launched under the leadership of their respective community chiefs. Although the movements initially began on social and religious issues and against the oppression of outsiders, in course of time, they merged with the National Movement and with the no-tax campaign. The tribals fought against their enemies with their traditional weapons, i.e., bows, arrows, lathis and axes. Their movements often took a violent turn. The government ruthlessly suppressed most of the movements. The tribals had to comply with British policies, which were detrimental to their interests. The government introduced protective administration in tribal areas. The government thought that the normal laws could not be applied in the tribal areas, as per the Scheduled District Act (1874), and further classified the tribal areas as excluded areas under the Government of India Act of

¹³⁹ Janardhan Rao, B, (1987), *Land Alienation in Tribal Areas*, Warangal: Kakatiya University, p. 1

1935.¹⁴⁰ Bipan Chandra asserts that the primary reasons for civilian revolts during the colonial period were rapid changes introduced in the administration, economy and the land revenue system by the British rulers.¹⁴¹

3.3 Tribal Autonomy Movements in Chotanagpur

Tribes in Chotanagpur had a very dynamic attitude towards the separatist movements depending on many reasons. One of the reasons was the tribes in Chotanagpur were advanced in education, political awareness and were reasonably developed.¹⁴² These areas became focal points for separatist movements among the tribes.¹⁴³ The second reason was they were not scattered like other tribal communities. Further, Christianity had a powerful impact on this region in terms of sensitising them on issues like identity, self-respect and property. Apart from this, the Chotanagpur region had a militant character for a very long time.¹⁴⁴ The tribal movements had four phases. The first phase was about a context for the emergence of institutions that led to reforms among them. The second phase lasted from 1920-1938 was dominated by the revival activities of the Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj. The third phase was from 1938 to 1947, which saw the emergence of militant movements under the *Adivasi* Mahasabha.¹⁴⁵ The fourth phase was from 1949 to 1963 has led to the emergence of the Jharkhand Party.¹⁴⁶ The reasons for the emergence of Jharkhand party were the failure of militant approach adopted by *Adivasi* Mahasabha and framing of the Indian Constitution, which enabled the Party to adopt the Constitutional approach. The tribal unrest in this region had influenced and led to the passing of many pieces of legislation, include restoration of alienated land, which was the major issue behind the movement.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁰ Teacher's voice retrieved from http://www.cbseacademic.in/web_material/Cenbosec/2012_Oct-Dec.pdf

¹⁴¹ Bipan Chandra, et al, (1989), *India's Struggle for Independence 1857-1947*, New Delhi: Penguin Books, pp. 41

¹⁴² Singh, K.S., (ed.), (1982), *Tribal Movements in India*, Vol. II, New Delhi: Manohar, p. 1

¹⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 1

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 2

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 4

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p. 5

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 1

3.4 The Santhal's Jharkhand Movement

The motivating reason behind the tribal movement in Santhal may be traced to their ecological-cultural isolation, economical backwardness and a feeling of frustration about a low status vis-à-vis the advanced sections of society.¹⁴⁸ Almost one-third of the total Santhal population of India inhabits the Santhal Parganas district.¹⁴⁹ Due to the influx of outsiders in the Santhal areas, their status, economy and culture had deteriorated over a period of time. This took the shape of discontent against the oppressors. Sido and Kanhu provided the leadership by sensitising the tribals about supra-natural powers.¹⁵⁰ The nature and goal of their efforts can be understood by looking at what they say “We should only pay eight annas for a buffalos plough and four annas for a bullock plough; and if the rulers did not agree we should start fighting. We should slay all the unspeakable Dekos (aliens) and become the rulers ourselves.”¹⁵¹ When conditions became rather intolerable, they started nurturing ideas of ruling themselves. Therefore, they started mobilising private armies, through which they attacked the ruling classes.

3.5 Birsa Munda Movement

The Birsa Munda Movement was one of the most popular movements of the Munda tribes of Singhbhum and Ranchi districts of the Chotanagpur region of Bihar.¹⁵² The movement was named after the great tribal leader, Birsa Munda. It was directed against the colonial rulers and alien people such as landlords, traders, merchants and petty-government officers.¹⁵³ In fact, the British rulers introduced these people to tribal areas. Prior to the advent of colonialism in the tribal areas, these tribes had their traditional land

¹⁴⁸ Panchbhai, SC, (1982), “The Jharkhand Movement among the Santhals”, in Singh, K.S., (ed.), *Tribal Movements in India*, Vol. II, New Delhi: Manohar, p. 49

¹⁴⁹ Panchbhai, SC, (1982), “The Jharkhand Movement among the Santhals”, in Singh, K.S., (ed.), *Tribal Movements in India*, Vol. II, New Delhi: Manohar, p. 31

¹⁵⁰ Arunahha Ghosh, (1991), Probing the Jharkhand Question, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 26, No. (18), pp. 1173-1181

¹⁵¹ Panchbhai, SC, (1982), “The Jharkhand Movement among the Santhals”, in Singh, K.S., (ed.), *Tribal Movements in India*, Vol. II, New Delhi: Manohar, p. 32

¹⁵² Singh, K. Suresh, (1983), *Birsa Munda and His Movement, 1874-1901. A Study of Millenerian Movement in Chotanagpur*, Calcutta: Oxford University Publication.

¹⁵³ Singh, K. Suresh, (1983), *Birsa Munda and His Movement, 1874-1901. A Study of Millenerian Movement in Chotanagpur*, Calcutta: Oxford University Publication.

and social system. They used to enjoy their customary rights, where there was no landlordship. By 1874, the British replaced the tribal land system with the zamindari system.¹⁵⁴ Consequently, the tribes had to pay the rent to this new zamindari class. In the event of failing to pay the rent, meant eviction for the land. These people harassed the tribes in many ways. For example, they brought peasants into tribal areas, enhanced the land rents, and encroached upon the land of the tribals, and so on. The landlords, moneylenders and government officials collaborated with each other in exploiting the tribes. The Munda Community Councils, which used to provide free-cost service to the tribals, were replaced by modern courts. It is against this backdrop that the Mundas decided to evict the outsiders and to establish their independent raj.¹⁵⁵

This movement was led by Birsa Munda, who sought to establish 'Birsa Munda Raj' by declaring himself as God to the community. Further, he tried to achieve religious and political independence for Mundas. He was arrested for urging the Mundas not to pay the rent. In this way, the Mundas fought against the colonial rulers and Christian missionaries as well. Birsa also announced that the Mundas were the owners of the soil.¹⁵⁶

3.6 The Gonds Movement

The Gonds are the largest tribal group in India.¹⁵⁷ Relatively, they have been the dominant tribal group also. The social system of the Gonds is very complex and stratified – as some of them being advanced and some others were primitive. Among them, the Raj Gonds form the aristocratic stratum and the Dhur Gonds are at the bottom of the social order.¹⁵⁸ However, launching a project 'Dandakaranya' brought about marked changes in their life systems.¹⁵⁹ Further, the influx of non-tribals and extension of reserved forest created scarcity of land and insecurity among them. Moreover, the problems due to

¹⁵⁴ Singh, K. Suresh, (1983), *Birsa Munda and His Movement, 1874-1901. A Study of Millenerian Movement in Chotanagpur*, Calcutta: Oxford University Publication.

¹⁵⁵ Singh, K. Suresh, (1983), *Birsa Munda and His Movement, 1874-1901. A Study of Millenerian Movement in Chotanagpur*, Calcutta: Oxford University Publication.

¹⁵⁶ Singh, K. Suresh, (1983), *Birsa Munda and His Movement, 1874-1901. A Study of Millenerian Movement in Chotanagpur*, Calcutta: Oxford University Publication.

¹⁵⁷ Singh, K.S., (1982), 'The Gond Movements' in Singh, K.S., (ed.), *Tribal Movements in India*, Vol. II, New Delhi: Manohar, p. 177

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 177

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 180

moneylenders, exploitation by forest officials, restriction on the usage of forest produce and rising of unemployment among the Gonds led to discontentment, which subsequently turned into a movement. In course of time, these movements were led by Gond leaders, who had autonomous aspirations, like establishing separate states for Gonds. In this way, Kurma Bhimu demanded a Gond Raj for his people in 1941.¹⁶⁰ The tribal leader, Raja Naresh Singh, had demanded for statehood for Gonds, and he submitted a memorandum before the State Reorganisation Commission on 9th May, 1963.¹⁶¹ Further, Narain Singh Vikey, President of the Gondwana Adibasi Seva Mandal, also demanded the formation of the Gondwana state.

3.7 The Lalgarh Movement

Manika Bora and Budhaditya Das posit that the agitation in Lalgarh region of West Bengal had serious repercussions on tribal livelihood, which reached to the peak level during the period 2008 to 2009. In fact, the Lalgarh area is mainly dominated by Santhal tribes, apart from other social groups like SCs and BCs. Their economy is based on small landholdings and rainfall. The *shal* leaves (used for making plates) collected from forest is their main source of income. The area has been neglected in terms of development. The reason for the revolt was the people's discontent about the government performance. Since the state has harassed the tribes in the Lalgarh area of West Bengal, the tribes have resisted that. Consequently, a powerful movement against the state was led by *Pulish Shantrash Birodhi Janashadharaner Committee* (PSBJC), (People's Committee against Police Atrocities). PSBJC had formed vigilance committees in each village. The writers posit that since the CPI (M) government was in power in West Bengal, the state itself has started forcing the tribes to be labeled as extremist groups.

The Santhal tribes have traditionally supported the Jharkhand Party and Jharkhand Disham Party - and not the CPI (M). The writers further assert that the CPI (M) government deprived them in developmental dimensions like provision of basic services. Although the movement started with people's anger, it took a well-organised form

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, p, 181

¹⁶¹ Ibid, p, 181

because of the leadership offered by the PSBJC. The movement also adopted democratic means by allowing fair representation to different social groups, including women. The PSBJC did not allow any political party or individual to take over the leadership of the movement. Moreover, it welcomed all the people, irrespective of any political affiliations, to participate in the movement. Subsequently, the Maoists openly declared their support to the movement. Unfortunately, the West Bengal government has tried to de-legitimise the movement by claiming that the PSBJC is led by Maoists. In fact, the movement is meant for justice, right to self-determination and dignity.

3.8 The Kherwar Movement of the Santhals (1833)

In order to raise their voice against injustice, the Kherwar movement was motivated by four issues: land and forest alienation, immigration, cultural identity and underdevelopment.¹⁶² The word "Kherwar" was an ancient name of Santhals and, in their opinion, it is linked to the Golden age of their history. At that time, the Santhals (Kherwars) were enjoying absolute independence. This movement was more socio-religious than political in nature and adopted many Hindu symbols to mobilise the masses. They used to pay tribute to their traditional chief for protecting them. The movement started under the charismatic leadership C.F. Bhagirath Majhi. He assumed the title of 'Babaji'. He announced that he would restore the Golden age of the Santhals, if they returned to the worship of God and cleared themselves from their sins. He vowed to liberate them from the oppression of officials, landlords and money-lenders. He exhorted them to worship the Hindu God, Ram, identifying him with Santhal "Caudo". He assured them that their land would be recovered and given back to them. He also explained their oppression as a divine punishment for not worshipping God and for turning to the veneration of minor and evil spirits. Majhi imposed on the Santhals the rules and behaviour, which reflected the Hindu notion of purity and pollution.¹⁶³

¹⁶² Arunahha Ghosh, (1991), Probing the Jharkhand Question, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 26, No. (18), pp. 1173-1181

¹⁶³ Arunahha Ghosh, (1991), Probing the Jharkhand Question, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 26, No. (18), pp. 1173-1181

3.9 Tribal Movements in Southern India

There have been tribal movements in post-colonial India focusing on their autonomy, culture, land issues, social fabric, and so on. Some of the movements have been attributed to the enactment of the PESA Act. The south Indian states of Kerala, Tamilnadu and Karnataka have peripheral tribal population. However, both Andhra and Telangana have significant tribal population. One of the traditional characters of the southern zone is that even now these tribes are in food-gathering and hunting stage. Also, some of the tribes still live in the most inaccessible and inhospitable areas. However, the entry of non-tribals into these areas is impacting the tribal culture and forcing the tribals into financial dependence on non-tribals.¹⁶⁴ The ultimate result is that tribals are losing their land due to the influx of non-tribals. Further, they are losing control over the neighbouring natural resources and becoming increasingly dependent on wage labour for their sustenance. Their labour is very important in the rapidly expanding economy, but their livelihood is gradually being transformed into marginalisation. Koyas and Chenchus are doing gathering and hunting.¹⁶⁵ All the tribes in Karnataka, AP and Tamilnadu are patrilineal but some of them, in these states, are matrilineal also.¹⁶⁶ Even the most primitive tribes also do not accept their being dominated by the non-tribal communities.

3.10 Tribal Revolts in Andhra Pradesh

AP has experienced many revolts, which have been part of the larger context of Indian tribal movements. Siva Rama Krishna Rao C. and A. Bobbili A. interpret that the record of tribal movements has started recently.¹⁶⁷ According to them, there have been two types of movements in AP and Telangana – the forest-based movements and cultivable area-based movements. The first was for forest resources, and directed against the State and the exploiting classes. The primary objective of the tribal movements in AP has been to protect their rights.

¹⁶⁴ Misra, P.K., (2006), 'tribal Mobilization in Southern India', in Singh, K.S., (ed.), *Tribal Movements in India*, Vol. II, New Delhi: Manohar, p. 326

¹⁶⁵ Ibid p. 327

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 328

¹⁶⁷ Siva Rama Krishna Rao C. & A. Bobbili, (1985), *Tribal Movements in Andhra Pradesh: a Short Story*, in Murali Manohar K. et al. (ed.), *Political Economy of Tribal Development*, Warangal: Indian Institute of Public Administration, p. 203

Nevertheless, there have been revolts in tribal areas, because of exploitation by non-tribals and particularly the institutionalised exploitation in the name of developmental projects such as irrigation, power, tourism, and so on. The tribal heroes in AP were Alluri Sitaramaraju in the districts of Vishakhapatnam, East Godavari and West Godavari and Khomaram Bheem in Adilabad district. Further, the Act called ‘The Agency Tracts Interest and Land Transfer Act, 1917,’ which permitted the transfer of cultivable land transfer from tribals to non-tribals, was the one of the primary reasons for tribal revolts in Vishakhapatnam district.¹⁶⁸ Subsequently, the revolts in the Godavari district were against exploitation by local *muttadars*, or hill-chiefs. The local tribes were not allowed to tap toddy even for domestic consumption. In fact, toddy was the cheapest drink for the tribal people, irrespective of age and gender.

According to Haimendorf, “the history of Rampa Rebellion was important in two respects. Firstly, it showed that aboriginals, even if inherently not of warlike character, were capable of expressing their resentment when ‘driven to the wall’ and secondly that it is both inexpedient and dangerous to allow the control and exploitation of aboriginal population to fall into the hands of unscrupulous outsiders, who were not directly responsible to the Government, are backed by the authority of the police and the law courts.”¹⁶⁹

The Rampa rebellion (1880) – the Bhumakal in Bastar (1910) – the *fituries* in Rampa and Gudem (1798 - 1924), the martyrdom of Komaram Bheem (1942) – the Telangana armed struggle (1948) – the killing of tribals in police firing in Indravelli (1982) – the tribal land right movement in West Godavari and Khammam districts (1995) are some of the landmark events in the struggles of tribals. After suppressing the Rampa rebellion, the British government brought the tribal areas of Godavari district conjointly into Scheduled Areas. A sub-collector was appointed in Bhadrachalam, covering the Bhadrachalam and Polavaram taluks. He was selected as the assistant agent, whereas the district Collector was an agent to the government laws protective of tribal lands came into force in 1917. Agency rules were framed in 1924 to arbitrate in the civil and criminal disputes. With

¹⁶⁸ Singh, K.S., (ed.), (2006), *Tribal Movements in India*, Vol. II, New Delhi: Manohar, p. 354

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 355

these enactments and arrangements, the governance in Scheduled Areas gained a special character.¹⁷⁰

3.11 Tribal Struggles in Srikakulam (1832)

“In the year 1832, the disturbances, which had been existed, for some time, to a greater extent, in the Purlakimidi Zamindary of Ganjam – and in certain parts of the Vizagapatam district, rose to such a height that government was compelled to order a military force in the field for their suppression. Mr. Russell, who was the Member of Council, expressed his willingness to undertake the duty, and was accordingly invested again with the special powers he had held on the previous occasion to be exercised in the Ganjam district wherever open rebellion existed.”¹⁷¹

3.12 Rampa Rebellion (1879)

Before the entry of British and Nizam rulers, the tribes did not have contact with non-tribes.¹⁷² The only relationship was between Hindu kings and tribal kings and governance used to take place with the help of tribal chiefs such as Koya kings in the Dandakaranya forest area.

There were *Mutas* (a group of tribal villages combined for administrative purpose) in Godavari and Vishaka Agency Areas.¹⁷³ Further, there were Koya villages called Samathu in Bhadrachalam area. The head of the Muta was called Mutadar and the head of the Samathu was called Samathudar. However, at the village level, Koya tribes had village panchayats. Due to British colonial administration, there were disturbances in Vishaka, Chotanagpur (Bihar and Ganjam (in Orissa)). Subsequently, the British government understood that the Jamindars had provoked these disturbances. Therefore, the British government enacted an Act to bring the tribes under its special administration.

¹⁷⁰ Nandini Sundar, (1997), *Subalterns and Sovereigns; An anthropological History of Bastar, 1854 – 1996*, Oxford University Press, pp. 148 & 149

¹⁷¹ Selections from the records of the Madras Government, published by authority No. XXIV, Reports on the Disturbances in Purlakimedy, Vizagapatam and Goomsoor in 1832-36 by Mr. G. E. Russell, Vol I, 1856.

¹⁷² Mangamma, J. (1983), *Alluri Seetharama Raju*, Hyderabad: A.P. State Archives.

¹⁷³ Sastry, VNVK, (2013), *Ikya Udyamala Phalitham Tribal Sub Plan*, Hyderabad: Prajasakthi Daily Printing Press, p. 111

Based on that, in 1839, the British government brought in an Act to bifurcate the Ganjam and Vishakhapatnam.¹⁷⁴ This was the beginning for the emergence of Agency Areas. In order to rule these separated areas, the district collector had to act as a government agent. That was how the areas, known as Agency Areas in AP, came into existence. The Munsuadar imposed taxes on tribal basic commodities like intoxicants and toddy trees also. The British and local exploiters used the local people for the maintenance of the private army. The 1874 Scheduled Districts Act was enacted due to disturbances across the Indian tribal areas. The Ganjam Vishakhapatnam Act was confined to these areas only. This Act, 'The Scheduled Districts Act, 1874, however, had been extended to all tribal areas in India.¹⁷⁵ The main provision of the Act was until unless a specific declaration is made, no other Acts were applicable to these Agency Areas. This is how the Agency Areas separated from general administration.

3.13 Gond Tribal Revolts in Adilabad District

Since independence, Gonds' territorial and political systems were broken and their rights on forest eroded gradually.¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, new settlements had been established on their lands and a new peasantry came into their area. Nizam rulers had encouraged the non-tribals in tribal areas. This situation led to a point that the Gond tribe in Adilabad district took part in two major revolts. The first one, led by Komaram Bhim, was during the 1940s and the second, the Indravelli Revolt, was during the 1980s.¹⁷⁷ Usually, the isolated and forest-based Gond tribes could not have contacts with the outsiders. In Gond culture, every village had its own boundary, which was recognised by other Gond villages. According to their culture, all the resources around their village were owned by the local Gonds only. These resources were equally accessible to everyone, and the utilisation was collectively decided by the community elders.¹⁷⁸ But later on, the Nizam government declared that all these natural resources were government property.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, p.114

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 115

¹⁷⁶ Rajendra Prasad, N. (1987), *Tribal Revolts a Study of the Revolt of Adilabad Gonds in 1940*, Hyderabad: University of Hyderabad.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 24

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 24

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 25

Though forests were among their main sources of livelihood, in course of time, the Nizam government brought in the forest Act, through which the community property, i.e., forest, became government property. The management of forest was transferred from the community fold to government servants. Retrospectively, the Nizam government offered some tangible benefits. This is how the Nizam government had drawn boundaries to forestlands. Subsequently, a new class, the forest officials, emerged between the Gonds and the Nizam government. Consequently, some of the Gonds' villages were merged into reserve forests. In traditional Gond culture, the caretaker of the forest was the Patel, but in the Nizam government, the forest guards were the caretakers of the reserve forests. Accordingly, the forest guard used to dominate the Patels, which prompted the Gonds towards discontentment. Apart from that, there were several instances of harassment by forest officials. Furthermore, manipulation was one of the alarming problems, particularly regarding land records etc. Due to forest, police and revenue officials harassment, Gonds tribes had revolted against the align system and Komaram Bhim led the revolt in a peaceful manner.¹⁸⁰ Haimendorff was one of the scholars who studied about both Gonds and Chenchus. Since there were few people in tribal areas, the Nizam government had brought in non-tribals in Gond areas by instituting a policy of increasing the income to the government. In this way, non-tribals entered tribal regions and continued their exploitation systematically. Because of these types of infiltrations and exploitations, there were revolts in Gond areas. One of the important revolts was the Indravelli Revolt. This incident took place in 1980s, when innocent Gonds gathered at Indravelli village, in Adilabad district of Telangana, in response to a call given by *Girijan Rythu Coolie Sangham*, a wing of the CPI (ML) led by Kondapalli Sitarayamayya.¹⁸¹

3.14 Naxalism in Scheduled Areas

Since tribals are located in extreme forest and underdeveloped areas, therefore, the extremist groups have taken these as 'fertile grounds' for mobilising new recruits into their ranks. In fact, severe poverty, exploitation and backwardness are the core reasons

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 26

¹⁸¹ Raghuram, M. (1981), Carnage at Indravelli: A Report, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XVI (24), pp.1047-1050

for the emergence of this issue. As already mentioned, the tribal areas have become veritable battlefields in the conflicts between the State and the extremist groups. In the process, the innocent tribals are occasionally becoming the unwitting victims of both the parties to the conflict.

Scholars like Ramachandra Guha and EAS Sarma posit that *Adivasis*, as a whole, have gained very little and lost a lot from six decades of democracy and development. Further, they point that the tribes have been unable to effectively articulate their grievances through the democratic and electoral process. The failure of the state, as a formal democratic system, has provided space for the emergence of Maoist groups.¹⁸² EAS Sarma¹⁸³ posits that the attitude of the state towards the *Adivasis* since independence has changed from neglect to a disregard of its Constitutional obligations. This problem occurred because the government has bypassed the traditional tribal system of self-rule and imposed an externally designed structure, which prompted them against the formal system. Accordingly, the state failed to recognise the socio-political and economic dimensions of the problems of *Adivasis*. Further, the state rarely conceded that the *Adivasis* were entitled to own and manage the precious resources, available as a part of their ecological system.¹⁸⁴

With respect to AP, the Naxalite revolt was centered mainly in Srikakulam District during 1968–70. This District is located in the northern part of Andhra Pradesh.¹⁸⁵ A heavy police force was deployed by the Government to suppress the movement. The tribesmen were frequently harassed by the police to give information about the whereabouts of the Naxalites and the local sympathizers. The tribals complained that, under the garb of combing operations, the police took away their goats and cocks. A number of tribesmen were killed in encounters and hundreds were arrested. Also, a number of their villages were burnt down. The tribesmen complained that the police tend

¹⁸² Guha, Ramachandra, (2007), “Adivasis, Naxalites and Indian Democracy”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 42 (32): pp. 3305-3312.

¹⁸³ Sarma, EAS, (2006), the State, Adivasi, the State and the Naxalite”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 41 (15): pp. 1434-1437.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 1435

¹⁸⁵ Ashim Kumar Adhikary and Ranjit Kumar Bhattacharya, (1982), ‘the Extremist Movement; an Appraisal of the Naxalite Movement with Special Reference to its Repercussion among Tribes’, in Singh, K.S., (ed.), *Tribal Movements in India*, Vol. II, New Delhi: Manohar, p. 119

to suspected the tribals of being sympathizing the Naxalites. On the other hand, the Naxalites suspected many tribals of acting as police informers and burnt down their villages in retaliation. Thus, the tribals were caught between ‘devil and the deep sea.’

When the Naxalite movement was at its peak, many non-tribals, particularly landlords, left the area, leaving behind their property. However, after the movement was suppressed, all the *sahukars* came back to the villages and they are now renewing their contacts with the tribesmen, and have started their business in the old form. The tribesmen too are going to the *sahukars* for ‘help’. The land that was restored to the tribals by the Naxalites slowly went back to the former *sahukars* and the tribals have again gone back to being agricultural labourers, tenant cultivators and finally dependents on the forest for their food.¹⁸⁶

3.15 Bharat Jan Andolan

The PESA, enacted by Parliament in 1996, extends Panchayat Raj Institutions to Scheduled V Areas. In many parts of Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand and Maharashtra, the Bharat Jan Andolan and some other organisations mobilised people and created public pressure for the enactment of the PESA. It is crucial to note that the Dileep Singh Bhuria Committee, constituted in 1995 to prepare reports for the extension of panchayati raj in Scheduled V areas, presented two reports. One was on rural areas and the other one was related to urban areas. However, only recommendations related to rural areas were accepted and the PESA was passed by Parliament. There is still no separate law for the urban areas corresponding to Scheduled V Areas.¹⁸⁷

Bharat Jan Andolan is one of the important organisations that fought for the protection of tribal rights, especially for enactment of the PESA Act. The organisation also fought for amendment of the Act. A Bill for amending some provisions of the PESA Act was released for public discussion by the Ministry of Panchayati Raj (MoPR) on 2 December

¹⁸⁶ Tribal Movements in Andhra Pradesh – P.Kamala Manohar Rao and D.L. Prasad Rao

¹⁸⁷ Kamal Nayan Choubey, (2015), Enhancing PESA: The Unfinished Agenda, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. L (8), pp. 21-23

2013.¹⁸⁸ However, for many months, the government did not initiate any concrete measure to implement these recommendations and only six months before the elections, the MoPR released the Bill for public discussion. The crucial point is that after the formation of the NDA government at the centre also, the bill is still available on the MoPR website, seeking public comments and opinion.¹⁸⁹

Since there have been many shortcomings in the implementation of the PESA Act, a number of organisations had launched agitations for removing the deficiencies in the Act. In particular, the ones led by the Bharat Jan Andolan and other local organisations have created enormous political awareness in many places, including tribal areas.¹⁹⁰ As mentioned earlier, there are many areas where the PESA has not been properly implemented, or where the state has violated the spirit of this Act. When Parliament passed this Act, grassroots organisations started what was called pathargadhi (stone inscription) in many areas of Jharkhand and Maharashtra. They created a lot of awareness about the provisions of this law and in many areas, people used the term hamara kanoon (or law) for the PESA. Interestingly, in Rajasthan and Jharkhand, activists began the stone inscribing process even before the enactment of the state-level Act, or the formulation of rules related to PESA. It was a process of political education for the villagers as they informed the concerned authorities in the forest department and the block development officer about these actions. In many villages, on the basis of the central law, people asserted their rights over common resources of their village and non-timber forest produce (NTFP) in their traditional Nitstar forests. They stopped the intervention of local administration and the forest department in their day-to-day activities.

¹⁸⁸ Kamal Nayan Choubey, (2015), Enhancing PESA: The Unfinished Agenda, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. L (8), pp. 21-23

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, pp. 21-23

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, pp. 21-23

3.16 Lambada Hakkula Porata Samiti (LHPS) (1997)

Lambada Hakkula Porata Samiti,¹⁹¹ (Committee for the Protection of Lambadas' Rights), popularly known as LHPS, has, for the last 15 years, been demanding the constitution of thandas in Andhra Pradesh. Each Thanda was to have about five hundred residents and a separate gram panchayat.¹⁹² LHPS has been insisting on an immediate government order with the motto '*ma thandalu ma rajyam*'¹⁹³ (literally it means - our villages, our administration), for which the PESA Act was subsequently enacted. The demand of the Lambadas for self-rule and community control over natural resources has been incorporated in many Indian Tribal Acts, particularly "The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006".

Six thousand thandas are readily available for being transformed into separate panchayats. When the Congress Party was in power, the government used to make promises about the demand, but did not fulfill it, even though the then Panchayati Raj Minister, Bothsa Satyanarayana, had official talks with tribal community leaders. Bhukya Sanjiv Naik, the current president of LHPS, asserted that the then Panchayati Raj minister accepted their demand and that those thandas having one thousand people would be empowered in the first phase as separate gram panchayats and in second phase, priority would be given to five hundred populous thandas. Furthermore, LHPS has been demanding that 15th of every February, the state government itself should celebrate the birthday of Sant Guru Sri Sevalal Maharaj. Prof. Kodandaram¹⁹⁴ (convener, Joint Action Committee, Telangana Movement) has spoken about the need to separate Panchayats for the Lambada thandas. The LHPS opposes the Polavaram Project, because it would seriously impair the livelihoods of many tribals of that area.

3.17 Summing Up

In the Indian context, the development paradigm has tended to ignore the concerns of tribal people, and only looking at their regions for free resources like minerals and forest

¹⁹¹ *Andhraprabha*, (Telugu News Daily), Dated, 04-11-2011, p. 8

¹⁹² Bhangya Bhukya, (2010), *Subjugated Nomads: The Lambadas under the Rule of the Nizams*, New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan Private Limited, p. 248

¹⁹³ Ibid

¹⁹⁴ *Vaarttha*, (Telugu News Daily), Dated, 04-11-2011, p. 3

resources, but did not focus much on their development.¹⁹⁵ Therefore, tribals revolt against the exploitation, marginalisation and suppression led by non-tribals, particularly moneylenders, contractors, landlords, then petty-government officials, on the one hand, and against the policy of indirect rule pursued by the government, on the other. In fact, well-organised movements were spearheaded by heterogeneous and coherent tribal communities, but not by the scattered tribal communities, who did not organise the movements effectively. Obviously, some of the tribal movements had some impact on tribal livelihoods, culture and social fabric. One of the major outcomes of tribal revolts was the formation of the state of Jharkhand. Unfortunately, poor and inadequate implementation of many purportedly welfare oriented Acts have not put an end to the exploitation of tribals. By and large, they are fiercely protective of their socio-economic, cultural, autonomy and political identities. There has hardly been an instance of tribals intruding into non-tribal areas to grab land or steal livestock. They have, generally, been content to live in their own 'secure' haven and in total communion with nature. On the other hand, the so-called more advanced urban dwellers have tended to intrude into tribal areas and disrupt their peaceful way of life.

In southern India, AP has experienced tribal movements led by persons such as Alluri Sitarama Raju and Komaram Bheem. The basic reasons for the tribal rebellions were the policy of exclusion and exploitation by outsiders and the corporate-friendly model of development. In order to assert their self-governing rights, tribes have, at times, risen in revolt. This discontent among the tribals has enabled some militant groups to secure a foothold in tribal areas and project themselves as messiahs of the poor and downtrodden. This has added another problem area for the tribals since they are being unwittingly caught in the crossfire between the security forces and the militants. Consequently, these movements led to certain public policies and programmes, for reducing the tribal discontentment.

¹⁹⁵ Manika Bora, Budhaditya Das, (2009), 'The Movement in Lalgah', *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. XLIV (26 & 27): pp. 15-17

Chapter – IV

State Response in the form of Policies and Programmes

“Our tribal development policies and programmes assumed that all the tribes will develop and will ‘integrate’ themselves with the so-called ‘mainstream’. This has happened only in a symbolic way. Most of our researchers agree on this point that, as a result of the planned tribal development, stratification on secular lines has taken place among tribals and only a small section has been able to take advantages of our tribal development programmes.”¹⁹⁶

In response to tribal agitations, both centre as well as various state governments have been formulating and enacting different types of tribal developmental policies, programmes and laws to enhance, facilitate and uplift the historically marginalised and most vulnerable social section, i.e., Scheduled Tribe. India’s large-scale development initiatives in the post-independent period are often being seen by scholars to have induced a shifting orientation in tribal studies, namely, from a focus on tribes as communities to a view of them as subjects of modernisation and development, or as their victims

The word “Scheduled Tribes” first appeared in the Indian Constitution. Article 266 (25) defines tribes as *“such tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 to be Scheduled Tribes for the purposes of this Constitution”*¹⁹⁷

Article 366 (25) defines Scheduled Tribes as “such tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed, under Article 342 to be Scheduled Tribes for the purposes of this Constitution”. Article 342 prescribes the procedure to be followed in the matter of specification of Scheduled Tribes. Empowered

¹⁹⁶ Saksena, H.S., et al. (2006), *Scheduled Tribes and Development*, New Delhi: Serials Publications. p. xiv

¹⁹⁷ *Basic Statistics on Scheduled Tribes of Andhra Pradesh*, (2008), Hyderabad: Tribal Cultural Research & Training Institute (TCR&TI), Tribal Welfare Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh, p. 11

by Clause (1) of Article 342, the President may, with respect to any State or Union Territory, and where it is a State, after consultation with the Governor thereof, notify tribes or tribal communities or parts of these as Scheduled Tribes. This confers on the tribe or part of it a Constitutional status, invoking the safeguards provided in the Constitution to these communities in their respective States/ Union Territories (UT). Clause (2) of the Article empowers the Parliament to pass a law to include in, or exclude from, the list of Scheduled Tribes, any tribe or tribal community, or parts of these.

Thus, the first specification of Scheduled Tribes, in relation to a particular State / Union Territory, is by a notified Order of the President, after consultation with the State Government concerned. These Orders can be modified subsequently, only through an Act of Parliament. The above Article also provides for the listing of Scheduled Tribes, State or Union Territory wise, and not on an all India basis.

These criteria are not spelt out in the Constitution, but have become well established. These take into account the definitions in the 1931 Census, the Reports of the first Backward Classes Commission (Kalelkar) 1955, the Advisory Committee on Revision of SC/ST lists (Lokur Committee) 1965, and the Joint Committee of Parliament on the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Bill, 1967 (Chanda Committee) 1969.

In exercise of the powers conferred by Clause (1) of Article 342 of the Constitution of India, the President, after Consultation with the State Governments concerned, had so far promulgated nine Orders specifying the Scheduled Tribes, in relation to the States and Union Territories. All the eight are in operation at present in their original, or amended, form. One Order, namely, the Constitution (Goa, Daman & Diu) Scheduled Tribes Order, 1968, has become defunct on account of the reorganisation of Goa, Daman & Diu in 1987. Under the Goa, Daman & Diu Reorganisation Act in 1987 (18 of 1987), the list of Scheduled Tribes of Goa was transferred to Part XIX of the Schedule to the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950 and that of Daman & Diu, to Part II of the Scheduled to the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) (Union Territories) Order, 1951.

4.1. The Colonial State and Scheduled Tribes

The Scheduled Districts Act of 1874 had created scheduled districts. In AP, earlier Ganjam, Vishakapatnam and some tribal areas of Godavari districts had been brought under this legislation. Then, the district collector used to act as an agent on behalf of the state government. The government had powers to extend, nullify and rectify if any mistake happened in legislations there. Both district and revenue powers were given to district collector and agency divisional officers. Nevertheless, it seems that these rules were not used properly.

The British General Assembly in the Republic of India passed the regular District Act XIV of 1874, by which the native government were authorised to spot and declare bound areas as regular areas. The country had, at very different times, created the semi-autonomous territory of Kandh Mahal and promulgated residence Protection Legislation in Orissa. The Indian Education Commission of 1882 made suggestions for the discriminatory treatment of social groups within the variety of non-payment of faculty fees and additional grants to colleges placed in social groups. Later, the Government of India Acts, 1919, and 1935 created a variety of partial and totally excluded areas.

