

POLITICS OF CLAIMS: THE IDENTITY STRUGGLE BETWEEN ADIVASIS AND LAMBADAS OF TELANGANA STATE

*A Dissertation submitted to the University of Hyderabad in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the award of the degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

in Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy

by

SURAPOGU VAMSI

Reg. No. 18SIHL03



Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy

School of Social Sciences

University of Hyderabad

(P.O.) Central University, Gachibowli,

Hyderabad – 500 046

Telangana, India

April, 2022

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled “Politics of Claims: The Identity Struggle between Adivasis and Lambadas of Telangana State” submitted by **Mr. SURAPOGU VAMSI** bearing Reg. No. 18SIHL03 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy in the Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy is a bonafide work carried out by him under my supervision and guidance which is a plagiarism free dissertation.

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.


Supervisor
Signature of the Supervisor **CSSEIP**
School of Social Sciences
University of Hyderabad

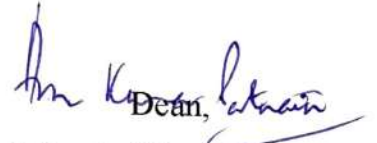

Head,

Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy

School of Social Sciences

University of Hyderabad

HEAD CSSEIP / SSS
University of Hyderabad
HYDERABAD-500046


Dean,
School of Social Sciences

University of Hyderabad

अध्यक्ष / DEAN

समाज विज्ञान संकाय

School of Social Sciences

हैदराबाद विश्वविद्यालय

University of Hyderabad

हैदराबाद-500 046., भारत

Hyderabad-500 046. INDIA.

DECLARATION

I, **SURAPOGU VAMSI**, bearing Registration number 18SIHL03, hereby declare that this Dissertation entitled “**Politics of Claims: The Identity Struggle between Adivasis and Lambadas of Telangana State**” Submitted by me under the guidance and supervision of Professor K. Raja Mohan Rao is a bonafide research work which is 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 dissertation can be deposited in Shodganga/INFLIBNET. Originality report from the University Librarian is enclosed.


Surapogu Vamsi

Regd. No. 18SIHL03

CERTIFICATE

(for M. Phil. Dissertation)

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled “**Politics of Claims: The Identity Struggle between Adivasis and Lambadas of Telangana**” submitted by Mr. Surapogu Vamsi bearing Regd. No. 18SIHL03 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Master of Philosophy in the Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy is a bonafied work carried out by him under my supervision and guidance.

This thesis free from plagiarism and 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.

A. Published in the following Publication:

“Understanding conflict among Scheduled Tribes in Telangana state” in journal of education: Rabindrabharati University, Volume XXIII, no. :9(ii), 2021 (Ugc Care List: ISSN: 0972-7175)

B. Presented Research Papers in the following Conferences: National/International

1. “Discerning the differences within Tribal Development in Telangana: A study of ST Reservations” in Sustainable Development Goals and Building Future India organised by Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy, University of Hyderabad, March-26-28, 2019.
2. “Telangana and its Development: Analyzing the growth and Development Post-State formation” in 2nd International Conference on Rural Development, Social Dynamics and Women’s Welfare organised by Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy, Centre for Women’s Studies and Dean, Students’ Welfare, University of Hyderabad, March 04-05, 2020.

Further, The Student has passed the following courses towards the fulfillment of course work requirement for M.Phil. degree.

Course Code	Course Title	Credits	Pass/Fail
EI701	Processes of Exclusion and Social Groups	4	Pass
EI702	Social Exclusion: Theoretical Perspective	4	Pass
EI703	Research Methods	4	Pass
EI704	Study Area	4	Pass


 Prof. K. Raja Mohan **Supervisor**
CSSEIP
 Supervisor
School of Social Sciences
University of Hyderabad


 Head,

Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy.
 University of Hyderabad,
 Hyderabad-500046

HEAD CSSEIP / SSS
University of Hyderabad
HYDERABAD-500046

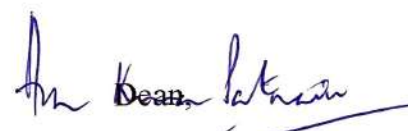

 Dean
 School of Social Sciences,
 University of Hyderabad
 Hyderabad- 500046
 अध्यक्ष / DEAN
 समाज विज्ञान संकाय
 School of Social Sciences
 हैदराबाद विश्वविद्यालय
 University of Hyderabad
 हैदराबाद-500 046., भारत
 Hyderabad-500 046. INDIA.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page no.
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	
<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>Abbreviations</i>	<i>ii</i>
Chapter-1	Introduction
Chapter-2	Review of literature on Tribal movements in India
Chapter-3	A brief Social History of Lambadas and Adivasis of Telangana
Chapter-4	Claims of Identity and Justification
Chapter-5	Conclusion
Bibliography	
<i>Appendix-1</i>	The Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950
<i>Appendix-2</i>	The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes orders (Amendment) Act, 1976
<i>Appendix-3</i>	Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India RTI reply
<i>Appendix-4</i>	Paper Publication
<i>Appendix-5</i>	Paper Presentation Certificate in National Seminar
<i>Appendix-6</i>	Paper Presentation Certificate in International Seminar
<i>Appendix-7</i>	Plagiarism Certificate

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

At the outset, I would like to thank several people without whose cooperation and support this Research would not have been smooth. Primarily, I would like to thank my supervisor Prof. K. Rajamohan Rao for constant support throughout the research. His critical insights, discussions and guidance enriched my understanding of the research. His continuous moral support infused confidence in me both at an academic and personal level, without which this dissertation would not have been realized. I would like to thank my Research Advisory Committee member Prof. Ramdas Rupavath for the suggestions that he has given throughout my M.Phil. research.

I would like to thank Prof. Ajailiu Niumai, Head, Center for Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy (CSSEIP), University of Hyderabad for her constant support and encouragement. I would like to thank Dr. Rani Ratna Prabha for the consistent support and encouragement that she showed me. Her personal support is indispensable as she encouraged my enthusiasm for academics. I would like to thank Dr. Sripathi Ramudu for his insightful discussions both inside and outside the classroom.

I express my gratitude to Prof. Gundimeda Nagaraju, Prof. Arun Kumar Patnaik, Department of Political Science and Dean, School of Social Sciences, and Sanjay Palshikar, Department of Political Science for instilling zeal in me towards research.

I extend my sincere thanks to the leaders of Adivasis and Lambadas, Mypathi Arun, Bellaiah Nayak, Vasam Anand, Nehru, Sunnam Venkata Ramana, Battu, Elvin, Santhosh, Chevuri Sathish for the cooperation and support that they have shown during the personal interviews.

I am greatly indebted to Dr. Suresh Kumar Digumarthi, Dr. Suman Damera for treating me as a member of their family and taking personal care of me during all the times and especially my rough days. I mention special thanks to Dr. Gundimeda Sambaiah, Dr. Chennuri Sathish, Chandrashekar, Dr. D. Uday Bhanu, Dr. Adi Narayana, Gurram Ashok, Siriman Naveen.

I would like to thank all the members of DSU-HCU, Venu Radhanolla, Kamalakar, Sandeep Kumar, Kumar Raja, Thunga Ramesh, Venkatadri Silapaka, Sree Charan, Rana Javvaji, Srinu, Jirra Karthik, Praharsha, Chiluka Srilatha, Saisree, Mounika Elizabeth, Sowmya, Birun, Sathish, Jayaraj, Nikhil,

Hariprasad, Chennuri Ramesh, Erla Baskhar, Umesh Chandra, Vardhan, Gajendra, Gaddam Nagaraju, Rahul Jade, Vamsi, Kalyan, Laxman, Ebenezer for their love and affection. You have been my extended family.

I extend my thanks to Dayal, Melody, Preethi Das, Pankaj, Arthi, Boga Srinu, Shiva, Ali, Jashuva, Stoney, Rita, Dhanunjay, Chinna Dandu, Raviteja, Basha, Sirisha, Narendar, Keerthana, Sairam, and Ananth. I would like to express my indebtedness to my friends, Ajay, Anudeep, Mohan, Munna, Prithvi, Saran, Sudheer, Suresh, Surya, and Kalyan for the invaluable support they have always extended. Their influence was immense since the formative years of intelligence.

I thank my cousins Surendra, Anusha, Ashok, Arun, Karunakar, Sudha, Jhansi, Chaitanya Kumar, Vinod Kumar, Harsha, Rishi.

Lastly, I am greatly indebted to members of my family- my sister, mother, father, grandmothers, aunts and uncles.

LIST OF TABLES

Table-1	Tribe wise Scheduled Tribe population in Andhra Pradesh from 1961 to 2011
Table-2	Tribe wise and sex-wise literates and literacy rates of Scheduled Tribes of Telangana-2011
Table-3	Distribution of National Fellowships for Scheduled Tribes between Lambadas and non-Lambada tribes of Telangana
Table-4	Tribe wise filling up of posts reserved for local Scheduled Tribes in the Adilabad, Komaram Bheem Asifabad, Mancherial districts (under ITDA-Utnoor) in 2019
Table-5	ITDA – Eturnagaram Department-wise, Tribe-wise filling up of posts reserved for local Scheduled Tribes
Table-6	Tribe wise medical posts filled in erstwhile Adilabad district under ITDA-Utnoor, 2019
Table-7	Tribe wise reservation of seats in Tribal Gurukula Schools 2022

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHPS	Adivasi Hakkula Porata Samithi
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPI(M)	Communist Party of India (Marxist)
CPI (M-L)	Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)
EAMCET	Engineering Agriculture and Medical Common Entrance Test
G.O.	Government Order
GoI	Government of India
IAS	Indian Administrative Service
IPS	Indian Police Service
ITDA	Integrated Tribal Development Authority
LHPS	Lambada Hakkula Porata Samithi
LHS	Livestock Holding Survey
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
MRPS	Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi
OBC	Other Backward Classes
SC	Scheduled Caste
ST	Scheduled Tribe
PESA	Panchayat (Extension of the Scheduled Areas) Act
RSS	Rasthriya Swayamsevak Sangh
RTI	Right to Information
TRS	Telangana Rashtra Samithi

CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION

India is home to diverse cultural entities from the time immemorial, famously referred to as the sub-continent for its diversified populations constituting distinct dialects, nationalities, ethnicities etc. Society of such character assumes innumerable interactions between individuals and communities exchanging socio-cultural values and features. Characteristics of such diverse societies are, among other things, cooperation and competition, and often conflicts for recognition and redistribution. Recognition for the value of status, as a dignified individual or group, and competition for the redistribution of resources available in that particular society for survival and to lead a dignified life. These two broad categorical identities have often been the cause of conflict, with contextual violence more often than not. The Indian society is a compartmentalized society along the lines of Caste, Class, Religion, Ethnicity, Language, Region etc. The people engage in a variety of modes to articulate the predominant social structure that exists and governs Indian social life is the Caste system. Most of the Indian population is entrenched in the Caste system which is almost impossible to escape. This ancient social system is believed to have a divine origin according to Hindu sacred texts. The Caste system excluded certain communities from accessing socio-economic and political opportunities and attached social stigmas of lower birth, purity and pollution. These communities are referred to by various names viz. Shudras, Dalits, athi-Shudras, Panchamas etc. Caste Hindus believe it as a divine sanction and anyone trying to break this divine law is severely punished. There are other marginalized communities who are deprived of adequate representation, living in appalling material conditions, excluded from the fruits of development who fall outside the Caste system are Scheduled Tribes, Muslims are visible others. This study focuses on the Scheduled Tribes.

Scheduled Tribes

The Scheduled Tribes of India are divided into two parts on the basis of their geographical location. The first is known as areas under Scheduled Six of the Constitution, located in the North-Eastern region of India. States like Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura fall under Sixth Schedule. The tribes in these regions are also called Frontier Tribes. The second is Scheduled Tribes under the Fifth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. The remaining tribal

areas except for the areas under the sixth schedule fall under the Fifth Schedule. Scheduled Tribes are also known by various names like Adivasis, Aborigines, Vanavasis, indigenous, Adimjati, Vanyajati (Munshi, 2013). The word 'Tribe' was attributed by the colonial administration. There is no clear definition of 'Tribe' in the Indian context. According to Xaxa (2008), rather than defining the 'tribe', identifying tribe has been the concern. He further states that the scholars equated indigenous with the native word 'Adivasi' easily which is another word to refer tribes in India. He comments that the term Adivasi was forced upon the tribes by the outsiders to differentiate tribal identity from the dominant communities. The tribes adopted and internalized this name given by the outsiders to not only differentiate them but to articulate the demands of empowerment under this given identity. Though there is a lack of definition, some criteria were employed to recognize. Features like "isolation, simple technology, living conditions, general backwardness, animism, tribal language and physical features" (Xaxa, 2008: 28). The tribes have been assimilated into various castes and religions of the mainstream society. However, with the onset of colonialism, the tribes transformed themselves with the introduction of education and modernity. This allows us to state that they have not remained at a stage in the process of civilization. Therefore, Xaxa calls the word tribe remains clumsy in the Indian reality. Beteille (1986) comments that in India identifying tribes has been important rather than defining. The definition of tribe given to the tribes of Latin America and the United States does not fit the Indian tribes. Unlike in many parts of the world, Indian tribes were in constant interaction with larger societies exchanging socio-cultural values. Several tribes were assimilated into the Hindu caste system carrying tribal features into the caste.

Western colonialists saw tribal societies of the world as a stage in the evolution of human civilization in juxtaposition with modernity. The same logic was applied in understanding the tribes of India without considering the reciprocal relation between tribes and non-tribal society. The British colonialists saw people living in seclusion whose habitat is isolated forests as primitive tribes whose socio-economic systems, they considered were primitive. These isolated forest habitations came to be referred to as Scheduled Areas, excluded, partially excluded areas after experiencing the repercussions of interventions. According to Galanter (1984), those enclaves were called Excluded Areas and Partially Excluded Areas in the 1874 Scheduled District Act and the Government of India Act, 1935. There were several tribal rebellions against the intrusion of non-tribals into tribal areas, illegally encroaching their lands, throwing them in debts and making them bonded labour. The backwardness and

ignorance of tribes made them vulnerable at the hands of non-tribes who were exploiting them. Starting from eighteenth century itself tribal revolts were directed against these kinds of pillage. The colonial regime as a measure of reparation made these regions left to be untouched by the sophisticated outsiders and provided autonomy from the general administration that is applicable to other sections of the society. These provisions were intended to protect the said tribal communities from the exploitation by the outsiders and to prevent the rebellions that were launched vis-à-vis British colonialism.

Criminal Tribe

The usage of the word tribe did not prevent the colonialists from using it to indicate people from other communities whom the British called the 'Tribe'. There were various nomadic, semi-nomadic communities wandering across various regions, selling and transporting food grains, salt, cotton etc. These communities were declared Criminal Tribes by the British administration. Before the coming of colonialism, nomadics enjoyed patronage from the native rulers. Their life fared better as they acted as internal transporters across the country (Singh, 2021). The life of these nomads was disrupted by the British Administration. They were subjected to constant surveillance, repression, humiliation, discrimination and criminalization. A Criminal Tribes Act was passed in 1871 charging approximately 200 communities as criminals. The above mentioned tribes had to enroll their details in the nearest police stations. They could not leave defined areas without police permission. For any kind of crimes that occurred, these tribes were assaulted, charged and incarcerated. British administration viewed few entire communities as criminals. T.V. Stephens, while introducing the bill states that the Caste system in India is inescapable. A person born in a caste cannot escape it anyhow. A person born in a carpenter caste remains as a carpenter for any number of centuries. Similarly, a person born in a professional criminal caste remains criminal except when the entire community is exterminated (Kapadia, 1952). The new transport systems that were developed during the colonial rule disrupted the livelihoods of these tribes. Vanjaras, Lamanis who were carrying food to armies, carrying salt trade were brought to a standstill by the British administration. In order to survive these communities had resorted to robbery and dacoity. Therefore, it is the economic distress that pushed these communities to extremes of stealing.