Hardly any developmental activities took place during the colonial period. Since tribes were totally excluded from the mainstream society, the British established contact with them and divided the tribes for ruling purposes. The British administrators used to survey to control the *Adivasis*, lest they become an extra-source for the Indian National Movement, which was simultaneously going on. It was not actually meant for development of tribes, but was in colonial interests only.

Evidences indicate that Nizam Government brought Christopher von Furer-Haimendorf, a British anthropologist to conduct an extensive study on Adilabad tribes, particularly the Raj Gonds.

During the colonial period, the Scheduled Tribes were excluded from the mainstream society in socio-economic, political and educational fields, which consequently led them towards backwardness. Further, in terms of development, these tribes continued to be exploited by both British and native exploiters like landlords. The colonial rulers did not

pay any attention to the development of tribes, since they gave more priority to regulatory functions, such as maintenance of law and order and collection of revenue, and so on.¹⁹⁸ The colonial rulers also enacted the 'Scheduled Districts Act' in 1874, to keep large tracts of tribal areas outside the purview of general administration. Further, the rulers also promulgated the 'Totally Excluded and Partially Excluded Area Act' in 1879, for which the legislations of the provincial governments did not cover tribal areas. These excluded areas were subsequently listed in Scheduled Fifth and Scheduled Sixth of the Constitution of India.

In the beginning, the colonial government did not go into the roots of tribal life, as they had no interest in their development. It did not evolve a consistent policy for tribal development during the 19th century, but in the 20th century, a little attention was paid only to the welfare of the tribes in those areas where the colonial agents lived.¹⁹⁹ However, attempts made during this period miserably failed to have any positive impact on the tribal economy. In 1931, J.P. Hutton, the Commissioner of Census summarised the impact of British rule on tribals in the following words, "far from being of immediate benefit to the tribes, the establishment of colonial rule in India did much more harm than good." It may be said that the early days of British administration were highly detrimental to the economic position of tribes due to ignorance and neglect of their rights and customs.²⁰⁰

The pre-independent approach to tribal welfare or development was of a different type. Some policies and legislations were implemented and enacted during this period to mitigate the sufferings of the tribals and prevent their exploitation by outsiders. Though these policies of the "Excluded and Partially-Excluded Areas were meant to protect the tribals, these were, in fact, politically motivated. They wanted to secure their own stability and, therefore, these policies were not

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 2

¹⁹⁹ Velayudha Saravanan, 'Economic Decline of Tribals in Tamil Nadu – 1947- 2000' in Govinda Chandra Rath (Ed.) *Tribal Development in India – The Contemporary Debate*, New Delhi, 2000, p. 218.

²⁰⁰ G.S. Ghurye, *The Scheduled Tribe*, Bombay, 1963, p.157.

necessarily, meant to help the people to advance on the road to progress.²⁰¹ These policies helped to isolate the tribes and, therefore, prevented them from coming in contact with the general masses. In such a colonial state, there was no deliberate attempt to strengthen the economic base of these downtrodden communities. A few missionary and voluntary organisations initiated welfare works among them with their vested interests and limited resources at that time. Later on, the British administrators, however, became increasingly involved in the welfare of the tribal communities in the 'inter-war' period.²⁰² Senior officers were deputed in most of the provinces to go into the problem faced by them and to suggest remedial measures. These efforts were, however, interrupted by the Second World War and consequent economic changes. Thus, the practice of tribal development or the modern principle of administration, whether for colonial or other ends, were first brought to the tribes by the British. The colonial government dealt with the tribals, keeping their own vested interests in mind. Their legal system was complicated and its language was alien to the tribals.²⁰³ In pursuance of these laws, the colonial rulers maintained a stern posture throughout their rule in India, and even in tribal areas, they enforced their laws with an iron hand.²⁰⁴

Until the colonial intervention, and even a little later, the tribes continued to live with an internally self-subsistent economy and self-contented traditional system. Since the advent of the British, there began an infiltration by outsiders into tribal areas and the autonomous tribal economy was threatened. There emerged a relationship between tribals and non-tribals. However, the process was reversed, when the British policy of isolating the tribes resulted in large-scale exploitation

²⁰¹ Manish Kumar Raha, *et al.*, *Changes in Tribal Culture: Indian Context – Tribal Studies*, Vol.I, New Delhi, 1997, p. 157.

²⁰² M. Madhava Menon, (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of Dravidian Tribes*, Vol. II, Trivandrum, 1996, p. 81.

²⁰³ P.K. Gopalakrishnan, *Notes on Our Development Experience-since Independence (1950-85)*, Trivandrum, 1985, p. 235

²⁰⁴ S.C. Dube, 'Inaugural Address' in K.S. Singh (Ed.) *Tribal Situation in India*, Vol. 13, Shimla, 1972, p. 28.

by landlords, money-lenders and contractors, adding to their already strained life in fighting off the onslaughts of ruthless nature. The judicial system, which had been adopted, gave the money-lenders immense power over their debtors. They had their heyday, as no one was there to check their usurious activities.

4.2 Post-Independent Period

4.2.1 Constituent Assembly Debates on Scheduled Tribes

Since tribes were excluded from the mainstream society, during the debates on framing the Constitution, leaders like Jaipal Singh, raised the issue of tribal development. More importantly, there was very important debate, which took place in the Constituent Assembly regarding administration of the tribal areas.²⁰⁵ During the debates regarding the provisions of the Constitution of the modern Indian nation, the issue of the administration of Scheduled Tribes generated heated debates on the post-colonial state's policy toward and legislation for *Adivasi* communities. Largely, nationalist leaders and social reformers favoured the assimilation of tribals into the mainstream society, and their views were pitted against those of the British administrators and anthropologists, who advocated isolation or protection. These contrasting positions were reflected in the famous debate between G.S. Ghurye and Verrier Elwin, in which the latter argued for a policy of protection of the 'tribal way of life,' and the former spoke in favour of isolation. While both views were heard, the policy ultimately adopted was a middle ground of integration, advocated by then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru.²⁰⁶ The belief that tribal areas required special laws led to the Constitution of the Advisory Committee on Fundamental Rights and Minorities by the Constituent Assembly in 1947. Further, the body appointed three Sub-Committees in 1947 to look into specific matters related to tribal areas and make suggestions regarding the administration and smooth functioning process. In this process, the first was to look into the excluded and partially excluded areas 'other than Assam' headed by Shri. A.V. Thakkar, the second to examine tribal areas within

²⁰⁵ Report of the High Level Committee on Socio-Economic, Health and Educational Status of Tribal Communities of India, Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India, May, 2014 , p. 69

²⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 68

undivided Assam was chaired by Shri. Gopinath Bardoloi, and the third was to analyse the situation of tribes in the North Western Frontier Province. The proposals of the first two committees were later incorporated as the Fifth and Sixth Schedules of the Indian Constitution. This is how, after independence, the term ‘partially excluded areas’ was labelled as Fifth Schedule Areas.²⁰⁷ In this way, the Constituent Assembly adopted the Fifth Schedule.

On the eve of independence, it was decided to put all the communities, hitherto recognised as aborigines, in separate Schedules of the Constitution of India. Thus, the “Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas” were enlisted in the Fifth and Sixth Schedules. The National Government decided to provide Constitutional safeguards to the tribal communities and enshrined these in the Constitution of the India, which came into force on 26th January 1950. The Fifth Schedule contains provisions as to the administration and control of Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes in the states other than the north-eastern ones, whereas the Sixth Schedule contains provisions as to the administration of tribal areas in the north-eastern states. Thus, welfare and development of the tribal communities have been the national goal, and the special responsibility of the various state governments. The government of India initiated several schemes in order to bring overall development of the nation, as well as the tribes of India. Special efforts were made by the government for tribal development. This forward step began with the resolve to provide education for all, including the tribals, without any discrimination. Thus, the government realised the importance of education and attempted to fulfill its promises on this issue.

4.2.2 Reservation for Scheduled Tribes

Rajalaxmi Rath posits that the British people introduced the reservation system during colonial administration. In 1878, Chatfield, then Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, introduced fee concessions for primary school students. Later on, he introduced

²⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 68

scholarships for secondary and college students as well.²⁰⁸ The colonial period experienced some sort of anti-Brahmin revolts since the Bengal army was full of elite class employees only. Finally, after many discussions, the reservation debate reached a consensus in the Constituent Assembly. Article 330 provides for reservation for SCs and STs in the Lok Sabha and Article 332, reservation in the concerned state legislative assemblies to both SCs and STs.²⁰⁹

4.2.3 Declaring a Community as a Scheduled Tribe

The President of India, after consulting the concerned state or union territory's Governor, as per Article 342 (1), can declare a community or certain communities as STs.²¹⁰ Further, a community can be declared as ST, based on the following five perceptions given by B. N. Lokur Committee.²¹¹ (1) an ensemble of primitive traits, (2) a distinctive culture, (3) geographical isolation, (4) shyness of contact with outside world, and (5) backwardness.

During the post-independent period, attempts were made to uplift the tribes from underdevelopment. Even though in the First Five Year Plan, noticeable importance was not given to this aspect. With the formation of TSP in the 5th Five Year Plan, tribal development got high priority. Since then, plan-wise budget allocations are being made. Further, in order to strengthen the institutional mechanism for tribes, the National Commission for Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes was constituted in 1978; and in 1999, the Union Ministry of Tribal Affairs was created. Thereafter, in 2004, the Commission was divided into two divisions - the National Commission for Scheduled Castes and the National Commission for Scheduled Tribes. These institutions attempted to develop the areas like education, health, infrastructure and communication, and so on.

²⁰⁸Rajalaxmi Rath, (1995), *Reservation and Social Transformation among SCs and STs*, New Delhi: Inter-India Publications, pp. 60

²⁰⁹ Ibid, p. 72

²¹⁰ Ibid, p. 24

²¹¹ Vinay Kumar Srivastava, (2008), Concept of 'Tribe' in the Draft National Tribal Policy, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLIII (50), pp. 29-35

4.2.4 Historical Background of Fifth Schedule Areas

1. Criteria for Declaring the Fifth Schedule Areas

Generally, the tribal areas are the areas where special administration is emphasised by the Indian Constitution. The existing governance system had led to issues like poverty and alienation in areas like social, cultural, financial and, particularly, rights. Whatever attempts were made by the British were only for extracting the natural resources from tribal areas. Further, after independence also, the policies and programmes further aggravated the living conditions of the innocent *Adivasis*, which is very clear from the attempts made by the concern governments. The issues of these special governing areas of tribal concentration can be traced back to the Act called ‘The Scheduled Districts Act of 1874’.²¹² These special zones of administration have been travelling on an alienated track relative to the so-called mainstream society. Under this Act, a special officer was appointed to look after civil issues and justice and the collection of public revenues and mainly conducting administration within the scheduled districts. Later, the Government of India Act of 1919, divided the areas into two parts, namely, ‘Wholly Excluded Areas’ and ‘Areas of Modified Exclusion’. Further, the tribal areas, which were under the Scheduled District Acts, were removed from the preview of legislation with a different level of exclusion.

Latter on, The Government of India Act, 1935, labelled these areas as “Excluded Areas” and “Partially Excluded Areas” that, except under the Governor’s direction, no either federal or provincial Act would apply to these areas. It also empowered the Governor to regulate the system by passing regulations for peace and good governance of these areas, with the assent of the Governor-general. This Act also provided for reservations in Madras, Bombay, Bihar, Central Provinces, Assam and Orissa.²¹³

The fact that the Constitutional fathers had paid special attention to the tribal areas can be seen from the Constituent Assembly appointing two sub committees, i.e., North-East Frontier (Assam) Tribal and Excluded Areas and Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas

²¹² Verma, R.C. (1990), *Indian Tribes through the Ages*, New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, p. 150

²¹³ Ibid, p. 151

(other than Assam). It was also resolved that majority based general laws could not be applied and that without public notification, these cannot be extended. These areas, under this Act, are recognised as ‘Scheduled Areas’²¹⁴. Here, the noticeable point is that Dr. B.R. Ambedkar has opined that ‘Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas’ are known as ‘Scheduled Areas’ which are scheduled as ‘Fifth Scheduled Areas,’ in general, and Agency Areas in AP.

The then President of India had declared Scheduled Fifth Areas on 23rd January, 1950 by the Scheduled Areas (Part A States) Orders, 1950 (Constitution Order, 9).²¹⁵ The main object of these areas was not only assisting them in enjoying their rights, but also protecting and promoting the interests, apart from developing these areas.

The Fifth Schedule Areas have primary features, namely, (i) special legislative powers of the Fifth Scheduled Areas, (ii) the Governor’s report to the President and (iii) the Tribes Advisory Council.

(1) Special legislative powers of the Fifth Schedule Areas:

The Governor of a state, having these areas, has two legislative powers, namely, legislation by notification, and legislation by regulation. Legislation by notification covers the activities, either applicable to that area, or not. Under Clause 5th of the Fifth Schedule, the Governor has been empowered to issue a notification regarding any Act of Parliament or a State Legislature, declaring whether this is not to be applied, or applied with certain modifications. He has the power to withhold, or modify, the laws, which are not suitable for these areas. However, every Act becomes applicable automatically, unless the Governor objects to it, in order to protect tribal interests. In certain cases, like the Parliament Act, or the state Legislature Act affecting the tribal interests, the Governor can give retrospective effect, without informing either the Tribes Advisory Council and the President of India. The Governor has been empowered to regulate the activities for peace and good governance in tribal areas.

(2) Governor’s report to the President:

²¹⁴ Ibid, p. 152

²¹⁵ Ibid, p. 270

The Governor is bound to the central government and the central government is responsible for administrative activities in Scheduled Areas. Governors of states having Fifth Scheduled Areas are required to send reports regarding the administration of tribal areas, annually, or whenever the central government asks for it. Based on such reports, the central government further decides how the tribal areas can be administered. Usually these reports are not submitted on time and, at times, it has been found that some of these reports have been prepared mechanically and do not serve any meaningful purpose. The procedure regarding style and contents for making the reports was not followed in a number of cases. In fact, the views of the Tribes Advisory Council, The National Commission for Scheduled Tribes²¹⁶ and tribal legislatures are not always being taken into account properly. Ideally, these reports should facilitate the speedy socio-economic development of the tribal and Scheduled Areas but in practice, this is generally not the case.

4.2.5 Tribes Advisory Council (TAC)

The Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas Sub-Committee of Advisory Committee of the Constituent Assembly, which had gone into the details of the conditions of the tribals, had recommended the setting up of Tribes Advisory Councils, by empowering the concerned state Governor to supervise the tribal development and administrative issues.²¹⁷ Based on the recommendations of this Sub-Committee, the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution had been incorporated. This provides for appointment of the Tribes Advisory Council. The AP government has also established the TAC. The interesting thing is that those states, which do not have Fifth Schedule Areas, can also have TAC, if the President of India wishes so.

Generally, the Tribes Advisory Council consists of not less than 20 members, including the elected tribal representatives of the concerned state Legislative Assembly. In case sufficient tribal members are not available in that assembly, other members of the tribal

²¹⁶ The National Commission for SCs/STs established in 1987 was bifurcated in 2004 into: The National Commission for Scheduled Castes and The National Commission for Scheduled Tribes.

²¹⁷ Verma, R.C. (1990), *Indian Tribes through the Ages*, New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. p. 156

community can be included. The concerned state Governor makes the appointing rules and working principles of the members. The Chief Minister of the state is to head the Council and the TAC should meet at least twice a year, but it has been pointed out that the TAC are not meeting as prescribed.²¹⁸

Under the regulations regarding the TAC, no regulations shall be made, unless the Governor consult the TAC, apart from advising on welfare and advancement of tribes, as specified in Para 4 of the Fifth Schedule referred to it by the Governor. In fact, the powers are already in practice. There are arguments that, since the tribal representatives are from tribal areas, there is no need for a TAC. Further, it should be made mandatory to refer of all matters regarding tribal issues to the TAC. Otherwise, the actual meaning of having the TAC would be lost. Further, the TAC should cover not only legislative powers, but also planning and supervision on all development programmes.

The TACs, established under the Fifth Schedule, are mandated to “advise on such matters pertaining to the welfare and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes in the State, as may be referred to them by the Governor.” TACs have been constituted in nine states having Scheduled Areas. These states are: Andhra Pradesh, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Orissa and Rajasthan. Apart from these states, West Bengal and Tamil Nadu, which have Scheduled Tribes, but no Scheduled Areas, have also constituted TACs. Unfortunately, no evaluation of the functioning of the TACs has ever been conducted since their inception.

The legal shortcomings of the Fifth Schedule are well known. The TAC can only discuss the issues referred to it by the Governor. Its recommendations are only advisory in nature. The TAC members are appointed by the concerned State government, or the Governor, and they are not accountable to the Scheduled Tribes, in their capacity as members of the TAC. Effectively, the TAC is an extension of the Tribal Welfare Department in the state.

The powers of the Governor, as given under Paragraph 5 of the Fifth Schedule, include the following:

²¹⁸ Ibid, p. 157

- (i) He/she may, by public notification, direct that any particular Act of Parliament, or of the Legislature of the State, shall not apply to a Scheduled Area or any part thereof in the State, or shall apply to a Scheduled Area or any part thereof in the State, subject to such exceptions and modifications as he/she may specify in the Notification and give any direction so as to have retrospective effect,
- (ii) He/she may make regulations to: (a) prohibit, or restrict, the transfer of land by or among members of the Scheduled Tribes in such area; (b) regulate the allotment of land to members of the Scheduled Tribes in such areas; (c) regulate the carrying on of business as moneylenders by persons who lend money to members of the Scheduled Tribes in such areas.

The Governor is empowered to repeal, or amend, any Act of Parliament or of the Legislature of the State or any existing law, which is for the time being applicable to the area in question. In the exercise of these powers, the Government must consult the Tribes Advisory Council of the state, without which “No regulation shall be made” by the Governor.

Under the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution of India, the Tribal Advisory Council has been entrusted with the duty to “advise” the Governor on matters pertaining to the welfare and development of the tribals in the State. Paragraph 4 (2) of the Fifth Schedule states: “It shall be the duty of the Tribes Advisory Council to advise on such matters pertaining to the welfare and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes in the State, as may be referred to them by the Governor.”³⁴ Further, the Governor may make rules prescribing or regulating, as the case may be, (a) the number of members of the Council, the mode of their appointment and the appointment of the Chairman of the Council and of the officers and servants thereof; (b) the conduct of its meetings and its procedure in general; and (c) all other incidental matters. In a way, the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution itself restricts the powers and functions of the TAC, insofar as the TAC is allowed to render its advice only on such matters as may be referred to them by the Governor.

TAC in Andhra Pradesh

On 28 January 1958, the Andhra Pradesh Tribes Advisory Council Rules, 1958, notified by the Governor, under paragraph 4 (3) of the Fifth Schedule, came into effect. Rule 9 of the Andhra Pradesh Tribes Advisory Rules describes the functions of the TAC as follows:

Matters on which advice of the Council is to be sought: “The Governor may require the advice of the Council on any matter pertaining to the welfare and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh State and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power, such matters may include: (a) All new major schemes of welfare and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes in the State; and (b) All cases in which a Regulation is proposed to be made by Governor under Paragraph 5 (2) of the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution.”

4.2.6 Scheduled VI Areas

According to Dr. Ambedkar, the tribal people of Assam were different from the tribals of other areas. As for the latter, they were more or less Hinduised, more or less assimilated to the civilization and culture of the majority of the people, in whose midst they lived. As for the former, their roots were still in their own civilization and their own culture. They had not adopted either the modes, or the manners of the Hindus who surrounded them. Their laws of inheritance, and laws of marriage, customs, etc., were quite different from that of the Hindus. He felt that the position of the tribals of Assam was somewhat analogous to that of the Red Indians (Now referred to as American Indians) in the United States, who are a Republic by themselves in that country, and are regarded as a separate and independent people.

This Schedule provides for two kinds of governing units in the Tribal Areas: the Autonomous District Councils and the Autonomous Regions. It contains the following provisions:

- A. The Governor has the power to include, exclude or diminish any of these areas or define their boundaries
- B. There shall be a District Council for each Autonomous District, comprising of not more than 30 members and a Regional Council for the Autonomous Regions.

C. The powers of administration shall be vested in these District and Autonomous Councils. The Governor shall be entitled to make the rules of the constitution of the Councils, its composition, and terms of office, appointment of officers and staff and procedure and conduct of business.

4.2.7 The 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act

The Act is known for deepening democracy, as well as decentralising the Indian political system. The success of a democratic system largely depends on the existence and efficient operation of a system of local government at the grassroots level. A local government, which is a system of direct and active involvement of the people at grass-root level, gives an opportunity, where local resources are mobilised and used for their socio-economic and political development. A local government provides political education and training to the local people. In the process of decentralising governance at the local level, based on a Balwantrai Mehta Committee report in 1957, the Union Government expanded the Panchayati Raj Institutions, in the form of the three-tier system across India.²¹⁹ Gram Sabhas came into existence because of the 73rd Amendment Act. The main inspiration for the emergence of PRIs is Article 40 of the Directive Principles of State Policy, which states: “The state should take steps to organise Village Panchayats and endow them with such power and authority, as may be necessary, to enable them to function as units of self-government.”²²⁰ Under this Amendment Act, reservation of seats for SC, ST and women candidates has been provided for, based on their population proportion. However, due to the apprehension that if PRIs are empowered, the state level government may lose its credibility, some states have not transferred adequate powers to the Gram Panchayats.

4.2.8 Emerging Context of PESA Act

There were several resistances in central India, particularly in Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra. These agitations were spearheaded by Bharat Jan Andolan, along with

²¹⁹Pankaj Singh, (2014), ‘Panchayati Raj: 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act: An Evaluation’, *Local Government Quarterly*, Vol. LXXXIV: (1), pp. 86-91.

²²⁰ Ibid, p. 59

other organisations. Further, in AP too, there were resistances by tribal leaders and activists. Finally, the case went to the AP High Court, where the Honourable High Court declared the extension of AP Panchayati Raj Act, 1994 to Scheduled V Areas as unconstitutional. Based on the resistances across nation, the then central government constituted a high-level expert committee, the Bhuria Committee, in 1994. The committee submitted its reports in 1995.

4.2.9 Bhuria Committee Recommendations

The Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India constituted a committee of selected members of the Parliament and Experts to make recommendations on the salient features of the law for extending the provisions of Part XI of the Constitution to the Scheduled Areas.

2. The Committee met on 16/7/1994, when it decided to constitute a panel comprising the following members for detailed consideration of the matter and submission of a report to the committee.²²¹

- i) Shri Dileep Singh Bhuria, MP, Chairman of the Committee
- ii) Shri Khagapati Pradhani, MP
- iii) Prof M Kamson, MP
- iv) Dr B D Sharma, expert
- v) Dr Bhupinder Singh, expert
- vi) Shri Bandi Oraon, Vice-Chairman SC/ST Commission
- vii) Shrimati Sushma Singh, Joint Secretary (Monitoring), Convener

3. The group met on 25th July, 1994 and considered the matter from various angles. It decided that a sub-group, comprising Dr. B.D. Sharma, Dr. Bhupinder Singh and Shrimati Sushma Singh, should prepare a draft report for the consideration of the group. The sub-group met on 17th August, 1994 and discussed the matter in detail from various points of view. The members also considered the different paragraphs of the Sixth

²²¹ See Bhuria Committee Reports for details

Schedule of the Constitution. The Committee submitted its report in January 1995.²²² The important recommendations made by the Committee were as follows:

- (1) While passing the law under Article 243 M (4) (b), important provisions of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act and certain unique characters of tribal societies should be kept in view, since many tribal societies have their own community laws, traditions, practices, community ethos, political and administrative systems, among others.²²³
- (2) While drafting the law, advantage should be taken of both the Fifth and Sixth Schedules. The Fifth Schedule should be the fountainhead of essential and beneficial legislation. The design and contents of the Sixth Schedule could serve as the reference frame for a district within the broader canvas of the Fifth Schedule. However, ethnic, regional and other related variations should be given due consideration. The Sixth Schedule should be viewed in this context with such reform as is necessary.
- (3) The Tribes Advisory Council, envisaged in the Fifth Schedule as a consultative body at the state level, needs to be reformed into an effective organisation. The Chief Minister of the state should be its chairman and its meetings should be held once in every three months.
- (4) The functioning of the Central Advisory Council should be reviewed. It should serve as a sounding board for tribal policies and programmes and render advice in disputes between the state government and the Tribes Advisory Council, or between the District Council and the Tribes Advisory Council. Its advice should be normally binding. The Prime Minister should chair its meetings and the members may be the state ministers for Welfare, Home and Rural Development and the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission.²²⁴

²²² Singh, S.K. (ed.), (2005), *Self-Governance for Tribals: Tribal Lands and Indebtedness*, Vol. I, Hyderabad: National Institute of Rural Development, p. 2

²²³ Ibid, p. 2

²²⁴ Ibid, p. 3

- (5) The present day administrative boundaries may be considered for reorganization, based on geographic, ethnic and demographic considerations and finalised within a couple of years.
- (6) The lower functionaries of departments, like police, excise, forest and revenue, should be assigned a minimal role and should work under the control of the concerned panchayats.
- (7) The Gram Sabhas should be allowed to exercise their customary role unhindered. Further, a Gram Sabha may have a traditional village council, which would perform the religious, political, economic, judicial functions on its behalf. The Gram Sabha may nominate its executive council, or village council, which may be a traditional body and may delegate to it the execution of development works.
- (8) A number of aggregated hamlets may have a village panchayat, called variously as Gram Panchayat or Anchal, parha, Pargana Panchayat. This tier corresponds to the lowest tier envisaged in the 73rd Constitution Amendment Act. Its members may be elected.
- (9) Constituencies may be delimited for election of members to the intermediate and district tier Panchayats. The district level Panchayat may be called the Autonomous District Council (ADC).²²⁵
- (10) In certain districts, the Scheduled Tribe population may be less than 50 per cent of the total population, but it may be concentrated in a part, or parts, of the district, say in some blocks or sub-divisions. The Sub-District Council maybe constituted for such areas, called the Autonomous Sub-District Councils (ASDCs). Then ASDCs should be as par with ADCs, However, this maybe regarded as an interim arrangement, pending reorganisation of the administrative boundaries, as suggested earlier.
- (11) The organisational structure of an ADC should be based on the broad outline of Autonomous District Councils in the Sixth Schedule Areas. Minority tribal communities, who cannot find representation through the election process to

²²⁵ Ibid, p. 4

the District Council, should be nominated (not exceeding five in number). The nomination may be made, in consultation with the Governor.

- (12) Lok Sabha Scheduled Tribe members should be associated with the intermediate (block) Panchayat and the district council. However, the representation should not be restricted to Scheduled Tribe MLAs. Even non-ST MLAs should be associated with both tiers.
- (13) Since the Scheduled Areas and Tribal Areas are expected to have a majority of tribal population, the different tier panchayats therein should have a majority of Scheduled Tribe members. Further, both the chairpersons and vice-chairpersons should belong to STs.
- (14) The Sixth Schedule confers powers of legislation and administration of justice on the District Councils, apart from the executive developmental and financial responsibilities. The districts in Scheduled Areas should adopt the Sixth Schedule format, but expand it to include subjects that are indicated in the Eleventh Schedule of the Constitution.
- (15) The legislative powers of the Autonomous District Councils (ADCs) in the Fifth Schedule Areas have been proposed, more or less, on the same lines as in the Sixth Schedule, with some amendments. Insofar as justice is concerned, the committee has emphasised that a traditional jury-based legal system evolved by tribal societies should be recognised and should continue to function. There should be no police interference in cases not involving, heinous offences. Such cases should be confined to the Gram Sabha domain. As far as development functions are concerned, these are enumerated in the Sixth Schedule, as well as in the Eleventh Schedule, These functions should be discharged by the ADCs.²²⁶
- (16) The Panchayats in these areas may receive funds under the provision of Articles 243H and 243I. Also, funds, as per the first provision to Article 275(I), should continue to be available normally.
- (17) For the purposes mentioned in the first proviso to Article 275(1), funds received from sources, other than the Panchayats' own, should be place in the

²²⁶ Ibid, p. 5

'charged' category in the respective Government's budgets, as opposed to the 'voted' category. This will enable funds to remain fully available for the purposes related to tribal interest, without fear of mis-utilisation, or diversion.

- (18) To prevent wrong financial practices occurring in the Tribal Sub-Plan field, the requisite funds (whether relating to State plan or special Central assistance or any other) pertaining to different sectors of development should be quantified and placed at the disposal of the ADCs for distribution among the Panchayats in the district. Moreover, to the extent possible, the Central and State Governments should device procedures for direct allotment of funds to the ADCs.
- (19) Education and health sectors should be the first charge on the fund, received by a Panchayat in Scheduled Areas and, notwithstanding any other provision, the Panchayat should have the power to appropriate funds from any other head for meeting this obligation. ²²⁷
- (20) All Government functionaries of institutions concerned with Panchayats in a Scheduled Area and located within its jurisdiction should be under its control.
- (21) As per the provision in the Sixth Schedule, the Governor may appoint a Commission to examine and report on all matters relating to administration of Autonomous District Councils. Representation should be given to Scheduled Tribes in the Commission.
- (22) The TACs and ADCs in the Scheduled Areas should review the relevance of the existing laws. Action to exclude irrelevant laws should be completed within a stipulated period of about two years.
- (23) The law passed by Parliament will supersede such and any other related laws that have been enacted in pursuance of the 73rd and 74th Constitution Amendment Acts.
- (24) The process of scheduling of tribal areas in the country, commenced earlier has remained incomplete. It is necessary that the remaining tribal pockets should be included in the Scheduled Areas.

²²⁷ Singh, S.K. (ed.), (2005), *Self-Governance for Tribals: Empowerment of Gram Sabha and Social Audit*, Vol. IV, Hyderabad: National Institute of Rural Development, p. 5

(25) The framework of the Sixth Schedule should be looked at afresh in the north-eastern region in the light of suggestions made by the Committee. The Committee, as is evident, dealt with various facets of the tribal situation that could be considered for drafting the legislation. The suggestions made by the Committee assimilate various provisions of the Fifth and the Sixth Schedules and the 73rd Constitutional Amendment. Special treatment has been given to the social, political, cultural and economic aspects of tribal life. The Committee has taken note of the tribal areas that do not find place either in the Fifth or the Sixth Schedules of the Constitution. The recommendations of the Committee paved the way for drafting the Extension Act.²²⁸

4.2.10 PESA Act, 1996

This legislation is very important for tribal community, as K.B. Saxena, the then Secretary, Ministry for Rural Areas and Employment, Government of India comments “The Act will create tremendous pressures in the states to enact laws according to its spirit. The ministry will also monitor as to whether the state governments are going in the right direction or not. And it will be difficult, almost impossible, for the rulers to ignore the implementation of various provisions of the law”²²⁹ However, it has gone in negative directions that it did not happen in implementation.

B.D. Sharma foresees such a situation that "Self-government is an inalienable right of every community. It is a natural endowment like air and is very essence of social reality of humankind. It is the life breath of a democratic polity. It is in pursuance of this approach that we did not wait for the formal implementation of the Bhuria Committee Report by the government and launched a Civil Disobedience Movement on October 2, 1994, asserting the right of self-government at the village level. The new law makes a sea change in the above situation and casts a grave responsibility on the organisation.”²³⁰

²²⁸ Ibid, p. 6

²²⁹ Mukul, (1997), Tribal Areas: Transition to Self-Governance, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol - XXXII No. (18): pp. 928-929

²³⁰ Ibid, pp. 928-929

4.2.11 Purpose and Coverage of PESA

The main purpose of this Act is to recognise and preserve the tribal traditional life system and to strengthen their traditional institutions them for self-governance, by extending Part IX of the Indian Constitution, which deals with Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs). Apart from Scheduled VI Areas, which are concentrated in North-Eastern region of India, it primarily covers the central part of India, particularly states like MP, AP, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand). In this Act, the jurisdiction of PESA Act is “Scheduled Areas,” which are referred to in Clause (1) of Article 244 of the Constitution.²³¹ It identifies the rights for tribes and empowers the tribal communities to have the self-governing rights and reinforcing their tradition, culture and social fabric at the GP level.

4.2.12 AP Conformity PESA Act, 1998

As per the Central Act, AP has amended its existing AP Panchayati Raj Act, 1994. In Andhra Pradesh, nine districts are covered under Scheduled V Areas. five districts are from Coastal Andhra i.e., Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari and West Godavari and four from Telangana region, i.e., Khammam, Warangal, Adilabad and Mahabubnagar. No single district has been covered from the Rayalaseema region, because the President of India notified no area as Fifth Schedule Area. Further, regarding the implementing rules, the AP government has given these rules in 2011, after 13 years of its enactment of the Act in 1998. One of the noticeable points is that the AP government has amended its existing PR Act with some deviations from the Central PESA Act, which are discussed below.

²³¹ Ibid, p. 6

4.2.13 How AP PESA Differs from the Central PESA Act

Table 4.1: AP PESA and Central PESA – A Comparison

| <i>Subject</i> | <i>Central Act</i> | <i>AP PESA Act</i> |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| Land acquisition for projects | Either Gram Sabha or Gram Panchayat | Only Mandal Parishad, and no other authority |
| Minor minerals | Either Gram Sabha, or Gram Panchayat | Only Gram Panchayat |
| Ownership of MFP | Either Gram Sabha, or Gram Panchayat | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gram Sabha will decide but with the assent of State Girijan Cooperative Society, • Bamboo & Beedi leaves are exempted from MFP |
| Anganwadis and village markets | Either Gram Sabha, or Gram Panchayat | Only Gram Panchayat |
| Public institutions like schools | Either Gram Sabha or Gram Panchayat | Only Mandal Parishad |
| Local plans, including TSP | Either Gram Sabha or Gram Panchayat | Only Mandal Parishad and Gram Panchayat |

It can be seen that, while the Central Act is tilted more in favour of the Gram Sabha or the Gram Panchayat, the state Act gives a degree of importance to the Mandal Parishad. The AP PR Act differences with reference to the Central PESA Act are as following.

(1) **Land acquisition for Projects.** While the central Act says that either Gram Sabha, or Gram Panchayat should undertake this responsibility, the state Act has given this responsibility to the Mandal Parishad, which is a higher authority.

(2) **Minor Minerals.** As per the state Act, the requisite powers are vested in the Gram Panchayat only.

(3) **Ownership of MFP.** While the Central Act vested this authority in the Gram Sabha and the Gram Panchayat, the State Act says such powers will be exercised by the Gram Sabha with the assent of State Girijan Cooperative Society only. The State Act has excluded both bamboo and beedi leaves from the list of MFP, which in fact, give them some source of income.

(4) **Anganwadis and Village Markets.** The Central Act has conferred the authority to management these entities to “either the Gram Sabha, or the Gram Panchayat,” whereas the State Act is categorical about ‘Gram Panchayat’ only.

(5) **Managing Public institutions like schools.** The Central Act says “either Gram Sabha or Gram Panchayat.” On the other hand, the State Act has given the authority to the Mandal Parishad only.

(6) **Local Plans, including the TSP.** While the central Act confers the powers in this regard

to either the Gram Sabha or the Gram Panchayat, the State Act vests the powers in “only the

Mandal Parishad and Gram Panchayat

4.2.14 UNDP and NIRD Findings on PESA Act

The joint project of UNDP and NIRD has done extensive research on self-governance for tribals. The project particularly focuses on the functioning process of PRIs in Fifth Schedule Areas. Hence, the study is considered to be very important as per as PESA Act is concerned. Therefore, an overview of the study and findings are discussed below.