According to Singh (2021), it is only H J Khandekar who raised the plight of criminal tribes in the Constituent Assembly. Khandekar stressed the need for abolishing the law that labels them

as criminal tribes, and to grant rights to their safeguard. They were denotified from criminal tribes in 1952 and then onwards referred to as 'Denotified Tribes'. But the commission that was constituted to study the plight of criminal tribes stated that if those tribes were not reformed then they would permanently become enemies to the society and Government (Kapadia, 1952). The Government's approach was flawed against these communities. Criminality cannot be attributed to an entire community, a crime cannot be inherited. Nevertheless, the stigma around them still continues. Even in post-Independence, they still face discrimination, and exclusion called the criminal tribes. After 75 years of independence, they are living in appalling material conditions on the fringes of urban and rural areas.

It is this dual usage of 'tribe' that had drawn confusion, particularly for the administrators of post-independence, posing administrative and political challenges. This confusion resulted in equating Scheduled Tribe and Denotified Tribe. Several erstwhile criminal tribes and other communities, the majority of them residing in non-Scheduled Areas are demanding to include them in the Scheduled Tribes for their perceived tribal traits. But the British administration and leaders like Ambedkar used the word tribe to identify the two communities but clearly establishing a distinction between the two, the Hill Tribes or Scheduled Tribes and Criminal Tribes. Ambedkar considers that Criminal tribes were also excluded from the society (Kolge, 2021). He along with the colonial administrators clearly demarcated the criminal tribes from the hill or forest tribes. This logic was later adopted by the constitution of India. Those who reside in Scheduled Areas came to be identified as Scheduled Tribes.

The tribes were never seen as part of the rest of the population. They were considered outsiders of mainstream society. To put in Xaxa's (2019) words, they are considered a constitutive outside society from Indian society. It is with the advent of colonialism that tribes were integrated into mainstream Indian society through common law, administration and economy with few exceptions here and there (Xaxa, 2019). Ever since, they are the subjects of domination, subjugation, exploitation by the colonial and post-colonial governments, and native non-tribals throughout history. Forests that are inhabited by tribes consist of rich mineral and forest wealth. To extract these valuables for the use of government and industry, tribals were put to poignant suffering. Many tribes were dispossessed from their land and villages in the name of developmental projects. Between 1951 and 1991, 21 million tribes are estimated to displace in the name of developmental projects (Xaxa, 2019). Nevertheless, colonialism has brought a new consciousness to Adivasis with modern education through Christian

missionaries. The tribes used various methods of resistance to defend themselves from displacement, exploitation and rightful recognition from the state and dominant sections of the Indian society. Colonial Government had brought special laws to meet the needs of these communities. Special treatment, affirmative action, and protective legislations were promulgated to help them avail opportunities for upward mobility for their benefit.

In the process of making of Constitution of Independent India, national leaders resolved to provide them with affirmative actions to protect from discrimination, exploitation and empower them materially and socially integrating them along the other sections of the society. Special budget allocations, setting up of Integrated Tribal Development Agencies (ITDAs), laws for autonomy and Self-Governance were made. An important of such Affirmative measures is providing Reservations in Public education and Public Sector employment which would help them for upward mobility. But as put by Ashwini Deshpande(2013) that this Reservation policy is not redistribution in a theoretical sense, but this action has resulted in the upward mobility of these groups producing significant results and changing the composition of elites. But the implementation of reservation policy is redundant with flaws producing several challenges for the beneficiaries. Studies show that there are lags in the implementation of reservations, and are often diluted. Even among beneficiaries, few groups have benefited over other groups within the category. Scholars like Badri Narayan argued identity politics had benefited only a few communities over others, “The politics of recognition has dual effects while empowering marginal communities during democratic participation in India. On the one hand, identity politics provides democratic empowerment to a few communities or specific sections of communities, while, on the other, it disempowers people of the same communities who are not yet able to understand the language of a democratic state and lag behind in creating group visibility. Thus, identity politics in a democracy includes a few and excludes some others, while it is fuelled by tendencies of inclusive exclusion” (Narayan, 2015: 61). As the Indian political process unveils itself, new types of conflicts are being surfaced onto the political landscape. Several communities are demanding to the State to include them in Reservation categories while several others are demanding to remove those communities which have been sharing the benefits of the excess reservation at the cost of others in the group.

One such latter type of conflict has emerged among Scheduled Tribes of Telangana State. A conflict between non-Lambada tribes (Adivasis) versus Lambada tribes regarding the fair and equitable share of benefits under the Scheduled Tribe category (I will use Adivasis to refer

non-Lambada tribes and use Lambada or Banjara to describe Lambadas depending on the context, to avoid confusion). Adivasis, mobilized under Adivasi Hakkula Porata Samithi (also known as Thudum Debba) launched a movement for the removal of the Lambada tribe from Telangana State's list of Scheduled Tribes arguing that the inclusion of Lambadas did not follow the procedure established by the Constitution and but they were included the Scheduled Tribes list of Telangana in 1976 when Parliament was not in function during Internal Emergency from 1975 to 1977. Their status as Schedule Tribe is unjustifiable citing procedural failures concerning their inclusion. From the time of inclusion, according to Adivasis, Lambadas have been cornering the benefits of reservations and other developmental and welfare benefits disproportionately which have become one of the reasons for the underdevelopment of Adivasis. Therefore, the Adivasis are demanding the removal of Lambadas from STs.

Lambadas are a nomadic plain tribe which is also a so-called Denotified ex-criminal tribe spread across India and so in Telugu states. Contrary to the claims of Adivasis, Lambadas also lay claim that they are severely marginalized in all spheres of life, and removing them from the list will exacerbate their fate further. The Lambadas live on the peripheries of the mainstream villages dependent on the villagers for work and are still working as daily wage labourers in agriculture and other informal sectors "Ninety percent of lambadas are still live in thandas as agriculturists and agricultural labourers in very critical conditions", (Ramulu: 60). One recent study has shown that the Lambada tribe is still in acute poverty. Instances like the selling of children are rampant among the Lambadas for survival. In light of the above mentioned circumstances, the inclusion of diverse communities under the ST category has perpetuated conflict among the Scheduled Tribes of Telangana. This conflict turned violent, engendering ethnic violence. The Adivasis under Thudum Debba launched a massive movement for the removal of Lambadas from STs. On the other hand, Lambadas started their own movement justifying their identity as ST and their inclusion as legal.

Liberalization and free-market economic development are being vehemently carried out by the national and state governments. Governments' endeavours to hastily implementation of neo-liberal policies such as disinvestment of Public sector units, and increasing privatization of public institutions have been severely affecting affirmative action and reservation policies. Economic inequalities have grown substantially owing to the cherished reforms. The growing economic inequalities have often been leading to conflict among various social groups. Some communities are demanding to list them under various categories while a few others are

demanding the removal of dominant communities within them which harm their interest. Enraged by such anguish a social conflict arises between aggrieved stakeholders, “For obvious reasons, inequality can be associated with conflict. It is well known that the denial of political voice or influence among those who are economically and socially excluded can be a key driver of social tensions, political instability, and violent conflict” (Ghosh, 2016: 360). Ghosh had further argued at such a situation those who were discriminated against of opportunities will turn their protest toward the vulnerable communities. “Anger is directed not at powerful financial interest or even against governments that seem to bend willows to every dictate of the market, but against more vulnerable targets that can be easily attacked” (Ghosh, 2016: 360). On one hand, the Indian State is pursuing rigorous neo-liberal policies, and its effect is glaringly visible on welfare schemes. The Indian state is rolling back the welfare measures required by the marginalized and other sections of the population. The current movement among STs of Telangana is studied in this light.

Theoretical Framework

Theories on Identity Politics

Charles Taylor (1994) states the term ‘Identity’ defines a person’s understanding of who they are and the primordial features that constitute a human being. He further states that a portion of our identity is carved by the non-recognition or misrecognition by the ‘other’ person or by society. Any kind of misrecognition or absence of recognition can attract harm, oppression, stigma and violence. We understand ourselves against the other. Our language, expression, gestures etc. we exchange with the others. What Herbert Mead (cited in Taylor, 2020) called ‘Significant Others’. This however does not mean that there is no inner self that is independent and authentic of our own. But our identity in a society is constructed against the recognition of others, often we struggle against others to recognize what we want them to see that makes us. This dependence on the recognition of others invites vulnerability of ourselves can bring oppression and discrimination from that others. Thus formed identity stresses the rightful recognition and politics around that recognition. Feminist politics, indigenous politics, race, ethnic etc. politics came to be centred around this understanding. These social categories assert their differences against the dominant cultures that were prevailing in society. The view that treats all its citizens equally in liberal democracies is viewed with suspicion by the proponents of politics of difference. They claim that the homogeneous view of citizens is nothing but the

view of dominant cultures and this forces the minority cultures to assimilate into the dominant's. Even the view that a difference neutral politics of equality is nothing but an expression of hegemonic culture. So, the proponents of difference demand the recognition of difference and treat them as beings of cultural difference. These groups, states Taylor, do not want the difference to be shed away but to continue forever.

Appiah K. A. (2006) asks an important question, why only certain kinds of politics are referred to as Identity politics and why not others? He delineates certain attributes of forming and becoming identity. He states that to identify someone belonging to an identity we ascribe, some features or characters to them. He calls it Ascription. A particular community possess certain features which establish them as that particular identity. He further states that it is not just necessary that others ascribe characteristics to the self, but it is also important that the self is reflected in a certain way of thinking, actions, feelings, expressions etc. of the self itself. This allows us to associate ourselves with people with a similar identity. Such kind of feelings of belongingness and association with people of similar identities are often politicized. The third aspect Appiah points out is the Treatment. When people identify a community with specific characters it might invite kindness and empathy. In reverse, it can also attract unkindness, harm and violence when others are perceived as members of the group. Certain groups historically have been excluded, discriminated against, and oppressed. He asks what is the role of the state in such scenarios. Despite enacting laws against discrimination, new social practices are needed to be nurtured. Appiah makes an interesting point stating that making too many demands for recognition can become oppressive rather than liberating. If one's demand for recognition went too far, the identification norms become so tough that it becomes oppressive.

Gutmann (1994) poses a question, "Can citizens with diverse identities be represented as equals if public institutions do not recognize our particular identities, but only our more universally shared interests in civil and political liberties, income, health care, and education?" This question represents that people from diverse backgrounds have differences in accessing the spaces and provisions available in the state and society. Equal application of law ignoring the diversities may discriminate against the minority communities which does not reflect or occupy space in the public sphere. Minorities who live their existence in their own cultures against the dominant cultures face challenges in accessing spaces and towards upward mobility dominated by dominant cultures. The public institutions that turn a blind eye or fail to recognise these particularities invite severe costs. He further states that it is the duty of liberal democracy to

protect minority or vulnerable cultures against the majority cultures. Thus, public institutions by acknowledging particular cultures allow people to understand them through that culture. He argues that demand for recognition emphasises two ways, first, it demands protecting and treating as equal humans and, secondly, recognising individuals belonging to a culturally specific group.

David Miller (2006) defies critics of multiculturalism who were, according to him, old styled Social Democrats. Scholars like Brian Barry, Todd Gitlin, Alan Wolfe etc. accused Multiculturalism of creating sectarian identities which fragment the social and political communities. This fragmentation does not stop there, it further takes shape of a hostile categories-one group against another other. These critics accuse the politics of Multiculturalism that these politics have given center stage to cultural politics rather than real issues like redistribution and social equality. For them, the rise of the New Left in the 1960s brought these unwanted issues onto politics and led to the division of left politics- the workers against intellectuals, women against men, blacks against white. Identity politics, according to the social democrats, pushed redistributive agendas from the political agenda. Minority groups and cultural groups are given symbolic representation and atomic benefits. Nevertheless, David Miller cites studies and data from various countries that it is not just the rise of multicultural politics that is responsible for the decline of distributive politics. Miller accepts the threats alleged by social democrats which are engendered by multicultural politics. But Miller argues that it is not fair to ask to abandon multiculturalism, it is necessary to include them in larger society while granting them special concessions to protect their cultural uniqueness. He states that there is a necessity how to garner support for redistributive politics in the age of influence of global economic forces.

Nancy Fraser (2008) argues that viewing Identity politics of recognition and redistributive politics of social equality at loggerheads as anti-thesis. She claims that it is stressing the class or redistributive politics over politics of difference neglects the claims of various social groups to the rightful recognition of their differences vis-à-vis the dominant cultures of the society. The distribution of economic resources should be analysed by examining the subjugated cultures of race, gender, and ethnicity against the dominant cultures, which cultures get what amount of share and which cultures are negated in the economic redistribution. Similarly, the politics of recognition or politics of difference cannot ignore the redistribution of economic resources while asserting cultural differences. Politics of difference can make difference in the

status of recognition of communities only if they combine politics of redistribution. A meagre assertion of difference does not grant rightful recognition. For emancipation, it is necessary to demand a rightful share of economic resources.

Kymlicka (2005) states, that in western societies, sub-national cultures were thought as detrimental to national integrity. Several western democracies denied recognising the cultural uniqueness of these minorities. The states themselves encouraged dominant cultures to settle in territories inhabited by minorities to outnumber them, abolishing traditional self-Governments, restricting language rights etc. Pertaining to indigenous people, they were thought that they would assimilate into the larger society and disappear. Dispossessing of indigenous land rights, undermining institutions of self-government rights which demarcate them as distinct identities had been followed by the western democracies. But during the second half of the twentieth century, western democracies realised that they constitute a part of the nation and necessary to protect their distinct minority cultures against the dominant cultures. Legislations were passed in favour of minority identities to safeguard cultural uniqueness. Kymlicka states that western democracies moved from “older ideologies of one state, one nation, one language” (Kymlicka, 2005:28). He compares western democracies' policies of accommodating minorities with those of Asian countries. Unlike the west, Asian countries are sceptical about accommodating national minorities and immigrants, of course with an exception of India. They fear that national minorities do not comply with the liberal-democratic framework, believing that minority cultures eventually disappear or assimilate into the majority culture. Concerning indigenous people, Asian states do not believe in a separate category of indigenous. For example, China claimed that before colonialism, everyone is indigenous no matter whether they are majority or minority. Different names were given like Aboriginal tribes, hill tribes and Scheduled Tribes in the case of India.

Gurupreet Mahajan (2005) portrays how Independent India pursues accommodative policies for various cultural diversities viz. religious, linguistic and tribal identities. India was a land of multiple cultural diversities over several centuries. Invaders settled in the sub-continent exchanging cultural values with the natives. This enriched the cultural diversity of the land. The Britishers reinforced those identities to pit one against the other following divide and rule policy. The National movement enabled people across the nation to unite and fight for freedom against the coloniser breaking the bearers of their social identities to which they belong. But by the time of Independence, “India was partitioned into Hindu majority India and Muslim

majority Pakistan” (Mahajan, 2005). During this time India was ensnared in communal violence between Hindus and Muslims. There was a section of society that propagated for establishing India as a Hindu state. But people like Sardar Vallabhai Patel (cited in Mahajan, 2005) rejected the idea of creating a Hindu state in acknowledgement of the presence of minorities. Nevertheless, while making the Constitution of India, the framers of the constitution took cognizance of diverse cultural groups. Mahajan states that India took an audacious step in protecting cultural specific practices of minorities. She claims it followed when the other democracies were apprehensive about following multicultural policies in their countries. The state most of the time did not intervene in the personal affairs of minority religions. However, regressive practices in minority religions were never attempted to reform by the Indian state. On the other hand, the untouchability practised by Hindus who were a majority of the country was abolished. This dual attitude of the state towards the two religions provoked the wrath of the Hindus. They considered that the state is following appeasement politics with respect to minorities. Similarly, the state followed the policies of protecting linguistic groups by fitting them into the federal structure. The tribes of India were protected against the dominant cultures by providing them immunity from general laws, and sanctioning the territorial sovereignty of their habitations. India provided all these culturally specific policies within the framework of liberal democracy not compromising individual rights and equal citizenship. There are sporadic outbursts against the incentives given to cultural minorities. Nonetheless, India survived secessionist movements and integrated multifarious identities under a unified polity.