The first volume '**Tribal Lands and Indebtedness**' contains four study reports. The first study is on 'Survey, Settlement and Land Reforms in Scheduled V Areas. It covers three States, namely, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. The study found considerable progress in land survey and settlement operations in Scheduled V Areas of all the three States. This implies that still there are some pockets in the Scheduled V Areas of all the three States, where survey and settlement operations have to be completed. In Andhra Pradesh, there is considerable progress in handing over 'pattas' (titles) and 'pattadar pass books' to tribal farmers.²³² The study focuses on how some non-tribal people also managed to get 'pattas' for lands unlawfully in the Scheduled V Areas, whereas some of the Schedule Tribe people did not get 'pattas' for the lands cultivated by them.²³³ The Survey Department, guided by the principal of 'eminent domain factor', refused to recognise the rights of the community on community-owned-lands, like grazing lands, and did not give pattas for them, which invariably disturbs the balance in

²³² Singh, S.K. (ed.), (2005), *Self-Governance for Tribals: Empowerment of Gram Sabha and Social Audit*, Vol. IV, Hyderabad: National Institute of Rural Development, p. 20

²³³ Ibid, p. 20

the livelihood patterns of tribals. These lands were treated as lands belonging to the State.²³⁴

Under land reforms, all forms of 'intermediaries' like Zarnindars, Jagirdars Muttadars, etc., were abolished and Ryotwari system has been introduced in the Scheduled V Areas of all the selected states. However, in this process, some of the intermediaries were allowed to retain large chunks of land, which resulted in the incidence of tenancy system.

The second study in this volume is on the '**Process of Acquisition of Land for Development of Mining Industry in Scheduled V Areas,**' with focus on violation of PESA in the light of the Mining and Industrialisation Process in Scheduled V Areas'.²³⁵ It covers three states, namely, Rajasthan, Chhattisgarh and Orissa. This study examined the strengths and weaknesses of the PESA Act in empowering the Panchayati Raj Institutions with regard to granting of land for mining and also awarding leases of major and minor minerals, the existence of any conflicts or contradictions between PESA and the earlier Acts on the subject, as well as the procedures followed in the background of the PESA Act and the nature and extent of violations of PESA Act in these matters. While extending the provisions of Part IX of the Constitution, the Central Government has made radical improvements in empowering the Gram Sabhas through the PESA. In fact, the Gram Sabha is the nucleus of all activities and conferring wide ranging powers and functions, which do not figure in the main provisions of Part IX of the Constitution.²³⁶ The PESA Act has made it compulsory to consult the Gram Sabha before acquiring the land for mining and also in matters of rehabilitation and resettlement of persons affected by projects in Scheduled V Areas. The Gram Sabha's recommendation is mandatory for granting of prospective license or mining lease for minor minerals, as well as granting of concessions for exploitation of minor minerals by auction. It should, however, be noted that mines and mineral development fall under the purview of both the Central Government and the State Government. The major minerals are exclusively under the control of the Central Government and excluded' from the purview of the PESA Act,

²³⁴ Ibid, p, 20

²³⁵ Ibid, p. 21

²³⁶ Singh, S.K. (ed.), (2005), *Self-Governance for Tribals: Empowerment of Gram Sabha and Social Audit*, Vol. IV, Hyderabad: National Institute of Rural Development, p. 21

while the State Government manages the minor minerals and falls within the purview of the PESA. However, there are already two existing Acts concerned with this subject, namely, the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 and the Coal Bearing Areas (Acquisition and Development) Act of 1957. Despite the enactment of PESA, all matters concerning land acquisition for projects and leasing of lands for minerals are decided in accordance with these existing Acts and they do not assign any role / power to the Gram Sabha in 'granting land and leases and do not give much importance to rehabilitation and resettlement of the affected persons.'²³⁷

The provisions of the PESA Act have been further watered down by the operation of the eminent domain factor, which guides the land acquisition procedures under the Land Acquisition Act of 1894. The Common property resources, which the tribals own collectively by custom, do not come under the ambit of the Land Acquisition Act of 1894, but, as per the principle of 'eminent domain factor', these are recorded as either Government lands, or waste lands.²³⁸ The PESA requirement empowering the Gram Sabha to act as a mediator in case of opposition from villagers has no teeth, since the district collector has power to overrule the decisions of the Gram Sabha. The concept of eminent domain, therefore, needs to be altered, if this power centre is to be rectified. The study points out the antagonistic attitude of the officials towards villagers, who are often dubbed as anti social elements in official parlance. In the case of *Samata vs. the State of Andhra Pradesh* (AIR 1997 SC 3297), calling for a fundamental change in treating the tribals as shareholders of the lands, rather than stakeholders, is yet to be accepted.²³⁹ A diligent view of the Land Acquisition Laws, including the concept "for public purpose," needs clarity, clear definition and guidelines, instead of being arbitrary and vague, as it stands now. This is definitely an area of conflict (the provisions on public purpose vis-à-vis the provisions of PESA). All the acquisitions, whether private or public lands or traditional forest lands, which should require the Gram Sabha's consultation and,

²³⁷ Ibid, p. 22

²³⁸ Singh, S.K. (ed.), (2005), *Self-Governance for Tribals: Tribal Lands and Indebtedness*, Vol. I, Hyderabad: National Institute of Rural Development, p. 22

²³⁹ Ibid, p. 23

permission must include a clause, wherein the mine owner is responsible to the Gram Sabha, despite the issue of the 'No Objection Certificate'.²⁴⁰

The third study in this volume is on '**Alienation of Tribal Lands in Scheduled V Areas**' covers Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. The study focuses on the incidence and magnitude of land alienation, the methods adopted for transfer of lands, its socio-economic and psychological impact on tribal people, particularly women and the youth, and an analysis of the legal strengths and weaknesses of the PESA Act and the role of the Gram Sabha in preventing land alienation and restoring alienated tribal lands to their owners. Alienation cannot be considered as a mere loss of property. Loss of land is tantamount to being uprooted from the locus of belonging. It was this loss of land that triggered numerous and extensive tribal revolts during the colonial and post-colonial periods. The Governments have passed a number of regulations to control alienation of tribal lands and to restore the alienated lands to their owners. Despite all these protective measures, land alienation continues unabated as an ultimate outcome of prolonged indebtedness. This study finds that 24 percent of tribal land has been alienated.²⁴¹ There is no paucity of legislation on land reforms, but the laws and rules are flouted by vested interests, as well as self-seeking administrators, resulting in alienation of tribal lands by hook or by crook.²⁴² The PESA Act provides that the concerned State Legislature shall ensure that the panchayats at the appropriate level and the Gram Sabha are endowed with the power to prevent alienation of tribal land and to take appropriate action to restore any unlawfully alienated land in Scheduled V Areas. However, the spirit of this provision is not reflected in the conformity Acts of Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. The Andhra Pradesh Act was, by and large, in conformity with the Central Act. However, it is not clear how the Gram Sabha shall exercise this power in controlling land alienation. In Madhya Pradesh, the Land Revenue Code empowers the Gram Sabha in Scheduled Areas to restore unlawfully alienated land of Scheduled Tribes. However, there are no

²⁴⁰ Singh, S.K. (ed.), (2005), *Self-Governance for Tribals: Dispute Resolution, Tribal Customs and Forest Laws*, Vol. II, Hyderabad: National Institute of Rural Development, p. 23

²⁴¹ Singh, S.K. (ed.), (2005), *Self-Governance for Tribals: Empowerment of Gram Sabha and Social Audit*, Vol. IV, Hyderabad: National Institute of Rural Development, p. 23

²⁴² Ibid, p. 23

provisions regarding the prevention of land alienation. In pursuance of the Constitutional mandate, under Section 4(m) (3) of the Extension Acts, the Orissa Gram Panchayat (Amendment Act of 1997) states that, subject to the control of Gram Shasan, the Gram Panchayat shall exercise 'such powers and perform such functions in respect of prevention of alienation of land and restoration of any unlawful alienated land to the Scheduled Tribes.²⁴³ However, It is not clear how the Gram Sabha shall control and supervise, leaving much of implementation of provision for guessing.

The fourth study in this volume is on '**Incidence of Indebtedness among the Tribals in "Scheduled V Areas"** covering the States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. This study focuses on a very critical issue of incidence of indebtedness, the causative factors for indebtedness, examination of the relationship between money-lending and land alienation and the role of institutional agencies in extending credit to the Scheduled Tribes in Scheduled Areas.²⁴⁴ The study has brought out that money lending is rampant in the tribal areas - affecting hundreds of thousands of tribals. The tribal people depend largely on private moneylenders for their loans who charge high rates of interest ranging from 60-300 percent and sometimes force the tribals to pledge their lands, which can never be repaid because of their poverty. The tribals often default in repayment of either interest, or capital, and are forced to mortgage their lands, which are seized by the moneylenders subsequently. The study shows that more than 50 percent of the sample households in Madhya Pradesh, 30 percent of households in Bihar and 46 percent of households in Orissa were indebted. It was also found that several of these indebted families alienated their lands; 13 percent of the respondents in Bihar, 26 percent in Madhya Pradesh and 19 percent in Orissa have alienated their lands more than once, for loans.²⁴⁵

The lack of sincere efforts to formulate an appropriate credit policy, apathy of the officials towards tribal development and rampant corruption contribute to tribal

²⁴³ Singh, S.K. (ed.), (2005), *Self-Governance for Tribals: Empowerment of Gram Sabha and Social Audit*, Vol. IV, Hyderabad: National Institute of Rural Development, p. 24

²⁴⁴ Singh, S.K. (ed.), (2005), *Self-Governance for Tribals: Management of Minor Forest Produce and Common Property Resources*, Vol. III, Hyderabad: National Institute of Rural Development, p. 24

²⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 25

indebtedness. Hence, empowerment of Gram Sabha to regulate money lending is imperative. With the exception of Orissa, where the Gram Sabha or Shasan has been given some powers to control money lending among Scheduled Tribes, no other State has made appropriate changes. Even in Orissa, the necessary rules and procedures are not in place to allow the Gram Sabha to actually take action. As PESA does not specify as to how precisely the Gram Sabha can intervene, it is imperative that the rules and procedures are clearly delineated to actually empower the Gram Sabha, to contain exploitation through money lending.

PESA has mandated provisions for empowerment of Gram Sabha, a forum for deliberative democracy and decision-making body by the people themselves. The Volume IV of the series focuses on the theme of '**Empowerment of Gram Sabha and Social Audit**'. This volume contains two study reports, namely, *Impact of State Legislation on the Empowerment of Gram Sabha in Scheduled V Areas; covering the States of Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh and another study on Gram Sabha and Social Audit in Scheduled V Areas, covering the States of Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra.*²⁴⁶

The main objective of the study on Impact of State Legislation on the Empowerment of Gram Sabha in Scheduled V Areas is to assess the impact of State legislation on the empowerment of the Gram Sabha (self- governance), as well as to examine the levels of awareness of people and their consequent participation in the deliberations in Gram Sabha. In pursuance of this, the study made an analysis of the relevant National and State legislations on the subject and tried to assess the degree of conformity of State legislation with the Central PESA of 1996.²⁴⁷

The various provisions of Central PESA empower the Gram Sabha, but such empowerment is found to be limited. The Gram Sabha is empowered by conferring the following powers:

²⁴⁶ Singh, S.K. (ed.), (2005), *Self-Governance for Tribals: Awareness Building Efforts*, Vol. V, Hyderabad: National Institute of Rural Development, p. 33

²⁴⁷ Singh, S.K. (ed.), (2005), *Self-Governance for Tribals: Empowerment of Gram Sabha and Social Audit*, Vol. IV, Hyderabad: National Institute of Rural Development, p. 33

(1) **Mandatory Powers** (a) power of prior approval of plans and projects for economic development by Gram Sabha, (b) power to identify and select beneficiaries under poverty alleviation and other programmes and (c) power to issue Certificate of Utilisation of funds by the Panchayat for the above programmes;

(2) **Power to be Consulted** in the acquisition of lands for 'public purpose' and consequent displacement and rehabilitation of the affected people;

(3) **Recommendatory Powers** for: (a) grant of prospecting license or mining lease for minor minerals and (b) grant of concessions for exploration of minor minerals by auction; and

(4) **Devolution of Powers by the State Government itself** in issues like ownership of MFP, control of money-lending and prevention of alienation of tribal lands. It is, however, not clear whether the mandatory powers of the Gram Sabha are absolutely binding and what is the status of the Gram Sabha when the Government overrules its decisions.²⁴⁸

The study showed that the conformity State legislations tend to give certain powers to the intermediate and higher level panchayats, rather than the Gram Sabha. For instance, the State of Gujarat has given extensive powers to the intermediate tier - but not to the Gram Sabha. The power like prior consultation for acquiring land, management of water bodies, power to enforce prohibition and control over institutions and functionaries have all been given to the intermediate tier in the State. To that extent, the Gujarat Panchayat (Amendment) Act, 1998 significantly diluted the role of Gram Sabha. At the same time, nothing in the Act binds the Village Panchayat to act against the decisions of the Gram Sabha. In Rajasthan, all the powers, to be vested with the Gram Sabha and Panchayat at Appropriate Level (PAL), have been manipulatively worded as 'Gram Sabha' or 'PAL'.

²⁴⁸ Singh, S.K. (ed.), (2005), *Self-Governance for Tribals: Empowerment of Gram Sabha and Social Audit*, Vol. IV, Hyderabad: National Institute of Rural Development, p. 33

Other States also have allocated powers to different tiers, with the result no uniform pattern emerges on this legislation.²⁴⁹

Some powers like power to grant prospecting license or mining lease for minor minerals and grant of concession for exploitation of minor minerals by action are absent from the Gujarat Panchayat Act, as amended in 1998. Likewise, the power to enforce prohibition and move against money-lending is not included in the Madhya Pradesh Panchayati Raj Adhiniyam, as amended in 1977. In addition, the grant of ownership of MFP is not included in the Madhya Pradesh Act.²⁵⁰

This study also tried to explore the conflicts arising out of the powers vested with the Gram Sabha under the PESA and the provisions contained in the various "subject matter" State laws. Under the PESA, the Gram Sabha or the Gram Panchayat at the appropriate level has been vested with the mandatory powers to regulate on subjects such as prohibition of intoxicants, control of MFP, alienation of land, money-lending to tribals and control over local plans and their resources. On all these subjects, there are specific State legislations, which affect the operation of the State variants of PESA. This study also found that rules and procedures for operationalising these Acts have not yet been formulated in most States.

The insights collected from the field visits in all the five States showed little awareness and understanding of PESA among the members of Gram Sabha and the Government functionaries. However, in areas where NGOs have been active, there appears to be some level of community mobilisation and awareness of PESA. The lack of awareness of specific provisions has resulted in Gram Sabha not exercising vital powers to the extent these have been granted to them.²⁵¹

The study on *Gram Sabha and Social Audit in Scheduled V Areas, covering the States of Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh* focuses on the analysis of 'social audit

²⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 34

²⁵⁰ Singh, S.K. (ed.), (2005), *Self-Governance for Tribals: Empowerment of Gram Sabha and Social Audit*, Vol. IV, Hyderabad: National Institute of Rural Development, p. 34

²⁵¹ Singh, S.K. (ed.), (2005), *Self-Governance for Tribals: Awareness Building Efforts*, Vol. V, Hyderabad: National Institute of Rural Development, p. 34

role' of the Gram Sabha in the framework of the provisions of PESA in the Scheduled V Areas. The recommendations of the Ashok Mehta Committee regarding the concept of social audit have been adopted in this study. A modest attempt has also been made to examine the field scenario about the execution of PESA provision, to know if the empowerment of Gram Sabhas has actually taken place. The basic purpose of empowering the Gram Sabha has been to provide it centrality as a watchdog agency at the grassroots level and promote peoples' participation in the decision-making process at the panchayat level.²⁵² The 'social audit' concept broadly envisages the effective exercise of these powers by the Gram Sabha. At the same time, the study showed that a large majority of the members of Gram Sabha in all the three States, and more so in Madhya Pradesh, are not aware of the powers of the Gram Sabha. It was also found that neither the official functionaries, nor the members of the Gram Sabha were found to have any knowledge of the concept of 'social audit'. The study, however, tried to look at the way panchayat development plans are transparently formulated involving the Gram Sabha and the process of identification and selection of beneficiaries under the poverty alleviation and such other programmes and found that the Gram Sabha's participation and involvement was reasonably good.²⁵³ The distressing point, however, is that neither the Vigilance Committee formed by the Gram Sabha, nor the Gram Sabha itself were actively involved in monitoring the execution of development works.

The level of participation of Gram Sabha members represents the better scale to measure the 'social audit' role performance of Gram Sabha. It was found that the Sarpanch/Secretary have begun realising their responsibility to report the expenditure details to the Gram Sabha much more in the States of Rajasthan and Maharashtra compared to Madhya Pradesh and that the accounts are actually discussed in the Gram Sabha.

²⁵² Singh, S.K. (ed.), (2005), *Self-Governance for Tribals: Empowerment of Gram Sabha and Social Audit*, Vol. IV, Hyderabad: National Institute of Rural Development, p. 35

²⁵³ Singh, S.K. (ed.), (2005), *Self-Governance for Tribals: Empowerment of Gram Sabha and Social Audit*, Vol. IV, Hyderabad: National Institute of Rural Development, p. 35

The real strength of social audit by Gram Sabha lies in compliance by the Sarpanch/Secretary in matters pertaining to the summoning of the Gram Sabha, public display of various types of information and providing copies of official documents. Convening the meetings and circulation of advanced agenda were found to be common in all the States: installation of information boards was common in Rajasthan, but not so in Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. The sad part of the story of 'social audit' relates to the absence of quorum requirement for the Gram Sabha meeting on many occasions in all the States. Women's participation in the Gram Sabha was, however, found to be reasonably good - around 50 percent. The study concluded that the 'institution of Gram Sabha has begun affecting the decision-making process at the Panchayat level and the elements of transparency and accountability are slowly and steadily creeping into the grassroots level democratic institutions of Scheduled V Area States of the Indian Union'.²⁵⁴

4 2.15 Institutional Mechanism for Implementation of Tribal Development Policies

4 2.16 The Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute (TCRTI)

The Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute (commonly known as TCRTI), is a research institute established in AP to carry out research activities about the Scheduled Tribes. It covers not only their socio-economic dimensions, but also cultural, educational, political issues, apart from submitting annual reports to the Governor on the status of welfare and development of STs in AP. In pursuance to the recommendations made by Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission (1960-61), popularly known as Dhebar Commission, which emphasised the need for research and surveys in tribal areas, the Government of India sanctioned the Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute at Hyderabad under the Central Sector Scheme during the Third Five Year Plan.

²⁵⁴ Singh, S.K. (ed.), (2005), *Self-Governance for Tribals: Capacity Building*, Vol. VI, Hyderabad: National Institute of Rural Development, p. 36

Accordingly, the Government of Andhra Pradesh established the TCRTI at Hyderabad during the year 1962-63.²⁵⁵

Main Functions and Duties of TCRTI, AP

1. To conduct studies on Tribal Ethnography, Ecology, and Cultural Dynamics
2. To verify Tribal Status of Candidates availing Constitutional benefits against Scheduled Tribe quota.
3. To monitor the progress of implementation of protective regulations
4. To conduct training programmes for various categories of officials working in tribal areas.
5. To evaluate various tribal development programmes.
6. To publish books, journals, etc., on tribal status.
7. To prepare agency administration report and rules of reservation
8. To preserve important aspects of tribal culture like songs, dance, language, art, material culture, etc., and maintain a library.
9. Administration and Personnel Management.

4.2.17 Forest Rights Act, 2006

There were at least three distinct phases of colonial forest policies in India, one covering the period from 1796-1850, the second from the 1850s to the 1880s, and the third from 1894 to 1947. For the post-colonial era, there are at least two distinct phases, one covering the period from the 1950s to the 1970s and the other from the 1980s onwards. The material interests of the state, especially the wood requirements for ship-building, railways, government departments and industries, were the main driving force for the forest policies of the colonial state. *Adivasis* have a lot of attachment with the forest since time immemorial. Living peaceful life in forest gives them not only healthy life, but also livelihood and enjoyment as well. In some contexts, tribes believe in forest, rather than government formal system as it can be understood in the words of a tribal person that

²⁵⁵ <http://www.aptribes.gov.in/html/tcr-ti.htm>

“give us back our forests, or we have no alternative, but beggary left to us”.²⁵⁶ For generations, tribes have been enjoying the forests in different ways and there were no rights either allowing them or restricting them from enjoying the ‘fruits’ of the forest. Of course, they used to live happily far away from formal society, but as the entry of formal system began into tribal lives, particularly in the form of Forest Acts since the colonial times, in general, and Forest Rights Act, in particular, their lives, as well as economy, became stagnated. They cannot enjoy forestry life, as they once used to do earlier.

A critical examination of the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006, reveals that the rights of the tribals were further compromised. From time immemorial, the rights of indigenous people have been diluted by the state institutionalised forestry policies, particularly the FRA, 2006.

The Forest Rights Act seems to be a positive sign for the tribal community that the phrase “historic injustice done to forest-dwelling communities” was the highlight of the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006, also referred to as the Forest Rights Act (FRA). The basic aim of this Act is to recognise the traditional rights of tribes and forest dwellers over the forest areas. This Act has not only facilitated community rights over natural resources, but also given legitimate rights to lay claim over forest land, which they have been cultivating for centuries. It seems that the village level officials of FRA do not perform their duties properly. The Act has many loopholes that the implementing mechanism does not have the proper information and awareness among themselves. The Forest Department should deal with the communities with a humane approach; otherwise the tribal people may become victims of the legislation. The lack of coordination among the governments, on the one hand, and lack of provisional knowledge about the Act among the tribes and forest dwellers, on the other, are responsible for the inactiveness in implementation of the FRA Act. The absence of proper awareness among the forest departments affects in a way that the GS needs to wait for directions from the forest officials. The kind of forest journey went on in India - from Vana Mahotsava through farm forestry and social forestry down

²⁵⁶ Vinay Kumar Srivastava, (2006) “A Note on the Tribal Situation in India”, in Saksena, H.S. et al. *Scheduled Tribes and Development*, New Delhi: Serials Publications. p. 41

to the joint forest management.²⁵⁷ During the colonial period, the forest was used for wood making for government departments, boats, furniture, but after independence, it became commercial. The CPI (Marxist) criticises the Narendra Modi government by saying that it has been diluting the FRA.²⁵⁸ Further, Brinda Karat argues that tribals would go for a revolt with their traditional weapons. She says that the Modi government is allowing the corporate and other projects in tribal areas without their consent and says that Modi's model of good governance means bulldozing tribal rights. Furthermore, Karat points out that the tribals have strong leadership and they will fight back.

4.2.18 Minor Forest Produce (MFP)

Vidhya Das posits that women in Orissa fought for the rights of MFP against their state government by organising themselves with Mandibisi Mahila Mandal.²⁵⁹ Tribes collect MFP by spending a lot of time and face risks in dense forest areas as well. In AP, GCC undertakes the responsibility of collection, processing and sale of MFP from the tribes.

Because of the uncertainty of agricultural yields, tribals largely rely on minor forest produce (MFPs) as a supply of food security, likewise as for unit medicines. As a result, within the recent past policy, manufacturers, environmentalists, researchers and government has been highlighting the importance of MFP. However, MFP square measure the property sources of living for poor social group individuals, middlemen, traders and forest contractors have affected the costs received by primary producers through unfair trade practices. This has undoubtedly adversely affected the living sustenance and food basket of an outsized range of poor tribal households. Social group individuals square measure denied a good value and most frequently receive a value less than the prevailing market value. The collection and sale of NTFPs by the tribals of province have been drastically and consistently curtailed as a part of state strategy. In addition, issues like unscrupulous use of forest resources by middlemen and traders, and

²⁵⁷ Arun Bandopadhyay, (2010), "The Colonial Legacy of Forest Policies in India", *Social Scientist*, 38 (1/2): pp. 53-76.

²⁵⁸ *The Hindu*, Dated 15/12/2014, p.4 (Hyderabad Edition)

²⁵⁹ Vidhya Das, (1996), Minor Forest Produce and Rights of Tribals, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXXI: (50), pp. 3227-3229

lack of interest on the part of the government to create forest resources through plantations have affected the natural and sole livelihood base of the forest dwellers.

The concerned governments have, from time to time, developed and implemented a number of policies and enacted laws regarding the collection, processing and promoting of NTFPs like kendu leaf, sal seed and bamboo. The objective behind these laws was to enable the first gatherers to get remunerative value for the products gathered. Despite numerous policies developed by the state at different times regarding fixing of fair prices and processing of NTFPs, still rampant corrupt practices exist. There are also issues like exploitation of tribals, state monopoly over forest resources, and non-responsive attitude of the govt. agencies operating for the procuring, processing and promoting of NTFPs.

4.2.19 Integrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDA)

The 2001 census, put the population of Scheduled Tribes in India at 84,326,240 (i.e., 8.2 percent of the total population of the country). There are 35 Scheduled Tribes in AP, with a population of about 50 lakhs (i.e., 6.59 percent of the state's population).²⁶⁰ Among them, 12 tribes are primitive tribal groups (PTGs). ITDA covers half of the tribes who are in Scheduled Areas, popularly known as Agency Areas in AP, and excludes the tribes who are in the plain areas. Tribals are scattered across the state, but only eight districts are covered under the Fifth Schedule. It is rather unfortunate that in Scheduled Areas, non-tribals are getting employment opportunities, whereas tribals are treated like condescension. In plain areas, tribes are treated as second-rate citizens by the non-tribals. Rules in Agency Areas allow the non-tribals to get employment, but not tribal from plain areas. This explains that the state is biased towards tribals and violates the PESA rules. Regarding employment, ITDA, by itself, has several wings directly under its control. These wings are meant for both the Hardware and Software Development of the Tribals. The Government of Andhra Pradesh has sought to establish a single line administration in the Tribal Sub-Plan areas, by empowering one agency, i.e., the ITDA to control and coordinate the functions of the various departments functioning here. The Project Officer

²⁶⁰*Basic Statistics on Scheduled Tribes of Andhra Pradesh*, (2008), Hyderabad: Tribal Cultural Research & Training Institute (TCR&TI), Tribal Welfare Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh, p. 52

is given powers to plan, implement, review and coordinate the activities of all Departments working in the area.

The Tribals are dependent on the forest and live by collecting forest produce, or undertaking shifting cultivation. With the intervention of the ITDA, settled agriculture has become the order of the day, with more and more tribals opting for settled agriculture using new varieties of seeds and agricultural implements. The agricultural wing of the ITDA plans, implements, and monitors the development of agriculture in the land owned by the tribals and its activities include distribution of new variety of seeds, agricultural implements, transfer of modern agricultural packages, and enlightening the people on new crops and cropping patterns.

The Minor Irrigation wing of the ITDA is responsible for taking up construction of minor irrigation tanks, check-dams and community irrigation wells, electric motors and oil engines are supplied to the tribal beneficiaries for irrigating their land, using water from small rivulets and wells. They also develop Lift Irrigation Schemes, by taking water from the perennial, copious rivers, which flow through the district, and also from the various irrigation borewells, which are dug, taking into consideration the ground water availability. The ITDA bears the cost for extending electric lines for energisation of the motors meant for Lift Irrigation Schemes, as well as for the wells.

There is Sub-Employment Exchange, which is functioning under the control of the ITDA, where all the tribals who are qualified are registered and employment is given to them through this agency.

There is Pre-Examination Training Centre (PETC), functioning under the ITDA to coach the tribal youth to take up competitive examinations. In the vocational training centre, other skills, like jeep driving, motor repairs, radio and TV mechanism, tailoring, borewell repairs, etc., are imparted to the tribals.

To ensure community development and participation, the ITDA has formed Village Tribal Development Associations (VTDA) in the villages of the Agency Areas. The VTDA is the association of all the tribals of the village and they meet once in a month to

discuss issues and settle any problems mutually and collectively. All development activities are taken up by the ITDA through the VTDA's. They are entrusted with the responsibility of construction of works like roads, minor irrigation tanks under the supervision of the concerned Engineering Department. This would assure that the assets created are maintained in the longrun. The Vice President and Secretaries of VTDA are given training to hold meetings and to take-up these works. Thrift groups of Women are being formed for encouraging the savings habit among women and also to empower them to stand on their own feet by starting income generating activities with the money saved. APO is monitoring the activities of women thrift groups in the Agency Area under the guidance of the Project Officer.

To promote community participation in the overall development of the tribal community, ten CDCs have been appointed to act as facilitators in community mobilisation, creating awareness on various economic, as well as welfare, schemes, which are aimed at development of the tribals, and to ensure sustainable development in the agency area.

4.2.20 Modified Area Development Approach, (MADA)

The office of the Project Officer MADA in Mahabubnagar district is functioning independently w.e.f 1986. Where there is 50 percent and more S.T. population in a village, the same is identified as a MADA village. This programme came into existence w.e.f. 26.07.1985.

1. **The State versus tribal movements:** The tribal movements have sought to bring pressure on the State to devise and implement suitable tribal welfare policies.
2. **The Response of the State to Tribal Movements.** Today's movements are part and parcel of contemporary times and the state knows how to handle these movements, especially how to suppress these.
3. **Awareness Levels of Tribals Regarding Movements.** Even though tribals are being increasingly drawn into movements against the State, not many of them know exactly what they are agitating for. Even more unfortunate is the fact that a large number of them are not able to understand the very nature of state yet and

the formal and representative democracy, which the country has been following since independence. The moot question is: whether, in the garb of representative democracy, the aspirations of vast sections of the Indian heterogeneous society being ‘swept under the carpet’? Also, in which direction are we are moving – towards a welfare state, or public pressurized state?

4.2.21 Tribal Sub Plan (TSP)

In order to balance the social-economic development of tribal areas and to reduce the developmental gap existing between tribes and non-tribes, a policy of integrated development is required. The Tribal Sub-Plan was introduced to ensure that all general development sectors at the state level earmark funds in proportion to ST population so that adequate benefits from all the concerned sectors flow to the tribal people.

The primary aim of this TSP is to reduce tribal exploitation and ensure them benefits of assets, infrastructure and human resource.²⁶¹ Development is a broad concept, which can improve the quality of life and assure involvement in all stages of developmental processes, i.e., decision-making, implementation, surveillance and assessment. The TSP came into existence based on recommendations of Shilu Ao Committee (1969)²⁶² to provide infrastructural facilities, as well as improving human resources, apart from budgetary allocations for the overall development of the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes as well.

Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) strategy, which came into being in the Fifth Five Year Plan with the twin objectives of area and sectoral approaches, envisages protection of the interests of the Scheduled Tribes through legal and administrative measures and development and welfare activities through plan efforts. Empowerment of these historically disadvantaged tribal people requires more provision of the basic capabilities for integrating them into growth process.

Ever since it started in 1974-75, it has been implementing, but there is a huge gap in the funds allocated for tribal development and actual achievements. Dr. VNVK Sastry, a

²⁶¹ Preeti Dwivedi, (2012), ‘Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) for Inclusive Tribal Development: Issues and Challenges’, *Vanyajati*, Vol. LX (3): pp. 7-11

²⁶² Ibid, p. 8

well-experienced administrator, as well as researcher, who spent more than 30 years of his service in tribal areas of AP, asserts that the government is not at all interested in developing human resources existing there (i.e., the Scheduled Tribes). Rather, it is more interested in extracting their natural resources.²⁶³ The major problem is that the state itself has been diluting the very notion of tribal development, in general, and Schedule Fifth Areas, in particular, by diverting TSP funds to other sectors. This statement can be better understood from the Table below.

Table 4.2 AP TSP Budget (1992-93 to 2011-12) Rupees in Lakhs

| <i>Sl. No.</i> | <i>Year</i> | <i>State budget allotment</i> | <i>TSP allotment</i> | <i>TSP percent</i> | <i>TSP expenditure</i> | <i>Expenditure in percent</i> | <i>Diluted / Diverted funds</i> |
|----------------|-------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>1</i> | <i>2</i> | <i>3</i> | <i>4</i> | <i>5</i> | <i>6</i> | <i>7</i> | <i>8</i> |
| 1. | 1992-1993 | 199,694.00 | 3,037.00 | 1.52 | 3430.00 | 112.94 | -393.00 |
| 2. | 1993-1994 | 207,555.00 | 3,480.00 | 1.68 | 3517.00 | 101.06 | -37.00 |
| 3. | 1994-1995 | 217,000.00 | 8,592.00 | 3.96 | 5644.00 | 65.69 | 2948.00 |
| 4. | 1995-1996 | 271,978.00 | 10,945.00 | 4.02 | 6988.00 | 63.85 | 3957.00 |
| 5. | 1996-1997 | 277,313.00 | 9,819.00 | 3.54 | 8008.00 | 81.56 | 1811.00 |
| 6. | 1997-1998 | 358,505.00 | 21,410.00 | 5.97 | 21410.00 | 100.00 | 0.00 |
| 7. | 1998-1999 | 467,895.00 | 18,463.00 | 3.95 | 18463.00 | 100.00 | 0.00 |
| 8. | 1999-2000 | 547,950.00 | 3,330.00 | 0.61 | 3330.00 | 100.00 | 0.00 |
| 9. | 2000-2001 | 822,812.00 | 11,950.00 | 1.45 | 11950.00 | 100.00 | 0.00 |
| 10. | 2001-2002 | 831,319.15 | 32,120.00 | 3.86 | 32100.00 | 99.94 | 20.00 |
| 11. | 2002-2003 | 855,319.15 | 63,927.01 | 7.47 | 50835.44 | 79.52 | 13091.57 |
| 12. | 2003-2004 | 1097,045.74 | 76,148.42 | 6.94 | 70517.66 | 92.61 | 5630.56 |
| 13. | 2004-2005 | 1329,120.11 | 77,746.42 | 5.85 | 85693.66 | 110.22 | -7947.24 |
| 14. | 2005-2006 | 1565,076.89 | 91,526.82 | 5.85 | 77697.68 | 84.89 | 13829.14 |
| 15. | 2006-2007 | 2000,000.00 | 118,485.05 | 5.92 | 141,105.38 | 119.09 | -22620.33 |
| 16. | 2007-2008 | 3050,000.00 | 245,482.76 | 8.05 | 245,308.12 | 99.93 | 174.64 |
| 17. | 2008-2009 | 4400,000.00 | 333,196.11 | 7.57 | 159,080.91 | 47.74 | 174115.20 |
| 18. | 2009-2010 | 33,49,675.00 | 237,282.56 | 7.08 | 152,757.88 | 64.38 | 84524.68 |
| 19. | 2010-2011 | 36,80,000.00 | 252,919.73 | 6.87 | 157,757.88 | 62.34 | 95241.45 |
| 20. | 2011-2012 | 43,00,000.00 | 297,313.30 | 6.91 | 220,642.48 | 74.21 | 76670.82 |
| | Total | 29828,840.89 | 1917,173.98 | 6.43 | 1476,157.49 | 77.00 | 441016.49 |

Source: TCRTI, Hyderabad.