Social Justice theories

Social Justice is part of the broader concept of justice. Justice is an abstract concept interpreted in various ways. Brian Barry (cited in David Miller,) makes a distinction between Aggregative and Distributive concepts. An aggregative concept is the sum of the total quantity of goods enjoyed by certain sections of people. The Distributive refers to how many shares of that good are distributed among various sections of people. The principle that tries to maximise the total happiness of the group is aggregative, while the principle that each member of the group shares an equitable amount of happiness is distributive. Miller asks pertinent questions like “What are the good and bad things?”, What issues can be included apart from concerns like wealth, job, educational opportunities? And is it necessary to have an agency to distribute goods among people? Social Justice, says Miller, is a form of distributive justice that is different from other forms of justice like retributive justice. The term often incorporates justification of private

property rights or substituting an economic structure that is different from the other. Miller Says, nineteenth century philosophers like J.S. Mill, Leslie Stephen, and Henry Sidgwick used the word hastily without making a sharp distinction. Though it was liberals who accepted the idea of social justice and socialists rejected it. People like Marx and Engels believed that justice was part of bourgeoisie ideology. However, the socialist movements challenged property relations, land ownership and similar characteristics of capitalism. Social Justice is influenced by the idealist philosophy which views society as an organism in which each part is interdependent upon the other requiring an agency to affect the members of the organism. Otherwise, social justice remains a utopian idea. Valarian Rodrigues (2011) comments that the process of production of labour and sharing the fruits of labour may engender domination and conflict for the quota in the production and against the norms that determine the quota. Therefore, conceivably social justice is could be of various types depending upon the agency and society.

David Hume in his *A Treatise of Human Nature* speaks of Justice. For Hume Justice is a virtue that is evaluated by personality rather than actions. And justice is defined as principles that govern men's actions (Miller, 1979). Hume's conception of justice is deeply connected with property. Miller infers Hume's definition of justice as "The rules of justice are conventions whereby material goods (wealth, land, possessions, etc.) are ascribed to particular individuals have rights of individuals to their goods; or again (these rights constituting property) as respect for property of other" (Miller, 1979: 158). For Hume, the property is acquired through human convention rather than a natural sympathy for others allowing certain possessions in their favour, unlike Locke. Hume formulates six principles, present possession, occupation, — prescription, accession, succession, of acquiring ownership of property. These principles often come into conflict with each other. Hume clearly stands for certain rules to ensure the steadiness of the possessions.

Herbert Spencer's conception of justice premises on the action and reception of the consequences that are the product of that actions, which can be either good or bad. "Each individual ought to receive the benefits and the evils of his own nature and consequent conduct" (cited in Miller, 1979: 186). He states that each person is entitled to receive what is due to him because of his efforts, no less or no more. Spencer, states Miller, is for inequality of rewards, unlike the socialists who want to treat all labourers as equals despite inequalities of capacities.

Sidgwick criticized Spencer's argument that a labourer must not receive an adequate amount of wage or property in proportion to his labour.

John Rawls introduces his concept of justice while critiquing Utilitarian ethics. He proposes the social contract method to achieve fairness. People are ignorant about the kind of society in which they have to live. Persons are asked to conceive an 'original position' in which everyone is removed from the credits which would generate bias in their thinking, this refers to the 'veil of ignorance'. In such a society people are mandated to agree with the principles of dispensing benefits and burdens (Raphel, 2003). For Rawls, the principle of equality is the primary concern. If the principle of equality is ought to be abandoned then it should be done accordingly that it benefits everyone, importantly the least advantaged. Rawls gives primacy to the principle of Liberty along with allotting rights and duties as a special case of justice. "All social values liberty and opportunity, income and wealth, and the bases of self-respect are to be distributed equally unless an unequal distribution of any, or all, of these values, is to everyone's advantage" (cited in Raphel, 2003: 198). Rawls argues that every individual possesses 'inviolability' and cannot be overridden. He further states that humans are distinct personalities and society should reflect it. Goods do not exist independently of Rights and rights are not satisfaction maximising agents. It is through rights we demand certain goods rather than conceive predefined goods as an option. Rawls opines that the foundational principle of social institutions must be justice.

Micheal Walzer's (1983) justice is observed in the backdrop of inequalities that are perceived distribution of goods across all domains like material resources, recognition, education, and political power which are interlinked. For a democracy, it is necessary to realise justice in all social, economic and political spheres. Walzer places emphasis on the protection of differences while acknowledging the similarities that every individual possesses. His social justice is equality of opportunity and stresses the need for a society to be flexible and open. Walzer distinguishes between simple equality and complex equality. Simple equality directs the wants like education, power, security, welfare etc. Complex equality concentrates on money, god's grace etc.

Robert Nozick, according to Raphel (2001) prefers the state protects the rights rather than the welfare state which takes the role of distributing goods and services to the needy. Nozick's conception of justice is premised on the concept of 'Entitlement'. An entitlement means a just 'holding'. It is done in two ways, through direct acquisition or through voluntary transfer by a

person to the other person. If a person holds anything through theft or fraud in the past, Nozick calls it unjust. It is the third principle of justice to rectify this injustice. This justice of rectification is dependent on the past, thus assuming historical nature. Nozick rejects distributive justice as misleading because the individuals in the State authority do it haphazardly. He states that a person should have a free choice of doing what he wants to do and according to Nozick it is essential to Justice. He says that distributive principles of merit and need come into conflict. Though Nozick considers the aspects of need and views the ethical side of it he does not want to view it as a concept of justice. He stands for minimal state and social justice requires the interventions of the state in the process of distribution.

Ambedkar fought against the Caste system that deprives and discriminates against a section of people of accessing social and material resources. This, for Ambedkar, is an injustice perpetrated by the caste system. He regards every individual as equal possessing common essence and requires the same self-respect and rights (Rodrigues, 2002). He insists on the importance of liberty and fraternity without which equality cannot be attained. He, therefore, to undo this injustice of centuries, incorporated in the Indian Constitution affirmative actions like the Reservation policy for sharing of public goods among people of the society. Ambedkar's idea of democracy is not just a form of Government but an associational life with reverence for fellowmen. Democracy, for Ambedkar, is achieved through the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity (Rodrigues, 2002). He stresses the point that political democracy is an arrangement for achieving social justice. He argues that political democracy cannot withstand without social democracy if not adhering to the principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity which he enshrined in the Indian Constitution. He points out that Liberty and Equality can be achieved by the rule of law but fraternity cannot be achieved through rule of law but it is constantly nurtured. It is only with the nurturing fraternity, that a fellow human is recognised as equal worth which as consequence paves the way for social justice.

Amartya Sen describes that most of the theories on justice are social contractarian in nature, largely influenced by Thomas Hobbes of the seventeenth century till the twentieth century by Rawls, Nozick etc. All these contractarian theories involve the state as a distributive agency. The contractarians look to see with the establishment of just institutions, we can achieve justice. But, Sen states this view as providing a partial view of justice He says that is not only necessary to establish just institutions and view people as just, but it requires seeing the values around us. We have put values around us through critical scrutiny through public reasoning. He states that establishing just institutions would confine justice to a particular sovereign nation but his

theory of justice focuses on global justice. He draws distinctions between Arrangement-focused and realization-focused. Drawing an analogy he brings in the two classical Sanskrit words *Niti* and *Nyaya* which both terms mean justice. *Niti* means organisational property and correctedness while *Nyaya* means the realization of justice. Sen points out the importance of institutions but these institutions must possess the inclusive perspective of *Nyaya* because it evinces the situations that emerge. *Matsyanyaya* is an Indian version of justice theory that states that a big fish eats small fish. Sen, says that it is necessary to avoid such *Matsyanyaya* otherwise it violates human rights. For Sen, criticising institutions does not suffice but also it is necessary to scrutinize our own society in which we live.

Scheduled Tribes in the Indian Constitution

The Constitution of India has granted special concessions and privileges to Scheduled Tribes. The organization of their society and culture remained primitive in civilizational terms. Primitive mode of production, family organization, socio-economic norms, and governance were exclusive characteristics of the Scheduled Tribes. They took shelter in deep forests isolating them from alien intruders not willing to make any contact with the outside world. In such a scenario, they are vulnerable to exploitation by outsiders from mainland communities. They were subjected to exploitation and violence by the outsiders frequently. Instances of land alienation, falling into debt traps in the hands of moneylenders, making them addicts to liquor and dispossessing them from their lands were rampant during colonial rule and even in the post-colonial era. They have resisted any interference in their territory or affairs. Considering their subjugation and marginalization throwing them into material deprivation by the dominant communities, the Constitution has guaranteed them special protections and concessions. The Constitution of India broadly categorized Scheduled Tribes into two Schedules- Fifth Schedule and Sixth Schedule.

Fifth Schedule deals with the tribes residing all states except the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram.

Sixth Schedule deals with the frontier tribes of North-Eastern states of India, residing in states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram.

Definition of Scheduled Tribes in the Indian Constitution

As described in the previous paragraphs that there is no specific definition of a tribe in the Indian context, the makers of the Indian constitution followed the colonial logic of identifying

the tribes while making the Indian constitution. Unlike Scheduled Tribes, the constitution has not clearly mentioned about the so-called criminal tribes. However, the Constitution sanctioned the authority of the President of India to declare any community as a Scheduled Tribe followed by the parliamentary amendment to Constitution. It is this authority that defines a community as a tribe in India. Part-XIX of the Indian Constitution Article-366(25) defines Scheduled Tribes as follows,

“Article-366(25): Scheduled Tribes means such tribes or tribal communities or parts of groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 to be Scheduled Tribes for the purposes of this Constitution”.

Makers of the Constitution under Article-342 have resolved to vest power in the hands of the President of India to declare a community Scheduled Tribe or not a Scheduled Tribe in a specific State or Union territory after consultation with the Governor if it is a State. Subsequently, it is vested in the hands of Parliament by law to include any tribe or tribal community in Scheduled Tribes specified by President related to a State or Union territory.

Article-342 of the Indian constitution reads as follows,

“1. The President may with respect to any State or Union territory, and where it is a State, after consultation with the Governor thereof, by public notification, specify the tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities which shall for the purposes of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Tribes in relation to that State or Union territory, as the case may be”.

2. “Parliament may by law include in or exclude from the list of Scheduled Tribes specified in a notification issued under clause (1) any tribe or tribal community or part of or group within any tribe or tribal community, but save as aforesaid a notification issued under the said clause shall not be varied by any subsequent notification”.

Socio-Economic status of Scheduled Tribes in India

Scheduled Tribes (STs) constitute a distinctive social category of the Indian population, their cultural distinctiveness in relation to other communities pushes for a separate administrative

and political setup. Here, I will provide a brief overview of the Scheduled Tribes profile to understand the present socio-economic status.

According to the 2011 census, the total population of Scheduled Tribes is 10.45 crore in the total population, which constitutes 8.6% of the total population, and 11.3% of the total rural population. 10.25 crores are Male while 5.20 crores are female population, with the female population growing at a rate of 25% compared with Male 23%, between 2001 to 2011. The sex ratio among STs stands at 990 females per 1000 males, greater than the national ratio. Among STs, the literacy rate has significantly improved over the decade, from 47% in 2001 to 59% in 2011. ST male literacy rate increased from 59.2% to 68.5%, and the female literacy rate increased from 34.8% to 49.4%, during the decade from 2001 to 2011.

Poverty among Scheduled Tribes had reduced from 47.4% to 30.7% in rural areas, and 45.3% to 24.1% in urban areas from 2009 to 2012. According to the study conducted in 2013 by the Land and Live Stock Holding Survey (LHS), total landholding by STs in rural areas is 13.06%, standing at 0.650 hectares per household. Unemployment among STs is recorded at 4.4% while underemployment is 51.3% against 35.5% against all categories (Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India, 2019-20).

This data explains that the fruits of development are elusive and far from the reach of Scheduled Tribes. Illiteracy continues to be persistent among the Scheduled Tribes even though there is an increase compared to the previous decades. It is alarming to take notice of underemployment that is persisting among STs.

Statement of the Problem

Telangana state is a newly formed 29th State in the Indian union carved out of erstwhile Andhra Pradesh. The demand for a separate Telangana is long and protracted starting from the early decades of Independence. The demand for a separate state is premised on the unique cultural identity against the discrimination by the Andhra ruling class and for the distribution of resources on the principles of social justice. It was formed on 2nd June 2014 with ten districts (later divided into 33 districts) with a population of 3,50,03,674 (three crores fifty lakhs three thousand six hundred seventy-four) during the formation of the state. Telangana is one of the

states in India with a significant tribal population. The total Scheduled Tribes population is recorded as 31.78 lakhs. Scheduled Tribe male population is 16.08 lakhs and female population is 15.70 lakhs. The Lambada tribe population stands at 20.44 lakh followed by Koyas at 3.8 lakhs, Gonds at 2.9 lakhs, and Yerukalas at 1.41 lakhs. The rest of the tribes are below 45 thousand, the least being the Thoti tribe at 4 thousand identified as a Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTG). The Literacy rate of STs is registered as 49.51% with the male literacy rate at 59.49 and the female literacy rate at 39.44 (Census of India, 2011).

The presence of a large population of the Lambada tribe facilitates them to set foot in all economic and political institutions outweighing the Adivasis by a large extent. The Lambadas enjoy fair support from political parties because Lambadas are politically conscious and organized. These favoured Lambadas dominate the fields of education, employment economy, and politics. This deprived the Adivasis of accessing the opportunities across the fields because of the competition challenged by the Lambadas. This engendered severe discontent among Adivasis against the Lambadas. Adivasis launched an agitation against the Lambadas, demanding the state to remove them from the Scheduled Tribes of Telangana. This agitation often led to violence between the communities.

Against this backdrop, the present study was carried out to trace the history and nature of the conflict between Lambada tribes and the Adivasis of Telangana and to suggest a possible way out to solve the problem for rendering justice.

Objectives of the Study

- 1) To examine the socio-economic and cultural background of Adivasis and Lambadas in Telangana.
- 2) To trace out the causes for conflict between Adivasis and Lambadas.
- 3) To analyse the role of the State in addressing the movement.
- 4) To suggest remedial measures for conflict resolution.

Research Question

- 1) What are the reasons for the eruption of conflict between Adivasis and Lambadas of Telangana?

Research Methodology

Research Design

This research is exploratory in nature and uses certain qualitative and quantitative methods at the individual and community level. The research design for this study consists of purposive sampling and snowball sampling techniques.

Data base

In order to achieve the objectives of the study, data were collected from both primary and secondary sources.

Primary Data

Primary data were collected by conducting in-depth interviews with the active leaders of the movement from Adivasis and Lambadas using an open-ended questionnaire.

Secondary Data

The secondary data were collected from books, academic journals, magazines, newspaper articles, Government Reports, Government Orders (G.O), and Gazettes. Unpublished quantitative data were collected from the Tribal Welfare Department, Government of Telangana. Formal and informal literature published during the tribal movement was also used for eliciting information.

Tools for data collection

The Primary data were collected by using a pre-tested semi-structured open-ended interview schedule. Separate interview schedules were administered for *Adivasis Hakkula Porata Samiti* and *Lambada Hakkula Porata Samithi*.

1.1. Sampling technique

Purposive sampling and snowball sampling were used to identify the leaders from Adivasis and Lambadas.

1.2. Sample Size

Twenty activists and leaders from Adivasis and Fifteen activists and movement leaders from Lambadas were interviewed. Apart from the leaders, Kakatiya University students and

community leaders from Mulugu District and Khammam district were interviewed on the basis of their availability during the COVID-19 Pandemic. Non-STs residing in proximity to tribal areas were also interviewed.

Chapterization

The thesis has been organized into Five Chapters. The first one is an introductory chapter that presents a clear picture about the historical reasons for providing special treatment and reservations for Scheduled Tribes of India as per the Indian Constitution. It also gives a picture about the constitutional provisions and articles related to Scheduled Tribes enshrined in the Indian Constitution. In addition, the present socio-economic and educational status of Scheduled Tribes, the Significance of the Study, Research Question, Objectives of the Study, and Research Methodology followed for carrying out this study have been mentioned in this chapter.

The second chapter focuses on the literature review on tribal movements in India from pre-Independence and continues to post-Independence. It explains the reasons for exploitation, the nature of tribal resistance and the consequences of the revolts.

Chapter three aims at providing a brief Social History of Lambadas and Adivasis. The Lambadas history is specifically mentioned to understand because it was against whom the movement is aimed by the Adivasis. Their socio-economic conditions under colonial rule, and their current post-Independent life as well as their development which is the main reason for their struggles with Adivasis. The origin of the conflict between the Lambadas and Adivasis, and awareness among the Adivasis for understanding the circumstances that led to the movement were also presented in this chapter.

The fourth chapter is devoted to understand the claims and justifications made by the Adivasis and Lambadas pertaining to the Tribal Identity of Lambadas. This chapter is based on the qualitative data gathered through interviews with the leaders of Lambadas and Adivasi communities. Quantitative data were obtained from the Union and State Governments. This chapter explains the role of the State in addressing the issues and concerns raised by the movement.

The fifth chapter Concludes by discussing the major findings followed by suggestions.

CHAPTER-2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON TRIBAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

The previous chapter introduced the construction of the word ‘tribe’ by the British government. It provides a theoretical framework for the understanding of the Adivasi movement. The previous chapter also lays constitutional provisions for Scheduled Tribes, the definition of Scheduled Tribes that is enshrined in the constitution and current socio-economic conditions. Further, the previous chapter includes research questions, objectives and research methodology. This chapter focuses on the literature review on various Tribal Movements in India during colonialism and post-colonial India. This helps to understand various reasons, issues and challenges that drove tribes of India to take the paths of rebellions and political movements.

Tribal Movements in India

For many decades, Tribal movements were considered Peasant Movements by the scholarship, they failed to see their distinct identity vis-à-vis non-tribal peasants. The tribes possessed rights over forests without much hindrance until the British arrived. Before colonialism, these Adivasis were often encountered by the armies of native rulers and imperial kings marching to different places. If those armies tried to interfere with the Adivasis, they either resisted them or were silently relegated into deep forests. But the advent of colonialism and the new trade and commerce they brought to the sub-continent had detrimental effects on tribes which they still suffer. The forests were seen as revenue generating instruments. Forests were commodified and brought under trade and commerce. Colonial modernity, taxation methods, and laws related to the regulation of land and forests adversely affected the tribes. The fundamental reasons for tribal movements in India are the migration of non-tribes into tribal habitations and encroaching on their forest lands, thus alienating those lands from the tribes. The land and forests form the very essence of tribal identity, to the life and survival of Tribes. A minor portion of forests are cleared for the cultivation of lands popularly known as Shifting Cultivation is a predominant method. They are entirely dependent on forest produce for a living. Verrier Elwin commenting on tribes stated that the primary reasons for tribal distress are the loss of rights over forests and lands. The Kol insurrection, Tamar Rebellions had occurred from the suffering of Hos, Mundas and Oraons (Elwin cited in Raghavaiah, 1979). The Laissez-faire ideology of colonial

administration brought forests under trade and commerce, turning land into a commodity, purposefully to generate wealth and then loot. Then promulgated modern regulatory laws on rights and access to forest and land. Raghavaiah (1979) states that it is the insurrection of Santals in 1855 that spearheaded the first war of independence in 1857.

On the other hand, the colonial rulers had issued contracts to non-tribals, encouraging non-tribal traders at the cost of forest inhabitants. Greedy non-tribals, particularly dominant caste Hindus used several kinds of manipulatory methods to confiscate land from the tribals. “Migration of non-tribal and non-cultivating peasant classes increased. All of these changes hastened the polarization and emergence of a clearly-defined exploitative class consisting of absentee landlords such as Velma and Brahmins and traders such as Sahukars (merchant communities) who introduced middle-class peasantry, with agricultural cultivation skills, from the plains. These conditions resulted in the colonization of properties and resources, a decline in the ratio of tribal land to tribal ownership and the transformation of land into a commodity, all of which led to the alienation of the original cultivators (Rupavath, 2014:3)”. Implementing colonial taxation methods burdened Adivasis to lend money at high-interest rates from lenders keeping tribal lands as a mortgage. Adivasis who put high-cost inputs earned a low margin of profit or no profits at all. As a consequence, Adivasis had to lose their land to a moneylender, if they could not repay the debt, they were bound to become bonded labour in their very own field which they tilled for years.

According to Rupavath, the first strategy employed to confiscate land was by manipulating land records by local administrators, particularly by local feudal lords. The second strategy is the illegal transferring of land ownership to non-tribals. The third kind is, marrying tribal women for the sake of the land. Further by adopting non-tribal boys, Dhanam argues “The tribal administrator said that ‘ acquisition of lands in the names of non-tribal boys who become tribal suddenly after the execution of the bogus adoption deeds in the name of a tribal person was another important method used by the non-tribal to grab tribal lands”, (cited in Rupavath, 2014:5). Both the colonial government and post-colonial governments promulgated several laws to protect tribal lands from encroachment and alienation. Many laws were legislated from the early decades of the twentieth century to the present. But no law could protect tribal lands, except in a few cases. Taking advantage of defects in the laws made, land encroachments are still persistent. K. Balagopal while commenting states that it is ridiculous that words inscribed on laws are so obfuscated themselves creating confusion among readers. Meanings and words

that were not present earlier suddenly appear, and words and sentences suddenly acquire new meanings and perceptions for every reading. This is one of the reasons for the incompetence of laws to protect tribal land ownership. Studies conducted under various government agencies resonate with the fact that land alienation in tribal areas continues to happen. A working group on tribal development under the erstwhile Planning Commission stated “In spite of the protective measures to restore land to the tribal, it is still reported to be taking place. It appears that in most cases these are caused because of fake transaction’. Falsification of documents of ownership by the non-tribals remains pervasive throughout the country. In the case of the Jharkhand tribal region of Bihar, it was reported that even though de facto possessions were brought to its notice, the government continued to ignore the matter”, (cited in Rupavath, 2014:). This exploitative method was the primary reason for many Tribal resistance movements.

Indian tribes resisted colonizers even before the idea of Independence and national movement developed among our national leaders. These movements were directed not only against colonizers but also against natives who exploited their resources. Tribals resisted both material exploitation and cultural exploitation by the Europeans. Christian missionaries penetrated into tribal areas and converted them to Christianity. One of the main aims of Christian missionaries is to convert tribals to Christianity which in turn paves way for imperialism. “The colonialist and the missionary projection was that the tribals would quickly be culturally subdued and assimilated to Western culture”, (Joesph Bara, 2007: 221). Tribal revolts against the British erupted in the eighteenth century itself and continued till 1940 until the declaration of Independence. “During the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there was a major increase in the number of tribal revolts throughout the country”, (Verghese, 2015). The tribals of the revolts of Tamar which occurred between 1789-1832 are few of the first resistance against colonialism.

L. Natarajan (1979) wrote that the great Santal insurrection of 1855-56 describes that fierce discontent and anguish against the British, money lenders. According to Natarajan, the Santals are peace loving tribes. Even if they were oppressed by the colonial administration and local money lenders, they silently retreated into the deeper woods of Cuttack, Chotanagpur, Barabhum, Manbhum, Palamau etc. The ruthless taxation methods and cruel surplus appropriation by the landlords deprived and suffocated the Santals. Consequently, they lost the land, and sometimes family to the creditors and Zamindars. Santals cleared forests for

cultivation and when those lands were taxed, they would leave them and move to the interior of the woods and cleared the forests in that area. As long as the forest was not cleared the money lenders would remain indifferent. But, once the forest is cleared by the tribes, the Zamindars and others rush to tax the newly developed agricultural lands. This would push the tribes further deep into the woods. This process happened as long as the Santals could move into the forest. After they were pushed beyond the movement, their anger simmered to take a course of action against the British and native exploiters. The Santals of neighbouring villages organized in large numbers and held a meeting to reflect on what had to be done under the leadership of Bir Singh. On June 30, 1855, they decided that they get rid of the oppressors. They raided houses of Zamindars, Moneylenders and Mahajanas and robbed all the illegal wealth they had acquired. The Tribals targeted the Mahajans and Zamindars killed them in vengeance. Daroga Mahesh Lal Datta who was cruel towards Santals was targeted. When Mahesh Lal tried to warn them to disperse silently and pay taxes, the Santals chopped his head. Similar patterns were followed and a few more were killed by the Santals. However, the Government suppressed the insurrection with an iron fist, the Santal regions were drenched in bloodshed. It is said that half of the members of the Santals had perished in Government's suppression.

Joseph Bara (2007) articulates the famous Birsa Munda organized a rebellion against British exploitation in 1899 around the Chotanagpur region, now located in Jharkhand state. Britishers, following the same patterns of loot pan India, intervened in the territories of the Munda tribe. Mundas followed a land system referred to as 'Khuntkari'. Britishers noted Mundas and other tribals of Chotanagapur as savages and there is an immediate need to reform their consciousness, bring them under the same beliefs, and continue plunder was the aim. Bara states that "But if Chhotanagpur was to fulfil its potential role in the imperial system of things, it would have to be 'reformed'. The tribals would have to be taught to appreciate the virtues of British rule and imbued with a taste for things British, as it was being done in other parts of India" (Joseph Bara, 2007: 198). Proselytization from their original tribal beliefs and culture to Christianity would help Britishers to bring consensus among Munda tribes. They utilized Christian Missionaries as henchmen to pursue their manipulative goals. These Christian missionaries to realize the imperial agenda converted Munda tribals to Christianity and preached European values against native tribal beliefs. Birsa Munda took admitted to a Christian School and subsequently he came into touch with Christianity and he thus became a Christian. But the question of alienation of land and exploitation continued despite gospels

from missionaries. On the other hand, Munda culture was transforming, their culture was attacked by missionaries. “By the eighteenth century the localized culture and economy had begun to fray. Tribal life was losing its cohesiveness and becoming less egalitarian”, (Joseph Bara, 2007: 198). Birsa’s experience was bitter with Christian missionaries, he was expelled from school for criticizing Christianity, and this grew in his hostility towards Christianity. Later Birsa declared him as God of Mundas and his mission is to restore the lost Munda kingdom and establish Birsa Raj.

In the years 1896 and 1897 two famines hit hard, the tribe which was already engulfed by the exploitation of both material and spiritual salvation had suffered severe starvation. The Sardar movement in the region had already created contempt against missionaries and other non-tribals. The impact of this movement was still fresh among Mundas and particularly in Birsa who joined the Sardar movement as a youth. Back to back famines and loss of the traditional egalitarian system attracted extreme hatred in tribes towards westerners. In an attempt to overthrow British hegemony and establish Birsa Raj, in 1899 he organized Munda tribesmen to fight the British. He organized guerrilla attacks on the British, his movement famously known as ‘Ulgulan’ translating as Great Tumult. He was caught and arrested by the Britishers who succumbed to prison due to cholera in 1900. However, his revolt resulted in the enactment of the Chotanagapur Tenancy Act, 1908. His resistance was to both retain lost tribal and forest autonomy and restore the religion and culture of Mundas.

According to Raghavaiah (1979), there were two revolts against the British preceding Alluri’s revolt at Rampa of Chodavaram taluk. The Nizam of Hyderabad conceded districts of northern Circar to the British. During this time Rampa was ruled by native zamindar recognized by other dominant castes like Reddies. In 1802-1803, Ram Bhupati, a munsubdar, vexed with the revenue policies of the British, retained some villages from their possession. This angered colonisers, he was forced and burdened to maintain peace in the territory. He appointed native tribal chiefs called Muttadars- tribal chiefs- appointed on behalf of the British to collect revenue in their respective territories. He ordered muttadars to pay Rs. 8, 750 per annum as tax. He was succeeded by his son on the promise that he would reduce it to Rs. 1000, who later broke the promise. His wicked rule was unveiled against tribes of the Ramp. He levied taxes on toddy, which were unfamiliar to natives, and was obstructed from collecting if not paid. Justice was not vindicated for tribals even in the judiciary. In cases where the debts were delayed or not paid cattle and property were seized, even if it is a petty sum. Frustrated tribes had left no other

choice but to revolt. In March of 1879, Tribes attacked police stations and burned down stations to ashes. They captured policemen, tied them to a tamarind tree and served their heads to local diety in public. In the words of Raghavaiah, Rampa soon slipped into unrest. The wars spread across Badrachalam, Vishakapatnam and lasted until November of 1880.

Later in 1922 tribes of Andhra Pradesh revolted under the leadership of Alluri Seetharama Raju, a Kshatriya by Caste. British undertook the mission of constructing a highway cutting through dense forest from Narsipatnam to Chintapalli. The immediate cause for the uprising was the exploitation of free labour from native tribes. Bastion, a tough British officer was deployed there to supervise road construction. He resorted to all types of infliction of pain to tribals when resisted. He would stop the inflow of food to people to achieve his desires and various other means of violence. By this time Alluri Seetharama Raju, after leaving his education stayed in the forests following spiritual paths and yoga. He was a follower of peace, according to Raghavaiah, and had not anticipated such a long portrayed violent struggle. Soon assaults on the tribals increased, and Alluri organized native tribes to attack the British. He adhered to the principle of killing the British and left Indians even if they were thought of as enemies. Alluri's famous Chintapalli police station attack is popularly known, he confiscated weapons from the station. After two years of violent confrontation, he surrendered to the British in 1924 and the British killed him most inhumanely.

K.S. Singh (1983) writes Gonds are the largest tribe in India spreading from Satpuras to the Godavari. It was recorded that Gonds Kings had ruled significant territories in Central India and Deccan India. The Southern regions of Gond inhabitants Chanda, Adilabad and Bastar are less exposed to the outer world compared to the northern regions. Since the 1940s, according to Singh, the Gond rights on the forests were encroached on and resulted in resistance from the tribes. Peasant castes migrated in large numbers into the Gond settlements like Chanda and Adilabad, where industrial developments were taking place. During the 1940s forests were reserved by the administrations. Grazing taxes, plough taxes etc. were levied and plundered the tribes. Gonds, led by Komaram Bhim, filed several petitions to the Government urging to restore the rights. But the Government's response was in favour of the local Zamindars. The ramifications were the Gond insurrection. There were several violent clashes between the Gonds and local authorities which resulted in a loss of life. The insurrection was led by Komara Bhim though short-lived. It was believed by the tribes that Bhim possessed supernatural

powers. After a violent struggle between the Gond tribe and Government officials, Komaram Bhim was killed.

In post-Independent India, the tribal problem has not been solved. The post-colonial Government, despite Constitutional safeguards, lent a deaf ear to the agonizing voices of the tribes across the length and breadth of India. The illegal encroachments of tribal lands continue to persist and tribal resistance continues to survive. Several tribal movements occurred in Independent India. Naxalbari uprising is a watershed movement in independent India's history. The revolutionary ideology and militant struggle of the Naxalbari uprising spread across India unleashing revolutionary politics.

Sumant Banerji (1986) states that the Darjiling district where Naxalbari is located largely comprised of the tribal peasant of Santhals, Oraonas and Rajbanshis. These tribals were exploited by the jotedars under the 'adhiar' system. There were disputes in sharing the crop and thus led to the evictions of peasants from the lands. This exploitation increased with the forming United Front Government. During the years between 1951 and 1954 communist leaders organized peasants to confront jotedar oppression. Under the leadership of Charu Mazumadar, the call was given to peasants to fight against the landlords, State Government and Central Government. A large number of tribals also worked as sharecroppers in tea plantations on the surplus lands of tea plantation owners. Many workers were retrenched and thrown out of their houses by their employers. During 1955-57 plantation workers joined the peasant's struggle. By 1958, the peasant struggle intensified to the extent the peasants were hoisted red flags in their fields, and armed against police and to defend their crops. Later in 1965, some action groups were formed with the objective of political propaganda and militancy against the landlords. Burning of houses of landlords, harvesting crops during nights. The following year March and April, 15000-20000 peasants volunteered in rebellion. They occupied lands, burnt all records, looting of guns from the landlords and passed death sentences against them. In the later month, they took control of several areas. There were violent clashes between the police and peasants, killing each other. Later the state repressed the rebellion ruthlessly. Behind the uprising were the anti-peasant activities, unjust land transfers, and evictions of jotedars and tea gardeners.

The Srikakulam Girijan uprising is one of the important tribal revolts post-Independence India and Andhra Pradesh. Srikakulam's Girijan uprising is inspired by the Naxalbari insurrection.