Except four years i.e., 1997-98 to 2000-01, from 2002-03 onwards funds diversion has been increasing gradually. The funds diversion has further deteriorated the tribal

²⁶³ Sastry, VNVK, (2013), *Ikya Udyamala Phalitham Tribal Sub Plan*, Hyderabad: Prajasakthi Daily Printing Press, p. 3

economy, which was supposed to protect from globalised pressure or new phenomenon. Nonetheless, the AP state government has been the key player in diluting the Constitutional obligations under Article 46 which seeks to protect the tribal educational, cultural and economic areas. Further, Fifth Schedule points for peaceful and good governance in Scheduled V Areas by the Governor. However, these two points are extremely violated in the context of developmental plans. For instance, the Polavaram Project that has been stifling the tribals' voice and displacing them forcefully. For political reasons, in Andhra Pradesh, TSP was legalised in 2013 by the then Congress government.²⁶⁴

Table 4.3: Five-Year Plan wise Budget Allocations for Tribal Development

| <i>Sl. No.</i> | <i>Plan Period</i> | <i>Total Fund Allocation</i> | <i>Allocation for Tribal Development Programmes</i> | <i>Percentage</i> |
|----------------|------------------------|------------------------------|---|-------------------|
| 1. | 1st plan (1951-56) | 2069.00 | 13.93 | 0.06 |
| 2. | 2nd plan (1956-57) | 4800.00 | 49.92 | 1.08 |
| 3. | 3rd plan (1961-66) | 7500.00 | 50.53 | 0.60 |
| 4. | Annual Plan (1966-67) | 2081.54 | 32.32 | 0.48 |
| 5. | Annual Plan (1967-68) | 2246.00 | | |
| 6. | Annual Plan (1968-69) | 2359.00 | | |
| 7. | 4th plan (1969-74) | 15901.47 | 79.5 | 0.5 |
| 8. | 5th plan (1974-79) | 38853.24 | 1157.67 | 3.0 |
| 9. | Annual Plan (1979-80) | 12176.00 | 855.16 | |
| 10. | 6th plan (1980-85) | 97500.00 | 3640.25 | 3.7 |
| 11. | 7th plan (1985-90) | 180000.00 | 6744.85 | 3.8 |
| 12. | Annual Plan (1990-91) | 65714.50 | N.A | N.A |
| 13. | Annual Plan (1991-92) | 73482.15 | | |
| 14. | 8th plan (1992-97) | 434100.00 | 22409.65 | 5.2 |
| 15. | 9th (1997-2002) | 859200.00 | 32087.26 | 3.7 |
| 16. | 10th plan (2002-07) | 1618460.00 | 1481.00 | 0.09 |
| 17. | 11th Plan (2007-2012)* | 3644718.00 | 3633.00 | 0.09 |
| 18. | 12th Plan (2013-17)* | 35,68,626.00 | | |

NA: Not Available

*Business Standards, September 8, 2012.

(Source: Documents of Planning Commission, from 1st plan to 12 plan, Government of India)

²⁶⁴ Dimme John Barnabass, (2013), SC., ST Sub Plan Chattabaddtha, *Veekshanam*, Vol.11 (2). pp. 52-53

There have been tremendous vicissitudes in the process of fund allocations for the welfare, as well as development, of Scheduled Tribes based on their population proportion. Consider the allocation from the 1st Five-Year Plan to the 12th Five-Year Plan. The allocation in the First Plan was less than one percent. In the Second Plan, this increased to 1.08 percent. Then it moved towards the downward path from the Third Five-Year Plan to the Fourth one, when it was less than one percent. However, in the Fifth Five-Year Plan, more importance was given with the initiation of TSP (3.0 percent). Further, the same method was followed up to the Ninth Five-Year Plan. The allocation went down to less than one and 0.09 percent in the Eleventh and Twelfth Five-Year Plans respectively. The noticeable point is that though the general budget allocations and Tribal Sub Plan allocations are increasing, these benefits are not enhancing the tribal livelihood effectively. This is because even now, in India, tribes are the most underdeveloped social group on developmental dimensions.²⁶⁵

²⁶⁵ Arup Maharatna, (2011), How Can 'Beautiful' Be 'Backward'? Tribes of India in a Long-term Demographic Perspective, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLVI (4): pp. 42-52

Table 4.4: Integrated Tribal Development Projects, Modified Area Development Approach, pockets, Cluster and Primitive Tribal Groups in Tribal Sub-Plan Area

| Sl. No | State/UT | Number of | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|-------------------------|
| | | ITDPs/ITDAs | MADA Pockets | Clusters | Primitive Tribal Groups |
| 1 | Andhra Pradesh | 8 | 41 | 17 | 12 |
| 2 | Assam | 19 | - | - | - |
| 3 | Bihar | - | 7 | - | 9 |
| 4 | Chhattisgarh | 19 | 9 | 2 | 7 |
| 5 | Gujarat | 9 | 1 | - | 5 |
| 6 | Himachal Pradesh | 5 | 2 | - | - |
| 7 | Jammu & Kashmir | - | - | - | - |
| 8 | Jharkhand | 14 | 34 | 7 | 9 |
| 9 | Karnataka | 5 | - | - | 2 |
| 10 | Kerala | 7 | - | - | 5 |
| 11 | Madhya Pradesh | 31 | 30 | 6 | 7 |
| 12 | Maharashtra | 16 | 44 | 24 | 3 |
| 13 | Manipur | 5 | - | - | 1 |
| 14 | Orissa | 21 | 46 | 14 | 13 |
| 15 | Rajasthan | 5 | 44 | 11 | 1 |
| 16 | Sikkim | 4 | - | - | - |
| 17 | Tamil Nadu | 9 | - | - | 6 |
| 18 | Tripura | - | - | - | 1 |
| 19 | Uttar Pradesh | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| 20 | Uttarakhand | - | - | - | 2 |
| 21 | West Bengal | 12 | - | 1 | 3 |
| Union Territory | | | | | |
| 22 | Andaman & Nicobar Island | 1 | - | - | 5 |
| 23 | Daman & Diu | 1 | - | - | - |
| | TOTAL | 192 | 259 | 82 | 93 |
| Source: Census Operations 2001 | | | | | |

* There are no ITDPs in Tripura. There are Tripura Tribal Autonomous District Councils (TTADC). The provisions of the Sixth Schedule were extended to Tripura w.e.f. 1985 by the 49th Amendment of the Constitution.

*The PTGs for Bihar and Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh & Chhattisgarh and Uttar Pradesh

* Uttarakhand are common

Post-independence, attempts made by the various states have plans to initiate different range of scheme-implementing mechanism like ITDP / ITDAs, MADA pockets, Cluster and PTGs. These tribal-oriented plans are spread across India, based on the proportion of their population. Hence, almost all the states have some sort of mechanisms, but only a few have given these high priority. If we go by state-wise details, AP has 8 ITDAs, 41 MADA pockets, 17 Clusters and 12 PTGs. Chhattisgarh has 19 ITDAs, 9 MADA pockets, 2 Clusters and 7 PTGs; Jharkhand, 14, 34, 7 and 9; MP 31, 30, 6 and 7; Maharashtra 16, 44, 24 and 3; Orissa 21, 46, 14 and 13 and Rajasthan, 5, 44, 11 and 1 respectively. Apart from these, other states are having either ITDAs, or MADA pockets, or clusters or PTGs. However, the noticeable point is that most of the central Indian states have enough number of tribal institutions, rather than the North-eastern states. These institutions focus on a different spectrum of perspectives like education, health, loan, building infrastructure etc.

4.3 Summing Up

The policies and programmes that had been formulated during the colonial period exposed the state bias towards the Scheduled Tribes. During the colonial period, the British government made policies to isolate the tribes and to maintain them as a separate group, by enacting a legislation called 'Fully and Partially Excluded Areas Act' in 1874. These attempts kept them out of the mainstream society. The British policy aimed at exploiting the forest resources, but not to develop the tribes. After independence, positive attempts have been made to reduce the development gap between tribes and non-tribes. In order to bring them into the mainstream society, the Fifth and Sixth Schedules were incorporated in the Constitution of India. However, in the subsequent 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, tribes were excluded from the PRI mechanism. Hence, PESA Act was enacted in 1996. This Act very important for the tribal community. The main purpose of this Act is to recognise and preserve the tribal traditional life system and to strengthen their self-governance, by extending the Part IX of the Indian Constitution. The Act

primarily covers the central part of India. It also seeks to strengthen tribal communities to have the self-governing rights at the Gram Sabha level.

In Andhra Pradesh, nine districts are under Scheduled V Areas. The implementing rules were given after 13 years of the conformity Act in 2011. Further, the AP PR Act differs from the Central PESA Act in the following areas like (1) Land acquisition for Projects, (2) Minor Minerals, (3) Ownership of MFP, (4) Aganwadis and Village Markets, (5) Managing Public institutions like schools and (6) Local Plans, including the TSP.

Chapter – V

Operationalisation of PESA Act – A Field Analysis in the Erstwhile Andhra Pradesh

In southern India, AP has the highest tribal population. Out of 23 administrative districts in the erstwhile state of Andhra Pradesh, Coastal Andhra has nine districts, i.e., Srikakulam, Vijayanagaram, Vishakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Prakasam and Nellore, Telangana has ten, namely Hyderabad, Adilabad, Khammam, Karimnagar, Mahbubnagar, Medak, Nalgonda, Nizamabad, Rangareddy, and Warangal and Rayalaseema has four districts: Kurnool, Chittoor, Kadapa and Anantapur.²⁶⁶

According to the PESA Act guidelines given by the President of India, nine districts of the erstwhile state have been identified as Scheduled V Areas. These are: Srikakulam, Vijayanagaram, Vishakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Khammam, Warangal, Adilabad and Mahbubnagar. While some of the administrative Mandals from these districts are fully covered by the Fifth Schedule, and some Mandals are only partially covered. The more populous tribal groups, like Lambadas or Sugalis, Yerukulas and Yanadis, live in the non-Schedule Areas, i.e., plain areas.²⁶⁷ In order to understand the awareness regarding PESA Act provisions among the Koya, Konda Reddi and Chenchu tribes, the researcher collected primary data from two different areas covering three different tribes, i.e., Koyas from Khammam district, Konda Reddis from East Godavari district and Chenchus from Mahabubnagar district. These three districts from Scheduled V Areas were selected for detailed study.

²⁶⁶ (2008), *Basic Statistics on Scheduled Tribes of Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad: Tribal Cultural Research & Training Institute (TCR&TI), Tribal Welfare Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh, p. 52

²⁶⁷ Trinadha Rao Palla, (2014), 'Tribal and Alienation in Andhra Pradesh', Hyderabad: *Journal of Rural Development*, Vol. 33 : (3), pp. 329-342

ERSTWHILE ANDHRA PRADESH POLITICAL MAP



The basic reason for selecting these districts is the relatively large presence of Koya, Konda Reddi and Chenchu tribes. Both Koya and Konda Reddi live both sides of the river Godavari and Chenchus in the dense forest area Nallamalla forest.

5.1 District Profiles of the Field Study

5.2 Khammam District

Khammam district is located in the southeastern part of Telangana region. The district has 46 *Mandals*. Out of these, 31 are agency *Mandals* under Bhadrachalam ITDA, namely, Mulakalapally, Kamepalli, Bayyaram, Gundala, Tekulapalli, Chandrugonda, Enkuru, Velairpadu, Julurpadu, Dummagudem, Bhadrachalam, Kunavaram, V.R. Puram, Chinturu, Wazeedu, Venkatapuram, Manuguru, Cherla, Pinapaka, Garla fully and Dammapeta, Aswaraopeta, Yellandu, Singareni, Kothegudem, Paloncha, Burgampadu, Kukunoor, Aswapuram, Penuballi and Sattupalli partially. It has a population of 25,78,927, of which STs are 6,82,617, (males 3,44,027 and females 3,38,590).²⁶⁸ According to the 2001 census, the Koya population was 5,68,019 (males, 2,83,106 and females, 2,84,913). Venkatapuram Mandal has a population of 29,045 population, of which 10751 are STs (males, 5266 and females, 5485). The district was selected, since Nuguru (Z) village in Venkatapuram *Mandal* has the largest number of tribes.

²⁶⁸ (2008), *Basic Statistics on Scheduled Tribes of Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad: Tribal Cultural Research & Training Institute (TCR&TI), Tribal Welfare Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh, p. 52

KHAMMAM DISTRICT



Nuguru (Z): Nuguru (Z) is a village in Venkatapuram Mandal of Khammam district. This village is administratively part of Venkatapuram Gram Panchayat, which is the Mandal headquarters as well. The village is bordered by the state of Chhattisgarh on the east. This village is part of Fifth Schedule Areas, dominated by the Koya tribes. Agriculture labour and forest are the primary sources of their livelihood. The suffix 'Z' in Nuguru (Z) stands for Zamindari lands. Here, in government records, particularly in revenue department records, the lands are categorically divided into two categories, namely, G for government lands and Z for Zamindari lands and suffixing either G or Z to every village is a common phenomenon.

The important problems in the area are: labour migration, land alienation, issuance of fake certificates, and harassment by forest officials. There is also the issue of government agencies bypassing agency laws. Four tribal organisations are working in this area. These are: ASP (*Adivasi Samskhema Parishath*), GSP (*Girijana Samskhema Parishath*), Dandakaarayna Jagruti Samiti and Thudum Debba and an NGO called Caussanel Foundation for Education and Development (CAFED) working for educating and mobilising the tribal communities.

5.3 East Godavari District

East Godavari district is located in the eastern part of the coastal Andhra region. The district has 59 Mandals. Out of 59 Mandals, seven agency Mandals fall under the Fifth Schedule Areas affiliated to Rampachodavaram ITDA. These are: Rampachodavaram, Mareduhilli, Devipatnam, Gangavaram, Addateegala, Y. Ramavaram and Rajavommangi. The district has a population of 49,01,420. Of this, STs are 1,91,561 (males, 95,234 and females, 96,327).²⁶⁹ According to 2001 census, Konda Reddi population was 83,096 (males, 41,459 and females, 41,637).

²⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 61

EAST GODAVARI DISTRICT



The population of Konda Reddis in East Godavari district is 67,793 Konda Reddi. The Addateegala Mandal has a population of 38,387. Of this 23,537 are STs (males, 11754 and females, 11783). This district is part of coastal Andhra and popularly known as Godavari region because of the famous river Godavari. The study was undertaken has been done in Nimmalapalem village, which falls under D. Bhimavaram Gram Panchayat of Addateegala Mandal.

Nimmalapalem: This village is part of Addateegala Mandal of East Godavari district, which is covered under Scheduled V Areas. The village is dominated by Konda Reddi tribes, apart from another tribal community, Konda kammara, and very few non-tribals.

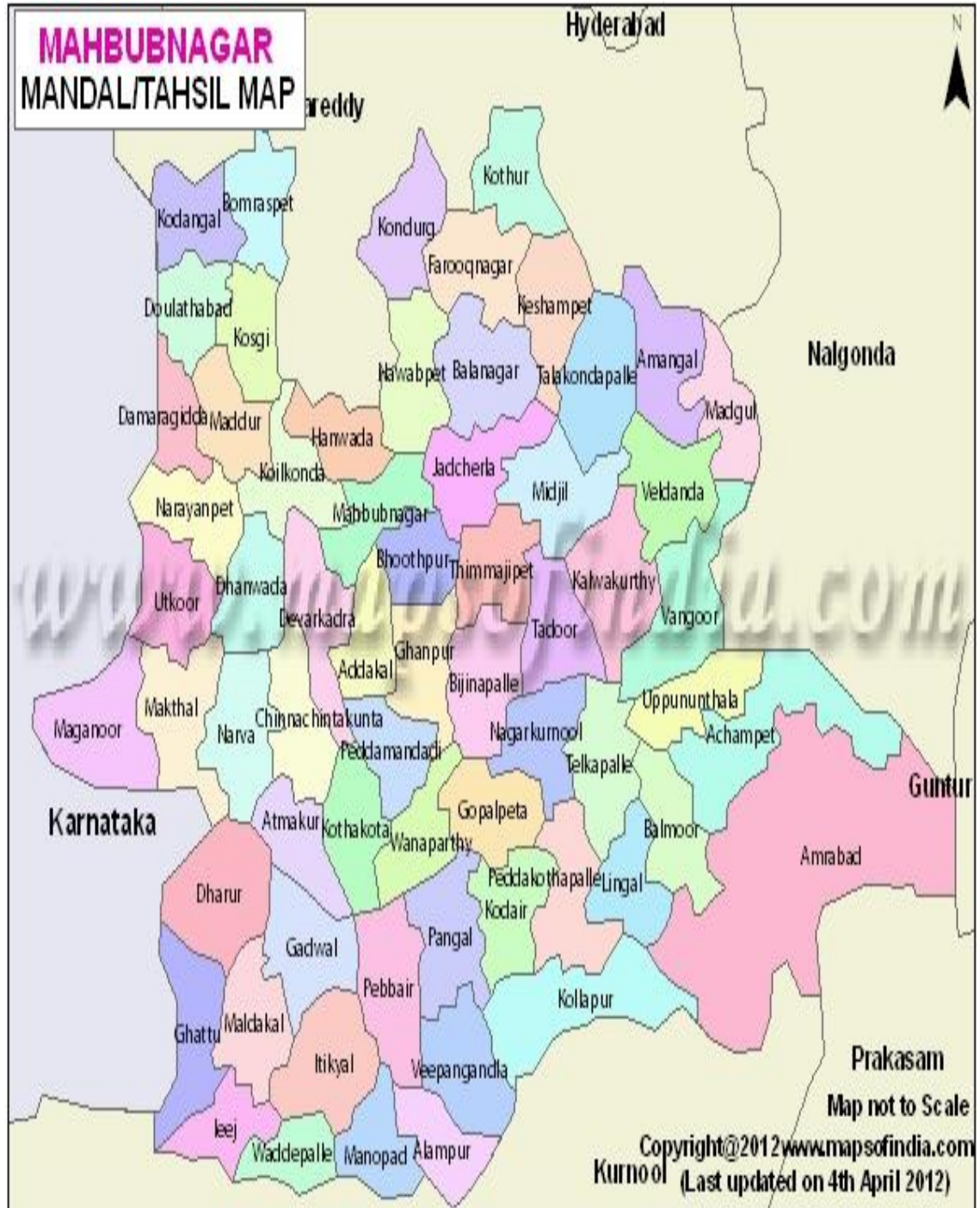
5.4 Mahabubnagar District

Mahabubnagar district is located in the southern part of Telangana region. The district has 64 Mandals. Out of all, four are agency mandals, namely, Achampet, Amrabad, Balmoor and Lingal affiliated to Srisailam ITDA. The Srisailam ITDA was particularly set up for the welfare and advancement of the primitive Chenchu tribe. The district has a population of 35,13,934 population; of which, STs are 2,78,702 (males, 1,43,115 and females, 1,35,587).²⁷⁰ According to 2001 census. Mahabubnagar district has a total Chenchu population of 8,272. Amrabad Mandal has a population of 48,359 of, which 9,100 are STs (males, 4,747 and females, 4,353) with 18.34 percent of the total Mandal population. From the developmental point of view, the district is extremely underdeveloped, not only within AP, but also in the entire India. The study has been undertaken in Mannanur Chenchu Gudum, which falls under the Mannanur Gram Panchayat of Amrabad Mandal.

Mannanur: The village is one of the Gram Panchayats of Amrabad Mandal in Mahabubnagar district. It has a considerable number of Scheduled Tribes like Chenchu and Lambadas, apart from other non-tribal groups.

²⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 52

MAHBUBNAGAR DISTRICT



Koya, Konda Reddi and Chenchu Tribes

5.5 Koya Tribe

Out of 35 tribes, Koya is a tribe that was given ST status in 1950.²⁷¹ The largest number of Koya tribes are in Khammam district. Next to the largest Lambada tribes, Koya is the second largest tribe in AP. Koya tribes are spread across the districts of Adilabad, Karimnagar Warangal, Khammam, East Godavari and West Godavari and in the neighbouring states like Chhattisgarh and Orissa. This tribal community has subdivisions like Gutta Koyalu, Raacha Koyalu, Gommu Koyalu, Linga Koyalu and Doli Koyalu. Within them, Gutta Koyalu and Raacha Koyalu are the major sub groups who enjoy high social status.²⁷² The Koya-dominated geographical area is known as Dandakaaranyam forest. They have been practicing shifting cultivation. Their religion emerges from the man-nature relationship. There are stories that Koya tribe has relation with Bhadrachalam God Sriraamudu and Chenchu tribes with Srisailam Mallanna. They celebrate the famous Medhaaram Samakka Sarakka Jathara, in Warangal district, which is famous in Telangana. The literature indicates that Koya tribes speak the Koya language, which belongs to Dravidian family, but in Nuguru (Z) village, all tribes speak Telugu only. They practice a system, where a boy and a girl elope to an unknown area and after some times with



Koya Tribe

the help of community panchayat, they marry. This system is known as *Rakshasha Marriage* (Demon Marriage). Earlier, they used to practice Rakshasha marriage due to the impact of Hindu culture, now they are not practicing it. Property transfer takes place from father to son. In order to acquire land rights, non-tribes marry Koya women. In the Koya tribe, the village headman is called 'pedda' or 'poyi'. If any problem arises between

²⁷¹ For details, see Annexure No - 1

²⁷² Sastry, V.N.V.K., (2005), *Andhra Pradesh Girijana Samskruthi, Parivarthana, (Andhra Pradesh- Tribal Culture and Change)*, Hyderabad: TCR&TI, p. 93

the two or more tribal villages, then they go for Samutha (inter village panchayat council), which is higher than the village level council. However, the new change that has been institutionalised with regard to the organisation of their Gram Panchayat is that the community elders' panel has been changed now to accommodate government officials like panchayati raj department, statutory panchayat's *Sarpanch* (the statutorily elected representative at the Gram Panchayat level) and employees from the same tribal community. Hence, the role of traditional leadership has been diminishing gradually. Further, noticeable thing is that a class of Karunam and rich farmers are also participating in tribal panchayats and sometimes, they tend to influence the panchayat decisions that are based on tribal customs. This situation is leading to rise of non-tribe domination in tribes that have contact with the local administration, particularly the police department.

5.6 Konda Reddi Tribe

Konda Reddis are also known as Hill Reddis. They mainly speak the Telugu language.²⁷³ The English word 'Hill Reddis' was given to them by Nizam rulers.²⁷⁴ Konda Reddis are among the primitive tribal groups who are concentrated in the hilly areas of the Godavari belt. The Konda (or Hill) Reddis of Andhra Pradesh are one of the tribal groups which depend largely on slash-and-burn cultivation.²⁷⁵ This tribe got ST status in 1950.²⁷⁶ Administratively, they are concentrated in Khammam, West Godavari and East Godavari districts of AP. Out of all districts, East Godavari has the highest Konda Reddi population. Their villages are located either in the hill valley or hill sloping or beside hill as at Nimmalapalem where the study was conducted. Koya and Konda Reddi villages are separately located in the Godavari river valley. Culturally, the disintegration of tribal language is visible as the tribes speak the Telugu language only. Interestingly, their Telugu language reflects politeness, while speaking to others like any non-tribes.

²⁷³ Gyanendra Yadav, (2009), *Encyclopedia of Indian Tribal Ethnography*, New Delhi: Anmol Publications PVT. LTD, Vol. 1, p. 29

²⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 134

²⁷⁵ Christoph Von Furer-Hiamendorf, (1982), *Tribes of India: The Struggle for Survival*, Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 7

²⁷⁶ For details, see Annexure No - 1

With respect to the economy, Konda Reddi follows both shifting cultivation and forest products as their main occupation. They too have a nuclear family system, which includes wife, husband and their unmarried children. Due to Hindu cultural impact on them, they are giving up the practice of the rakshasha marriage system.

Regarding dowry, they have *Voli* (in order to marry a girl, the boy has to give a certain amount of money to the girl's family based on his financial condition). Due to Hindu cultural impact, nowadays boys are demanding dowry from the girls' families. The weekly-celebrated traditional village markets play a vital role in shaping their social networking system among different villages as they tend to share their feelings, problems, and engage in social relations like marriage, among themselves. In Addateegala, the traditional market on every Tuesday is being organised effectively. Usually, this tribe

lives on the top of the hilly areas and some people in sloping hilly areas. Only those living in relatively lower altitudes practice some sort of agriculture. To facilitate construction of houses, Bengaluru roof tiles are being provided by Integrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDA). This tribe does shifting cultivation. If one is not using the cultivable land, then, with the village headman's permission, other can use it. Prior to cultivating at a new place, they worship their



Konda Reddi Tribe

traditionally Goddesses. After cleaning the area, they set it ablaze and spread the resultant ash like a fertilizer. This shows that they prefer non-poisonous fertilizers.²⁷⁷ In the process of making shifting cultivation, they help each other, particularly their relatives. However, due to Forest Rights Act and reserved forest system, their land size is decreasing. *Munasubhu* or *Kulapedda* or Headman is as important as *Veju* and priest. These three people are very important in organising the social system and Gram Panchayats in particular.

²⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 137

5.7 Chenchu Tribe

Chenchus are among the primitive tribal groups. They are largely concentrated in Mahabubnagar district. Chenchus got ST status in 1950.²⁷⁸ In earlier times, Chenchus were the kings to Nallamalla forest. In fact, the tribe depends on hunting rather than cultivation.²⁷⁹ For food gathering, hunting is the major source. Primarily, Chenchus are divided into two types: forest based Chenchus and plain area based Chenchus.²⁸⁰ The forest based Chenchus primarily live in Nallamala forest only, practicing traditional livelihood, whereas other Chenchus live in the plain areas.²⁸¹ According to Vennelakanti Raghavaiah, after shifting from the hilly areas, one group of Chenchus became Yanaadi tribe whereas the others remained as Chenchu. The Chenchus' geographical area covers six districts, namely, Mahabubnagar, Kurnool, Prakasam, Guntur, Nalgonda and Ranga Reddy. All these districts are located on both sides of the Krishna River. This migrating primitive tribe follows the nuclear family system. Further, the Chenchu tribe believes in God in the form of small rock, but not in any human form. When it is observed retrospectively, the literature supports that the Chenchu tribes have relation with Srisailam God - Mallanna. Once they used to guide the pilgrims visiting the Srisailam temple, when there were



Chenchu Tribe

no bus service, but only footpaths. The walking to temple used to entail a four days' trek in dense forest areas. Therefore, in order to reach the temple, pilgrims used to take Chenchus as their route-guides. In return for the services, pilgrims used to give money, which was used for their family's expenditure. Earlier, they used to have this type of economic support, but gradually road connectivity improved and their source of income from pilgrims got reduced.

²⁷⁸ For details, see Annexure No -1

²⁷⁹ Gyanendra Yadav, (2009), *Encyclopedia of Indian Caste, Races and Tribes*, New Delhi: Anmol Publications PVT. LTD, Vol. 5, p. 1441

²⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 44

²⁸¹ Christoph Von Furer-Hiamendorf, (1982), *Tribes of India: The Struggle for Survival*, Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 2

Their important Gods and Goddesses are Garaala Maisamma, Lingamaiah, Potshamma, Pothuraju and Yellamma. Chenchus speak the Telugu language with different accent, as they do not have specific tribal language. 'Penta' or 'Gudem' is the name of their residential hamlets. According to Sastry, there are 250 or 300 Chenchu Gudems in and around the Nallamalla forest area, spread over seven districts. They follow the patriarchal system. The family property is transferred from male to male only. Earlier, they did not have a dowry system. However, due to the impact of Hindu culture, the educated Chenchus are now demanding dowry. The names of their residential villages can give an idea of their socio-economic status. For instance, if there are only a few houses, it is called a 'Penta,' whereas if they do agricultural and other activities, then it is called a 'Gudem.' Earlier, they used to have very small houses called huts, but now, they have started constructing pucca houses. Almost all the Chenchu families in Mannanur have pucca houses sponsored by the government of AP through ITDA. Now, very few huts can be seen in Mannanur Chenchu Gudem. People of this Gudem are not much interested in politics. In the Chenchu tribe, each village has a headman, known as 'Peddamanisi,' which means a senior person. It is pertinent to note that the headman is chosen from the family, which has the household name. This person chairs the meetings of the community panchayats. The position of headman is not hereditary. The Chenchus believe in collective decision making process. Unity among the Chenchu community is not so solid. Maximum Chenchu tribes depend up on forest produce.

Generally, they enjoy self-sufficient economic system like fetching forest products and consuming these and selling the surplus items. They, too, have been facing the negative impact of the influx of non-tribes and entry of new market system. Regarding management of natural resources around their hamlet, they have some sort of conventional boundary signs. These signs are in terms of water streams or a particularly hilly area which includes water, land and natural resources. Occasionally conflicts arise when people of one Gudem enter another Gudem. Such issues are later resolved by the community panchayats. The circle of their life system, which includes socio-economic, cultural, political and developmental dimensions, are being decided in a collective manner.

5.8 Socio-Economic and Political Awareness

The general profile of the respondents are presented in table 5.1 below.

Table 5.1 Respondents' Gender, Age, Marital Status, Religion & Caste

| Theme | Label | Name of the Tribal Village | | | Overall Percentage |
|----------|--------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| | | Nuguru (Z) (Koya) | Nimmalapalem (Konda Reddi) | Mannanur (Chenchu) | |
| Gender | Male | 54.5 (54) | 52.5 (52) | 60.6 (60) | 55.9 (166) |
| | Female | 45.5 (45) | 45.5 (47) | 39.4 (39) | 44.1 (131) |
| | Total | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |
| Age | 18 - 25 | 17.2 (17) | 4.0 (4) | 30.3 (30) | 17.2 (51) |
| | 26 - 35 | 31.3 (31) | 27.3 (27) | 37.4 (37) | 32.0 (95) |
| | 36 - 45 | 30.3 (30) | 35.4 (35) | 17.2 (17) | 27.6 (82) |
| | 46 - 55 | 13.1 (13) | 16.2 (16) | 8.1 (8) | 12.5 (37) |
| | 56 - 65 | 4.0 (4) | 10.1 (10) | 5.1 (5) | 6.4 (19) |
| | 66 - 75 | 4.0 (4) | 7.1 (7) | 2.0 (2) | 4.4 (13) |
| | 76 & above | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| | Total | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |
| Marriage | married | 67.7 (67) | 87.9 (87) | 91.9 (91) | 82.5 (245) |
| | Unmarried | 17.2 (17) | 3.0 (3) | 8.1 (8) | 9.4 (28) |
| | Widow | 12.1 (12) | 8.1 (8) | -- | 6.7 (20) |
| | divorced | 3.0 (3) | 1.0 (1) | -- | 1.3 (4) |
| | Total | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |
| Religion | Hindu | 100.0 (99) | 99.0 (98) | 99.0 (98) | 99.3 (295) |
| | Christians | -- | 1.0 (1) | 1.0 (1) | .7 (2) |
| | Muslims | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| | Others | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| | Total | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |
| Caste | ST | 91.9 (91) | 89.9 (89) | 100.0 (99) | 93.9 (279) |
| | SC | - | 5.1 (5) | - | 1.7 (5) |
| | BC | 8.1 (8) | 1.0 (1) | - | 3.0 (9) |
| | OC | - | 4.0 (4) | - | 1.3 (4) |
| | Total | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

(Note: the number within brackets show the number of respondents)

Gender. It could be seen that in all the three tribal villages, there were more males than females. However, in Mannanur (Chenchu), the difference in numbers was very pronounced - as against 60.6 percent males, there were only 39.4 percent females.

Age Group. The reason for selecting 18 years onwards is that only voters can be the members of the Gram Sabha for which PESA Act is applicable. In all the tribal villages studied, the maximum number of members was in the age group 26 to 35 years or 36 to 45 years. While the 18 to 25 years age bracket was noticeable in two villages Nuguru (Z) (Koya), with 17.2 percent and Mannanur (Chenchu), with 30.3 percent, none of the three villages had any significant number of senior citizens (above 65 years of age). These points to the relatively young age profile of the residents.

Marital Status. A remarkable conclusion that can be drawn from the almost insignificant proportion of divorcees in all the three villages is that the institution of marriage is very strong in such communities. Unlike the more ‘advanced societies’, residents in these areas believe in the sanctity of marriage. In all the three villages, the maximum number of residents were found to be married, followed by the unmarried ones.

Religion. The largest number of residents (more than 99 percent) were Hindus.

Caste. Since these were all tribal villages, one should not be surprised to find that the overwhelming number of residents belonging to the Scheduled Castes.

Table 5.2 Education among Koya, Konda Reddi and Chenchu Tribes

| <i>Response</i> | <i>Name of the Village</i> | | | <i>Overall Percentage</i> |
|---------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| | <i>Nuguru (Z)</i> | <i>Nimmalapalem</i> | <i>Mannanur</i> | |
| Illiterate | 52.5 (52) | 54.5 (54) | 39.4 (39) | 48.8 (145) |
| Primary | 17.2 (17) | 24.2 (24) | 14.1 (14) | 18.5 (55) |
| Secondary | 21.2 (21) | 15.2 (15) | 30.3 (30) | 22.2 (66) |
| College | 8.1 (8) | 6.1 (6) | 15.2 (15) | 9.8 (29) |
| PG | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| Professional degree | 1.0 (1) | -- | -- | .3 (1) |
| Research degree | -- | -- | 1.0 (1) | .3 (1) |
| Total | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

A mention has already been made of the low literacy levels of tribals in the study area. Therefore, one should not be surprised that the number of illiterates was most pronounced noticeable in all the three villages surveyed. Even among the tribals who showed some interest in education, they tended to be content with either the primary level (18.5 percent, overall) or the secondary level (22.2 percent). In spite of all this ‘gloom’, one can take comfort in the fact that all the three villages did have respondents with a college level education. Even more remarkable is the fact that 1 resident of Nuguru (Z) village was holding a professional degree and one from Mannanur, a research degree.

Table 5.3 Education Level of Different Age Groups

| Age | Level of Education | | | | | | Total |
|-------|--------------------|-----------|-----------|----------|---------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| | Illiterate | Primary | Secondary | College | Professional degree | Research degree | |
| 18-25 | 2.4 (7) | 2.4 (7) | 9.4 (28) | 2.7 (8) | 0.3 (1) | 0.0 (0) | 17.2 (51) |
| 26-35 | 12.1 (36) | 7.1 (21) | 7.1 (21) | 5.7 (17) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 32.0 (95) |
| 36-45 | 17.5 (52) | 5.4 (16) | 3.7 (11) | 0.7 (2) | 0.0 (0) | 0.3 (1) | 27.6 (82) |
| 46-55 | 8.4 (25) | 2.7 (8) | 1.3 (4) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 12.5 (37) |
| 56-65 | 4.7 (14) | 0.7 (2) | 0.7 (2) | 0.3 (1) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 6.4 (19) |
| 66-75 | 3.7 (11) | 0.3 (1) | 0.0 (0) | 0.3 (1) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 4.4 (13) |
| Total | 48.8 (145) | 18.5 (55) | 22.2 (66) | 9.8 (29) | 0.3 (1) | 0.3 (1) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

It would now be interesting to examine whether residents in the relatively younger age brackets are showing an inclination towards education. Not surprisingly, the least proportion of illiterates (only 2.4 percent) was found in the 18 to 24 years age bracket. However, the highest percentage of illiteracy could be seen in the age group of 36 to 45 (17.5 percent) followed by 26-35 (12.1 percent), 46-55 (8.4 percent), 56-65 (4.7 percent), 66-75 (3.7 percent). Overall, 48.8 percent of the residents were found to be illiterate. One common feature that came to the fore in all the age brackets was the tendency to be content with either primary or secondary level of education. College, professional or research level education did not appear to be very popular with the residents. One conclusion that could be drawn is that the a significant residents seem to be satisfied with

a rudimentary degree of education which would teach them the three R's – reading, writing and arithmetic.