The Srikakulam district majorly consists of Jatapu and Savara tribes. The movement sprang in the Agencies of Parvatipuram, Palakonda taluks and parts of Kottur and Patapatnam sub-taluks. Like earlier uprisings, the tribes of Srikakulam revolted against similar maladies that were engulfing them. The opening of forest areas to the outsiders had serious consequences for them. Outsiders like Vaishyas, Sondi, Paydi and Pondaras make up 90% of the non-tribes of the region. They turned into moneylenders, landlords and further biggest exploiters of the tribes (Banerjee, 1986). Lending loans at high interests, taking an unfair share in the harvest of the Adivasi as loan repayment, and appropriating lands through a mortgage had usurped resentment among the Adivasis. Exploiting the situation of Adivasis, the communists organized Adivasis in the name of Girijana Sangham (Hill-People's Association), under the leadership of Palle Ramulu and later was joined by Adibhatla Kailasam and Vempatapu Satyanarayan, the plainsmen. When the CPI split into CPI and CPI(M), they both joined CPI(M).

The tribal women were also organized into Mahila Sangam (Women's Association). With the aim of bringing the New Democratic Revolution to replace the bourgeoisie state, the Sangham organized Adivasis and political developments, educated masses against the old beliefs, schools were established and taught to them. This brought a qualitative change in the consciousness of the Adivasis. They carried red flags and marched miles to attend the meeting. The landlords also had begun to repress the people, sangham and its activities. A Labour Conference was planned for 31st October 1967 by the party. The landlords sought to crush the movement, they attacked Adibhatla Kailasam and V. Ramalingachari which followed shootings by the Goons who were hired by the landlords. This killed two girijan activists and several others injured. This emboldened the tribes to carry out militant struggles but to never give up. By 1968 November, the guerrilla struggle was launched. As a result of militancy, the people had confiscated several acres of land from the landlords, food grains were confiscated. Several landlords feared and fled due to such attacks. This attracted police action against the communists. There were violent clashes on 20th December and 23rd December 1968. The Guriella Squads ambushed the police and were able to retreat the police, sixteen police constables and a Circle Inspector of Police had been killed. This gave Adivasis confidence against landlordism and fight against the police repression. They joined in large numbers in the communist movement and help the communists. Between 1968 and 1969, several properties of moneylenders and landlords of Parvatipuram and Patapatnama were looted. This continued till the first half of November 1969. From the latter half, police intensified repression and which

culminated in the encountering of several revolutionary leaders like Vempatapu Satyanarayana, Adibhatla Kailasam, Subbarao Panigrahi etc. Thus the Srikakulam revolutionary movement was liquidated by June 1970. Later, there was an attempt to reorganize but failed.

Eva Davidsdottir (2021) narrates the recent Pathalgadi Movement which was engendered in Jharkhand in 2016 and reiterates the Adivasi association with Forest Rights and Land Rights. Eva Davidsdottir (2021) states that the Pathalgadi Movement though resembles the aims of past Adivasis struggles, the approach to the struggle has changed. Earlier it was violent and against the methods and approaches prescribed by the law and constitution. The Pathalgadi Movement incorporated the legal framework that was set by the State. The Pathalgadi Movement arose as a resistance to the Jharkhand state government's amendments to the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act, 1908 and Santal Pargana Tenancy Act, 1876. These acts were enacted during the colonial government to protect tribal land alienation, and restrict the transfer of tribal land to non-tribals. The Jharkhand Government in 2016, sought to bring amendments to these laws in such a way that the transfer of tribal land to the non-tribes become effortless. This would threaten the survival of Adivasis and it would endanger the protection of their lands. As a reaction, the Adivasis erected as stones that were written the provisions of the Forest Rights Act and Panchayat (Extension of the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (PESA Act). It was an ancient culture of the tribes of the region to erect stones at the tombs of the dead. The current movement emphasized the legal provisions of the above mentioned acts to resist actions of the state and autonomy from the state, foregrounding the self-rule as mentioned in the PESA. Davidsdottir states that though the Pathalgadi Movement followed non-violent and legal methods of resistance, it would have ended up in violence if the state had not responded to the demands of Adivasis.

Thus, the Adivasis struggles are by and large connected to Forest Rights and Land Rights. The Colonial Government brought the forests under the administrative law for commerce. Since then the Adivasi movement was restricted to the forests that enjoyed unhindered freedom before the arrival of colonialism. Taxation methods, forced labour, and commercialization of forest resources brought unseen predicaments. Entering non-tribals into forests had brought colossal damage to Adivasi society. Honesty and backwardness vis-à-vis the non-tribes made them vulnerable to the deceptions of the plainsmen. Falling into debt traps, mortgaging property and losing land made the wretched conditions for the Adivasi. The post-colonial

government, even though it made efforts to protect the tribes from the exploitation both from the state and aliens, it failed to implement the protective laws and affirmative actions that it itself had promulgated. They could not empower the material conditions of the Scheduled Tribes and remained the most marginalized community in India. The population of some tribes are alarmingly low and was considered Particularly Vulnerable Tribes. The failure of the State to implement its promises only pushes Adivasis to rebellion.

CHAPTER-3

A BRIEF SOCIAL HISTORY OF LAMBADAS AND ADIVASIS OF TELANGANA

The previous chapter provided a literature review on tribal movements in India during colonial rule and post-Independent India. It provided the reasons for tribal rebellions before the independence and after the independence. The previous chapter also focused on the shift in the forms of Adivasi struggle against exploitation. This chapter focuses on the history, habitations, and socio-economic conditions of Lambadas or Banjaras and Adivasis. (both are used interchangeably depending on the context) Venturing into a brief history gives us a description of their socio-economic life in the past and present. This will enrich our understanding of the nature of conflict and arguments that are made against Lambadas by Adivasis.

The Origin and Lineage of Banjaras

Banjaras are spread throughout India in almost all states, in length and breadth. Scholars commented that there is uncertainty in tracing their origins. According to Varady (2007), it is only in the last seven centuries their history was clear and recorded. By the time they were well recognized as traders throughout India, “The history of Lambadas begins with the Caravan Trade They appear to have been loose groupings, assimilating members from others involved in such a trade or even from settled peoples. The communities of nomadic caravanners have different names and social roots in every region, they claim a variety of statuses within Hindu Caste- Society”, (Bhukya, 2010:29).

Tangirala Subbarao in his prefatory words to ‘Banjarala Charitra’ (History of Banjaras), written by Chiniya Nayak, traces back the history of Banjaras to the clan of Kuru ruled by Parikshit and his son Janamejaya. Prithviraj Chauhan who ruled in North India from 1178 CE to 1192 CE belongs to the Rajput dynasty, the Banjaras claiming themselves as descendants of Prithviraj Chauhan and Rajputs. Besides this, Subbarao asserts that Banjaras are also the descendants of King Maharana Pratap Singh, another Rajput King who ruled Mewar between 1572AD to 1597AD.

Even some of the colonial historical accounts show their Rajput lineage. Western Scholars have mentioned that they are the descendants of Rajputs. For instance, “Malcolm supposes that the

Lambadas were one of the lowest Rajput castes. Most Ethnographic notes of the period presume that the origins of a large bunch of south Indian Lambadas can be traced to the Charan and Bhat Castes of western Rajputana and the Mathura Banjaras from the United Central Provinces”, (Bhukya: 2010, 35).

Banjaras are well recognized for their salt trade from the available literature. The history of the Salt trade is recorded in the history of India. They travel on caravans of ox and bullocks carrying and selling salt. For instance, the name of the tribe had been acquired from the salt. According to Ramaswamy and Bhukya (2002), the Sanskrit word Lavan meaning salt would have been the origin of the term Lambada. They are also referred to as ‘Sugalis’ in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. They took deep forest pathways travelling long distances, halting in makeshift tents. This wandering in forests gave them the name ‘Vanajara’ which was modified into ‘Banjara.’ Shyamala Devi (1984) states that their language has formed from elements of Sanskrit, Rajasthani, Gujarathi, Marathi, and Hindi, and was influenced by local languages.

Bukhya (2010) points out the colonial historiographies about Banjaras. He argues that they conducted studies on such caravan traders, and he further goes on to say they are not a single tribe or caste, they consist of several communities condensed together to form a single umbrella group ‘Banjara’ in which Lambadas were also submerged. Nevertheless, Bhukya makes an interesting point that there is no evidence to suggest a relation between ancient Banjaras and modern Lambadas. He expresses uncertainty through what process and procedure they took to identify them he says, “Though there is uncertainty to what was the criteria that have been employed in categorizing them. Presuming these three “(i) Those who had Rajasthani ancestry and whose language was akin to Marwari; (ii) Those whose means of livelihood were in some ways connected with oxen; and finally, (iii) Those who were involved in the transport of grains and other items” (Bhukya:2010, 30). D. Satya (2008) makes similar comments stating that the idea of Banjaras was created by the Colonial administration disregarding the vast diversity that exists among them.

B. Cheeniya Naik in his ‘Banjarala Charitra’ (History of Banjaras) elucidates Banjaras maintain confidentiality about their trade spoke distorted forms of Gujarati and Rajasthani which he referred it as ‘Ghor Bali’. He goes on to say that despite Banjaras spread across India, they can

speak in a common language, a north Indian Banjara and South Indian Banjara can speak the same language. He extols this unity that binds them to common History and Culture.

Literature suggests that not able to withstand continuous attacks by Muslim rulers on the Rajputs, they diverged into different groups, and travelled across the nation. Charan and Bhat castes have Banjara linkages to their lineage. Bhangya Bhukya states as follows “The Charan and Bhat castes were traditional genealogists during the high noon of the sultan Rajput states. After those states were conquered by the Sultans and Mughals, they lost their patronage and many of them turned to the transportation of grain and other forms of livelihood. It is supposed that a large number of Charans and Bhata first joined the early Caravanners as genealogists and protectors of their caravans and eventually merged into the communities of nomadic caravanners as traders and transporters; many groups then moved to south India” (Bhukya:2010, 36).

Resources mention that Banjaras moved across the sub-continent and started moving towards South India in the fifteenth century. “John Briggs presumed that the Lambadas had been involved conspicuously in grain transportation in the south from the fifteenth century. They moved into the south largely with Mohammad Tughluk’s army, which raided this region several times, as both transporters and soldiers. Among them, large groups came from Ujmeer (Ajmeer) under the leadership of Bhecca, who was widely worshipped by the Lambadas of Hyderabad”, (Bhukya: 2010, 37). In addition, Bhukya’s work mentions “Crooke (The tribes and Castes) suggest that the first mention of Banjaras in the south was made in the history of Mohammedans during Sikindar’s attack on Dholpur in 1504. Believes that a large convoy of Charan Banjaras came south with Asif Jha, wazir of Shahjahan in 1630, under the leadership of Bhangi and Jhangi Naiks of the Rathod clan and that of Bhagavan Das Naik of the Vadtia clan”, (Bhukya: 2010, 37). They had also been employed by the imperial army of Mughals to carry food and supplies to their armies waging war in faraway distances. “Briggs dates this development to the time of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb employed a large Lambada horde to supply food grains to his army” (Bhukya, 2010: 37).

D. Satya mentions that in Hyderabad State and Madras presidency they were referred to as Lambadas. During their stay in South India, they enjoyed the pleasure of the emperors of South India. They were the carriers of food and other services to the armies during wars. They were occasionally given gifts and special concessions for rendering their services to the rulers. Special arrangements were made for Banjaras to carry their trade. Their leaders were

patronized by the Nizam of Hyderabad by offering them gifts viz. clothes, swords etc. “A separate Gate was constructed for Lambadas’ herd to pass into the Golconda Fort”, (Bhukya, 2010: 41).

Bhukya’s (2010) work suggests that they were also employed by the colonial powers in their army to fight enemies. They were employed by the French army in defeating the Karnataka war to defeat Nizam. Besides this, they were also employed by the British to defeat Tippu Sultan in 1791-92. This illustrates Banjaras enjoyed significant recognition and patronage by the rulers.

Lambadas under Colonialism

Problems for Lambadas started with the consolidation of power by the British throughout India. British rule came as a sledgehammer on them. British construction of railways and roadways to plunder Indian economic resources had severely affected the Lambada caravan trade. Usage of the modern-day transport system has relegated the Lambada caravan. With the introduction of the Market economy and colonial taxation methods, Lambadas paid heavy costs. The trade was brought under East India’s company’s control, “The salt trade was brought under the Company’s monopoly from 1215F (1805-6)” (Bhukya, 2010: 56). In addition to the Salt trade, they had been carriers of cotton along the coastal line of Andhra which earned them profits. This trade had also been disrupted by the colonial Government which further exacerbated their situation, “The cotton produced in the Andhra region largely depended on the cotton produced here, and much was also exported beyond the region and even abroad. This trade had provided the Lambadas with a very profitable livelihood”, (Bhukya, 2020: 56).

The establishment of colonial power throughout India had been detrimental to the lives of Lambadas. British Government in India equated Lambadas with Vagabonds of Europe. Bhukya(2010) argues that they brought strict surveillance methods to control their movements and forcibly settle them down in confined territories. The British experience with Vagabonds in Europe was hostile. In Europe, they brought Laws that prohibit the movement of vagabonds, they were branded as criminals involved in dacoity. Similarly, they brought strict laws and technology to restrict the Lambadas movement.

Colonial administration forced Lambadas to settle blocking their caravan trade and movement. Lambadas settle at the peripheries of villages called *Thandas*, and had to look for alternative ways of livelihood which finally settled them as agriculturalists and Peasants. “It became the political objective of the colonial state to coerce the Banjaras into giving up their migratory habits and settle down on the land as agricultural labourers”, (D. Satya, 2008: 325). They were able to cultivate lands by clearing forests and lived on agriculture for survival. Parallel to the cultivation of land they were involved in cattle rearing. They possessed large herds of cattle. During Mughal rule, they supplied large bullock carts to their armies “The legendary Bhangi and Jhangi Naiks possessed 190,000 bullocks and supplied cart trains to both the Mughal armies and their rivals in the Deccan”, (D. Satya, 2008:317). Each family or small group possessed a minimum of fifty to a hundred oxen and bullocks. They produced milk and allied products to sustain life. This has ensured that the community was self-sufficient in its way.

The marketization of agriculture had brought an enormous burden on Lambada peasants. Forest Lands were given access to outsiders by the colonial administration. This helped rich affluent-dominant communities from plains exploit land and forest resources against the interests of Lambadas who were dependent on forests, and other tribes living in forests. New methods of taxation and revenue collection hitherto unfamiliar to these peasants were levied. This had pushed them to borrow money from the Moneylenders for cultivation. For borrowing money they had to mortgage their land or any property assets for bringing confidence in the moneylender. However, these lenders manipulated records and agreements to trap them into huge debts which were impossible for these marginalized peasants to repay. As a result, the loss of land and other assets to moneylenders culminates in alienation from the land. This changed their status changed from owners of land to labourers on their very own land.

Apart from the cultivation of land, cattle are integral to the life of Lambadas, they never considered them for commercial utilization. “Lambadas address themselves as *gohur* or *gormaati* (Cattle herdsman), which also indicates their intimate association with cattle” (Bhukya, 2010: 79). After settling down they took cattle to a nearby forest for grazing. They depended upon selling milk and other dairy products to sustain their lives. Colonial Government passed strict laws aimed at regulating the rearing of cattle. They were charged as violators of law using these acts and were penalized whenever the administration thought they were violating the law. British Government started bringing cattle into the ambit of trade and commerce which came as a death blow to the Banjara community. All of these actions of the

colonial Government severely disrupted the livelihoods of Banjaras. They were evacuated from their land, and their association with cattle rearing was disrupted. They had left with no choice but to survive their families.

The result of these acts had forced them into dacoity. “During the transition from a nomadic to settled peasant life in the second half of the nineteenth century, a considerable number of Lambadas began resorting to dacoity. This became more spread in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and first quarter of the twentieth century” (Bhukya, 2010: 117). The Criminal Tribes Act, 1871 was brought to punish and reform these tribes. Along with Lambadas, they had ‘notified’ many other nomadic communities under criminal tribes. For example, they ‘notified’ Yerukula, another nomadic community in South India, under the category of Criminal Tribes. They were associated with the stigmas of dacoity and theft by the colonial state. Police raid their hamlets for one or another reason ascribing criminality. “The colonial state then branded them as criminal tribes and began their systematic persecution. From the census of 1881 onwards the Banjaras were included in the list of criminal castes and tribes”, (D. Satya, 2008: 319).