Table 5.4 Occupations in Koya, Konda Reddi and Chenchu Tribes

| <i>Occupation</i> | <i>Name of the Village</i> | | | <i>Overall Percentage</i> |
|-------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| | <i>Nuguru (Z)</i> | <i>Nimmalapalem</i> | <i>Mannanur</i> | |
| Housewife | 13.1 (13) | 31.3 (31) | 33.3 (33) | 25.9 (77) |
| Labour | 51.5 (51) | 35.4 (35) | 31.3 (31) | 39.4 (117) |
| Agriculture | 26.3 (26) | 31.3 (31) | 7.1 (7) | 21.5 (64) |
| Employment | 1.0 (1) | 1.0 (1) | 21.2 (21) | 7.7 (23) |
| Others | 8.1 (8) | 1.0 (1) | 7.1 (7) | 5.4 (16) |
| Total | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

Two very significant features can be noticed from the above table. One, the proportion of housewives is very low in all the three villages. This may be attributed to the financial condition of most households, due to which even married women are forced to go out for work to supplement the family income. Two, the most preferred employment options in the study area were labour (39.4 percent, overall) and agriculture (21.5 percent, overall). Regarding dependence of agriculture, no uniform pattern could be found in the three tribes. The figures were 26.3 percent in Koya, 31.3 percent in the Konda Reddi and 7.1 percent in Chenchu tribes. The reasons for the variation in the figures are: (i) even though the Koya inhabited areas are generally very fertile (due to their proximity to the Godavari River), most of the lands in these areas have been alienated by the non-tribals, (ii) The Konda Reddi inhabited areas are mostly reserve forests, and iii) most of the Chenchu tribes themselves are not interested in cultivation because they are still following primitive lifestyles and largely depending on forest resources.

Table 5.5 Agricultural Land in Scheduled Areas

| Sl. No. | Type of Landholding | Name of the Village | | | Overall Percentage |
|---------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------|------------|--------------------|
| | | Nuguru (Z) | Nimmalapalem | Mannanur | |
| 1. | Landless | 40.4 (40) | 37.4 (37) | 64.6 (64) | 47.5 (141) |
| 2. | Marginal farmer | 44.4 (44) | 32.3 (32) | 9.1 (9) | 28.6 (85) |
| 3. | Small farmer | 13.1 (13) | 17.2 (17) | 17.2 (17) | 15.8 (47) |
| 4. | Semi-medium | 2.0 (2) | 11.1 (11) | 9.1 (9) | 7.4 (22) |
| 5. | Medium | -- | 2.0 (2) | -- | 0.7 (2) |
| 6. | Large | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| Total | | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

In Fifth Schedule Areas, for tribal people, ownership of agricultural land is always an emotive issue since it can impart a degree of social standing to them. One striking feature that came to the fore in all the three villages was that the largest proportion were either landless, marginal or small farmers. Some semi-medium farmers could be found in in Nimmalapalem (11.1 percent) and Mannanur (9.1 percent). Also, medium farmers (2 percent) were found in Nimmalapalem only. There were no large farmers in any of the three villages. The possible reasons for low, or no, landholding among the residents are: alienation of the earlier held land, the land being in reserve forest areas and lack of awareness of many tribals about their rights and entitlements.

Table 5.6 Annual Income of Koya, Konda Reddi and Chenchus

| Sl. No. | Income level (Rs.) | Nuguru (Z) | Nimmalapalem | Mannanur | Overall |
|---------|---------------------|------------|--------------|------------|-------------|
| 1. | 20,000 - 50,000 | 99.0 (98) | 94.9 (94) | 86.9 (86) | 93.6 (278) |
| 2. | 50,001 – 1,00,000 | 1.0 (1) | 5.1 (5) | 7.1 (7) | 4.4 (13) |
| 3. | 1,00,001– 2,00,000 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 4. | 2,00,001 - 4,00,000 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 5. | 4,00,001– 6,00,000 | -- | -- | 5.1 (5) | 1.7 (5) |
| 6. | 6,00,001 - 8,00,000 | -- | -- | 1.0 (1) | 0.3 (1) |
| Total | | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

It can be seen from the above table that the annual income (from all sources) of most of the residents in below Rs 1,00,000. In fact, 93.6 percent of the total residents was found

to be in the Rs. 20,000 to 50,000 range. The possible reasons for the low income levels are: large-scale dependence on forest products, and their being engaged in agriculture and other types of labour (mostly unskilled), which are not very 'paying propositions'. In this connection, it is essential to make a mention of some residents of Mannanur who were earning more than Rs. 4,00,000. They were found to be public sector employees. The very low number of such persons suggests that the government employment has not significantly impacted the tribals development in the agency areas. Obviously, most of such jobs are being 'cornered' by outsiders.

Table 5.7 Assets

| Sl. No. | Item | Name of the Village | | | | | | Overall Percentage | |
|---------|------------------|---------------------|------------|--------------|-----------|------------|------------|--------------------|------------|
| | | Nuguru (Z) | | Nimmalapalem | | Mannanur | | Yes | No |
| | Status | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| 1. | LPG gas | 14.1 (14) | 85.9 (85) | 5.1 (5) | 94.9 (94) | 27.3 (27) | 72.7 (72) | 15.5 (46) | 84.5 (251) |
| 2. | Television | 50.5 (50) | 49.5 (49) | 25.3 (25) | 74.7 (74) | 48.5 (48) | 51.5 (51) | 41.4 (123) | 58.6 (174) |
| 3. | Bicycle | 33.3 (33) | 66.7 (66) | 27.3 (27) | 72.7 (72) | 9.1 (9) | 90.9 (90) | 23.2 (69) | 76.8 (228) |
| 4. | Motor cycle | 7.1 (7) | 92.9 (92) | 2.0 (2) | 98.0 (97) | 6.1 (6) | 93.9 (93) | 5.1 (15) | 94.9 (282) |
| 5. | Electricity | 72.7 (72) | 27.3 (27) | 67.7 (67) | 32.3 (32) | 96.0 (95) | 4.0 (4) | 78.8 (234) | 21.2 (63) |
| 6. | Toilet | 3.0 (3) | 97.0 (96) | 42.4 (42) | 57.6 (57) | 19.2 (19) | 80.8 (80) | 21.5 (64) | 78.5 (233) |
| 7. | Radio transistor | 1.0 (1) | 99.0 (98) | 10.1 (10) | 89.9 (89) | 1.0 (1) | 99.0 (98) | 4.0 (12) | 96.0 (285) |
| 8. | Tape recorder | 7.1 (7) | 92.9 (92) | 2.0 (2) | 98.0 (97) | 1.0 (1) | 99.0 (98) | 3.4 (10) | 96.6 (287) |
| 9. | Cows | 34.3 (34) | 65.7 (65) | 18.2 (18) | 81.8 (81) | -- | 100.0 (99) | 17.5 (52) | 82.5 (245) |
| 10. | Buffaloes | 21.2 (21) | 78.8 (78) | 27.3 (27) | 72.7 (72) | 1.0 (1) | 99.0 (98) | 16.5 (49) | 83.5 (248) |
| 11. | Goats | -- | 100.0 (99) | 11.1 (11) | 88.9 (88) | 1.0 (1) | 99.0 (98) | 4.0 (12) | 96.0 (285) |
| | Sheep | 3.0 (3) | 97.0 (96) | 1.0 (1) | 99.0 (98) | -- | 100.0 (99) | 1.3 (4) | 98.7 (293) |
| Total | | 100.0 (99) | | 100.0 (99) | | 100.0 (99) | | 100.0 (297) | |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

It would be appropriate to examine each of the assets individually to see if there is any uniformity in the possession of these in the three villages.

LPG Gas Stoves. At the first glance itself, one can see that this appliance is not very popular in the study area. It is only in *Mannanur village* that more than 25 percent of the residents were owning LPG gas stoves. In fact, in Nimmalapalem, the figure was as low as 5.1 percent. The possible reasons for this situation could be: (i) there was no felt need for this appliance; maybe people were quite comfortable with the firewood obtained from the forest, (ii) monetary considerations, and also the long procedure involved, especially at the time of obtaining the initial connection, (iii) the habitations were far away from the city centres where the gas agencies are located and the associated issues involved in obtaining refills, (iv) 'fear of the unknown' due to unfamiliarity with how to use the gas stoves.

Television. In contrast to LPG stoves, this appliance was found to be more popular. In *Nuguru (Z)*, more than 50 percent of the residents were owning TV sets and close to 50 percent in *Mannanur*. However, in the third village, the figure was just above 25 percent. The better position in the case of TV sets may be explained by the fact that accessibility is not that serious an issue here. Once the cable connection is set up, one can watch TV almost uninterruptedly (except in the case of a power failure). There is no need to approach the dealer every two months or so.

Electricity. The position regarding electricity connection is much better than that of the other two amenities. One possible reason for the high level of power connections in the three villages may be the special initiatives of the state government to provide such facilities to the hitherto deprived sections of society.

Domestic Toilet. Despite sustained efforts by a number of governmental and other agencies (even before the Swacchh Bharat Abhiyan, launched with much fanfare by the present NDA government at the centre), the position regarding domestic toilets makes for a rather sorry reading. A remarkable feature noticed in this area was that even though Nimmalapalem lagged behind the other two villages in parameters like possession of LPG stoves, TV sets and electricity connections, it was 'miles ahead' of these villages in

the matter of domestic toilets. While the figures for this village were 42.4 per cent, those for the other were only 3.0 percent in Nuguru (Z) and 19.2 percent in Mannanur.

Cattle wealth. Cattle are important assets for rural communities, especially the nomadic ones. Let us examine the position regarding the various types of cattle in the three villages.

- **Cows.** It could be seen that the three villages did not exhibit a similar degree of affinity for cows. While 34.3 percent of the respondents in Nuguru (Z) village were owning cows, the figure was only 18.2 percent in Nimmalapalem and **NIL** in Mannanur.
- **Buffaloes.** These could be found only with 21.2 percent of the residents of Nuguru (Z) and 27.3 percent, in Nimmalapalem.
- **Goats/sheep.** Majority of the residents of the three villages were not found to be holding these type of cattle

Table 5.8 Accessibility to Government Services

| Sl. No. | Item | Name of the Village | | | | | | Overall Percentage | |
|---------|----------------|---------------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|------------|-----------|--------------------|------------|
| | | Nuguru (Z) | | Nimmalapalem | | Mannanur | | Yes | No |
| | | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| 1. | Ration card | 90.9 (90) | 9.1 (9) | 98.0 (97) | 2.0 (2) | 90.9 (90) | 9.1 (9) | 93.3 (277) | 6.7 (20) |
| 2. | Voter card | 98.0 (97) | 2.0 (2) | 93.9 (93) | 6.1 (6) | 92.9 (92) | 7.1 (7) | 94.9 (282) | 5.1 (15) |
| 3. | Adhaar card | 93.9 (93) | 6.1 (6) | 100.0 (99) | -- | 94.9 (94) | 5.1 (5) | 96.3 (286) | 3.7 (11) |
| 4. | Arogyasri card | 86.9 (86) | 13.1 (13) | 92.9 (92) | 7.1 (7) | 87.9 (87) | 12.1 (12) | 89.2 (265) | 10.8 (32) |
| 5. | MGNREGS card | 85.9 (85) | 14.1 (14) | 93.9 (93) | 6.1 (6) | 88.9 (88) | 11.1 (11) | 89.6 (266) | 10.4 (31) |
| 6. | Drinking water | 98.0 (97) | 2.0 (2) | 18.2 (18) | 81.8 (81) | 99.0 (98) | 1.0 (1) | 71.7 (213) | 28.3 (84) |
| 7. | Pucca house | 33.3 (33) | 66.7 (66) | 38.4 (38) | 61.6 (61) | 92.9 (92) | 7.1 (7) | 54.9 (163) | 45.1 (134) |
| 8. | Hut | 31.3 (31) | 68.7 (68) | 20.2 (20) | 79.8 (79) | 7.1 (7) | 92.9 (92) | 19.5 (58) | 80.5 (239) |
| Total | | 100.0 (99) | | 100.0 (99) | | 100.0 (99) | | 100.0 (297) | |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

The ration card, voter ID card and Adhaar card, besides serving the purpose for which these were issued, can also serve as proofs of the identity of the holder(s) of these. The Arogyasri card is intended to provide the best possible medical care to the holders of such card. It is very encouraging to note that an almost overwhelming number of respondents in all the three villages were holding all the four categories of cards. This speaks volumes about the success of the state government to ensure maximum possible coverage to its social welfare schemes for the deprived sections of society. In a similar vein, the very high ‘holding’ of MGNREGA cards in all the three villages can give one an idea about of the immense popularity of the Employment Guarantee scheme in rural (including tribal) areas.

A major issue of concern, especially in rural areas is the ready availability of clean and potable drinking water. Safe drinking water within, or in close proximity of, the household, has two dimensions. One, it would relieve the womenfolk from trudging large distance for fetching water. Two, clean water could protect the households from a host of water-borne diseases. One very disturbing fact that emerged in respect of Nimmalapalem village was that less than 20 percent of the residents had access to clean drinking water, even when the other two villages had almost 100 percent access.

A pucca house has a number of connotations. One, it provides a greater degree of protection from the vagaries of weather. Two, it accords an element of social standing to the owner. It could be seen that 92.9 percent of the residents in Mannanur had such houses. However, the other two villages presented a rather dismal picture, Nuguru (Z) (with 33.3 percent) and Nimmalapalem (with 38.4 percent). The very high proportion of pucca house in Mannanur can be attributed to the outstanding success of the Indira Awaas Yojana of the government.

Table 5.9 Family Economic Position

| <i>Response</i> | <i>Name of the Village</i> | | | <i>Overall Percentage</i> |
|-----------------|----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| | <i>Nuguru (Z)</i> | <i>Nimmalapalem</i> | <i>Mannanur</i> | |
| Highly improved | -- | 6.1 (6) | 4.0 (4) | 3.4 (10) |
| Just improved | 46.5 (46) | 36.4 (36) | 22.2 (22) | 35.0 (104) |
| No change | 46.5 (46) | 57.6 (57) | 20.2 (20) | 41.4 (123) |
| Deteriorated | 7.1 (7) | -- | 53.5 (53) | 20.2 (60) |
| Total | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

In post-independence India, both the central and state government have been launching welfare schemes for the socio-economic development of the weaker sections of society. It was considered necessary to ascertain the perceptions of the residents on the success, or otherwise, of these schemes. Some very interesting facts emerged during the course of the field study. In Mannanur, 53.5 percent of the respondents categorically stated that their financial conditions had, in fact, deteriorated in recent times. They attributed this situation to factors like: progressive destruction of their tradition means of livelihood and the large-scale exploitation by outsiders like moneylenders, forest contractors and government officials, who connived with others in the alienation of tribal land. Equally interesting was the fact that only a small number of respondents (3.4 percent overall) felt that their conditions had highly improved. Most others preferred to choose the ‘middle path’ : Just improved or No Change (overall 76 percent).

Table 5.10 Migration in Fifth Scheduled Areas

| <i>Livelihood Migration</i> | <i>Name of the Village</i> | | | <i>Overall Percentage</i> |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| | <i>Nuguru (Z)</i> | <i>Nimmalapalem</i> | <i>Mannanur</i> | |
| Easy | 5.1 (5) | 3.0 (3) | 9.1 (9) | 5.7 (17) |
| Not easy | 94.9 (94) | 97.0 (96) | 90.9 (90) | 94.3 (280) |
| Total | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

Migration to other areas in search of work has a number of dimensions. The most important of these are: disruption of the education of the children and emotional, psychological, cultural and linguistic issues associated with working in alien areas. No wonder, the overwhelming number of respondents in the three villages asserted that migration to other places was a very difficult experience for them. This suggests that, despite the prospect of earning a livelihood in other places, the respondents still have a great deal of attachment and affinity for the places from which they originally hail.

Table 5.11 Accessing Government Services

| <i>Govt. services</i> | <i>Name of the Village</i> | | | <i>Overall Percentage</i> |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| | <i>Nuguru (Z)</i> | <i>Nimmalapalem</i> | <i>Mannanur</i> | |
| Yes | 92.9 (92) | 93.9 (93) | 91.9 (91) | 92.9 (276) |
| No | 7.1 (7) | 6.1 (6) | 8.1 (8) | 7.1 (21) |
| Total | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

Table 5.11 above presents the perceptions of the respondents regarding the accessibility of the concerned government servants regarding issues like the Public Distribution System, loan and employment from ITDA, housing from Indira Avas Yojana, primary health centres, and so on). The state government can take credit from the fact that more than 91 percent of the respondents spoke positively about the attitude of the government officials.

Table 5.12 Tribal Support for Party Politics

| <i>Sl. No.</i> | <i>Political Party</i> | <i>Name of the Village</i> | | | <i>Overall Percentage</i> |
|----------------|------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| | | <i>Nuguru (Z)</i> | <i>Nimmalapalem</i> | <i>Mannanur</i> | |
| 1. | INC | 1.0 (1) | 1.0 (1) | -- | .7 (2) |
| 2. | BJP | 2.0 (2) | -- | 1.0 (1) | 1.0 (3) |
| 3. | TRS | 1.0 (1) | -- | 10.1 (10) | 3.7 (11) |
| 4. | TDP | 3.0 (3) | -- | 62.6 (62) | 21.9 (65) |
| 5. | YSR CP | 51.5 (51) | 1.0 (1) | 13.1 (13) | 21.9 (65) |
| 6. | CPI | -- | 2.0 (2) | 1.0 (1) | 1.0 (3) |
| 7. | CPI (M) | 29.3 (29) | -- | -- | 9.8 (29) |
| 8. | BSP | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 9. | None | 12.1 (12) | 96.0 (95) | 12.1 (12) | 40.1 (119) |
| Total | | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

In recent times, tribals have been evincing a degree of interest in electoral politics. Table 5.12 above clearly brings out that in Nuguru (Z) and Mannanur, the various regional have a noticeable number of supporters. However, in the third village, there appears to be an element of disinterest in electoral politics. In Nuguru (Z), the YSR CP (with 51.5 percent) and CPI (M) (with 29.3 percent) were found to be most influential. In the case of Mannanur, the position was TDP (62.6 percent), YSR CP (13.1 percent) and TRS (10.1

percent). The other political parties appeared to be almost like ‘also rans’. The one important conclusion that can be drawn is that the tribal communities seem to have more faith in the regional parties (than the national level ones) since the perception is that the regional parties can understand their issues and concerns better.

Table 5.13 Participating in Agitations

| <i>Response</i> | <i>Name of the Village</i> | | | <i>Overall Percentage</i> |
|-----------------|----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| | <i>Nuguru (Z)</i> | <i>Nimmalapalem</i> | <i>Mannanur</i> | |
| Yes | 14.1 (14) | 4.0 (4) | 59.6 (59) | 25.9 (77) |
| No | 85.9 (85) | 96.0 (95) | 40.4 (40) | 74.1 (220) |
| Total | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

The residents of Nuguru (Z) and Nimmalapalem do not appear to have very much interest in the agitational approach. On the other hand, 59.6 percent of those in Mannanur have confirmed that they have participated in agitations to voice their concerns on issues of relevance to them. We see the overall figure (74.1 percent), the picture that emerges is that the people of these three villages have tended to avoid participating in agitations. During personal interactions, it emerged that the agitations, if any, are on issues like development-induced displacement, (more so when their lands are forcibly acquired), not being allowed to use the natural resources and exploitation by non-tribals.

Table 5.14 Land Alienation

| <i>Response</i> | <i>Nuguru (Z)</i> | <i>Nimmalapalem</i> | <i>Mannanur</i> | <i>Overall</i> |
|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Yes | 21.2 (21) | 3.0 (3) | 1.0 (1) | 8.4 (25) |
| No | 78.8 (78) | 97.0 (96) | 99.0 (98) | 91.6 (272) |
| Total | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

Land alienation is one of the basic problems in Fifth Schedule Areas across India and AP, in particular. It also indicates their mode of economy, which would be either agricultural or forest based. In the study area, land alienation does not appear to be a major area of concern since many of the residents of Nimmalapalem and Mannanur are dependent on

the forests and less on agricultural activities. It is only in Nuguru (Z) that 21.2 percent land alienation was reported to the researcher.

5.9 Gram Sabha Functioning in Agency Areas

The traditional and statutory panchayats are co-existing in the Fifth Schedule Areas. A traditional panchayat has an informal mechanism for dealing with the daily lives of Scheduled Tribes based on their culture, customs, traditions etc. On the other hand, the statutory panchayat is constituted with the help of voters of a particular segment. The statutory panchayat is the part of PRI system. It usually deals with administrative and economic issues and consists of elected representatives and government officials. The *Sarpanch* is elected for a 5-year term. The AP Panchayati Raj Act defines a Gram Sabha as a body consisting of all persons registered in the electoral rolls of a Gram Panchayat. All the registered voters within the purview of a Gram Panchayat are considered as members of Gram Sabha.²⁸² Regarding Gram Sabha, Article 243 (D) of the Constitution of India, inserted by 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, describes the composition of Gram Sabha. According to the Article, a Gram Sabha is a body consisting of all persons registered in the electoral rolls of a Gram Panchayat.²⁸³ Article 243D also lays down that a Gram Sabha possesses all the powers conferred on it by various Acts and Rules issued by the state government.²⁸⁴ Thus, the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts have provided an opportunity for persons registered as voters in the village to directly participate in the decision-making process. Gram Sabhas are the foundations of the decentralised democratic system and play a crucial role in ensuring a transparent and accountable administration by the Gram Panchayat.

²⁸² Siva Sankara Prasad V and R. Suryanaraya Reddy, (2010), *Gram Sabha, What, Why and Wherefore*, Hyderabad: AMR-Andhra Pradesh Academy of Rural Development, p. 7

²⁸³ Ibid, p. 5

²⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 5

Table 5.15 Gram Sabha Meetings per Year

| <i>Response</i> | <i>Nuguru (Z)</i> | <i>Nimmalapalem</i> | <i>Mannanur</i> | <i>Overall</i> |
|----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Once in a month | -- | 14.1 (14) | 4.0 (4) | 6.1 (18) |
| Once in three months | 3.0 (3) | 1.0 (1) | 54.5 (54) | 19.5 (58) |
| Every six months | 12.1(12) | 61.6 (61) | 10.1 (10) | 27.9 (83) |
| Uncertain | 84.8 (84) | 23.2 (23) | 31.3 (31) | 46.5 (138) |
| Total | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

It can be seen from the above table, meetings of the Gram Sabha are being organised at varying degrees of frequency in the three villages. It can be seen that the response ‘Uncertain’ was highly noticeable – 84.5 percent in Nuguru (Z), 23.2 percent in Nimmalapalem and 31.3 percent in Mannanur. As regards Nimmalapalem, majority of the respondents (61.6 percent) mentioned ‘Every six months,’ while the maximum number of respondents (54.5 percent) in Mannanur said that the meetings were being held once in three months. It is clear that ‘once in a month’ responses were very few (only 6.1 percent, overall). The lesson that emerges that not much importance is being given to holding Gram Sabha meetings at, more, regular intervals.

Table 5.16 Gram Sabha Participation among Different Education Levels

| | <i>illiterate</i> | <i>Primary</i> | <i>secondary</i> | <i>college</i> | <i>professional degree</i> | <i>research degree</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|-------|-------------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|----------------------------|------------------------|--------------|
| Yes | 34.3 (102) | 14.1 (42) | 16.8 (50) | 6.1 (18) | 0.3 (1) | 0.3 (1) | 72.1 (214) |
| No | 14.5 (43) | 4.4 (13) | 5.4 (16) | 3.7 (11) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 27.9 (83) |
| Total | 48.8 (145) | 18.5 (55) | 22.2 (66) | 9.8 (29) | 0.3 (1) | 0.3 (1) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

Two things can be discerned from the above table. One, cutting across educational levels, those participating in the activities of the Gram Sabha are more in number than those not participating. This should be regarded as a healthy sign. Two, when one looks at the issue education level wise, one can find that the illiterate respondents (and those educated upto the primary or secondary levels) seem to be more enthusiastic about the Gram Sabha than

their counterparts holding college, professional or research degrees. This is not considered a very healthy state of affairs, since participants who are more educated may be able to provide valuable inputs to the Gram Sabhas.

Table 5.17 Frequency of Respondents' Participation in Gram Sabha Meetings

| <i>Response</i> | <i>Nuguru (Z)</i> | <i>Nimmalapalem</i> | <i>Mannanur</i> | <i>Overall</i> |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Regularly | 6.1 (6) | 39.4 (39) | 4.0 (4) | 16.5 (49) |
| Frequently / often | 44.4 (44) | 53.5 (53) | 52.5 (52) | 50.2 (149) |
| If my family is involved in | 1.0 (1) | -- | 3.0 (3) | 1.3 (4) |
| Never | 48.5 (48) | 7.1 (7) | 40.4 (40) | 32.0 (95) |
| Total | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

The issue of frequency of Gram Sabha meetings has already been discussed above. It would now be pertinent to examine the 'performance' of the respondents themselves in these meetings. Except Nuguru (Z) (where the 'Never' responses were as high as 48.5 percent), the largest proportion of respondents in the other two villages stated that they frequently/often attended these meetings. However, these two villages exhibited different trends in respect of the 'extreme' responses. While 39.4 percent in Nimmalapalem said that, they regularly attended these meetings, which is as high as 40.4 percent of the respondents. In Mannanur said that they 'never' attended. It needs to be highlighted that Gram Sabhas can function effectively only when the members take more interest in its activities.

Table 5.18 Awareness about the Statutory Panchayats

| <i>Response</i> | <i>Nuguru (Z)</i> | <i>Nimmalapalem</i> | <i>Mannanur</i> | <i>Overall</i> |
|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Yes | 3.0 (3) | 33.3 (33) | 7.1 (7) | 14.5 (43) |
| No | 97.0 (96) | 66.7 (66) | 92.9 (92) | 85.5 (254) |
| Total | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

One possible reason for participation in the meetings of the Gram Sabhas, may be the low level of awareness of the residents about the importance of such institutions. This surmise is borne out by table 5.18, which shows that majority of the respondents in all the three

villages stated that they did not know about statutory panchayats. In fact the figures were as high as 97.0 percent in Nuguru (Z) and 92.9 percent in Mannanur.

Table 5.19 Organising Statutory Panchayats

| <i>Response</i> | <i>Nuguru (Z)</i> | <i>Nimmalapalem</i> | <i>Mannanur</i> | <i>Overall</i> |
|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Yes | 10.1 (10) | 44.4 (44) | 6.1 (6) | 20.2 (60) |
| No | 6.1 (6) | 3.0 (3) | 73.7 (73) | 27.6 (82) |
| DK | 83.8 (83) | 52.5 (52) | 20.2 (20) | 52.2 (155) |
| Total | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

Note: DK stands for 'Do not know,' or can't say

Table 5.19 clearly brings out that residents of the three villages did not have much clarity about statutory panchayats, suggesting that they had greater faith in their community panchayats. The largest number of respondents in Nuguru (Z) (as high as 83.8 percent) and Nimmalapalem (52.5 percent) replied 'Do not know'/'cannot say', which indicates their disinterest about such panchayats. Yet, 10.1 percent and 44.4 percent respectively in these villages accepted that they organise such panchayats. On the other hand, 73.7 percent respondents in Mannanur gave clear 'No' responses.

5.10 Performance of Community Panchayats

Table 5.20 Perceptions about the Community Sarpanch

| <i>Response</i> | <i>Nuguru (Z)</i> | <i>Nimmalapalem</i> | <i>Mannanur</i> | <i>Overall</i> |
|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Believe in | 70.7 (70) | 80.8 (80) | 36.4 (36) | 62.6 (186) |
| Do Not | 3.0 (3) | 1.0 (1) | 3.0 (3) | 2.4 (7) |
| Anybody | 16.2 (16) | 3.0 (3) | 50.5 (50) | 23.2 (69) |
| DK | 10.1 (10) | 15.2 (15) | 10.1 (10) | 11.8 (35) |
| Total | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

The earlier surmise about greater faith in the community panchayats is borne out by the fact that a very large proportion of respondents in Nuguru (Z) (70.7 percent, Nimmalapalem (80.8 percent) and overall (62.6 percent) expressed faith in their present Sarpanches. The negative perceptions were found to be almost negligible in all the three villages. Understandably, the 'non-committal' responses were found to be quite low in all

the three villages. Interestingly, in Mannanur, 50.5 percent of the respondents chose the option ‘Anybody’. It must be mentioned here that most of the people in the study area preferred to have a person belonging to their own community as their head and were generally not inclined to accept a non-tribal as their chief. It is only in Mannanur that a significant number of respondents were prepared to have any person as their panchayat head.

Table 5.21 Organising Community Panchayats

| <i>Response</i> | <i>Nuguru (Z)</i> | <i>Nimmalapalem</i> | <i>Mannanur</i> | <i>Overall</i> |
|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Yes | 94.9 (94) | 64.6 (64) | 92.9 (92) | 83.8 (249) |
| No | 5.1 (5) | 35.4 (35) | 7.1 (7) | 16.2 (48) |
| Total | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

The greater degree of enthusiasm for community panchayats mentioned above is borne out by the fact that an overwhelming number of respondents (Nuguru, 94.9 percent, Mannanur, 92.9 percent and overall, 83.8 percent) spoke in favour of organising community panchayats. Even though the positive responses (64.6 percent) were the highest in Nimmalapalem, the degree of support was not as strong as in the other two villages.

Table 5.22 Preference of Panchayats

| <i>Response</i> | <i>Nuguru (Z)</i> | <i>Nimmalapalem</i> | <i>Mannanur</i> | <i>Overall</i> |
|----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Community panchayats | 90.9 (90) | 45.5 (45) | 96.0 (95) | 77.4 (230) |
| Statutory panchayats | 9.1 (9) | 54.5 (54) | 4.0 (4) | 22.6 (67) |
| Total | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

Almost similar trend of overwhelming support for community panchayats, noticed in the case of Nuguru (Z) and Mannanur, can be seen here. It is only in Nimmalapalem that 54.5 percent of the respondents preferred the statutory panchayats. This suggests that despite the government initiatives to strengthen and empower PRIs, many tribal continue to have greater faith in their traditional self-governance institutions.

Table 5.23 Preferred Agencies for Resolving Disputes

| <i>Response</i> | <i>Nuguru (Z)</i> | <i>Nimmalapalem</i> | <i>Mannanur</i> | <i>Overall</i> |
|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Community panchayat | 100.0 (99) | 45.5 (45) | 90.9 (90) | 78.8 (234) |
| Statutory panchayat | -- | 54.5 (54) | 2.0 (2) | 18.9 (56) |
| Police station | -- | -- | 7.1 (7) | 2.4 (7) |
| Total | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

Generally, in rural societies, especially in tribal ones, (unlike their urban counterparts), there is scope for occasional disputes among the members. When it is difficult for the two parties to arrive at a mutually agreeable solution, the parties involved have the choice of approaching the community panchayat, the statutory panchayat or the police authorities. The above table clearly brings out that seeking the help of the police was not a popular option. In fact, in Nuguru (Z) and Nimmalapalem, none of the respondents spoke about approaching the police. As in most other cases, an overwhelming number of respondents in Nuguru (Z) (100 percent) and Mannanur (90.9 percent) expressed full confidence in the community panchayat. It was only in Nimmalapalem that close to 55 percent of the respondents stated that they approached the statutory panchayat to resolve their disputes and other problems.

Table 5.24 Frequency of ITDA PO Visit

| <i>ITDA PO visit</i> | <i>Nuguru (Z)</i> | <i>Nimmalapalem</i> | <i>Mannanur</i> | <i>Overall</i> |
|----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Yes | 5.1 (5) | 44.4 (44) | 2.0 (2) | 17.2 (51) |
| No | 94.9 (94) | 55.6 (55) | 98.0 (97) | 82.8 (246) |
| Total | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

It is one thing to establish institutions like the ITDA and another to ensure that the concerned officials visit the tribal areas to perform their assigned duties. Table 5.24 presents a very dismal picture about the attitude of ITDA officials. Even though the proportion of negative responses may be varying from more than 94 percent (in Nuguru (Z) and Mannanur) to close to 56 percent in Nimmalapalem, the picture that emerges is that the concerned officials are not taking their responsibilities seriously.

Table 5.25 Tribal Sub-Plan

| <i>TSP</i> | <i>Nuguru (Z)</i> | <i>Nimmalapalem</i> | <i>Mannanur</i> | <i>Overall</i> |
|-------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Know | --- | 9.1 (9) | 32.3 (32) | 13.8 (41) |
| Do not know | 100.0 (99) | 90.9 (90) | 67.7 (67) | 86.2 (256) |
| Total | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

Tribal Sub-Plan is the backbone for the overall development of tribal communities. However, it is observed that the many tribals in Fifth Schedule Areas are not aware of the Plan. In all the three sample villages, majority of the respondents expressed their ignorance about the TSP. It was only in Mannanur that about 33.0 percent of the respondents were aware of the Plan. When the majority of the intended beneficiaries are ignorant of the schemes intended for their welfare, to what extent they are going to benefit is a question mark?

The government may, in good faith, release adequate funds for the various tribal welfare schemes. The wily government functionaries may be able to ‘produce’ records that these funds were utilised, without actually spending these for the intended purposes. The widespread ignorance of the potential beneficiaries is providing tremendous scope for misappropriation and siphoning off the funds elsewhere.

Table 5.26 Using Forest

| <i>Using forest</i> | <i>Nuguru (Z)</i> | <i>Nimmalapalem</i> | <i>Mannanur</i> | <i>Overall</i> |
|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Easy | 7.1 (7) | -- | 5.1 (5) | 4.0 (12) |
| Not easy | 92.9 (92) | 100.0 (99) | 94.9 (94) | 96.0 (285) |
| Total | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

Forests are the bread and butter for the tribal communities. However, due to issues like reserve forests and Tiger Reserves, tribals are finding it increasingly difficult to gain entry into forests which have all long provided most of their sustenance needs. An overwhelming number of respondents, in all the three villages, said that the entry into the forests is no longer an easy task for them.

5.11 PESA Act Awareness among Koya, Konda Reddi and Chenchu Tribes

Table 5.27 Awareness on PESA Act among Different Tribes

| <i>Response</i> | <i>Sub Caste / Tribes</i> | | | | | | | <i>Total</i> |
|-----------------|---------------------------|----------------|-------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| | <i>Konda Reddi</i> | <i>Chenchu</i> | <i>Koya</i> | <i>Kammara</i> | <i>Gouds</i> | <i>Kapu</i> | <i>Others</i> | |
| Yes | 3.0 (9) | 0.3 (1) | 0.0 (0) | 0.3 (1) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 3.7 (11) |
| No | 22.6 (67) | 33.0 (98) | 30.6 (91) | 4.0 (12) | 2.4 (7) | 1.3 (4) | 2.4 (7) | 96.3 (286) |
| Total | 25.6 (76) | 33.3 (99) | 30.6 (91) | 4.4 (13) | 2.4 (7) | 1.3 (4) | 2.4 (7) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

Initiatives like PESA and Tribal Sub Plan are intended for bettering the lot of the tribal communities. These can have greater impact when the intended beneficiaries have reasonable level of understanding about these. Table 5.27 above presents dismal picture on this issue. The largest proportion of respondents across tribes reported that they were not aware of PESA. In fact, none of the Koyas gave positive responses on this aspect. On the positive side, 9 (out of 76) Konda Reddis and one (out of 13) Kammra respondents knew something about PESA. It is imperative for the government to reach out to the intended beneficiaries and spread about such schemes.

Table 5.28 Understanding of PESA among different education levels

| <i>Sl. No.</i> | <i>Education</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|----------------|---------------------|------------|-------------|--------------|
| 1. | Illiterates | 0 (0) | 100.0 (145) | 100.0 (145) |
| 2. | Primary | 5.5 (3) | 94.5 (52) | 100.0 (55) |
| 3. | Secondary | 6.1 (4) | 93.9 (62) | 100.0 (66) |
| 4. | College | 13.8 (4) | 86.2 (25) | 100.0 (29) |
| 5. | PG | 00 (0) | 00 (0) | 00 (0) |
| 6. | Professional degree | 00 (0) | 100.0 (1) | 100.0 (1) |
| 7. | Research degree | 00 (0) | 100.0 (1) | 100.0 (1) |
| Total | | 3.7 (11) | 96.3 (286) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

The above table gives us an idea whether higher education necessarily mean a greater degree of awareness about such schemes. It could be seen that this surmise is correct

since we can notice a progressive increase from the illiterate to college education levels. One need not pay much heed to the ‘No’ responses from the lone professional and research degree holders, since these could be isolated cases. Also, in any case, one respondent may not always be representative of the category to which he or she belongs. Still, since the awareness levels of the respondents were found to be very low, the concerned functionaries should put in special efforts to spread awareness on such issues. Depending on the educational levels, the awareness drives could be moulded so that the maximum number of intended beneficiaries comes to know about matters of interest to them. If necessary, these campaigns could be undertaken in the language(s) in which the target audience is comfortable.

Table 5.29 PESA awareness among different occupations

| <i>Occupation</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|---------------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| Housewife | 5.2 (4) | 94.8 (73) | 100.0 (77) |
| Labour | 2.6 (3) | 97.4 (114) | 100.0 (117) |
| Agriculture | 4.7 (3) | 95.3 (61) | 100.0 (64) |
| Other Employment | 00 (0) | 100.0 (23) | 100.0 (23) |
| Others (students) | 6.2 (1) | 93.8 (15) | 00 (16) |
| Total | 3.7 (11) | 96.3 (286) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

The most remarkable fact that could be seen from the above table was that housewives had a greater degree of awareness about PESA than those engaged in labour or agriculture. The relatively high levels of awareness among students are understandable since they could be having greter access to newspapers, magazines, handbills, etc. It was very shocking to note that none of those in other employment (mostly public sector employees) were aware of PESA.

Table 5.30 Tribe-wise Familiarity of PESA Act

| <i>Sl. No.</i> | <i>Sub caste</i> | <i>Response Percentage</i> | | <i>Total</i> |
|----------------|------------------|----------------------------|------------|--------------|
| | | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | |
| 1. | Konda Reddi | 11.8 (9) | 88.2 (67) | 100.0 (76) |
| 2. | Chenchu | 1.0 (1) | 99.0 (98) | 100.0 (99) |
| 3. | Koya | 00 (0) | 100.0 (91) | 100.0 (91) |
| 4. | Kammara | 7.7 (1) | 92.3 (12) | 100.0 (13) |
| 5. | Gouds | 00 (0) | 100.0 (7) | 100.0 (7) |
| 6. | Kapu | 00 (0) | 100.0 (4) | 100.0 (4) |
| 7. | Others | 00 (0) | 100.0 (7) | 100.0 (7) |
| Total | | 3.7 (11) | 96.3 (286) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

The above table 5.30 explains about the level of understanding of PESA Act among different tribal communities. For Konda Reddi, 11.8 percent knows whereas 88.2 percent did not hear about it. The reason behind why Konda Reddi and Kammara tribes know is that the training is given to them by APARD as part of Bharat Nirman Volunteers in November 2011(the training covered different tribal Acts, provisions among which PESA was one). In fact, the Bharat Nirman Volunteers are from both Konda Reddi and Kammara tribes who belong to the same village Nimmalapalem. In Chenchu tribes, it is extremely poor that only 1.0 percent knows about the PESA and not even single person from Koya tribes heard about the act. Overall, only 3.7 percent know about it, whereas 96.3 percent are not aware of it.

Table 5.31 Impact of Economic Conditions on Awareness of PESA Act

| <i>Economic position</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|--------------------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| Highly improved | 0.7 (2) | 2.7 (8) | 3.4 (10) |
| Just improved | 1.0 (3) | 34.0 (101) | 35.0 (104) |
| Stable | 1.7 (5) | 39.7 (118) | 41.4 (123) |
| Deteriorated | 0.3 (1) | 19.9 (59) | 20.2 (60) |
| Total | 3.7 (11) | 96.3 (286) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

Greater awareness of PESA is linked with the improvement in the economic position of the concerned person. From the above table, it could be seen that an almost negligible

proportion of respondents agreed that their economic position did not have impact on the awareness of PESA Act. The level of improvement in economic position has no impact on awareness of PESA Act. Only those whose economic position stable and slightly improved, they have minor impact at 1.7 percent and 1.0 percent. Therefore, when it is compared from deterioration to improvement, it has minor impact on the awareness of PESA Act. However, in economic perspective, the considerable impact has not been observed, even though there is the minor impact. Further, those whose economic position is either stable or slightly improved, they have some sort of better familiarity of the Act rather than highly improved and deterioration. Ironically, those families whose economy are between stable and slightly improved, they are around 80 percent saying that economic improvement in individual household does lead to the awareness of the Act. Overall, tribal economy does not have an impact on Act awareness.

Table 5.32 Gram Sabha focus on Social & Economic Plans & Identifying Beneficiaries

| <i>Subject</i> | <i>Yes No</i> | <i>Name of the Village</i> | | | <i>Overall Percentage</i> |
|---|-------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| | | <i>Nuguru (Z)</i> | <i>Nimmalapalem</i> | <i>Mannanur</i> | |
| Have you heard of PESA Act | Yes | -- | 10.1 (10) | 1.0 (1) | 3.7 (11) |
| | No | 100.0 (99) | 89.9 (89) | 99.0 (98) | 96.3 (286) |
| Village Social & Economic Plans | Yes | 38.4 (38) | 15.2 (15) | 8.1 (8) | 20.5 (61) |
| | No | 4.0 (4) | 5.1 (5) | 3.0 (3) | 4.0 (12) |
| | DK | 57.6 (57) | 79.8 (79) | 88.9 (88) | 75.4 (224) |
| Selecting beneficiaries under various schemes | Yes | 27.3 (27) | 49.5 (49) | 4.0 (4) | 26.9 (80) |
| | No | 10.1 (10) | 23.2 (23) | 8.1 (8) | 13.8 (41) |
| | DK | 62.6 (62) | 27.3 (27) | 87.9 (87) | 59.3 (176) |
| Total | | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

In fact, the PESA Act is intended to empower the GS for improving the socio-economic conditions of the Scheduled Areas. However, the largest proportion of respondents - Nuguru (Z) (57.6 percent), Nimmalapalem (79.8 percent), Mannaur (88.9 percent) and overall (75.4 percent) were not aware of the provision that the GS was enabled to manage the village social & economic plans including TSP.

Another dimension of the PESA Act is the responsibility of the Gram Sabhas to identify and select the beneficiaries under various programmes and schemes. In Nuguru (Z) and Mannanur villages, the largest number of respondents (62.6 percent and 87.9 percent) were not aware about this issue. However, 49.5 percent of the respondents in Nimmalapalem knew about this dimension of PESA. In this instance too, the overall ‘No’ responses were negligible in number. This brings out the need for the concerned officials to spread greater awareness about the salient features of such schemes so that the intended beneficiaries can derive greater benefit out of these.

Table 5.33 Gram Sabha Approval of Plans for Economic Development

| <i>Sub tribe</i> | <i>Level of response</i> | | | <i>Total</i> |
|------------------|--------------------------|-----------|------------|--------------|
| | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>DK</i> | |
| Konda Reddi | 15.8 (12) | 6.6 (5) | 77.6 (59) | 100.0 (76) |
| Chenchu | 8.1 (8) | 3.0 (3) | 88.9 (88) | 100.0 (99) |
| Koya | 36.3 (33) | 3.3 (3) | 60.4 (55) | 100.0 (91) |
| Kammara | 7.7 (1) | 0.0 (0) | 92.3 (12) | 100.0 (13) |
| Gouds | 57.1 (4) | 14.3 (1) | 28.6 (2) | 100.0 (7) |
| Kapu | 25.0 (1) | .0 (0) | 75.0 (3) | 100.0 (4) |
| Others | 28.6 (2) | .0 (0) | 71.4 (5) | 100.0 (7) |
| Total | 20.5 (61) | 4.0 (12) | 75.4 (224) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

According to PESA Act, the Gram Sabha is required to design the socio-economic plans for the holistic development of the village. However, the largest proportion of respondents of other tribes were not aware about this provision. The only ‘mitigating factor’ was that the positive responses outnumbered the negative ones among all the tribes.

Table 5.34 Education & the Level of Awareness about the Role of Gram Sabha in Approval of Socio-economic Plans

| <i>Level of education</i> | <i>Level of response</i> | | | <i>Total</i> |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|-----------|------------|--------------|
| | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>DK</i> | |
| Illiterates | 20.0 (29) | 1.4 (2) | 78.6 (114) | 100.0 (145) |
| Primary | 21.8 (12) | 7.3 (4) | 70.9 (39) | 100.0 (55) |
| Secondary | 22.7 (15) | 6.1 (4) | 71.2 (47) | 100.0 (66) |
| College | 17.2 (5) | 6.9 (2) | 75.9 (22) | 100.0 (29) |
| PG | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| Professional degree | .0 (0) | .0 (0) | 100.0 (1) | 100.0 (1) |
| Research degree | .0 (0) | .0 (0) | 100.0 (1) | 100.0 (1) |
| Total | 20.5 (61) | 4.0 (12) | 75.4 (224) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

The most glaring observation is that even with the change in educational levels, the awareness levels on this issue did not change significantly. One could notice marginal increase in the proportion of positive responses from illiterates to secondary level educated respondents. However, there was a surprisingly, ‘dip’ in the figures for college educated respondents. Maybe, this was because such persons did not get an opportunity to attend the orientation classes on PESA and hence were not exposed much to this scheme.

Table 5.35 Acquiring of Land GS Approval of among Different Tribes

| <i>Sub-tribe</i> | <i>Level of response</i> | | | <i>Total</i> |
|------------------|--------------------------|-----------|------------|--------------|
| | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>DK</i> | |
| Konda Reddi | 86.8 (66) | 1.3 (1) | 11.8 (9) | 100.0 (76) |
| Chenchu | 9.1 (9) | 9.1 (9) | 81.8 (81) | 100.0 (99) |
| Koya | 47.3 (43) | 12.1 (11) | 40.7 (37) | 100.0 (91) |
| Kammara | 92.3 (12) | 0.0 (0) | 7.7 (1) | 100.0 (13) |
| Gouds | 57.1 (4) | 0.0 (0) | 42.9 (3) | 100.0 (7) |
| Kapu | 25.0 (1) | 0.0 (0) | 75.0 (3) | 100.0 (4) |
| Others | 85.7 (6) | 0.0 (0) | 14.3 (1) | 100.0 (7) |
| Total | 47.5 (141) | 7.1 (21) | 45.5 (135) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

Among the major players in acquiring tribal land is the government, mostly for establishing ‘development projects.’ The issue at stake was whether the approval of the

concerned Gram Sabha was required for such an acquisition. There is no uniformity of views among the various tribes on this issue. Majority of the Konda Reddis (86.8 percent), Kammaras (92.3 percent) and Koyas (47.3 percent) replied in the affirmative on this issue. On the other hand, one could see greater proportion of ‘non-committal’ responses from Chenchus (81.8 percent) and Kapus (75.3 percent). The lesson that emerges is that a lot still needs to be done to spread awareness about the powers of the Gram Sabha.

Table 5.36 Acquiring Land, License for Minerals & Intoxicants

| Subject | Yes No | Name of the Village | | | Overall Percentage |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|---------------------|-------------|------------|-----------------------|
| | | Nuguru (Z) | Nimmlapalem | Mannanur | |
| Government acquiring any lands | Yes | 48.5 (48) | 84.8 (84) | 9.1 (9) | 47.5 (141) |
| | No | 11.1 (11) | 1.0 (1) | 9.1 (9) | 7.1 (21) |
| | DK | 40.4 (40) | 14.1 (14) | 81.8 (81) | 45.5 (135) |
| License for minor minerals | Yes | 31.3 (31) | 6.1 (6) | 10.1 (10) | 15.8 (47) |
| | No | 34.3 (34) | 74.7 (74) | 16.2 (16) | 41.8 (124) |
| | DK | 34.3 (34) | 19.2 (19) | 73.7 (73) | 42.4 (126) |
| Intoxicants | Yes | 63.6 (63) | 46.5 (46) | 6.1 (6) | 38.7 (115) |
| | No | 30.3 (30) | 30.3 (30) | 37.4 (37) | 32.7 (97) |
| | DK | 6.1 (6) | 23.2 (23) | 56.6 (56) | 28.6 (85) |
| Total | | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

According to AP PESA Rules, 2011, Section 5 (4) land acquisition is assigned to the Mandal Praja Parishad.²⁸⁵ With regard to permission for the government to acquiring lands for its various activities, the maximum number of respondents in Nuguru (Z), 48.5 percent, and, Nimmlapalem 84.8 percent, agreed that the Gram Sabha has such powers. However, in Mannanur, the maximum responses (81.8 percent) were not clear on this issue. Regarding issue of licenses for extracting minor minerals, the number of positive and negative responses were almost equal in Nuguru (Z). However, the number of negative responses (74.7 percent) dominated in Nimmlapalem, while in Mannanur the number of responses who did know about the provision was 73.7 percent.

²⁸⁵ See Annexure No. 5 for complete details on AP PESA Rules, 2011, given by Government of AP, p. 6

As per as regulation is concerned, the brewing and sale of liquor, largest proportion of respondents in Nuguru (Z), 63.6 percent, and Nimmalapalem, 46.5 percent, agreed that the Gram Sabha indeed had such powers. However, 56.6 percent of respondents of Mannanur were not clear on this issue.

Table 5.37 Intoxicant among different tribes

| <i>Sub-tribe</i> | <i>Level of Response</i> | | | <i>Total</i> |
|------------------|--------------------------|------------|-----------|--------------|
| | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>DK</i> | |
| Konda Reddi | 59.2 (45) | 17.1 (13) | 23.7(18) | 100.0 (76) |
| Chenchu | 6.1 (6) | 37.4 (37) | 56.6 (56) | 100.0 (99) |
| Koya | 62.6 (57) | 30.8 (28) | 6.6 (6) | 100.0 (91) |
| Kammara | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (13) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (13) |
| Gouds | 71.4 (5) | 28.6 (2) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (7) |
| Kapu | 0.0 (0) | 25.0 (1) | 75.0 (3) | 100.0 (4) |
| Others | 28.6 (2) | 42.9 (3) | 28.6 (2) | 100.0 (7) |
| Total | 38.7 (115) | 32.7 (97) | 28.6 (85) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

The Directive Principles of State Policy of the Constitution of India do speak about the need for the state to enforce prohibition. This is more in the nature of a directive and is not enforceable in a court of law. Perceptions of people on the powers of the Gram Sabha to control the consumption of liquor, majority of the respondents from three tribes – Konda Reddis (59.2 percent) and Koyas (62.6 percent) agreed that the Gram Sabha had such powers. Those who were categorical that the Gram Sabhas do not have such powers were: Kammaras (100 percent), ‘others’ (42.9 percent), Chenchus (37.4 percent), Koyas (30.8 percent). Interestingly, the most prominent number of non-committal responses were founds in Kapus (75.0 percent), Chenchus (56.6 percent) and others (2.6 percent).

Table 5.38 Minor Forest Produce, Village Markets & Land Alienation

| <i>Subject</i> | <i>Y/N</i> | <i>Name of the Village</i> | | | <i>Overall Percentage</i> |
|--|------------|----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| | | <i>Nuguru (Z)</i> | <i>Nimmalapalem</i> | <i>Mannanur</i> | |
| MFP | Yes | 18.2 (18) | 3.0 (3) | 14.1 (14) | 11.8 (35) |
| | No | 31.3 (31) | 4.0 (4) | 55.6 (55) | 30.3 (90) |
| | DK | 50.5 (50) | 92.9 (92) | 30.3 (30) | 57.9 (172) |
| Managing village markets | Yes | 90.9 (99) | 4.0 (4) | 8.1 (8) | 34.3 (102) |
| | No | -- | 2.0 (2) | 52.5 (52) | 18.2 (54) |
| | DK | 9.1 (9) | 93.9 (93) | 39.4 (39) | 47.5 (141) |
| Restoration of alienated land under PESA Act | Yes | 18.2 (18) | 7.1 (7) | 11.1 (11) | 12.1 (36) |
| | No | 24.2 (24) | 28.3 (28) | 41.4 (41) | 31.3 (93) |
| | DK | 57.6 (57) | 64.6 (64) | 47.5 (47) | 56.6 (168) |
| Total | | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

Let us now look at the perceptions of the respondents regarding the issues of immediate concern to them, as evident from table 5.38 above. It could be seen that the maximum proportion of respondents in Nuguru (Z) (50.5 percent) and Nimmalapalem (92.9 percent) were not clear whether the Gram Panchayats had control on the tapping and use of Minor Forest Products. However, in Mannanur, 55.6 percent said that the Gram Panchayats did not have such an authority.

There is the issue of management of the village markets. There were variations in the maximum responses in the three villages on the subject. In Nuguru (Z), 90.9 percent of the respondents were sure that the Gram Panchayats could manage these markets. In Nimmalapalem, 93.9 percent were non-committal, while 52.5 percent of the respondents in Mannanur expressed a categorical negative on this issue.

Finally, regarding the issue of powers of the Gram Panchayats for restoration of alienated land, the largest number of respondents in the three villages (overall, 56.6 percent) the response was that they are not aware of it. The second largest number of respondents in all the three villages were categorical that the Gram Panchayats did not have powers in this matter.

Table 5.39 Money Lending, Community Resources & Social Institutions

| Subject | Yes/No | Name of the Village | | | Overall Percentage |
|--|--------|---------------------|--------------|------------|--------------------|
| | | Nuguru (Z) | Nimmalapalem | Mannanur | |
| Money lending | Yes | 5.1 (5) | 2.0 (2) | 8.1 (8) | 5.1 (15) |
| | No | 41.4 (41) | 25.3 (25) | 64.6 (64) | 43.8 (130) |
| | DK | 53.5 (53) | 72.7 (72) | 27.3 (27) | 51.2 (152) |
| Community resources (minor water bodies) | Yes | 45.5 (45) | 50.5 (50) | 6.1 (6) | 34.0 (101) |
| | No | 7.1 (7) | 5.1 (5) | 34.3 (34) | 15.5 (46) |
| | DK | 47.5 (47) | 44.4 (44) | 59.6 (59) | 50.5 (150) |
| Social institutions like schools | Yes | 74.7 (74) | 83.8 (83) | 20.2 (20) | 59.6 (177) |
| | No | 9.1 (9) | 2.0 (2) | 22.2 (22) | 11.1 (33) |
| | DK | 16.2 (16) | 14.1 (14) | 57.6 (57) | 29.3 (87) |
| Total | | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

Unlike other businesses, which can thrive only in relatively developed societies, money-lending flourishes in areas where most of the people are poor and illiterate. Money lending is a necessary evil in places, where people are in urgent need for money and financial institutions like banks are unwilling to advance loans to them for want of collaterals like property documents. In such a situation, people are forced to approach ‘loan sharks’ who lend them money at high rates of interest. In the process, the poor become even poorer. It would be of interest to examine whether some sort of control can be exercised by gram Sabhas on moneylenders. In Nuzuru (Z) and Nimmalapalem, the largest number of respondents (53.5 percent and 72.7 percent respectively) stated that they were not aware of such powers of the Gram Sabhas. On the other hand, 64.6 percent of respondents in Mannanur were categorical that Gram Sabhas were not empowered to exercise such a control. Even otherwise, the least proportion of respondents in all the three villages gave affirmative responses on this issue.

Water is one of the important things for STs. In rural communities, where there is no piped water supply, the residents have necessarily to depend on far off water bodies or rivers, or on community water sources like ponds and wells. Even though the practice of untouchability is banned in India, denial of access to water sources to the so-called lower

castes has been one of the means of practicing untouchability were there to a large presence of persons belonging to the so-called upper castes. In the study area, where most of the residents belong to the same caste/tribe, the overt or covert form of untouchability is not an issue. In such a scenario, it would be interesting to see the perceptions of the respondents in the study area regarding the authority of the Gram Sabhas to manage and regulate the usage of community water sources. In Nuguru (Z) and Mannanur, the largest proportion of respondents (47.5 percent and 59.6 percent respectively) did not have awareness on this issue, whereas in Nimmalapalem (50.5 percent) and Nuguru (Z) (45.5 percent) felt that the Gram Sabha had the necessary powers in this regard.

Yet another issue is the management of public institutions like schools. In Nuguru (Z) and Nimmalapalem, the majority of the respondents (74.7 percent and 83.8 percent respectively) replied that the Gram Sabha has powers in this regard. However, in Mannanur, the largest proportion (57.6 percent) had no information on this aspect. The message that clearly emerges is that a lot needs to be done to spread awareness about the powers and jurisdiction of the Gram Sabha to ensure greater transparency and accountability in the working of these institutions.

Table 5.40 TSP and Utilisation Certificate by the Gram Sabha

| <i>Subject</i> | <i>Yes No</i> | <i>Name of the Village</i> | | | <i>Overall Percentage</i> |
|-------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| | | <i>Nuguru (Z)</i> | <i>Nimmalapalem</i> | <i>Mannanur</i> | |
| Local plan (TSP) | Yes | 17.2 (17) | 23.2 (23) | 10.1 (10) | 16.8 (50) |
| | No | 7.1 (7) | 4.0 (4) | 58.6 (58) | 23.2 (69) |
| | DK | 75.8 (75) | 72.7 (72) | 31.3 (31) | 59.9 (178) |
| Utilisation certificate | Yes | 66.7 (66) | 77.8 (77) | 9.1 (9) | 51.2 (152) |
| | No | 6.1 (6) | 1.0 (1) | 45.5 (45) | 17.5 (52) |
| | DK | 27.3 (27) | 21.2 (21) | 45.5 (45) | 31.3 (93) |
| Total | | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

Another important issue is the involvement of the Gram Sabha in designing of local plans as part of the Tribal Sub Plan. It was found that the majority of respondents in Nuguru (Z) (75.8 percent) and Nimmalapalem (72.7 percent) did not have any awareness on this

issue. However, in Mannanur, 58.6 percent of the respondents were categorical that the Gram Sabha did not have a say in such matters.

Next is the issue of getting utilisation certificate from Gram Sabha. As in number of earlier issues, majority of respondents in Nuguru (Z) and Nimmalapalem tended to have the same line of thinking. Here, 66.7 percent, in Nuguru (Z), and 77.8 percent, in Nimmalapalem, agreed that utilisation certificates from the concerned Gram Sabha were necessary. However, an equal number (45.5 percent each) of respondents in Mannanur stated that they are not aware.

Table 5.41 Awareness Programme on PESA & FRA Acts

| <i>Subject</i> | <i>Yes No</i> | <i>Name of the Village</i> | | | <i>Overall Percentage</i> |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| | | <i>Nuguru (Z)</i> | <i>Nimmalapalem</i> | <i>Mannanur</i> | |
| Have you taken PESA training | Yes | -- | 5.1 (5) | -- | 1.7 (5) |
| | No | 100.0 (99) | 94.9 (94) | 100.0 (99) | 98.3 (292) |
| Do you require training on PESA | Yes | 64.6 (64) | 92.9 (92) | 4.0 (4) | 53.9 (160) |
| | No | 35.4 (35) | 7.1 (7) | 96.0 (95) | 46.1 (137) |
| FRA, 2006 | Yes | 7.1 (7) | 12.1 (12) | 29.3 (29) | 16.5 (49) |
| | No | 92.9 (92) | 87.9 (87) | 70.7 (70) | 83.5 (248) |
| Total | | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (99) | 100.0 (297) |

(Source: Field study conducted during 2013-14)

A more part of the earlier discussion lack the awareness about PESA and TSP. It was suggested that the concerned authorities should disseminate information on such schemes to the intended beneficiaries. It would therefore, be pertinent to examine the perceptions on training capsules, in any conducted on these. It is rather amazing to note that an overwhelming number of respondents in all the three villages had not undergone training on PESA. In fact, none of the respondents in Nuguru (Z) and Mannanur had attended training capsules on PESA, etc.

There is the issue of the desire of the respondents to undergo training on these issues. It can be seen that 64.6 percent respondents in Nuguru (Z) and 92.9 percent in Nimmalapalem wanted to undergo training in the matter. 96.0 percent, respondents stating that they do not require training on this issue. The possible reason could be that they do not know the importance of the Act.

A much more dismal picture emerges in the case of FRA, 2006, since the negative responses were found to be much more than the positives ones in all the three villages. Still, the 29.3 percent affirmative responses in Mannanur is considered significant, since this village is, largely, located in a forest area and the residents hugely depend on the forest, and less on agriculture, for their sustenance. No wonder, they had a relatively larger degree of interest in the forest laws.

5.12 Gram Panchayat Sarpanch Reservation as per the PESA Act

In accordance with Section 4(g) of the PESA Act, as applicable to Fifth Schedule Areas, candidates from the tribal groups are supposed to be elected as representatives at the Gram Panchayat, Mandal, and Zilla Parishad levels (see Annexure No. 3). The AP government has made provisions for tribals holding these offices at the Gram Panchayat and Mandal Parishad levels, but not at the Zilla Parishad level. An attempt has been made to ascertain the ground level realities at Nuguru (Z), Nimmalapalem and Mannanur villages. The following tables will present the chronological details of candidates' tenure, political party performance, caste and sub-caste etc.

Table 5.42 Chronology of Gram Panchayat Sarpanchs, Venkatapuram

| <i>Sl. No.</i> | <i>Name</i> | <i>Duration</i> | <i>GP Reserved for</i> | <i>Political Party</i> | <i>Caste</i> | <i>Sub caste</i> |
|----------------|-------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|--------------|------------------|
| 1. | Sayam Santha | 21/07/2001 – 23/08/2006 | NA | TDP | ST | Koya |
| 2. | Duggiraya Samaiah | 24/08/2006 – 19/12/2006 | NA | TDP | ST | Yarakula |
| 3. | Gnana Srinivash | 20/12/2006 - 29/07/2007 | NA | CPI (M) | BC | Mudiraj |
| 4. | Thumma Pullaiah | 30/07/2007 - 23/08/2011 | NA | INC | ST | Koya |
| 5. | Special Officer | 24/08/2011 - 31/07/2013 | Changed three times | | | |
| 6. | J. Narayanamma | 01/08/2013 – till date | ST woman | YSR CP | ST | Koya |

Source: Records, Gram Panchayat Office, Venkatapuram.

Note: NA – Not Available)

Venkatapuram Gram Panchayat has been maintaining the chronological records of Sarpanchas from 2001 onwards. The above table gives the picture of the Gram Panchayat

level. It can be seen that between 2001 and 2006, TDP dominated the office continuously by accommodating a person from the Koya tribe for a longer time and one from the Yerakula tribe for a short span of time. Thereafter, the positions has been held by candidates belonging to the CPI (M), INC and YSR CP. Since this is a Koya dominated region, most of the Sarpanchas have been from this Tribe. However, between 24/08/2006 and 19/12/2006, a person belonging to the Yerakula female tribe held this position. Between 24/08/2011 and 31/07/2013, the duties of the Sarpanch were performed by Special Officers appointed by the state government. A blatant violation of the provisions of the PESA Act occurred during the period 20/12/2006 - 29/07/2007 when a non-tribal person (a BC) occupied the position of Sarpanch.

For a long time, male had held the position of Sarpanch. However, since this post is now reserved for female, the position has changed. The current Sarpanch, J. Narayanamma belongs to the YSR CP.

Table 5.43 Sarpanchs of D Bhimavaram Gram Panchayat

| <i>Sl. No.</i> | <i>Name</i> | <i>Duration</i> | <i>GP Occupied by</i> | <i>Political Party</i> | <i>Caste</i> | <i>Sub-caste</i> |
|----------------|----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|--------------|------------------|
| 1. | Chekka Venkataraju | 1995 – 01 | ST male | INC | ST | Konda Reddi |
| 2. | Chekka Swamulu | 2001 – 06 | ST male | TDP | ST | Konda Reddi |
| 3. | Sadhapalli Bhimaraju | 2006 – 11 | ST male | INC | ST | Konda Reddi |
| 4. | Special Officer | 2011 – 13 | | | | |
| 5. | Murla Gangabhavani | July, 2013 – till date | ST (female) | Indep | ST | Konda Reddi |

Source: Records, Gram Panchayat Office, D. Bhimavaram

Despite the fact that the Gram Panchayat records are not properly maintained in Fifth Schedule Areas, the records for D. Bhimavaram Gram Panchayat are available from 1995 onwards. Among the political parties, it is Congress and TDP who have enjoyed grassroots level political power interchangeably. Further, with regard to the Gram Panchayat reservation, most of the time, the office was occupied by male candidates, except now, when the incumbent is a female. Even though the PESA Act has not been violated in this area, only persons belonging to the Konda Reddi tribes have always held

the position of Sarpanch. It was because this is a Konda Reddi dominated area. It also emerged during the study that the current Sarpanch is facing many problems in order to get sanctions from the higher authorities. Because she is an independent candidate. It is understood that she is under a lot of pressure to join the YSR CP This kind of institutionalised political pressure can also be seen in Fifth Scheduled Areas.

Table 5.44 Chronological Record of Sarpanchs, Mannanur

| <i>S. No.</i> | <i>Name</i> | <i>Duration</i> | <i>GP Reserved for</i> | <i>Political Party</i> | <i>Caste</i> | <i>Sub caste</i> |
|---------------|-------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|--------------|------------------|
| 1. | Kona Narasimhudu | 1959 – 63 | NA | NA | OC | Komati |
| 2. | Suraiah | 1964 – 70 | NA | NA | OC | Komati |
| 3. | K. Bhimaiah | 1970 – 76 | NA | NA | BC | Yadav |
| 4. | Chenna Krishnaiah | 1976 – 81 | NA | NA | SC | Mala |
| 5. | K. Masaiah | 1981 – 94 | ST | INC | ST | Chenchu |
| 6. | Special Officer | 1996 – 01 | | | | |
| 7. | Ramavath Iia Naik | 2001 – 06 | ST | INC | ST | Lambada |
| 8. | R. Mangamma | 2006 – 10 | ST (Woman) | TDP | ST | Lambada |
| 9. | Special Officer | 2010 – 13 | | | | |
| 10. | N. Srinivasulu | July, 2013 – till date | ST General | INC | ST | Chenchu |

Source: Records, Gram Panchayat Office, Mannanur (NA - Not Applicable)

With regard to Mannanur Sarpanch, the Gram Panchayat has been maintaining records in a fair way. Up to 1981, since there were no reservations, OC candidates and a Backward Caste person served as Sarpanches. For the period, 1959-81, details of the political affiliations of the incumbents are not available. At the time when the position of Sarpanch was not reserved for ST candidates, persons belonging to Komati, Yadav and the SC communities occupied the position. This is rather enigmatic since even though the area is predominantly inhabited by STs. No ST candidate was elected as Sarpanch. From 1981 onwards, there position of Sarpanch has been reserved for ST candidates only. It can be seen that the INC has occupied the position for most of the time from 1981, except for a brief stint by the TDP between 2006 and 2010 and Special officers performing the duties between 1996 and 2001 and then from 2010 to 2013.

5.13 Constitution of new Gram Sabhas in Fifth Schedule Area

In order to reinforce the PESA Act further, make it more vibrant, participative and encourage the tribes, the Government of AP has constituted the Gram Sabhas, depending on geographical distance. An order to this effect was issued under Proceedings. No. 511/2011/TRI/PR dated 02-09-2013 by the Commissioner of Tribal Welfare, Government of AP.²⁸⁶

In East Godavari district, Addateegala Mandal has 22 existing GPs, where 37 villages have been declared as new Gram Sabha villages under rule 3 of PESA rules, 2011. D. Bhimavaram GP has 6 villages, which are split between two Gram Sabhas: D. Bhimavaram GS and Mallavarammamillu GS.

With respect to Chenchu tribes in Mahabubnagar district, Amrabad Mandal has 16 scheduled Gram Panchayats, where 17 new Gram Sabhas have been constituted covering 25 villages. No change has been made to the Mannanur GP.

The intention of creating GS is that since tribal hamlets are located in extreme forest and hilly areas, they cannot come together for GS meeting, because of issues like poor road connectivity. In order to overcome these problems, the Government of AP has reconstituted the Gram Sabhas by combining the nearby tribal hamlets into single Gram Sabhas so that tribes can participate effectively in its activities.

5.14 Summing Up

The three tribes (Koya, Konda Reddi and Chenchu) have in place their own community panchayats which are much more vibrant and stronger than the statutory panchayats. The tribals are experiencing an amazing experiment of synergizing tradition with modernity. However, in the process of socialisation, non-tribals, particularly forest department officials, have been playing a negative role. Through the PESA Act, an attempt has been made to recognise the tribal traditional self-governing rights, but many of its stakeholders are not aware of the Act. PESA Act was enacted in 1996 because of tribal unrest. However, there has been a huge gap between the promise and the actual on-ground performance. The AP government had amended the existing AP Panchayati Raj Act

²⁸⁶ Government document collected from ITDA office, Rampachodavaram, East Godavari District, AP

1994, as a conformity Act in 1998. However, to most tribals, it has not made much difference since the implementing rules were given 13 years later. Even when some positive changes were introduced, neither the implementing mechanism i.e., elected representatives or bureaucracy, nor its stakeholders, i.e., the tribes know much about these. However, a positive response is visible from tribal organisations who have been working to emancipate the community from different kinds of exploitation and marginalisation. One common feature of the three tribes is their reluctance to accept non-tribals as their chiefs or community leaders.

Altogether, it is confirmed that *Adivasis* strongly believe in community panchayats. However, the new paradigm shift is that government officials like those from the panchayati raj department, statutory panchayat *Sarpanch* and employees from the same tribal community are participating in community panchayats. Sometimes, government officials and rich farmers also participating in tribal panchayats maybe to influence the panchayat decisions. Due to the widespread ignorance and illiteracy of the tribals, it is quite easy for non-tribals to influence the decision making process.

It is clear that awareness about the PESA Act has not been fulfilled the desired level among the three tribes. There is also a lack of clarity among most residents in the study area about the functions and powers of the Gram Sabha. Only when rural, particularly tribal, people have a better understanding of issues of concern to them, can they mould their own path of development and be true masters of their own destiny, which is what the Constitutional 73rd and 74th Amendments and PESA Act were all about.