What is less said about their dacoity is that they had been involved in such activities because of the impoverishment they had been severely encountering for years. These activities were widespread during famines. We all are familiar with draughts and famines during British rule which was the result of their exploitative policies. “Hobsbawm's depiction of banditry as a ‘primitive’ form of protest, was, in fact, most banditry found in colonial India was a reaction to and consequence of colonial rule. In this respect, banditry is certainly a ‘modern’ weapon as it was used against the modern state”, (Bhukya: 2010, 130).

All these reasons enraged Lambadas of Telangana against colonial oppression. They took part in the Telangana Peasant Armed Struggle in fighting colonial oppression and Nizam's feudal rule in Telangana. Telangana Doras (Landlords) coercively confiscated lands of marginalized communities including Lambadas. Outraged by these harassments by the local and colonial government, they joined the peasant armed struggle. They played a crucial role in the movement. In such fashion, once the affluent and self-sufficient community was immiserated, branded as criminals attaching social stigma which haunts them even in present.

Present Socio-Economic Conditions

Post-Independent Indian Government took measures to address the grievances to elevate their social status. The Government under Jawaharlal Nehru took measures to destigmatize their criminality and bring them under inclusive growth. The Government of India constituted a committee under Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, as per the recommendations of the committee, Criminal Tribes Laws (Repeal) Act, 1952 was passed denotifying them as criminal tribes, since then their status remained as 'Denotified Tribes'. According to the Annual Report 2018-19 published by the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, the Government of India reported that many of these communities were included in SCs, STs, and OBCs in different States while many were not categorized under any of the lists.

As we have discussed earlier that they had been enlisted under the Criminal Tribes Act, 1871, Lambadas were recognized as Denotified Tribes along with other tribes. They were categorized under different Administrative Categories in different States. Initially, they were categorized as 'Other Backward Classes in Telugu states. In 1956 Parliament passed the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Amendment) Act, In 1956, Lambadas were enlisted in the Scheduled Tribes list of Andhra at entry no.21 as Sugalis (Lambadis). Along with Lambadis other denotified tribes, Yerukalas and Yanadis were included. They were subjugated, destroyed livelihoods and branded as Criminals by the colonial government. This label has been haunting them even after seventy years of Independence. Other sections of the Society still look at them with suspicion. Bhangya Bhukya and Geetaramaswamy argue that a vast gulf is created between their cultural change and material change creating a crisis in the Lambada community. The cultural change happened to destigmatize and escape from criminality they took the names of Hindu castes. Some even wore 'Janeu' the sacred thread worn by Brahmins and regarded them as Brahmins. These cultural changes brought severe transformations in the community, they started practising caste-Hindu practices. As a result of this, as Bhukya and Ramaswamy argue, Lambadas incorporated the dowry system into their socio-cultural lives. With the incorporation of this system, they started stigmatizing girl children and felt a heavy burden on the family. Economically poor Lambadas sell girl children thinking that they could not marry with a hefty dowry. "The issue of dowry has been central to the problem of relinquishment of the girl child in the perception of the lambada themselves. Out of 9,223 total surveyed women, 2,501 women said dowry was the main reason for relinquishment of girl children", (Bhukya

and Ramaswamy, 2002: 1497). They further added “Lambadas give up this girl child just for a sari valued at Rs 200”, (Ramaswamy and Bhukya, 2002: 1497).

Lambadas settle at the peripheries of villages called *Thandas*. Loss of self-reliant livelihood has made them dependent on other sections of the village. Traders turned into agricultural labourers and other mean jobs. Most of them migrate to urban centres in search of livelihood. They join as labourers as construction workers, they travel to far metropolitan places leaving their families at home, suffering exploitation at the hands of the contractors. Many communities still live as bonded labourers and children were not spared from becoming bonded labourers. Illiteracy is rampant among Lambadas, lack of financial resources to send children to school has been a primary impediment. Even if they were sent to school, many drop-outs without completing higher education or even drop out without completing schooling. It is a rare scene sending women for education. Mostly Schools were not established in Thanda's, they had to travel to the nearest possible school. Children are employed as wage labourers to survive the basic needs of the family.

The study conducted by Geeta Ramaswamy and Bhangya Bhukya in the southern Telangana region mentioned everywhere they conducted a survey encountered women suffering from Gynecological problems. Lack of proper treatment is causing costing them deteriorating health. Accessing a quality health service is elusive for the marginalized since the privatization of health care took place. High medical charges which marginalized sections like Lambadas cannot offer, hence they have to bear the brunt of illness to their fate. Thus, Lambadas continue to live in abject poverty, exclusionary, destitute socio-economic conditions.

Socio-economic conditions of Adivasis of Telangana

There are eight major primitive tribes living in agency areas and the Yerukula tribe living in the plains of Telangana, along with several other tribes. This section focuses on the habitations, socio-cultural, economic aspects and literacy percentage of these prominent tribes.

Andh

Andh tribes inhabit hilly tracts of the Adilabad district. They are “divided into two endogamous groups Vartali and Khaltali.” Vartalis are considered superior to Khaltali. They are closed endogamous groups without any marital relations between the two. “Andh tribes are further divided into a number of exogamous septs or surnames known as Adman.” Admans are exogamous and “marriage by intrusion is prevalent. Widow remarriages are permitted but not” levirate marriages. They eat pork and worship Khandoba, Jigati, Bhavani, and Mahadev, Mari Ali, Sitala.

Their subsistence is on agriculture. They also depend upon the collection of forest produce and fishing. . “The population of Andhs stands at 12882 according to the 2011 census. The literacy rate is recorded as 54.41%, in which male literacy is 63.59% and the female literacy rate is 45.43%. In the Main workers' category, cultivators, agricultural labourers, Household industry and other workers stand at 5963 members. In the Marginal workers' category, the number stands at 870s”.

Chenchus

Chenchus, according to Haimendorf, are the descendants of stone age humans whose way of life changed only a little since then, wandering South Indian forests. They possess the similar racial features of a Srilankan primitive tribe ‘Veddas’. Chenchus are short with curly hair, flat noses and broad faces. The habitations of the Chenchus are on hills on both sides of the Krishna river in Nallamalla Forest. Mahaboobnagar and Nalgonda are traditional habitats and they are also found in the Rangareddy district. They speak Telugu which has its origins in Dravidian languages. The Chenchus possess simple tools like axe, arrows and bows, digging sticks, pots and baskets etc.

The basic unit of Chenchus is the nuclear family. Men and Women have equal rights and status. They can live with either the tribal group of the groom or bride. Male and females have the freedom to choose their spouses. Divorce is easy and permitted based on sexual incompetence, drunkenness, ill-treatment, and infidelity in marriage. There are a “number of exogamous clans

that are divided which prefixed to their name. few of them are ‘Mandli’, ‘Chigurla’, ‘Udathala’, ‘Tokala’, ‘Mekala’, ‘Bhumani’, ‘Katraju’, Arthi, Dasari etc.” Chenchus maintain a distinct religious identity compared to their Hindu counterparts, but they have similarities with the Telugu cults. They worship the gods who control forests. Along with it, they worship “Mysamma, Rakta Veerudu, Onti Veerudu, Peddamma, Lingamaiah, Mallanna, Narasimhaswamy, Pothuraju, Nagamaiah Sunkulamma, Manthanalamma, Ankamma etc.”

Hainmendorf states that in India, there is no one poorer in material possessions than Chenchus. “They collect forest produce like gum, tamarind, myrobalans, nuxvomica, honey wax, mohwa flowers, chironji, soap nuts, broom-sticks etc. and sell them at Girijan Cooperative. The population of Chenchus stands at 16912 according to the 2011 census. The literacy rate is recorded as 40.54%, in which male literacy is 47.30% and the female literacy rate is 33.95%. In the Main workers' category, cultivators, agricultural labourers, Household industry and other workers stand at 7185 members. In the Marginal workers' category, the number stands at 1869.”

Gonds

Gonds are one of the largest tribes in India. Their habitations are expanded in large territories mostly found in Central India, Satpura Plateau. There are few sub-divisions among the Gond viz. Muria Gonds, Maria Gonds (Madhya Pradesh), Raj Gonds and Durve Gonds. In their dialect, these subdivisions are known as ‘Koitur’. In Telangana state, Naikapod is mentioned along with the Gonds, even though Naikapod is a separate tribe. Gonds ruled central Indian territories for a very long time and they were powerful kings until 1749. In Chattisgarh Gond Rajas' ruled till 1947. Gond Kingdoms were destroyed by the invasion of the Maratha and Mughal armies. Their forts are found at Utnoor of Adilabad district. It is observed that feudalism was practised in the Gond kingdoms. Haimendorf states, that with the fall of Rajas, the hierarchical system collapsed. They believe in them several goddesses like Shambu Mahadeo, Pahandikupar Lingal and Jangubai. The origin of the clan is traced to a divine hero. The God in the Gondi dialect is referred to as a *pen* and each Phratry has a *Persa Pen* of their own. They do not eat their first crops until offered to the village deity. This is known by the name *nowon* in Gondi. On the occasion of cutting teak wood or leaves, they perform *Rajul Munda*. Males and Females perform Demsa dance along with five other types viz Gusadi, Gummela, Parra, Tappal and Kodali. Monogamy is practised among Gonds and extramarital affairs are prohibited. Widow remarriages are permitted and are called ‘*pat*’ in their dialect.

Village councils are powerful, inter-village councils are called Rajya Sabha. All the members of the village Sabha are members of the Sabha.

Gonds rely on agriculture and agricultural labour. “They grow jowar, cotton, red gram, black gram, green gram etc. According to the 2011 census, the literacy rate is recorded as 49.30%, in male literacy is 58.27% and the female literacy rate is 40.64%. In the Main workers' category, cultivators, agricultural labourers, Household industry and other workers stand at 138089 members and the Marginal workers' are 31861.”

Konda Reddies

Konda Reddies reside in the forests surrounding the Godavari river banks of the Khammam district and they speak Telugu. In Andhra Pradesh and Telangana, there is a dominant caste named ‘Reddy’. This is not to be confused with the Konda Reddis tribe. Konda Reddies practice shifting cultivation or also known as slash-burn. This is one of the primitive methods of cultivating crops. Konda reddies do not dig deep into the surface of the earth. They grow all kinds of millets like jowar, red gram, ragi, bajra, beans, paddy, and pulses. When the season is not conducive to cultivation they depend on fishing, and forest fruits. The ownership of the land is communal and they can hunt, collect and cultivate within the boundaries of community land. They have expertise in bamboo basket making and bamboo crafts.

They have a social institution called ‘Kula Panchayat’. There is a traditional head known by the name ‘*Pedda Kapu*’ and he is assisted by ‘*Chinna Kapu*’ or ‘*Pina Kapu*’. They are selected on the basis of hereditary. This council is assisted by ‘*Bantrothu*’ (Messenger) who summons villagers and village councils on various occasions. He mainly acts as an interlocutor between people and local deities. He initiates the cultivation by sowing the seeds, animal sacrifices are made in religious rituals. They believe that most of the deities are on the top of the hills and hence they call them ‘*Konda Devata*’. They worship *Mutyalamma*, *Bhumi Devi*, *Gangamma* etc. They celebrate “festivals like *Mamidi Kotha*, *Bhudevi*, *Panduga*, *Gangamma Panduga* and *Vana Devudu Panduga*. The clan is exogamous and most of the marriages are monogamous. Marriage by negotiations, marriage by capture, service, marriage by mutual love, and elopement is common.” Widow and widower marriages are permitted among these tribes. Sexual relations among the same clan members are considered a serious offence. Those who committed these offences are excommunicated from the tribe. Only if the convicted accepts the guilt by performing certain rituals he or she is readmitted into the tribe.

“According to the 2011 census, the literacy rate is recorded as 55.28%, in which male literacy is 62.24% and the female literacy rate is 48.15%. In the Main workers' category, cultivators, agricultural labourers, Household industry and other workers stand at 7201 members and the Marginal workers' are 2329.”

Kolams

Kolams appear in the Adilabad district of Telangana state. They live in interior forests and mountains. Telugu speaking people call them ‘Mannevarlu’ Kolams have a language of their own belonging to Gondi, an intermediary to the Dravidian languages. Kolams of eastern Adilabad lost their language and now they speak Telugu. It is an exogamous patrilineal tribe. Gonds and Kolams have similar social organizations. They have four phratry systems like Gonds but with different nomenclature like yedu dayalkher, Aru dayalkher, Idu dayalkher and Nali dayalkheri. They trace their origin to characters in Mahabharata, Hidimbi and Bhima. They worship Hidimbi as the patron goddess and Bhima as the superior deity. The Kolam life was destroyed when the forests were brought under the reservation. Marriages happen through negotiation, elopement, mutual consent, love etc. Levirate marriages are practised and divorces are not uncommon and hence permitted. The village deity called Nandiyamma is placed in the middle of every Kolam habitation. “They also worship Sita Devi, Laxmi, Indumala Devi, Pothuraju and Jangubai. They celebrate Pokke Kotha Panduga (ceremonial eating of mohwa new flowers), Mondos (new year festival and ceremonial ploughing), Bhimayaka Lagna (Marriage of Lord Bhima), Akhandi (deities for protection of cattle) and Kothalu (eating of new food grains). They do Gusadi and Demsa dancing traditions. The Kolam settlement is governed by *Kula Panchayat* with a head known as *Naikon*, *Delak* (Priest), *Tarmaka* (cook) and *Gatiya* (distributor of food).” The village head and priest settle the disputes within the villages, and if the problem is between villages then, the head and priest of both villages settle the problem.

Reserving forests have acted against the Kolams. “Kolams cultivate jowar, black gram, cotton, red gram etc. They eat pork and beef. According to the 2011 census, the literacy rate is recorded as 39.02%, in which male literacy is 47.51% and the female literacy rate is 30.53%. In the Main workers' category, cultivators, agricultural labourers, Household industry and other workers stand at 19329 members and the Marginal workers' are 6050.”

Koyas

Koyas are mostly found in the hilly areas of Warangal and Khammam districts of Telangana and sparsely found in Adilabad and Karimnagar. The Godavari river which flows through their habitations has a huge influence on socio-economic and cultural life. They call themselves, “‘Dorala Sattam’(Lords group) and ‘Putta Dora’ (original lord). They refer to themselves as Koitur in their dialect. Koyas in Warangal, Adilabad, and Karimnagar lost their Koya language to speak Telugu. Koyas of Khammam speak the Koya language and are known as *Chettu Basha* (Tree language) and *Gaali Basha* (Air language) as they are spoken by people in forests. Koya tribe is divided into several functional groups and further divided into exogamous phratries. This is identical to Gonds and is divided into 1) Mudava gatta 2) Nalgava gatta 3) Idava gatta 4) Arava gatta and 5) Yedava gatta.” These groups are exogamous and regulate marital alliances. Nuclear monogamous families are predominant but polygamy is also approved. Widow remarriages are allowed, and so is levirate marriage. Women are considered an asset among Koyas. She is industrious and provides economic subsistence. *Kula Panchayat* plays an important role in regulating divorce. Widow remarriage is considered ‘*Maru Manuvu*’. Though the remarried widow is not allowed to wear the *Pusthe* (marriage badge), she is given equal treatment with other married women.

“They worship Bhima, Korra Rajulu, Mamili and Poturaju are the important deities to them. The important festivals are Vijji Pandum (seeds charming festival) and *Kondala Kolupu* (Festival to appease Hill deities).” The most important festival celebrated by the Koyas is *Sammakka-Sarakka Jatara*, which is considered as one of the biggest tribal festivals in Asia. *Sammakka-Sarakka* are two sisters who fought against the atrocities of Kakatiya rulers. Village Panchayat consists of *Poyi* (head), *Pinapedda* (assists head) and *Vyapari* (Messenger). The dance form of Koyas is known as *Permakoka ata* (Bison horn dance). Koyas mainly cultivate jowar, Ragi, Bajra and other millets. Their lands are fertile due to the flow of the Godavari river. “The literacy rate, according to the 2011 census, is recorded as 53.67%, in which male literacy is 60.66% and the female literacy rate is 46.98%. In the Main workers' category, cultivators, agricultural labourers, Household industry and other workers stand at 178938 members and the Marginal workers' are 44104.”