Chapter – VI

Conclusion and Suggestions

The Scheduled Tribe is a social group with territorial affiliation, endogamous, with no specialisation of functions, generally ruled by a tribal chief, hereditary or otherwise, united in language or dialect, recognising social distance with other tribes, and, above all, conscious of homogeneity of ethnic and territorial integration. Further, a tribe is a group of people with common race, customs, language, etc., living in remote areas and not accessible to developmental activities. In India, the Scheduled Tribes are considered socially and economically disadvantaged. In course of time, due to their physical and social isolation from the rest of the mainstream society, the extent of deprivation became more intense, and the tribes were further isolated from developmental activities. It is this institutionalised exclusion of the tribes from access to economic rights, civil rights and human development, which has caused severe poverty and deprivation among them. During the colonial period, the Scheduled Tribes were excluded from the mainstream society in socio-economic, political and educational fields, which consequently led to backwardness in terms of development and they continued to be exploited by both British and native exploiters. The colonial rulers did not pay attention for the development of tribes, because they had given more priority to regulatory functions such as maintenance of law and order and collection of revenues, and so on. They also enacted 'Scheduled Districts Act' in 1874 to keep large tracts of tribal areas outside the purview of general administration. They also enacted 'Totally Excluded and Partially Excluded Area Act' in 1879, under which the legislations of provincial governments did not cover tribal areas. These excluded areas were later included as Schedule Fifth and Sixth in the Constitution of India. In the colonial period, the tribal society has been experiencing hindrances like land alienation and exploitation by landlords, moneylenders, colonial rulers, etc. The Scheduled Tribes have also been suffering from isolation, neglect and exclusion, which have resulted in considerable deprivation and poverty among them. The situation of the *Adivasis* is worse. Unlike the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes are a product of marginalisation, based on ethnicity. They are mainly landless, have very little control over

resources such as land, forest and water, and constitute a large proportion of agricultural labourers, casual labourers, plantation and industrial workers, etc. This has resulted in poverty, illiteracy and poor health among them. No wonder, they belong to the poorest strata of the society. Therefore, during the Constitutional Assembly debates, leaders like Jaipal Singh had raised the issue of tribal development. More importantly, there was a very important debate in the Constituent Assembly on how to administer the tribal areas. During the debates, regarding the provisions of the Constitution of the modern Indian nation, the issue of the administration of Scheduled Tribes generated heated debates on the post-colonial state policy towards legislation for *Adivasi* communities. Largely, nationalist leaders and social reformers favoured the assimilation of tribals into the mainstream society, but their views were pitted against the British administrators and those who advocated isolation, or protection. These contrasting positions were reflected in the famous debate between G.S. Ghurye and Verrier Elwin, in which the latter argued for a policy of protection of the 'tribal way of life' and the former spoke in favour of isolation. While both views were heard out, the policy, ultimately adopted was a middle ground of integration advocated by the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. During Constitutional Assembly debates, there was a notion that tribal areas required special laws, which led to the constitution of the Advisory Committee on Fundamental Rights and Minorities in 1947. This body appointed three Sub-Committees in 1947 to look into specific matters related to tribal areas and make suggestions regarding the administration and smooth functioning process. The first Sub-Committee, headed by Shri. A.V. Thakkar, was asked to look into the excluded and partially excluded areas 'other than Assam.' The second, chaired by Shri. Gopinath Bardoloi, was required to examine tribal areas within undivided Assam. The third Sub-Committee was asked to analyse the situation of tribes in the North Western Frontier Province. The proposals of the first two committees were later incorporated as the Fifth and Sixth Schedules of the Indian Constitution. This is how, after, independence, the term 'partially excluded areas' was labeled as Fifth Schedule Areas. In this way, the Constituent Assembly had adopted the Fifth Schedule.

On the eve of independence, it was decided to put all the communities, hitherto recognised as aborigines, in separate Schedules of the Constitution of India. Thus, welfare and development of the tribal communities have been the national goal, and the special responsibility of the various state governments. The government of India initiated several schemes in order to bring about overall socio-economic development of the nation, as well as the tribes of India. The government for tribal development made special efforts. This forward step in this direction was the resolve to provide education for all without any discrimination.

Tribal economy is primarily, as well as conventionally, based on forest resources. In tribal communities, tremendous transformation has been taking place, particularly with respect to the economy and posing serious challenges as how to cope up with the impact of globalisation. Apart from collecting forest produce, *Podu* (shifting) cultivation is one of the main modes of tribal livelihood. In other words, apart from collection of forest products, agriculture is the main source of tribal livelihood. However, in AP, large tracts of land, even in tribal areas, are in the hands of non-tribals.

In the name of development, the political system has been depriving the Scheduled Tribes of their legitimate rights. From time immemorial, tribes have had a self-sufficient economy. They had been generally producing commodities for their own consumption. They did not have a formal market system. Traditionally, in a cluster of villages, they have been having one or two weekly markets. The formal impact of globalisation on the tribes took place in the weekly markets. These weekly markets provided opportunities for both sale of their and coming into contact with both tribes and non-tribes. The introduction of a formal market system has changed the nature of the functioning process of tribal weekly markets. The tribe self-sufficiency is getting replaced with interdependence due to the globalised economy and it has had an impact on their cultural characteristics as well.

For centuries, they had been enjoying autonomous social, cultural, economic, legislative and judicial rights. A kind of change has been taking place with tribes slowly moving from community Panchayats to statutory Panchayats, which is not a voluntary activity. However, the so-called nurturing process is depriving the tribes of the opportunity of

having a voice in deciding what would be best for them. In fact, the top-down development approach adopted by the government functionaries is being increasingly perceived as something forced on the tribals and not always in tune with their felt needs and requirements. Ever since that process started, the tribals have been trying to understand the kind of new socio-economic, political and cultural spheres of changes. Still, their level of understanding is very low.

Tribes have been resisting the exploitation, marginalisation and suppression by non-tribals, particularly moneylenders, contractors, landlords, government officials, etc., on the one hand, and the half-baked policies of the government, on the other. The socio-economic, cultural and political exploitations have led to the emergence of tribal revolts. In fact, well-organised rebellions have been led by heterogeneous and coherent tribal communities, but not by the scattered tribal communities. Obviously, these movements had an impact on shaping the destiny of tribal livelihood, culture and have had social, economic and political dimensions. Primarily, tribals are peace-loving and docile in nature, but they have been occasionally agitating whenever they felt that their socio-economic, cultural, autonomous and political systems were being totally destroyed.

Andhra Pradesh has experienced certain historical tribal movements. These included one led by Alluri Sitarama Raju and Komaram Bheem. The tribal rebellions have been primarily against the policy of exclusion and exploitation by the rulers and the corporate-oriented state model of development. Further, in order to restore their legitimate self-governing rights, tribes used to participate in *fituries* (rebellions) during colonial times. However, in some contexts, due to the state's failure to ensure holistic development of the tribal areas and Scheduled Areas, in particular, the extremist groups have been able to establish a foothold in such areas by projecting themselves as champions of the exploited classes. In this battle for supremacy, the innocent tribals are being caught in the crossfire between the extremists and the security forces.

Scheduled Tribes have been facing the negative impact of the infiltration by the non-tribes and market system into their area. In order to protect their natural resources, tribes maintain boundaries around their habitations. These boundaries could be in terms of a stream or a particular hill, which includes water, land and forest rights. Occasionally,

there could be conflicts when persons of Gudem intrude into another Gudem. Such issues are resolved by the concerned community panchayat.

The study has brought out that, despite governments resolve towards universalisation of education, the literacy levels of *Adivasis* continue to be dismally low. In fact, in the study area, a large number of residents either were illiterates, or had only rudimentary education (up to primary or secondary level). Equally amazing was the fact that even those with higher educational levels were not striving to share their knowledge with their lesser educated brethren. Amidst all this gloom, one positive aspect that emerged was that the younger generation was showing interest in acquiring education. This is an encouraging sign for the future. However, the concerned decision-makers must ensure that the educated tribal youth do not start looking at their customs and traditions with contempt. The educational curricula for the tribal youth must be geared to their felt needs and make them more responsible members of their community, with greater awareness about their legitimate rights and entitlements. This would also save them from being exploited by vested interests like moneylenders, contractors and petty-minded government officials.

Even though land ownership is an emotive issue in rural communities, a very noticeable number of residents in the study were found to be landless. Even in the rare cases of land-ownership, this was generally confined to smallholdings only. Land alienation, reserve forest and lack of awareness on land-related issues were found to be some of the basic reasons for poor land ownership in Scheduled V Areas.

Tribal economy has generally been a subsistence one since most tribals do not believe in exploiting others for their selfish interests and have very simple needs. On top of that, their main occupations like labour, agriculture, forest gathering, hunting, etc., do not fetch them large incomes. No wonder, majority of the residents in the study area were found to have annual incomes of below Rs. 50,000. The rare cases of annual incomes in the Rs 4,00,000 to 8,00,000 range were of some public sector employees.

Even though land alienation is one of the major issues in Scheduled V Areas in AP, the problem did not assume alarming proportions since the LTR Act, with its strict rules and regulations, is being enforced quite diligently here. No wonder, in the three villages put together, only 8.4 percent of the land was reported to be alienated. Another reason for the low level of land alienation is that most residents of the study area continue to depend on the forest for their basic necessities, and are not very much interested in agriculture. Hence, there were not many instances of land being acquired and subsequently alienated.

The 73rd and 74th Constitution amendments aimed at empowering the local government institutions, especially at the grassroots level. However, these can serve their intended purpose only when these are taken seriously. While in the three study villages, most reported that meetings of the Gram Sabhas were being held, there was no uniformity about the frequency of these meetings. Intriguingly, the largest number of respondents (84.8 percent) in Nuzuru (Z) reported that the frequency of these meetings was uncertain. It is one issue to arrange Gram Sabha meetings and the other to ensure meaningful participation in these.

The level of Gram Sabha participation indicates that, on an average, participating in Gram Sabha meetings is quite positive, as 16.5 percent tribals participate regularly, 50.2 percent, often and 1.3 percent, if their family faces any problem. Further, Konda Reddi tribe has a reasonably high level of participation, even though they inhabit a dense forest area where once the great patriot Alluri Sitharamaraju used to fight against British domination and local landlords, on behalf of these primitive tribes.

It is noticed that *Adivasis* in agency areas of AP are not much aware of statutory Panchayats. This indicates that tribes are more comfortable with community panchayats, rather than statutory ones. The alien Panchayat system has been largely rejected by the *Adivasis* in Scheduled V Areas of AP. It was also observed that the panchayat transformation process from traditional to statutory has started very recently in Konda Reddi tribes, but both Koya and Chenchu tribes are still bound to their traditional panchayats, even though the transformation has started in those tribes also. It was also

found that all the tribal villages surveyed were on almost the same wavelength in preferring to have a person belonging to their own community as their chief.

It also came to light that whenever problems arise in these communities, the ‘first port of call’ (i.e., the most preferred option for seeking a solution) is the community Panchayat. However, Konda Reddis are being increasingly drawn towards statutory Panchayats. In any case, approaching the police seemed to be the least preferred option. This suggests that the tribal communities prefer to resolve their disputes within themselves and are not much inclined to seek the help of outside agencies, including the police.

It is rather alarming the many tribals do not have a proper understanding of the provisions of the PESA Act. Through the PESA Act, an attempt has been made to recognise the traditional self-governing rights of the tribals, but its stakeholders are not aware of what the Act is all about. Though the PESA Act was enacted in 1996, the requisite Conformity Act was enacted only in 2011. This will bring out the pace at which the state government machinery moves. Ironically, neither the implementing mechanism, i.e., elected representatives nor bureaucracy, nor its stakeholders, i.e., tribes, know what the PESA is. In a similar vein, there appears to be widespread ignorance about the functions and powers of the Gram Sabhas.

6.1 Findings of the Study

The major findings of the study can be summarised as under:

- ⊕ **Gender.** In all the three tribal villages, the male population was more than that of females. However, in Mannanur (Chenchu), the difference in numbers was very pronounced - as against 60.6 percent males, there were only 39.4 percent females.

- ⊕ **Age Group.** In all the tribal villages studied, the maximum number of respondents was in the age group 26 to 35 years or 36 to 45 years and none of the three villages had a significant number of senior citizens (above 65 years of age). This points to the relatively young age profile of the residents.

- ⊕ **Marital Status.** A very remarkable conclusion that can be drawn from the almost insignificant proportion of divorcees in all the three villages is that the institution of marriage is very strong in such communities. Unlike the more ‘advanced societies’, residents in these areas believe in the sanctity of marriage.

- ⊕ **Religion.** Not surprisingly, the largest number of residents (more than 99 percent) was Hindus.

- ⊕ **Caste.** Since these were all tribal villages, one should not be surprised to find that the overwhelming number of residents belonged to the Scheduled Tribes.

- ⊕ **Literacy Levels.** The number of illiterates was most pronounced in all the three villages surveyed. Even among the tribals who showed some interest in education, they tended to be content with either the primary level, or the secondary level). In spite of all this ‘gloom’, one can take comfort in the fact that all the three villages did have some respondents with a college level education. Even more remarkable was the fact that one resident of *Nuguru (Z) village* was holding a professional degree and one from Mannanur, a research degree. Not surprisingly, the least proportion of illiterates (only 2.4 percent) was found in the 18 to 24 years age bracket. However, the highest percentage of illiteracy could be seen in the age group of 36 to 45 (17.5 percent), followed by 26-35 (12.1 percent), 46-55 (8.4 percent), 56-65 (4.7 percent), 66-75 (3.7 percent). Overall, 48.8 percent of the residents were found to be illiterate. One common feature that came to the fore in all the age brackets was the tendency to be content with either primary or secondary level of education. College, professional or research level education did not appear to be very popular with the residents. One conclusion that could be drawn is that the a significant residents seem to be satisfied with a rudimentary degree of education, which would teach them the three R’s – reading, writing and arithmetic.

- ⊕ **Occupational Status.** It could be seen that the proportion of housewives was very low in all the three villages. This may be attributed to the financial condition of most households, due to which, even married women are forced to go out for work to supplement the family income. The most preferred employment options in the study area were labour (39.4 percent, overall) and agriculture (21.5 percent, overall).

- ⊕ **Dependence on Agriculture.** No uniform pattern could be found in the three tribes. The figures were 26.3 percent in Koya, 31.3 percent in the Konda Reddi and 7.1 percent in Chenchu tribes. The reasons for the variation in the figures are: (i) even though the Koya inhabited areas are generally very fertile (due to their proximity to the Godavari River), most of the lands in these areas have been alienated by the non-tribals, (ii) The Konda Reddi-inhabited areas are mostly reserve forests, and (iii) most of the Chenchu tribes themselves are not interested in cultivation because, they are still following primitive lifestyles and largely depending on forest resources.

- ⊕ **Land-ownership Pattern.** In Fifth Schedule Areas, ownership of agricultural land is always an emotive issue for the tribals, since it can impart a degree of social standing to them. One striking feature that came to the fore in all the three villages was that the largest proportion were either landless, marginal or small farmers. Some semi-medium farmers could be found in Nimmalapalem (11.1 percent) and Mannanur (9.1 percent). Also, some medium farmers (2 percent) were found in Nimmalapalem only. There were no large farmers in any of the three villages. The possible reasons for low, or no, landholdings among the residents are: alienation of the earlier held land, the land being in reserve forest areas and lack of awareness of many tribals about their rights and entitlements.

- ⊕ **Annual Income.** The annual income (from all sources) of most of the residents was found to be below Rs 1,00,000. The low-income levels could be due to: large-scale dependence on forest products, and the residents being engaged in agriculture and other types of labour (mostly unskilled), which are not very remunerative. True, some residents of Mannanur were earning more than Rs. 4,00,000. They were found to be public sector employees. The very low number of such persons suggests that most of the government jobs in this area are being ‘cornered’ by outsiders.

- ⊕ **Possession of LPG Gas Stoves.** At the first glance itself, one can see that this appliance is not very popular in the study area. The possible reasons for such a situation could be: (i) there was no felt need for this appliance; maybe people were quite comfortable with the firewood obtained from the forest, (ii) financial issues and also the long procedure involved in obtaining the initial connection and also refills, (iii) the habitations were far away from the city centres where the gas agencies are located and the associated issues involved in obtaining refills, (iv) ‘fear of the unknown’ due to unfamiliarity with how to use the gas stoves.

- ⊕ **Ownership of TV Sets.** In contrast to LPG stoves, this appliance was found to be more popular. The better position in the case of TV sets may be explained by the fact that accessibility is not a serious issue here. Once the cable connection is set up, one can watch TV almost uninterruptedly (except in the case of a power failure). There is no need to approach the dealer every two months or so, which is the case when gas cylinder refills are needed.

- ⊕ **Electricity.** One possible reason for the high level of power connections in the three villages may be the special initiatives of the state government to provide such facilities to the hitherto deprived sections of society.

- ⊕ **Domestic Toilets.** The position regarding domestic toilets in the three villages is rather dismal. However, it was found that Nimmalapalem village, which lagged behind the other two villages in parameters like possession of LPG stoves, TV sets and electricity connections, was ‘miles ahead’ of these villages in the matter of domestic toilets.

- ⊕ **Cattle wealth.** Cattle are important assets for rural communities, especially the nomadic ones. Let us examine the position regarding the various types of cattle in the three villages.
- ⊕ **Cows.** It could be seen that the three villages did not exhibit a similar degree of affinity for cows. While 34.3 percent of the respondents in *Nuguru (Z) village were owning cows, the figure was only 18.2 percent in Nimmalapalem and NIL in Mannanur.*
- ⊕ **Buffaloes.** These could be found only with 21.2 percent of the residents of *Nuguru (Z) and 27.3 percent, in Nimmalapalem.*
- ⊕ **Goats/sheep.** Majority of the residents of the three villages were not found to be holding these type of cattle

- ⊕ **Holding of ration cards, voter ID cards and Adhar cards and Arogyasri cards.** An almost overwhelming number of respondents in all the three villages were holding all the four categories of cards. Similar was the case with MGNREGA cards in all the three villages, suggesting that the Employment Guarantee scheme is highly popular in the study areas.

- ⊕ **Access to Drinking Water.** While residents of Nuguru (Z) and Mannanur had 100 percent access to clean drinking water, less than 20 percent residents of **Nimmalapalem** village had such an access.

- ⊕ **Ownership of Pucca Houses.** It was found that 92.9 percent of the residents in Mannanur had such houses. However, the other two villages presented a rather dismal picture, *Nuguru (Z) (with 33.3 percent) and Nimmalapalem (with 38.4 percent)*. The very high proportion of pucca house in Mannanur can be attributed to the outstanding success of the Indira Awaas Yojana of the government.

- ⊕ **Perceptions on Impact of Socio-Economic Schemes on the Lives of the Tribes.** In Mannanur, 53.5 percent of the respondents categorically stated that their financial conditions had, in fact, deteriorated in recent times. They attributed this situation to factors like: progressive destruction of their tradition means of livelihood and the large-scale exploitation by outsiders like moneylenders, forest contractors and government officials. Only a small number of respondents (3.4 percent overall) felt that their conditions had highly improved. Most others stated ‘Just improved’ or ‘No Change’.

- ⊕ **Migration to other areas in search of work.** An overwhelming number of respondents in the three villages asserted that migration to other places was a very difficult experience for them. This suggests that, despite the prospect of earning a livelihood in other places, the respondents still have a great deal of attachment and affinity for the places from which they originally hail.

- ⊕ **Approachability of the concerned government servants regarding issues like the Public Distribution System, loan and employment from ITDA, housing from Indira Avas Yojana, Primary Health Centres, etc.** More than 91 percent of the respondents spoke positively about the attitude of the government officials.

- ⊕ **Preference for Political Parties – National or Regional.** In recent times, tribals have been evincing a degree of interest in electoral politics. It was found that the tribal communities seem to have more faith in the regional parties (than the

national level ones) since the perception is that the regional parties can understand their issues and concerns better.

- ⊕ **Attitude Towards the Agitational Approach.** It emerged that the people of these three villages have tended to avoid participating in agitations. During personal interactions, it emerged that the agitations, if any, were on issues like development-induced displacement, (more so when their lands are forcibly acquired), not being allowed to use the natural resources and exploitation by non-tribals.
- ⊕ **Problems Posed by Land Alienation.** In the study area, land alienation does not appear to be a major area of concern since many of the residents of Nimmalapalem and Mannanur are dependent on the forests and less on agricultural activities. It is only in Nuguru (Z) that 21.2 percent land alienation was reported to the researcher.
- ⊕ **Frequency of Meetings of the Gram Sabha.** It was seen that the meetings of the Gram Sabha were being organised at varying degrees of frequency in the three villages. Surprisingly, the response 'Uncertain' was highly noticeable – **84.5 percent** in Nuguru (Z), 23.2 percent in Nimmalapalem and 31.3 percent in Mannanur. It emerged that not much importance is being given to holding Gram Sabha meetings at more regular intervals.
- ⊕ **Impact of Level of Education on Participating in the Activities of the Gram Sabha.** It could be seen that the illiterate respondents (and those educated upto the primary or secondary levels) seemed to be more enthusiastic about the Gram Sabha than their counterparts holding college, professional or research degrees. This is not considered a very healthy state of affairs, since participants who are more educated may be able to provide valuable inputs to the Gram Sabhas.
- ⊕ **Frequency of Participation of the Residents in the Gram Sabha Meetings.** Except for Nuguru (Z) (where the 'Never' responses were as high as 48.5

percent), the largest proportion of respondents in the other two villages stated that they frequently/often attended these meetings. It needs to be highlighted that Gram Sabhas can function effectively, only when the members take more interest in its activities.

- ⊕ **Awareness About statutory Panchayats.** The majority of the respondents in all the three villages stated that they did not know about statutory panchayats. In fact, the figures were as high as 97.0 percent in Nuguru (Z) and 92.9 percent in Mannanur.
- ⊕ **Community Panchayats versus Statutory Panchayats.** It emerged that residents of the villages had greater faith in their community panchayats than in statutory panchayats.
- ⊕ **Credibility of the Sarpanchas.** A very large proportion of respondents in Nuguru (Z) (70.7 percent, Nimmalapalem (80.8 percent) and overall (62.6 percent) expressed faith in their present Sarpanchas. It must be mentioned here that most of the people in the study area preferred to have a person belonging to their own community as their head and were generally not inclined to accept a non-trial as their chief. It is only in Mannanur that a significant number of respondents were prepared to have any person as their panchayat head.
- ⊕ **Organising Community Panchayats.** The majority of the respondents in all the three villages were in favour of organising community panchayats. Even though the positive responses (64.6 percent) were the highest in Nimmalapalem, the degree of support was not as strong as in the other two villages.
- ⊕ **Preferred Agency for Resolving Disputes.** When the two parties to a dispute are unable to arrive at a mutually agreeable solution, they have the choice of approaching the community panchayat, the statutory panchayat or the police authorities. It could be seen that seeking the help of the police was not a very popular option. An overwhelming number of respondents in Nuguru (Z) (**100**

percent) and Mannanur (90.9 percent) expressed full confidence in the community panchayat.

- ⊕ **Frequency of Visits by ITDA Officials.** A very dismal picture emerged about the attitude of ITDA officials, who were not found to be taking their responsibilities seriously.
- ⊕ **Awareness about the Tribal Sub Plan.** In all the three study villages, majority of the respondents expressed their ignorance about the TSP. It was only in Mannanur that just about 33.0 percent of the respondents were aware of the Plan. When the majority of the intended beneficiaries are themselves ignorant of the schemes intended for their welfare, how can they derive benefits from these? The widespread ignorance of the potential beneficiaries is providing tremendous scope for misappropriation and siphoning off the funds elsewhere.
- ⊕ **Using Forests.** Due to issues like Reserve Forests and Tiger Reserves, tribals are finding it increasingly difficult to gain entry into forests, which have all long provided most of their sustenance needs.
- ⊕ **Awareness About PESA.** It emerged that the largest proportion of respondents across all sub-castes/tribes reported that they were not aware of PESA. It is imperative for the government to reach out to the intended beneficiaries and spread about such schemes.
- ⊕ **Impact of Educational Level on Awareness about PESA.** It emerged that awareness about PESA progressively increased from the illiterate to college education levels. Since the awareness levels of the respondents were found to be very low, the concerned functionaries should put in special efforts to spread awareness on such issues. Depending on the educational levels, the awareness drives could be moulded so that the maximum numbers of intended beneficiaries come to know about matters of interest to them. If necessary, these campaigns

could be undertaken in the language(s) in which the target audience is comfortable.

- ⊕ **Awareness of PESA among Persons of Different Occupations.** The most remarkable fact that emerged was that housewives had a greater degree of awareness about PESA than those engaged in labour or agriculture. The relatively high levels of awareness among students are understandable since they could be having greater access to newspapers, magazines, handbills, etc. It was very shocking to note that none of those in other employment (mostly public sector employees) was aware of PESA.

- ⊕ **Impact of the Economic Conditions on Awareness of PESA Act.** It could be seen that economic improvement has impact on the awareness of PESA Act.

- ⊕ **Awareness of PESA and its Role in Improving the Socio-economic Conditions of the Tribals.** It was amazing to note that the largest proportion of respondents were not aware of this aspect. On a slightly encouraging note, the 'No' responses were very few in number.

- ⊕ **Role of the Gram Sabhas in identifying and Selecting the Beneficiaries of the various programmes and schemes.** Overall, 59.3 percent of the respondents were not aware about this issue. This brings out the need for the concerned officials to spread greater awareness about the salient features of such schemes so that the intended beneficiaries can derive greater benefit out of these.

- ⊕ **Awareness of Various Tribes Regarding the Functions of the Gram Sabha.** It is rather pathetic to note that the largest proportion of respondents among the tribes were not aware about this provision. The only 'mitigating factor' was that the positive responses outnumbered the negative ones among all the tribes.

- ⊕ **Awareness about the Activities of the Gram Sabha in Various Educational Levels.** One could notice only a marginal increase in the proportion of positive responses from illiterates to secondary level educated respondents. However, surprisingly, there was a ‘dip’ in the figures for college educated respondents. Maybe, this was because such persons did not get an opportunity to attend the orientation classes on PESA and hence were not exposed much to this scheme.
- ⊕ **Whether Gram Sabhas’ Approval is Needed for the Government to Acquire Land – Perceptions of Various tribes.** There did not appear to be a uniformity of views among the various tribes on this issue. Majority of the Konda Reddis (86.8 percent), Kammaras (92.3 percent), Koyas (47.3 percent) and replied in the affirmative on this issue. On the other hand, one could see greater proportion of ‘non-committal’ responses from Chenchus (81.8 percent). The lesson that emerges is that a lot still needs to be done to spread awareness about the powers of the Gram Sabhas.
- ⊕ **Gram Sabha Approval for Extraction of Minor Minerals.** The maximum number of respondents in the three villages agreed that the Gram Sabha had such powers. Moreover, number of non-committal responses (73.7 percent) was most prominent.
- ⊕ **Gram Sabha’s Powers to regulate the brewing and sale of liquor.** While the largest proportion of respondents in Nuguru (Z), and Nimmalapalem, agreed that the Gram Sabha indeed had such powers, majority of the respondents in Mannanur were not very clear on this issue.
- ⊕ **Powers of the Gram Sabha to Control the Consumption of Liquor.** It was seen that majority of the tribes – Konda Reddis (59.2 percent), and Koyas (62.6 percent) agreed that the Gram Sabha had such powers. Those who were categorical that the Gram Sabhas did not have such powers were: Kammaras (**100**

percent), 'others' (42.9 percent), Chenchus (37.4 percent) and Koyas (30.8 percent).

- ⊕ **Powers of the Gram Sabhas to Control the Tapping of Minor Forest Products.** It was found that the maximum proportion of respondents in Nuguru (Z) (50.5 percent) and Nimmalapalem (92.9 percent) were not clear whether the Gram Panchayats had control on the tapping and use of Minor Forest Products. However, in Mannanur, 55.6 percent said that the Gram Panchayats did not have such an authority.
- ⊕ **Role of Gram Sabhas in the Management of Village Markets.** The respondents of the three villages expressed totally different views about the power of the Gram Sabhas to manage such markets. This suggests a lack of clarity on this issue.
- ⊕ **Powers of the Gram Sabha Regarding Restoration of Alienated Land.** The general 'consensus' in the three villages was that the Gram Sabhas did not have such powers.
- ⊕ **Authority of Gram Panchayats to Exercise Control on the Activities of Moneylenders.** In this case too, very few respondents were categorical that the Gram Sabhas had such powers.
- ⊕ **Power of Gram Sabhas to Control the Access and Usage of Community Water Resources.** In Nuguru (Z) and Mannanur, the largest proportion of respondents (47.5 percent and 59.6 percent respectively) did not have awareness on this issue, whereas in Nimmalapalem (50.5 percent) and Nuguru (Z) (45.5 percent) felt that the Gram Sabha had the necessary powers in this regard.
- ⊕ **Whether Gram Sabhas were Empowered to Manage Social Institutions like Schools.** In Nuguru (Z) and Nimmalapalem, the majority of the respondents (74.7 percent and 83.8 percent respectively) replied that the Gram Sabhas had powers in

this regard. However, in Mannanur, the largest proportion (57.6 percent) had no information on this aspect. It is imperative for the concerned authorities to spread awareness about the powers and jurisdiction of the Gram Sabhas to ensure greater transparency and accountability in the working of these institutions.

- ⊕ **Whether the Gram Sabhas were Involved in designing the local plans, including Tribal Sub Plan.** The general ‘consensus’ appeared to be that the Gram Sabha did not have a say in such matters.
- ⊕ **Role of the Gram Sabha in the Matter of Issuance of Utilisation certificates for Project Undertaken in the Area.** The majority of the respondents - 66.7 percent, in Nuguru (Z), and 77.8 percent, in Nimmalapalem - agreed that utilisation certificates from the concerned Gram Sabha were necessary. However, an equal number (45.5 percent each) of respondents in Mannanur stated ‘No’ and ‘Do not know’.
- ⊕ **Whether training was being Imparted to the Residents on PESA, TSP, etc.** It emerged that an overwhelming number of respondents in all the three villages had not undergone training on PESA. In fact, none of the respondents in Nuguru (Z) and Mannanur had attended training capsules on PESA, etc.
- ⊕ **Whether a Need was felt for Training on PESA, etc.** It was seen that 64.6 percent respondents in Nuguru (Z) and 92.9 percent in Nimmalapalem wanted to undergo training in these areas. The 96.0 percent in Mannanur respondents stating that they did not require training on this issue, because they do not the purpose of the Act.
- ⊕ **Awareness of Forest laws.** The negative responses were found to be much more than the positives ones in all the three villages. Still, the 29.3 percent affirmative responses in Mannanur is considered significant, since this village is largely located in a forest area and the residents hugely depend on the forest, and less on

agriculture, for their sustenance. No wonder, they had a relatively larger degree of interest in the forest laws.

- ⊕ **Venkatapuram Gram Panchayat.** Most of the Sarpanchas have been from the Koya tribe, since this area is predominantly inhabited by Koyas. The incumbents have been from parties like the TDP, CPI (M), INC and YSR CP.
- ⊕ An instance of violation of provisions of the PESA Act occurred during the period 20/12/2006 - 29/07/2007 when a non-tribal person (a BC) occupied the position of Sarpanch.
- ⊕ For a long time, males alone had held the position of Sarpanch. However, since **this post is now reserved for females**, the position has changed. The current Sarpanch, J. Narayanamma, belongs to the YSR CP, which has some influence in the Agency Areas.
- ⊕ **Bhimavaram Gram Panchayat.** From 1995 onwards, the INC and TDP have enjoyed grassroots level political power interchangeably. Most of the time, the office was occupied by male candidates, except now, when the incumbent is a female. Even though the PESA Act has not been violated in this area, only persons belonging to the Konda Reddi Scheduled Tribe have always held the position of Sarpanch here; probably because this is a Konda Reddi dominated area. It also emerged during the study that the current Sarpanch is facing a lot of problems in order to get sanctions from the higher authorities, because she is an independent candidate. This kind of institutionalised political pressure can be seen in Fifth Scheduled Areas.
- ⊕ **Mannanur Gram Panchayat.** Up to 1981, when there were no reservations, OC candidates and a Backward Caste person served as Sarpanches. When the position of Sarpanch was not reserved for ST candidates, persons belonging to Komati, Yadav and the SC communities occupied the position. Even though the area is predominantly inhabited by STs, no ST candidate was elected as Sarpanch. From

1981 onwards, the position of Sarpanch has been reserved for ST candidates only. It can be seen that the INC has occupied the position for most of the time from 1981, except for a brief stint by the TDP between 2006 and 2010 and Special officers performing the duties between 1996 and 2001 and then from 2010 to 2013. Male domination can be seen since there was a woman sarpanch only during the period 2006-10.

⊕ **Reconstitution of Gram Sabhas.** In order to reinforce the PESA Act further, make it more vibrant, participative and encourage the tribes, the Government of AP has re-constituted the Gram Sabhas, depending on geographical distance. In East Godavari district, Addateegala Mandal has 22 GPs, where 37 villages have been declared as new Gram Sabha villages under rule 3 of PESA rules given by Government of AP in 2011. D. Bhimavaram GP has 6 villages, which are split between two Gram Sabhas: D. Bhimavaram GS and Mallavarammamillu GS. With respect to Chenchu tribes in Mahabubnagar district, Amrabad Mandal has 16 scheduled Gram Panchayats, where 17 new Gram Sabhas have been constituted covering 25 villages. No change has been made to the Mannanur GP. The intention of creating new GS is that since tribal hamlets are located in extreme forest and hilly areas, they cannot come together for GS meetings, because of issues like poor road connectivity. In order to overcome these problems, the Government of AP has reconstituted the Gram Sabhas, by combining the nearby tribal hamlets into single Gram Sabhas so that tribes can participate effectively in the activities of the Gram Sabha.

⊕ **Impact of Modernisation on Tribal Communities.** In the process of social transformation, tribes are losing their age-old traditional customs and eco-friendly systems and being drawn towards modern lifestyles culture, judicial system, economy and socialisation, etc., which are more diversified and costlier than their simple traditional livelihood. If the protective measures do not take into consideration the needs and concerns of the local inhabitants, they would be worst sufferers.

- ⊕ **Impact of Welfare Schemes on the Adivasis.** Even though the *Adivasi* community is having a number of special privileges like Constitutional provisions, LTR Act, PESA Act, FRA, National Commission for Scheduled Tribes, National Tribal Policy and AP Tribes Advisory Council, these measures are still not adequate due to issues like widespread poverty, illness, ignorance, exploitation, poor health and infrastructural conditions.
- ⊕ **Impact of Political Parties on Tribals.** These parties have been able to mobilise the tribals towards democratic participation. However, during agitations, there is the risk of tribals getting caught in the crossfire of political parties since each party has its own agenda. This is leading to a rift between the tribals themselves.
- ⊕ **Impact of the Entry of Outsiders into Tribal Areas.** The increasing presence of outsiders in tribal areas can lead to dysfunctional changes in the area by disrupting the way of life of the tribals, wrecking their economy and introducing them to vices like alcoholism and drug addiction.
- ⊕ **Impact of NGOs on Tribals.** In case, the NGOs are able to bring in positive changes. However, there is always the risk that under the garb of social service, the NGOs could propagate their religious ideology and create a sort of religious marginalization.
- ⊕ **Impact of MGNREGA.** While this is assuring the residents of some assured income for some part of the year and helping in arresting migration in search of work, the period of only about 100 days of work is too short to make a significant impact on the financial conditions of the tribals.
- ⊕ **Inadequate Infrastructural Facilities in Scheduled V Areas.** This, combined with lack of access to housing, education, health, proper drinking water and

government schemes, is tending to keep many Scheduled Tribes below the poverty line.

- ⊕ **Impact of Militancy on the Tribals.** The dense forests offer a large degree of security cover for the militant group like Naxalites, PWG and Maoists, whose ‘talent scouts’ can find sufficient recruits among the disgruntled tribal youth. In the process, the *Adivasis* face a ‘double attack’ - from the militants, who suspect them of acting as police informers; and from the security forces, for ‘harbouring’ militants.

- ⊕ **Impact of Inadequate Representation in Higher Democratic Institutions.** The concerns of the tribals are not being effectively voiced in the states legislatures and Parliament. As a result, when development projects like dams and mining activities are being planned in tribal areas, issues like proper resettlement and fair compensation to the displaced are not being given their due attention.

6.2 Suggestions

- Awareness programmes should be initiated for the tribes about various policies and programmes focusing on their security and development and PESA.

- Educational and employment accessibility should be provided to at least one individual in every family

- Tribal areas may be developed by establishing infrastructural facilities like roads, health facilities, education, proper drinking water, employment, and imparting knowledge about how to cultivate the land, irrigation facilities, and so on.

- For an effective delivery of different development programmes, Gram Sabha should maintain implementation of various programmes in general and tribal issues in particular by government officials.

- Instead of providing tribals with peripheral powers and resources under PESA Act, they should be given autonomous powers in governance and adequate deciding powers regarding utilisation of natural resources, including minerals, and developmental projects.
- State government should support and train tribals to have complete entrepreneurship skills in Fifth Schedule Areas, instead of allowing market space for non-tribals.
- As per PESA Act, in order to preserve tribal culture and lifestyle, government should document tribal traditional lifestyle particularly their governing system, customs, traditions, panchayat system, so that PESA Act can be implemented effectively.
- It is imperative that the concern government should ensure the 'public services' to Scheduled Tribes and should focus on infrastructural and human resource development.
- There should be restrictions on outsiders especially political, economic, cumltural, and administrative dimensions, so that tribals can matain their autonomous system.
- Both electronic and print media focus on tribal areas in a perfunctory manner only. Even then, the accent is generally on visits by politicians encounters with militants. There is very little coverage of developmental issues. Therefore, the media should focus on the poorest of the poor – the Scheduled Tribes and project their issues and concerns.

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The author has tried to give the sort of democratic failure in the state of Orissa apart from sensitizing the general issues across India.

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State and Tribal Empowerment: A Case Study of PESA Act in A.P

by B Sakru Naik

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Fieldwork Pictures



Koya Tribe



Konda Reddi Tribe



Chenchu Tribe



Nuguru Village



Nimmalapalem Village



Way to Gram Panchayat Office, Mannanur



Gram Panchayat Office, Venkatapuram



2 Konda Reddi Community Panchayat Place, Nimmaplamaem



Gram Panchayat Office, Mannanur



ITDA Office, Bhadrachalam



ITDA Office, Rampachodavaram



ITDA Office, Srisailam



With Bharat Nirman Volunteers, Nimmalapalem



Konda Reddi Man: Source for Information



Allure Sitaramaraju Statue



Way to Nimmalapalem



Maddigadda Reservoir



Maddigadda Reservoir



Girijan Super Market, Rampachodavaram



Mouth Mobile @ Nimmalapalem



Primary School in Fifth Schedule Area, AP



GCC Depot, Nimmalapalem



Tribal Meeting in a Forest, Nimmalapalem



Tribal God



Historical evidence for British rule in Fifth Schedule Area in AP

Interview Schedule

On

State and Tribal Empowerment: A Case Study of the Provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled V Areas) Act in Erstwhile Andhra Pradesh

Dept. of Political Science, School of Social Sciences
University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad

1. Name of the respondent : -----
2. Name of the village : -----
3. Name of the gram panchayat : -----
4. Mandal : -----
5. Name of the district : -----
6. Age (in years) : *encircle the code number from the table below*

| | | | |
|----------|---|------------|---|
| 18 to 25 | 1 | 56 to 65 | 5 |
| 26 to 35 | 2 | 66 to 75 | 6 |
| 36 to 45 | 3 | 76 & above | 7 |
| 46 to 55 | 4 | | |

7. Gender : Male - 1, Female - 2
8. Marital status : Married - 1, Unmarried - 2, Widow - 3, Divorced - 4
9. Religion : Hindu - 1, Christian - 2, Muslim - 3, Other - 4
10. Caste : ST - 1, SC - 2, BC - 3, OC - 4, De-notified Tribe - 5
11. Sub caste : Konda Reddi - 1, Chenchu - 2, Koya - 3 -----
12. What languages do you speak: -----
13. Education: illiterate - 1, Primary - 2, Secondary - 3, College - 4, P.G. - 5
(Class 1-5) (Class 6-10) (Inter + graduation)
Professional Degrees - 6, Research Degrees - 7
14. Primary occupation : housewife - 1, labour - 2, agriculture - 3, employment - 4,

5 - Other skills -----

15. Agricultural land (in acres) :

| | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| Landless people | No land | 1 |
| Marginal farmer | Less than 2.47 (Less than 1 hectore) | 2 |
| Small farmer | 2.47 - 4.94 (1 to 2 hectore) | 3 |
| Semi-medium | 4.94 - 9.88 (2 to 4 hectore) | 4 |
| Medium | 9.88 - 24.71 (4 to 10 hectore) | 5 |
| Large | 24.71 & above (10 & above hectore) | 6 |

16. Annual income (in rupees) :

| | | | |
|----------------------|---|-----------------------|---|
| 20,000 to 50,000 | 1 | 3,00,001 to 5,00,000 | 5 |
| 50,001 to 1,00,000 | 2 | 5,00,001 to 7,00,000 | 6 |
| 1,00,001 to 2,00,000 | 3 | 7,00,001 to 10,00,000 | 7 |
| 2,00,001 to 3,00,000 | 4 | 10,00,001 & above | 8 |

17. Household details

| Sl. No. | Name of the person | Relation with family head | Sex | Age | Marital status | Education | Occupation | Income pm / pa |
|---------|--------------------|---------------------------|-----|-----|----------------|-----------|------------|----------------|
| 1. | | | | | | | | |
| 2. | | | | | | | | |
| 3. | | | | | | | | |
| 4. | | | | | | | | |
| 5. | | | | | | | | |
| 6. | | | | | | | | |
| 7. | | | | | | | | |
| 8. | | | | | | | | |
| 9. | | | | | | | | |
| 10. | | | | | | | | |
| 11. | | | | | | | | |
| 12. | | | | | | | | |

18. Tell me about your family possession?

| | Yes | No | | Yes | No |
|----------------|-----|----|---------------------|-----|----|
| A. LPG gas | 1 | 2 | G. Radio transistor | 1 | 2 |
| B. Television | 1 | 2 | H. Tape recorder | 1 | 2 |
| C. Bicycle | 1 | 2 | I. Cows | 1 | 2 |
| D. Motor cycle | 1 | 2 | J. Buffaloes | 1 | 2 |
| E. Electricity | 1 | 2 | K. Goats | 1 | 2 |
| F. Toilet | 1 | 2 | L. Sheep | 1 | 2 |

19. Do you have the following things?

| | Yes | No | | Yes | No |
|-------------------|-----|----|-------------------|-----|----|
| A. Ration card | 1 | 2 | E. MGNREGS card | 1 | 2 |
| B. Voter card | 1 | 2 | F. Drinking water | 1 | 2 |
| C. Adhaar card | 1 | 2 | G. Pucca house | 1 | 2 |
| D. Arogyasri card | 1 | 2 | H. Hut | 1 | 2 |

20. Does your village have gram panchayat? Yes - 1, No - 2

21. How frequently gram sabha meets per year?

| | | | |
|---------------------|---|-------------------|---|
| Once in every Month | 1 | once in six month | 3 |
| once in three month | 2 | uncertain | 4 |

22. If GS takes place than do you participate in gram sabha meeting? Yes - 1, No - 2

23. What is the level of your participation?

| | | | |
|------------|---|-----------------------------------|---|
| Regularly | 1 | If my family involves in disputes | 3 |
| Frequently | 2 | Never | 4 |

24. Who mobilized you to participate in gram sabha?

| | | | |
|---------------------|---|----------------------|---|
| Own | 1 | Friends & Relatives | 5 |
| Panchayat Sarpanch | 2 | Community leaders | 6 |
| Panchayat Secretary | 3 | Government Officials | 7 |
| Ward Members | 4 | NGOs | 8 |

25. If not participating, than give reasons? -----

26. What issues generally do you discuss in gram sabha meeting? -----

27. Do you aware about panchayat activities? Yes - 1, No - 2

28. If yes, what are they? -----

29. Do you accept that it is better if the sarpanch belongs to your own community?

| | | | | |
|-----|---|--|---------|---|
| Yes | 1 | | Anybody | 3 |
| No | 2 | | DK | 4 |

30. If yes, reasons? -----

31. If not, why? -----

32. Do you organize traditional community panchayats? Yes - 1, No - 2

33. If yes (what type of issues you discuss) -----

34. Do you hold statutory panchayat meetings? Yes - 1 No - 2 DK - 3

35. If yes (what type of issues you discuss) -----

36. If no, why -----

37. Which panchayat system you like traditional or statutory? Traditional - 1, Statutory - 2

38. If traditional why? -----

39. If statutory why? -----

40. In your opinion, who will organize statutory panchayats in a better way? community
 elders – 1, educated youngsters – 2

41. If there is dispute in your family, whom do you approach first?
 Traditional panchayat – 1, statutory panchayat – 3, police station – 3

42. Does your panchayat implement the following programmes?

| | | | | |
|-------------------------|---|--|---------------------------------------|---|
| Watershed committee | 1 | | Village health & sanitation committee | 6 |
| Water Service committee | 2 | | Educational (vidya) committee | 7 |
| Vana Samrakhana Samithi | 3 | | Village development committee | 8 |
| Joint Forest Management | 4 | | Mother's committee | 9 |
| DWCRA | 5 | | | |

43. If yes than do you have any role in functioning these institutions? -----

44. Does ITDA project officer visit your village frequently? Yes – 1, No – 2

45. What is the use of ITDA? -----

46. Do you know about Tribal Sub Plan (TSP)? Yes – 1, No – 2

47. If yes than what do you know about TSP? -----

48. You think that forest is easily accessible or restricted by forest officials? Easily accessible
 - 1, restricted - 2

49. For livelihood reasons, did you migrate to any region? Yes - 1, No - 2

50. If yes, than place :-----duration :-----

51. In the name of development, did government displace you ever? Yes - 1, No - 2

52. If yes, give the details : -----

53. Do you have accessibility of government services? Yes - 1, No - 2

54. If yes, name a few? -----

55. (for female only) Are you member of DWCRA group? Yes - 1, No - 2

56. (for female only) If yes, what are the benefits of DWCRA? -----

57. Are you member of any groups? -----

58. What kind of benefits do you get from public distribution system? -----

59. Which of the following political parties have more concern of tribal issues?

| | | | |
|--------------|---|---------|---|
| INC | 1 | CPI | 6 |
| BJP | 2 | CPI (M) | 7 |
| TRS | 3 | BSP | 8 |
| TDP | 4 | None | 9 |
| YSR Congress | 5 | | |

60. Are you member of any political party? Yes - 1, No - 2

61. If yes than can you name it

| | | | | |
|--------------|---|--|---------|---|
| INC | 1 | | CPI | 6 |
| BJP | 2 | | CPI (M) | 7 |
| TRS | 3 | | BSP | 8 |
| TDP | 4 | | | 9 |
| YSR Congress | 5 | | | |

62. For the last five years, did your economic position improve or not?

| | | | | |
|--------------------|---|--|--------------|---|
| Very much improved | 1 | | Same | 3 |
| Just Improved | 2 | | Deteriorated | 4 |

63. Have you ever participated in any tribal agitations? Yes – 1, No – 2

64. If yes, specify? -----

65. Is your land alienated? Yes – 1, No – 2

66. If yes than did you restore it : -----

67. Have you heard of PESA act, 1996? Yes – 1, No – 2

68. If yes, than how did you come to know about PESA Act?

| | | | | |
|---------------------|---|--|----------------------|---|
| Own | 1 | | Friends & Relatives | 5 |
| Panchayat Sarpanch | 2 | | Community leaders | 6 |
| Panchayat Secretary | 3 | | Government Officials | 7 |
| Ward Members | 4 | | NGOs | 8 |

69. After PESA came into existence do you experience any changes? Yes -1, No -2, DK - 3

70. If yes, what is that: -----

71. The gram sabha has power to approve plans / programmes / projects for social and economic development of the village? Yes – 1, No – 2, DK – 3

72. The gram sabha has power to identify beneficiaries for poverty alleviation and for other programmes? Yes – 1, No – 2, DK – 3
73. The gram sabha / gram panchayat has to be consulted while acquiring any private / community land by the government? Yes – 1, No – 2, DK – 3
74. The recommendations of GS /GP/ Block are necessary for issuing license or mining lease for minor minerals? Yes – 1, No – 2, DK – 3
75. The GS /GP have power to control the manufacture / consumption / sale of intoxicants? Yes – 1, No – 2, DK – 3
76. The GS has powers on the ownership and control of MFP? Yes – 1, No – 2, DK – 3
77. The GS has powers on the management of village markets? Yes – 1, No – 2, DK – 3
78. The GS has powers in preventing alienation of tribal lands and restoration of alienated lands? Yes – 1, No – 2, DK – 3
79. The GS has powers in controlling money laundering? Yes – 1, No – 2, DK – 3
80. Do you borrow money from banks for your family maintenance? Yes – 1, No – 2
81. If yes than per year total amount: -----
82. The GS has powers in planning and management of CPRs particularly Minor Water Bodies? Yes – 1, No – 2, DK – 3
83. The GS has powers in exercising control over institutions and functionaries in the social sector? Yes – 1, No – 2, DK – 3
84. GS had power to control local plans and resources for such plans including tribal sub-plans Yes – 1, No – 2, DK – 3
85. Every Panchayat at the village level shall be required to obtain from the Gram Sabha a certification of utilization of funds by that Panchayat for the plans, programmes? Yes – 1, No – 2, DK – 3
86. Have you undergone any training about PESA? Yes – 1, No – 2
87. If undergone training than details
- a. Place of training: -----
 - b. Duration of training: -----

- c. language used for interaction: -----
- d. Who organized the training programme: -----

88. Did the training help you in understating the provisions of PESA? Yes – 1, No – 2

89. Do you suggest more training programmes to improve your knowledge about PESA?

Yes – 1, No – 2

90. Do you go for agitations, when you people face major problems like land alienation and developmental displacements? -----

91. Do you know about Forest Rights Act, 2006? Yes – 1, No – 2

92. What types of MFP you collect from forest? -----

THE PROVISIONS OF THE PANCHAYATS (EXTENSION TO THE SCHEDULED AREAS) ACT, 1996 No.40 OF 1996

(24th December, 1996)

An Act to provide for the extension of the provisions of Part IX of the Constitution relating to the Panchayats to the Scheduled Areas.

Be it enacted by Parliament in the Forty-seventh Year of the Republic of India as follows:-

Short title

1. This Act may be called the Provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996

Definition

2. In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires, "Scheduled Areas" means the Scheduled Areas as referred to in Clause (1) of Article 244 of the Constitution.

Extension of part IX of The Constitution

3. The provision of Part IX of the Constitution relating to Panchayats are hereby extended to the Scheduled Areas subject to such exceptions and modifications as are provided in section 4.

Exceptions and modifications to part IX of The Constitution

4. Notwithstanding anything contained under Part IX of the Constitution, the Legislature of a State shall not make any law under that Part which is inconsistent with any of the following features, namely:-

- (a) a State legislation on the Panchayats that may be made shall be in consonance with the customary law, social and religious practices and traditional management practices of community resources;
- (b) a village shall ordinarily consist of a habitation or a group of habitations or a hamlet or a group of hamlets comprising a community and managing its affairs in accordance with traditions and customs;
- (c) every village shall have a Gram Sabha consisting of persons whose names are included in the electoral rolls for the Panchayat at the village level;
- (d) every Gram Sabha shall be competent to safeguard and preserve the traditions and customs of the people, their cultural identity, community resources and the customary mode of dispute resolution;
- (e) every Gram Sabha shall-
 - i. approve of the plans, programmes and projects for social and economic development before such plans, programmes and projects are taken up for implementation by the Panchayat at the village level;
 - ii. be responsible for the identification or selection of persons as beneficiaries under the poverty alleviation and other programmes;
- (f) every Panchayat at the village level shall be required to obtain from the Gram Sabha a certification of utilisation of funds by that

Panchayat for the plans, programmes and projects referred to in clause(e);

- (g) the reservation of seats in the Scheduled Areas at every Panchayat shall be in proportion to the population of the communities in that Panchayat for whom reservation is sought to be given under Part IX of the Constitution;

Provided that the reservation for the Scheduled Tribes shall not be less than one-half of the total number of seats;

Provided further that all seats of Chairpersons of Panchayats at all levels shall be reserved for the Scheduled Tribes;

- (h) the State Government may nominate persons belonging to such Scheduled Tribes as have no representation in the Panchayat at the intermediate level or the Panchayat at the district level:

Provided that such nomination shall not exceed one-tenth of the total members to be elected in that Panchayat;

- (i) 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; the actual planning and implementation of the projects in the Scheduled Areas shall be coordinated at the State level;

- (j) planning and management of minor water bodies in the Scheduled Areas shall be entrusted to Panchayats at the appropriate level;

- (k) the recommendations of the Gram Sabha or the Panchayats at the appropriate level shall be made mandatory prior to grant of prospecting licence or mining lease for minor minerals in the Scheduled Areas;

- (l) the prior recommendation of the Gram Sabha or the Panchayats at the appropriate level shall be made mandatory for grant of concession for the exploitation of minor minerals by auction;

- (m) while endowing Panchayats in the Scheduled Areas with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as institutions of self-government, a State Legislature shall ensure that the Panchayats at the appropriate level and the Gram Sabha are endowed specifically with-

(i) the power to enforce prohibition or to regulate or restrict the sale and consumption of any intoxicant;

(ii) the ownership of minor forest produce;

(iii) the power to prevent alienation of land in the Scheduled Areas and to take appropriate action to restore any unlawfully alienated land of a Scheduled Tribe;

(iv) the power to manage village markets by whatever name called;

(v) the power to exercise control over money lending to the Scheduled Tribes;

(vi) the power to exercise control over institutions and

functionaries in all social sectors;

(vii) the power to control over local plans and resources for such plans including tribal sub-plans;

- (n) the State Legislations that may endow Panchayats with powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as institutions of self-government shall contain safeguards to ensure that Panchayats at the higher level do not assume the powers and authority of any Panchayat at the lower level or of the Gram Sabha;
- (o) the State Legislature shall endeavour to follow the pattern of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution while designing the administrative arrangements in the Panchayats at district levels in the Scheduled Areas.

Continuance of existing laws on panchayats:

5. Notwithstanding anything in Part IX of the Constitution with exceptions and modifications made by this Act, any provision of any law relating to Panchayats in force in the Scheduled Areas, immediately before the date on which this Act receives the assent of the President, which is inconsistent with the provisions of Part IX with such exceptions and modifications shall continue to be in force until amended or repealed by a competent Legislature or other competent authority or until the expiration of one year from the date on which this Act receives the assent of the President;

Provided that all the Panchayats existing immediately before such date shall continue till the expiration of their duration unless sooner dissolved by a resolution passed to that effect by the Legislative Assembly of that State or, in the case of a State having Legislative Council, by each House of the Legislature of that State.

K.L. MOHANPURIA,
Secy. To the Govt. of India

FIFTH SCHEDULE

[Article 244(1)]

PROVISION AS TO THE ADMINISTRATION AND CONTROL OF SCHEDULED AREAS AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

PART A

GENERAL

1. Interpretation.—In this Schedule, unless the context otherwise requires, the expression “State” does not include the [States of Assam 3 [, 4 [Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram.]]]

2. Executive power of a State in Scheduled Areas.—Subject to the provisions of this Schedule, the executive power of a State extends to the Scheduled Areas therein.

3. Report by the Governor to the President regarding the administration of Scheduled Areas.—The Governor of each State having Scheduled Areas therein shall annually, or whenever so required by the President, make a report to the President regarding the administration of the Scheduled Areas in that State and the executive power of the Union shall extend to the giving of directions to the State as to the administration of the said areas.

PART B

ADMINISTRATION AND CONTROL OF SCHEDULED AREAS AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

4. Tribes Advisory Council.—(1) There shall be established in each State having Scheduled Areas therein and, if the President so directs, also in any State having Scheduled Tribes but not Scheduled Areas therein, a Tribes Advisory Council consisting of not more than twenty members of whom, as nearly as may be, three-fourths shall be the representatives of the Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assembly of the State:

Provided that if the number of representatives of the Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assembly of the State is less than the number of seats in the Tribes Advisory Council to be filled by such representatives, the remaining seats shall be filled by other members of those tribes.

(2) It shall be the duty of the Tribes Advisory Council to advise on such matters pertaining to the welfare and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes in the State as may be referred to them by the Governor.

(3) The Governor may make rules prescribing or regulating, as the case may be,

(a) the number of members of the Council, the mode of their appointment and the appointment of the Chairman of the Council and of the officers and servants thereof;

(b) the conduct of its meetings and its procedure in general; and

(c) all other incidental matters.

5. Law applicable to Scheduled Areas.— (1) Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, the Governor may by public notification direct that any particular Act of Parliament or of the Legislature of the State shall not apply to a Scheduled Area or any part thereof in the State or shall apply to a Scheduled Area or any part thereof in the State subject to such exceptions and modifications as he may specify in the notification and any direction given under this sub-paragraph may be given so as to have retrospective effect.

(2) The Governor may make regulations for the peace and good government of any area in a State which is for the time being a Scheduled Area.

In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power, such regulations may—

- (a) prohibit or restrict the transfer of land by or among members of the Scheduled Tribes in such area;
- (b) regulate the allotment of land to members of the Scheduled Tribes in such area;
- (c) regulate the carrying on of business as money-lender by persons who lend money to members of the Scheduled Tribes in such area.

(3) In making any such regulation as is referred to in sub-paragraph (2) of this paragraph, the Governor may repeal or amend any Act of Parliament or of the Legislature of the State or any existing law which is for the time being applicable to the area in question.

(4) All regulations made under this paragraph shall be submitted forthwith to the President and, until assented to by him, shall have no effect.

(5) No regulation shall be made under this paragraph unless the Governor making the regulation has, in the case where there is a Tribes Advisory Council for the State, consulted such Council.

PART C

SCHEDULED AREAS

6. Scheduled Areas.—(1) In this Constitution, the expression "Scheduled Areas" means such areas as the President may by order declare to be Scheduled Areas.

(2) The President may at any time by order —

(a) direct that the whole or any specified part of a Scheduled Area shall cease to be a Scheduled Area or a part of such an area;

[(aa) increase the area of any Scheduled Area in a State after consultation with the Governor of that State;]

(b) alter, but only by way of rectification of boundaries, any Scheduled Area;

(c) on any alteration of the boundaries of a State or on the admission into the Union or the establishment of a new State, declare any territory not previously included in any State to be, or to form part of, a Scheduled Area;

[(d) rescind, in relation to any State or States, any order or orders made under this paragraph, and in consultation with the Governor of the State concerned, make fresh orders redefining the areas which are to be Scheduled Areas;]

and any such order may contain such incidental and consequential provisions as appear to the President to be necessary and proper, but save as aforesaid, the order made under sub-paragraph (1) of this paragraph shall not be varied by any subsequent order.

PART D

AMENDMENT OF THE SCHEDULE

7. Amendment of the Schedule.—(1) Parliament may from time to time by law amend by way of addition, variation or repeal any of the provisions of this Schedule and, when the Schedule is so amended, any reference to this Schedule in this Constitution shall be construed as a reference to such Schedule as so amended.

(2) No such law as is mentioned in sub-paragraph (1) of this paragraph shall be deemed to be an amendment of this Constitution for the purposes of article 368.

REGISTERED No. D-481

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EXTRAORDINARY

PART II—Section 3

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY

 No. 40] NEW DELHI, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1950

MINISTRY OF LAW

NOTIFICATION

New Delhi, the 6th September 1950

S.R.O. 510.—The following Order made by the President is published for general information:—

THE CONSTITUTION (SCHEDULED TRIBES) ORDER, 1950

C 22. In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (1) of Article 342 of the Constitution of India the President, after consultation with the Governors and Rajpramukhs of the States concerned, is pleased to make the following Order, namely:—

1. This Order may be called the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950.

2. The tribes or tribal communities, or parts of, or groups within, tribes or tribal communities, specified in Parts I to XIV of the Schedule to this Order shall, in relation to the States to which those Parts respectively relate, be deemed to be Scheduled Tribes so far as regards members thereof resident in the localities specified in relation to them respectively in those Parts of that Schedule.

3. Any reference in the Schedule to this Order to a district or other territorial division of a State shall be construed as a reference to that district or other territorial division as existing on the 26th January, 1950.

THE SCHEDULE

PART I—ASSAM

1. In the Autonomous Districts:—

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 Dimasa (Kachari) | 6 Lakher |
| 2 Garo | 7 Any Lushai (Mizo) tribes |
| 3 Hajong | 8 Mikir |
| 4 Khasi and Jaintia | 9 Any Naga tribes |
| 5 Any Kuki tribes | 10 Syntang |

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2. In the Tribal Areas other than the Autonomous Districts:—

- | | |
|------------|-------------------|
| 1 Abor | 7 Mishmi |
| 2 Aka | 8 Any Naga tribes |
| 3 Apatani | 9 Singpho |
| 4 Dafia | 10 Momba |
| 5 Galong | 11 Sherdukpen |
| 6 Khampati | |

3. In the State of Assam excluding the Tribal Areas:—

- | | |
|--------------------|----------|
| 1 Boro—Borokachari | 5 Lalung |
| 2 Deori | 6 Mech |
| 3 Hojai | 7 Miri |
| 4 Kachari | 8 Rabha |

PART II—BIHAR

1. Throughout the State:—

- | | |
|---------------|-------------------|
| 1 Asur | 15 Kharwar |
| 2 Baiga | 16 Khond |
| 3 Bathudi | 17 Kisan |
| 4 Bedia | 18 Kora |
| 5 Binjhia | 19 Korwa |
| 6 Birhor | 20 Lohara |
| 7 Birjia | 21 Mahli |
| 8 Chero | 22 Mal Paharia |
| 9 Chik Baraik | 23 Munda |
| 10 Gond | 24 Oraon |
| 11 Gorait | 25 Parhaiya |
| 12 Ho | 26 Santal |
| 13 Karmali | 27 Sauria Paharia |
| 14 Kharia | 28 Savar |

2. In the districts of Ranchi, Singbhum, Hazaribagh, Santal Parganas and Manbhum:—

Bhumij

PART III—BOMBAY

Throughout the State:—

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 Barda | 10 Kathodi or Katkari |
| 2 Bavacha | 11 Konkna |
| 3 Bhil, including | 12 Koli Dhor |
| Bhagalia, | 13 Koli Mahadev |
| Bhil Garasia, | 14 Mavchi |
| Dholi Bhil, | 15 Naikda or Nayak |
| Dungri Bhil, | 16 Pardhi, including |
| Dungri Garasia, | Advichincher and |
| Mewasi Bhil, | Phanse Pardhi |
| Raval Bhil and | 17 Patelia |
| Tadvi Bhil | 18 Pomla |
| 4 Chodhara | 19 Powara |
| 5 Dhanka | 20 Rathawa |
| 6 Dhodia | 21 Thakur |
| 7 Dubla | 22 Valvai |
| 8 Gamit or Gamta | 23 Varli |
| 9 Gond | 24 Vasava |

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
 MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS
 NEW DELHI

PART IV—MADHYA PRADESH

- In (1) Melghat taluq of Amravati district,
 (2) Baihar tahsil of Balaghat district,
 (3) Bhanupratappur, Bijapur, Dantewara, Jagdalpur, Kanker, Kondagaon, Konta and Narayanpur tahsils of Bastar district,
 (4) Betul and Bhainsdehi tahsils of Betul district,
 (5) Katghora tahsil of Bilaspur district,
 (6) Suroncha and Gharchipoli tahsils of Chanda district,
 (7) Amarwara, Chhindwara and Lakhnadon tahsils of Chhindwara district,
 (8) Balod (Sanjari) tahsil of Burg district,
 (9) Mandla, Niwas and Ramgarh (Dindori) tahsils of Mandla district,
 (10) Harsud tahsil of Nimar district,
 (11) Dharamjaigarh, Ghargoda, Jashpurnagar and Kharsia tahsils of Raigarh district,
 (12) Ambikapur, Baikunthpur, Bharatpur, Janakpur, Manendragarh, Pal, Samari and Sitapur tahsils of Sarguja district:—

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| 1 Andh | 15 Kavar or Kanwar |
| 2 Baiga | 16 Kharia |
| 3 Bhaina | 17 Kondh or Khond or Kandh |
| 4 Bharia-Bhumia, or Bhuinhar-Bhumia | 18 Kol |
| 5 Bhattra | 19 Kolam |
| 6 Bhil | 20 Korku |
| 7 Bhunjia | 21 Korwa |
| 8 Binjhar | 22 Majhwar |
| 9 Birhul or Birhor | 23 Munda |
| 10 Dhanwar | 24 Nagesia or Nagasia |
| 11 Gadaba or Gadba | 25 Nihal |
| 12 Gond [including Madia (Maria) and Mudia (Muria)] | 26 Oraon |
| 13 Halba | 27 Pardhan |
| 14 Kamar | 28 Pardhi |
| | 29 Parja |
| | 30 Saonta or Saunta |
| | 31 Sawar or Sawara |

PART V—MADRAS

Throughout the State:—

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1 Aranadan | 8 Goudus—Bato, Bhirithya Dudhokouria, Hato, Jatako and Joria |
| 2 Bagata | |
| 3 Bhottadas—Bodo Bhottada, Muria Bhottada and Sano Bhottada | 9 Kosalya Goudus—Bosothoriya Goudus, Chitti Goudus, Dangayath Goudus, Doddu Kamariya, Dudu Kamaro, Ladiya Goudus and Pullosoriya Goudus |
| 4 Bhumias—Bhuri Bhumia and Bodo Bhumia | 10 Magatha Goudus—Bernia Goudu, Boodo Magatha, Dongayath Goudu, Ladya Goudu, Ponna Magatha and Sana Magatha |
| 5 Chenchu | |
| 6 Gadabas—Boda Gadaba, Cerllam Gadaba, Franji Gadaba, Jodia Gadaba, Olaro Gadaba, Pangi Gadaba and Pranga Gadaba | 11 Holva |
| 7 Gondi—Modya Gond and Rajo Gond | |

- | | |
|--|---|
| 12 Jadapus | 26 Kudiya |
| 13 Jatapus | 27 Kurumans |
| 14 Kammara | 28 Manna Dhora |
| 15 Kattunayakan | 29 Maune |
| 16 Khattis—Khatti, Kommarao and Lohara | 30 Mukha Dhora—Nooka Dhora |
| 17 Kodu | 31 Muria |
| 18 Kommar | 32 Paigarapu |
| 19 Konda Dhoras | 33 Palasi |
| 20 Konda Kapus | 34 Paniyan |
| 21 Kondareddis | 35 Porjas—Bodo Bonda, Daruva, Didua, Jodia, Mundili, Pengu, Pydi and Saliya |
| 22 Kondhs—Desaya Kondhs, Dongria Kondhs, Kuttia Kondhs, Tikiria Kondhs and Yenity Kondhs | 36 Reddi Dhoras |
| 23 Kota | 37 Savaras—Kapu Savaras, Khutto Savaras and Maliya Savaras |
| 24 Kotia—Bartika, Benthoriya, Dhulia or Dulia, Holva Paiko, Putiya, Sanrona and Sidho Paiko | 38 Sholaga |
| 25 Koya or Goud, with its sub- sects—Raja or Rasha Koyas, Lingadhari Koyas (ordi- nary) and Kottu Koyas | 39 Toda |
| | 40 Inhabitants of the Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands who, and both of whose parents, were born in these Islands. |

PART VI—ORISSA

Throughout the State:—

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 Bagata | 23 Kisan |
| 2 Baiga | 24 Kolah-Kol-Loharas |
| 3 Banjara or Banjari | 25 Kolha |
| 4 Bathudi | 26 Koli |
| 5 Bhuiya or Bhuyan | 27 Kondadora |
| 6 Binjhal | 28 Kora |
| 7 Binjhia or Binjhoa | 29 Korua |
| 8 Birhor | 30 Koya |
| 9 Bondo Poraja | 31 Kulis |
| 10 Chenchu | 32 Mahali |
| 11 Dal | 33 Mankidi |
| 12 Gadaba | 34 Mankirdia |
| 13 Ghara | 35 Mirdhas |
| 14 Gond | 36 Munda (Munda-Lohara and Munda-Mahalisi) |
| 15 Gorait or Korait | 37 Mundari |
| 16 Ho | 38 Oraon |
| 17 Jatapu | 39 Paroja |
| 18 Juang | 40 Santal |
| 19 Kawar | 41 Saora, or Savar, or Saura, or Sahara |
| 20 Kharia or Kharian | 42 Tharua |
| 21 Kharwar | |
| 22 Khond (Kond), or Kandha, or Nanguli Kandha, or Sitha Kandha | |

PART VII—PUNJAB

In Spiti and Lahaul in Kangra District:—

Tibetan

PART VIII—WEST BENGAL

Throughout the State:—

- | | |
|----------|----------|
| 1 Bhutia | 5 Munda |
| 2 Lepcha | 6 Oraon |
| 3 Mech | 7 Santal |
| 4 Mru | |

PART IX—HYDERABAD

Throughout the State:—

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 Andh | 6 Kolam (including Manner- varlu) |
| 2 Bhil | 7 Koya (including Bhine Koya and Rajkoya) |
| 3 Chenchu, or Chenchwar | 8 Pardhan |
| 4 Gond (including Naikpod and Rajgond) | 9 Thoti |
| 5 Hill Reddis | |

PART X—MADHYA BHARAT

1. Throughout the State:—

- 1 Gond
- 2 Korku
- 3 Seharua

2. In the Revenue District of Jhabua; in the tahsils of Sendhwa, Barwani, Rajpur, Khargone, Bhikangaon and Maheshwar of the Revenue District of Khargone; in the tahsil of Sailana of the Revenue District of Ratlam; in the tahsils of Sardarpur, Kukshi, Dhar and Manawar of the Revenue District of Dhar:—

Bhils and Bhilalas (inclusive of sub-tribes)

PART XI—MYSORE

Throughout the State:—

- | | |
|---------------|---------------|
| 1 Hasalaru | 4 Kadu-Kuruba |
| 2 Iruliga | 5 Maleru |
| 3 Jenu Kuruba | 6 Soligaru |

PART XII—RAJASTHAN

Throughout the Scheduled Areas of the State:—

Bhil

PART XIII—SAURASHTRA

Throughout the State:—

- | | |
|-----------|----------------|
| 1 Adodia | 4 Miyana |
| 2 Daffer | 5 Sindhi |
| 3 Ghantia | 6 Wedva Waghri |

PART XIV—TRAVANCORE-COCHIN

Throughout the State:—

- | | |
|------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 Hill Pulaya | 9 Malayarayar |
| 2 Kadar | 10 Mannan |
| 3 Kanikaran | 11 Muthuvan |
| 4 Kochu Velan | 12 Pallicyan |
| 5 Malai Arayan | 13 Palliyar |
| 6 Malai Pandaram | 14 Ulladan (Hill dwellers) |
| 7 Malai Vedan | 15 Uraly |
| 8 Malayan | 16 Vishavan |

RAJENDRA PRASAD,
President

K. V. K. SUNDARAM,
Secretary

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