Pardhan

Pardhans inhabit the tribal areas of the Adilabad district. Pardhans or Pradhans are bards to Gonds who recite mythologies, folk tales and songs of deities during the festivals. This is Patron-client relations are descending from generations. “Gonds call them *Patadi* meaning

singer or genealogist. Pardhans' mother tongue is Marathi. EW But the Gond mythologies and folklore are recited in Gondi. Like Gonds Pardhans also are divided into four phratries. For the patron-client relation to work, the Gond-Pardhan should belong to the same phratry and same clan. The four phratries in Pardhan tribe are Satha Devi (Seve deity group), Saha Devi (Six deity group), Pacha Devi (five deity group) and Chow deity group (four deity group). Each phratry is divided into exogamous clans similar to Gonds. Monogamy is preferred though polygamy is also permitted. Widow and the remarriage is called *pat* and the widow should marry the younger brother of the deceased. In the absence of his younger brother, she has to marry a man from the same clan. Inheritance of property is to male children, in the absence of a male heir, it goes to the nearest kinsman in male lineage i.e., brothers or brother's son. The village governing body is called *Panch*. It consists of *Patel*, *Mahajan*, *Devar*(priest), *Hawaladar* (messenger), and *Karbari* (record keeper) as its members. Patel and Mahajan's positions are hereditary.”

The economic conditions of Pardhans were dependent on the Gond patrons previously. In modern times, these economic relations are disrupted and they take the form of settled agriculturalists. “They grow cotton, jowar, red gram, green gram etc. and are also involved in practising sericulture. The staple food is Jowar and eats beef. The literacy rate is recorded as 66.16%, male literacy is 75. 64% and the female literacy rate is 56.74%, according to the 2011 census. In the Main workers' category, cultivators, agricultural labourers, Household industry and other workers stand at 12845 members and the Marginal workers' are 1852.”

Thoti

Thotis are mainly found in the Adilabad district. They are also present in parts of the Karimnagar and Nizamabad districts. They are recognized as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTG). They are divided, like Gonds, into four phratries into exogamous clans. The clan name is prefixed to the individual's name. “Monogamy is practised and widow remarriages are permissible. Their mother tongue is Gondi and Gonds call them *Birdal* (receiver) and the latter call the former *Dhani* (Donar). Their traditional occupation is bards to Gonds and women involved in tattooing.” But in the current times, they settled as agriculturalists and agricultural labourers. Marriage rules are similar to Gonds. Extramarital affairs are strictly prohibited. Marriage within phratry is considered taboo. Levirate and widow remarriages are permitted. When there is infidelity or incompetence. The village governing body is known as *Panch*. It consists of *Patla*, *Mahajan*, *Devari*, *Ghattiyal* and *Havldar*.

“Their population according to the 2011 census is 4, 811, a very small number. The literacy rate is recorded as 62.77%, male literacy is 75.20% and the female literacy rate is 51.45%. In the Main workers' category, cultivators, agricultural labourers, Household industry and other workers stand at 2109 members and the Marginal workers' are 374.”

Yerukula

They are found throughout the Telangana state. They are a plain tribe living on the fringes, slums of the mainstream society. During colonial rule, they were branded as criminal tribes. Malli Gandhi says initially they were caravan traders selling grains. Yerukulas are referred to by different names such as Koravas in Tamilnadu, Korachas in Karnataka and Kaikadis in Maharashtra (Gandhi, 2019). They were involved in various occupations for several centuries. Agriculture, basket makers, grain transporters, earth workers, quarrying. They are famously referred to as *Karivepaku Yerukulas* because they procure *Karivepaku* (curry leaves). They carried food grains from surplus areas to shortage areas on the caravan. The advent of British rule came as a bane to them. The construction of railways disrupted their caravan trade. The Britishers branded them as criminal tribes and forced them to settle in areas shown by the British administration. This enabled the colonial regime to constant surveillance. Even in the case of a small anomaly in the society, police raided the Yerukala settlements and were put in jail. The community which once enjoyed the patronage of the native rulers were vanquished by the colonialists.

Now, they were involved in cattle rearing, soothsaying, fortune-telling and some were settled, agricultural labourers. They mostly are believers of Hinduism, worships gods like Narasimha Swamy and Rama. Along with them, they believe in *Kollapuramma*, *Sunkulamma*, *Poleramma* and *Ellamma*. They believe in possession of ghosts and in such events animal sacrifices are made. They celebrate Hindu festivals like Sankranti, Ugadi, Sri Rama Navami etc. The government of Andhra Pradesh accused pigs of Malaria and other kinds of viral diseases and ordered them to kill pigs which are the livelihoods of Yerukalas. This became detrimental to the lives of Yerukulas, however, with the involvement of the Judiciary, killing was stopped. Yerukulas live in appalling and pathetic conditions in slums of big cities, near drainages, and outskirts in destitute conditions. “According to the 2011 census, the literacy rate is recorded as 55.13%, male literacy is 63.67% and the female literacy rate is 46.71%. In the Main workers' category, cultivators, agricultural labourers, Household industry and other workers stand at

52695 members and the Marginal workers' are 23300.” (Department of Tribal Welfare, Government of Telangana).

Telangana is one of the states in India in which there is a significant tribal population. The state has about 10% of the tribal population. Despite the several developmental programs that were undertaken to improve the conditions of the tribes of Telangana, a huge number of the population lives in poverty. Several health centres that were established in the Adivasi areas do not have an adequate number of medical staff. Balagopal (2015) says that at least half of the doctors' jobs are vacant in those health centres. The community health workers, who are also Adivasis, suffer from malnutrition. He further argues that many tribal lives were lost due to Malaria in agency areas. The government does not take cognizance of the severity of the diseases until there are deaths caused by the diseases.

The educational status of the tribes of the state is not satisfying. The tribal literacy rate in the Telangana state is 43.1 percent and the female literacy rate is 34.5 percent. Bhangya Bhukya (2021) argues that the poor literacy rate of the tribes is because of the inefficient policies of the governments. Tribal children are facing challenges because the medium of instruction at the primary school level is taught in a non-tribal language that is mostly Telugu. The textbooks are in highly Sanskritized Telugu and English. Both prove difficult for tribes to read and comprehend. Bhangya states that it is a setback for them. Parents want their children to study in English medium schools, so they send their children to private English medium schools. These private schools charge a high fee burdening the tribes. Despite those schools providing poor quality of education, maintenance of strict dress code and cleanliness attract the tribes. Children are denied permission to attend classes when they cannot pay the fee. This deprives them of lessons. The poor quality of infrastructure, irrelevant curriculum, teachers' attitude, and state's blind eye deprive tribes of accessing quality education which improves their lives.

CHAPTER-4

CLAIMS OF IDENTITY AND JUSTIFICATION

The previous chapter described about the socio-economic history of Lambadas and the Adivasis of Telangana. This socio-economic history helps us to understand how the differences in social and economic differences perpetuated the current socio-economic inequalities between Lambadas and non-Lambadas. This chapter focuses on the claims and allegations made by the Adivasis and Lambadas against the tribal identity of Lambadas. This chapter is based on the interviews with the leaders of the movement from both sides, Adivasi Hakkula Porata Samithi (AHPS) and Lambada Hakkula Porata Samithi (LHPS).

The conflict between Adivasis and Lambadas came glaringly visible in 2017 when the Telangana State witnessed unprecedented violence between Gonds and Lambadas. Teachers from the latter community were denied entry into local schools in Gond hamlets. Gonds are at the forefront in vehemently demanding the descheduling of Lambadas from Scheduled Tribes of Telangana. Gonds along with other non-Lambada Scheduled Tribes are demanding removing Lambadas from Scheduled Tribes (STs) of Telangana. They have organized under the common banner 'Adivasi Hakkula Porata Samithi' (AHPS) otherwise also called 'Thudum Debba' demanding the descheduling of Lambadas. They challenged the identity and eligibility of Lambadas to be recognized as a Scheduled Tribe. The main allegation levelled against Lambadas is a disproportionate share of reservations, far extending beyond their population proportion, is being cornered by them. On the other hand, Lambadas organized a counter-campaign under the banner 'Lambada Hakkula Porata Samithi' (LHPS), which countered Adivasis' arguments justifying their identity and status as Scheduled Tribes, and equity in sharing reservations.

The Indian political process in recent decades has been witnessing a new phenomenon in the Reservation movement and sub-category movements. The demands that were hitherto unheard against the old type- supporters of reservations and anti-reservationists- surfaced on the political landscape. The least advantaged communities and groups within the administrative categories are now standing against dominant castes and tribes, alleging that they have been cornering the benefits disproportionately, not allowing weaker communities to access the benefits of reservations. The results and effects are those who already have been suffering

traditionally imposed hierarchies and inequalities down the ladder will be further pushed down creating disadvantaged among the disadvantaged. These communities and groups have been demanding sub-categorization or sub-classification of Reservations i.e., quotas within quotas for their due share. Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (MRPS) which was formed in erstwhile Andhra Pradesh in 1994 have been demanding sub-categorization within the Scheduled Castes of Andhra Pradesh.

This chapter focuses on presenting the history and nature of the conflict that has been sporadic between Lambadas and other Adivasi groups. I will submit contesting claims made by two rival tribal camps- Lambada tribe and Adivasis- against legality and justification in identifying Lambadas as Scheduled Tribe.

Thudum Debba's arguments against Lambadas

In 1956, Lambadas were categorized as STs in Andhra and Rayalaseema regions, but as OBCs in the Telangana region in the United Andhra Pradesh, i.e., they had two statuses as STs and OBCs in the same state. In 1976 Lambadas of the Telangana region were included in Scheduled Tribes forging a single constitutional status across Andhra Pradesh. Claims made by Thudum Debba is that Lambadas do not qualify to be identified as Scheduled Tribe. Lambadas are an affluent nomadic tribe carrying businesses with mainstream society and have been accumulating capital for centuries. During colonialism, they were constructed as criminal tribes, but later Denotified by the newly formed Government of Independent India. Their settlements are called '*Thandas*' are located on the peripheries of the mainstream villages, unlike other Adivasis who live in Scheduled areas or agencies. They never faced untouchability by caste Hindus like Scheduled Castes. They were involved in a variety of professions from wage labourers to business in parallel with other sections of society. Even though they lived outskirts of the main villages, they have not faced any hindrances in accessing socio-economic and political institutions, like the Adivasis. They had better access to health, education and employment on par with other sections of society. They are more affluent and dominant than many castes in the Caste system and possess rich social capital. They had not lived in deep isolated forests-Scheduled Areas- isolating themselves from mainstream society like other primitive tribes. Hence, they are ineligible for declaring as a Scheduled Tribe claimed by the Adivasi Hakkula Porata Samithi.

The history of interactions between Lambadas and Adivasis of Telangana is not smooth, plain, and undisturbed. Particularly, the conflict between Gonds and Lambadas has been occurring for decades. Gonds are highly emotional and antagonistic to Lambadas, their history of social interactions is riddled with confrontations, conflicts, and often violence. The conflictual history of both antagonistic groups predates the 1960s and 1970s. During the years when they were under the OBC category and the Lambada population in Telangana was comparatively less. Their inclusion in STs set the motion that in the next 10 to 15 years their population had increased unprecedentedly. The Lambadas migrated in large numbers to the Adilabad district between 1965-1975. A particular reason for their migration is unknown, and one reason alone cannot suffice our understanding. Nevertheless, one vividly plausible reason is that the new ST status stirred up the migration to the Telangana region, particularly to the Adilabad district. Banjaras are recognized as different administrative categories in different parts of India. STs in Odisha, OBC in Chattisgarh, Gujarat, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Rajasthan, SCs in Punjab, Delhi, and Karnataka. The conclusion we can draw is being recognized as Scheduled Tribe will increase their prospects of accessing opportunities, resources, and concessions sponsored to STs by the State and Union Governments rather than being recognized as SCs and OBCs.

Scheduled Tribes are granted variously numerable provisions under the Indian Constitution. Apart from constitutionally guaranteed reservations, they are insulated from general laws made for other sections of society unless the Governor of a particular state ratifies, a provision guaranteed under the Fifth Schedule. Certain forest rights are exclusively reserved for them, they are conferred with provisions of self-rule only by their community members, etc. These protective laws, special concessions, and preferential treatments attracted Banjaras of other states, to grab the new opportunities, they had migrated to the Telangana region in large numbers. In 1982, Christophe Haimendorf while making observations comments as follows, “When in 1976 I began an intensive restudy of the Gonds of Utnur, I found a scene completely transformed by the presence of innumerable settlers, most of them emigrants from Maharashtra. There were Marathas, Hatkars, Mahars, members of various merchant castes, and many Muslims, mainly from the districts of Nander, Osmanabad, and Parbhani, as well as newly arrived Banjaras from Berar” (Haimendorf, 1982: 58).

According to Haimendorf (1982), migration of non-tribals into tribals occurred in large numbers between 1965 and 1975, but it was also continuing in 1980. One reason Haimendorf

derives an increase in migration is increased connectivity to Adivasi areas. A newly constructed road linking Utnur-Kerimeri-Asifabad had allowed non-tribals to access tribal areas. The Bhuria Commission reported the following population statistics of Banjaras before the inclusion in STs and after inclusion, “After the inclusion of Lambada as a Scheduled Tribe, large-scale migration of Sugali and Lambada tribe has taken place from other states into Andhra Pradesh,” a report prepared by the Central government’s Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission said in 2004. “The Sugali population was 1,32,464 in 1971; by 1981, the Sugali and Lambada population together became 11,58,342 – an increase of 777.4%” (quoted in Scroll, 2018).

Apart from claiming that Lambadas are not eligible to identify as STs, Thudum Debba raised serious concerns about the injustices meted out to them by the Banjaras. Adivasis lost several acres of land to Lambadas. Lands were encroached on and illegally occupied by Lambadas and other non-Adivasis. Adhering to our context, many acres of lands were either by manipulation or coercion have been confiscated by Lambadas. This problem is acute among Gonds of Adilabad. This is because of the connectivity that Adilabad has with neighbouring Maharashtra where Lambadas are predominant and are recognized as OBCs. The train route connects Adilabad and Maharashtra and provides an easy passage for Lambadas to migrate from one state to another. This has allowed Lambadas to land and settle in nearby Adilabad. Gond peasants narrate the stories of becoming labourers under the Lambada landlord on the very land they owned. According to one of the Thudum Debba leaders, one kind of manipulative means used against Adivasis is making them addicts to alcohol and grabbing the lands. Adivasis traditionally consume *Ippa Saara* made from the flowers of the Mahua tree. Preparation of this traditional wine will take many months which involves several steps and long procedures and it is part of their culture. But Lambadas introduced them to ‘*Gudamba*’ which is famously called ‘*Naatu Saara*’ (cheap liquor) made with jaggery, millets, etc. Drunken-unconscious Adivasis sold lands at meagre and extremely low prices, that an individual lambada could purchase ten to fifteen acres of land which was not possible in plain areas outside agencies¹. Thus, they could dislodge the Adivasi peasants from their own land and become owners of several acres.

¹ Interview with Vasam Anand, 2020

Another way Adivasis lost land to Lambadas is through mismanaging of land records by corrupt Government revenue officials. Lambada names were added to records to justify that the ownership of the controversial lands lies with Lambadas. Biyyala (1987) pointing to this phenomenon, stated that the other way of tribal land alienation occurred by introducing Lambada names in the records since they were included as tribals in 1979. He cited an example of land transfers between Lambadas and Koyas and comments that once these lands are lost to Lambadas, Koya Adivasis never could claim them because of the newly added Scheduled Tribe status to Lambadas. He states that earlier these land occupations by Lambadas were booked under land alienation cases and now it cannot be done, Adivasis cannot do the same in the future as well, states Biyyala. He also points out the fact that Lambadas are more advanced relatively, but poor compared to the rich peasants of the plains.

Preceding Biyyala Janardhanrao, Haimendorf makes observations of land transfer between Banjaras and Gonds, he narrates extensive field experiences that he performed in tribal regions. He used certain words like 'well organised', 'aggressive' and 'often affluent' to describe the characteristics of Banjaras who were able to dislodge Gonds from their land. Haimendorf narrates an incident of how Banjaras occupied the land of Gonds. Once a Gond peasant as a repayment of debt fifteen acres of land for three years was given to a Banjara. After the lease duration was over the Banjara refused to give up the land. On approaching a special collector, the land was restored to the Gond. But when the Gond peasant started cultivating restored land, few Banjaras physically assaulted the Gond and reoccupied the land. On reapproaching the special collector, the land was restored for the second time. But when the original cultivator tried to cultivate, this time Banjaras gave a severe beating to the Gond peasant that he had to admit to hospital. This hostility repeats several times and the Gond peasant receives a brutal punishment from Banjaras and he had to admit to the hospital with serious injuries. To put in Haimendorf's words, "In the 1970s there were innumerable cases of illegal occupation of Gond land by Banjaras, but at that time there was at least the theoretical possibility of restoring the land to the Gond owners because the Banjaras were not notified as Scheduled Tribe. In 1977, however, the Banjaras were included in the list of Scheduled tribes, and ever since then there has been no legal bar to the transfer of land from Gonds to Banjaras, for such transactions are permitted between tribals" (Haimendorf, 1982). Poyam (2020) cited Haimendorf's observation that between 1978-79 alone 20000 acres of land had been assigned to Banjaras on Patta. He further comments that it is more than the total land allocated to tribes in the previous five years. He states that Banjaras had sufficient cash with them to bribe the Government officials. It is

also noted that, according to Haimendorf, the political representation had been shifted from the local Adivasis to Lambadas.

Now departing from land alienation and land-related issues, the next serious allegation made by the Thudum Debba is regarding Reservations. Many scholars and commentators have stated that during the 1970s and 1980s many tribals were drawn into insurgent Naxalite parties who exploited the vulnerability and anguish of tribals. Naxalite parties by radicalizing tribal victims against landlords and land encroachers had drawn a significant number of tribals into CPI(M-L) parties. Under the banner of Rayithu Kooli Sangham in 1981, Adivasis had organised in protest to demand documents guaranteeing land rights and opposing the inclusion of Lambadas in STs (Poyam, 2020). K.S. Singh (1986) also notes the above event stating that the Gonds vehemently reacted against the scheduling of Lambadas, who were moneylenders and traders, like the tribe. This move will legitimize the Lambadas to illegally encroach on the lands of Gonds.

The Government of the day understood the plight of tribals who are being exploited in several ways- loss of rights and falling prey to the menace of insurgent groups. To mitigate these trends, the Government of Andhra Pradesh under N.T. Ramarao had promulgated G.O. Ms. No. 275, 1986 which reserved teacher posts in Scheduled Areas to Scheduled tribes only. Envisioning that providing employment and educational opportunities will increase the literacy rate and attract tribes towards jobs, promising a decent livelihood. It is often said the jobs were given at minimum qualifications, even to those who qualified matriculation. Here the point to be understood is that the jobs were not given to inefficient and unqualified, it explains the persistence of high illiteracy among tribals in agencies, indicating it was hard to find candidates who qualified over matriculation.

During this period the Lambada population living in Scheduled Areas is significantly low until this G.O. was brought. This new opportunity to obtain a Government teacher post with minimum qualification triggered a mass mobilization and settlements of Lambadas in Scheduled Areas from plains². Lambadas who were exposed to accessing better education both in quality and qualification compared to tribals living in agency areas moved into Scheduled Areas and were able to cash the new opportunity in favour of them. Most of the teacher jobs

² Interview with Nehru, 2019

were occupied by Lambadas leaving a few to other Adivasis. They complained that every job-small, medium, big jobs were occupied by Lambadas. Not just the teacher posts, the Government had set up The Integrated Tribal Development Authority (ITDA) for tribal development in agency areas. Adivasis decry that all jobs, even petty jobs in ITDAs under the reserved category were bagged by Lambadas. Here Adivasis cite two ways of injustice that happened to them, first is by pitting far advanced Lambadas in Scheduled Tribes against weak, vulnerable, and primitive Adivasis. The second is done by the Revenue officials of Government in issuing Local Scheduled Tribe Certificates to Lambadas. Adivasis claim that corrupt Government officials lured by the bribery of Banjaras issued duplicate Certificates conforming Lambadas as Local Scheduled Tribes. This invariably had adverse effects on Adivasis' lives.

This appropriation of teaching jobs and other kinds of jobs by Lambadas that were exclusively created for them created resentment among Adivasis. The other problem faced due to this effect is an increasing drop-out of Adivasi students. Adivasi children do not understand any other language other than their own language, they could not even understand Telugu which is predominant in the state, leave alone other languages. They felt Lambadas as 'the other', they felt cultural and pedagogical alienation. Now the problems for Adivasis had been aggravated by both Lambadas and non-ST plainsmen. Adivasis' land in the fifth schedule areas continues to alienate despite several protective measures brought by Governments, greedy outsiders always find loops in the laws to circumvent legal obligations.

In 1987, another G.O. Ms No.73 was issued to amend G.O. Ms.No. 275 allowing non-tribals to teach in scheduled areas until suitable STs were found. Some non-tribals were given access to teaching jobs in agency schools. When their services were terminated, non-tribals filed a petition in High Court against the termination of their services. The High Court upheld the orders of G.O. Ms. No. 73 and pronounced that the related advertisements were violative of Article-14, later the case was also filed by non-tribals in the Supreme Court of India.

To resist and regain all forms of injustices- of land, forest rights, sharing reservations- happening to them, Adivasis formed 'Adivasi Hakkula Porata Samithi' otherwise also known as 'Thudum Debba' was formed in 1995-96³. During this period Thudum Debba demanded, among other things, for Sub-Categorization of Scheduled Tribe Reservations. They demanded

³ Interview with Mypathi Arun, 2019

that they were being excluded from accessing reservations in education and employment because Lambadas were bagging nearly all benefits of quota in general recruitment, as well as jobs that are reserved for Adivasis in scheduled areas. This was the time MRPS also referred to as Madiga Dandora was formed demanding Sub-categorization of SC Reservations. The sub-categorization movement led by MRPS gained momentum throughout erstwhile Andhra Pradesh, whereas echoes of Thudum Debba for sub-categorization failed to reach the ears of both civil society and state. On the flip side, the Thudum Debba organization had tried to co-opt into Naxalite parties to forward Naxalite agendas. As a repercussion, Thudum Debba had suffered severe setbacks, the leadership had been targeted by the State in the name of Naxalism, unleashing violence and repression. Nevertheless, the demand for sub-categorization of STs was latent.

Meanwhile, when the above said G.O. was in court, the Government of Andhra Pradesh was quick in action had brought another G.O. Ms. No. 3 on January 1, 2000, provided hundred percent reservations for scheduled tribes in respective scheduled areas. G.O. Ms. No.3 was brought after so many struggles lead by tribals. Both Lambada leaders and Adivasi leaders claim that it is their struggle that pressurized Government to issue the Order. After restoring 100% reservations to STs, few educated Adivasis tried to apply for the said teacher posts but miserably failed to utilize the opportunity, because they faced severe competition from relatively advanced lambadas that they could not compete against them and lost jobs. This severely affected the prospects of Adivasis. Apart from these local jobs reserved for local Scheduled Tribes, the six percent Reservations guaranteed under Constitution in general recruitment has also been occupied by Lambadas, followed by Yerukalas, Yanadis leaving a small portion for Adivasis. The Adivasis did not consider Yerukalas and Yanadis as a threat, but Lambadas appeared as a major threat to advance educational and employment prospects. This is another factor that usurped the anger of Adivasis. In fact, Yerukalas supported and expressed solidarity with the Adivasi movement for the removal of Lambadas from STs. These continuous obstacles were faced by Adivasis because Lambadas, now searched for ways to get rid of them. Adivasis started enquiring about the socio-cultural background of Lambadas and their eligibility to qualify as Scheduled Tribes. After painstakingly concluding that they are not eligible to regard as STs both culturally and legally, they decided to demand their removal from the list.

In 2000-01, another organization named Adivasi Sankshema Parishad under Datla Nageshwara Rao's leadership after convincing that Lambadas do not qualify as STs, their demand fixated on the descheduling of Lambadas. In this process, they had approached Late Bojja Tharakam, a famous Dalit lawyer and Rights activist who spearheaded movements against Karamchedu and Tsundur massacres. Few Adivasi organizations, through lawyer Bojja Tharakam, had filed a legal suit between 2005-2010 in court, but it never came to the hearing.

Meanwhile, the Telangana Movement gained momentum in 2009 and continued till 2014 under K. Chandrashekar Rao and Telangana Rashtra Samithi Party. The movement for the creation of a separate Telangana State had engulfed and submerged all identity and social justice politics under Telangana regionalism, even if present, they went unheard in the clamorous for separate Telangana. It was believed by most people of Telangana that once a separate state was formed all the socio-economic ills would be cured. During Telangana agitation, Thudum Debba leadership had put demands for Self-Rule in Telangana state and removal of Lambadas from STs. But the leadership of the Telangana movement appealed to Adivasis that let Telangana State be created first and later they can sort out all problems that were present in the Telangana region⁴. To put it in another way everyone in the Telangana movement believed the creation of a separate state is a panacea for all problems related to identities, socio-economic and political. Thus, Adivasis had postponed their demand to a larger cause of Telangana statehood. After the formation of the State, there have been continued discussions in civil society that a disproportionate share of ST reservations was seized by Lambadas. The Adivasis expressed their grievances to the Government but did not satisfy with the Telangana state's response. All these culminated in indignation and frustration which cannot be vented except through the protest movement against Lambadas. Its intensity and the actual demand for descheduling were not realized by the larger society and the state until the violence broke out in October 2017.

The less spoken side of Adivasi demand for exclusion of Lambadas is pertaining to culture. They have always looked at Lambadas as 'the other' in terms of culture, race, and location. The Government of Telangana to preserve and showcase tribal cultures, artefacts and antiquities established the Tribal Museum in Jodeghat of the newly carved Komaram Bheem Asifabad district. The artefacts that are culturally important to all Adivasis are installed in the museum along with Lambada's Goddess Sakhya Mata. Adivasis who were vehemently

⁴ Interview with Mypathi Santhosh, 2019

objecting to Lambadas as Adivasis had been outraged by the installation of the Lambada Goddess. In an attempt to claim that the museum's culture exclusively belonged to them, the Adivasis had burnt Sakhya Mata's bust. This angered Lambadas, and in return, they vandalized Komaram Bheem's bust.

Taking all these injustices into cognizance, the Adivasis intensified their demand, they organized a huge Public meeting at Hyderabad Nizam college grounds on 9th December 2017. Lambadas had also announced the counter-public meeting in the opposite Lal Bahadur Stadium. Initially, the Government had denied permission fearing the chance of breaking out of violence between two rival organizations. Adivasis say that this is a counter-strategy by Lambadas to prevent our public meeting from happening. After a few days after the completion of the meeting, Komaram Bheem's bust was garlanded with slippers at *Betalaguda of Adilabad district*. This incident enraged Gonds went to attack nearby Lambada Thanda(hamlet). Violent clashes took between two communities in several places in the Adilabad district. Later, Adivasis took Bheem's bust to purify from the blasphemy. It had been reported that Gonds were attacked by Lambadas while Adivasis were returning after the rituals were complete (Poyam, 2020). The clashes between the two communities went so far that the internet services had to bring to a halt for several days and riot police had to be deployed to maintain peace in the district.

At the turn of the year arrives *Medaaram Jaathara* which is known by another name *Sammakka-Saarakka Jathara*, belonging to Koya Tribe. This is claimed as the biggest tribal festival in Asia. It is a festival celebrated in the memory of glorious *Sammakka- Saarakka*, two Koya sisters who fought against the atrocities of Kaktiyas rulers in the region. Initially, Adivasis alone were organizing the event on their own and had been autonomously celebrating the festival. Later, the Government of the State officially recognized and took over the responsibilities of conducting it. This recognition brought both benefits and adversaries to Adivasis and their festival. One of the adversaries is that they had lost autonomous tribal way of celebrating and the fear looms in Adivasis over the assimilation of Adivasi deities into the Hindu fold and turning them into Hindu Goddesses. Koyas witnessed their counterparts Gonds lost Kelsapur Jatra out of their hands. Another detest for Adivasis in our context is Lambadas have been occupying Trust Board membership outweighing Adivasis. In 2018, even after continuous incidents of violence that had been taking between Lambadas and Adivasis in the preceding year, the Government was less alert to the cautions and seriousness of the prevailing

violent circumstances. The then Minister of Tribal Welfare was a Lambada, and it is alleged that his son had been trying to fill Lambadas as Trust Board members for conducting Sammakka-Sarakka against the will of Adivasis. Even after putting stiff resistance by Adivasis, they had not heeded any of the pleas and demands. Adivasis claim that Lambadas do not have any association and connection with the Adivasi festival. “How are Lambadas connected to our festival?”, “Why Lambadas are given authority to organize our festival rather than our own Adivasis?”⁵ were some concerns raised by Adivasis. The fear expressed by Adivasis has to be understood historically by taking shreds of evidence.

Haimendorf (1982), explains how a Gond tribal festival had transformed from a simple tribal way being to a complex modern festival with a Hindu outlook. The Nagoba Jatra was celebrated and Gond deities were worshipped in the traditional Gondi style. But from there on it had transformed itself into a grand event attended by non-tribals, contributing to the loss of tribal way. Haimendorf commenting on his observations said that Kelsapur Jatra had already been slipping away from Gonds and this might result in a complete Hindusing festival, dislodging Gonds as priests. Many traditional Gond practices were not permitted to perform in the Nagoba Jatra by the Caste Hindus. This came as an effect of recognition by the Government.

This explains the two-way struggle of Adivasis leading against Lamabadas. The loss of economic freedom- losing lands to the aliens- on which livelihoods are survived. The lands are not a meagre source of livelihood for the Adivasis, but their connection with land establishes their very identity as tribes. Being denied to achieve a fair share in accessing reservations by Lamabadas affected upward mobility. The second kind is to protect their culture from Lambadas who predominantly follow Hinduism. Adivasis resistance is to protect their goddesses and distinct culture from assimilating into Hinduism. One Adivasi leader affirmed that Adivasis were patient even if they lose lands and reservations to Lambadas, but they cannot tolerate any tampering with Adivasi culture and its symbols. It is their culture that forms and establishes a distinctive identity and existence vis-à-vis other social groups of Indian society. Undermining them would mean nothing but derecognizing Adivasis and their existence.

Lambada Hakkula Porata Samithi’s assertion (LHPS)

⁵ Interview with Kakatiya students

Lambada Hakkula Porata Samithi (from here on LHPS) which has been formed in 1997 with the demand of identifying *Lambada Thandas* as Panchayats⁶. Under the current Presidentship of Bellaiah Naik, LHPS countered Thudum Debba's allegations as false and unconstitutional. Bellaiah Naik, National President of LHPS, stated that the Adivasi leaders are making false claims by building arguments to suit their propaganda. He asserted that they have all the characteristic traits described by the Indian Constitution. However, the Indian Constitution did not specify any characteristics to identify scheduled tribes. It was B.N. Lokur Committee of 1965 prescribed five traits to identify a community as Scheduled Tribes.

LHPs affirm their tribal identity pointing to colonial times. They claimed that they have been identified as Criminal Tribes through the 1871 Act. Here, the word 'Tribe' attributed to them is of paramount importance to LHPS. They constructed an entire argument around the word tribe that was ascribed to them by the colonial administration. However, they acknowledged they are a nomadic tribe. He further states that by the time of Independence nomadic communities had been deprived of leadership, and none from Lambadas could raise their voice and grievances to the new Government. Banjaras had been Denotified from Criminal Tribes by the Union Government in 1952. They were categorized under different administrative categories-SC, ST, OBC- in different states. Adivasi challenged if they are under several administrative categories, they cannot claim Adivasi identity. LHPS while defending their ST status reflects on the status of the Munda Tribe in Assam. Mundas are deemed as OBCs in Assam. "Will anyone accept that Mundas are not STs and they are OBCs? Meagre non-inclusion in STs does not mean they are STs", asserted Bellaiah Naik of LHPS.

In 1953 after the formation of a separate Andhra state from the Madras Presidency, Lambadas were deemed in Scheduled Tribes of the Andhra region. But in Hyderabad state, they were identified as Denotified Tribes and included in the OBC category. Lambadas of Telangana had realized that the advancement of their community is possible by achieving ST status following Lambadas of Andhra. This new hope stimulated and mobilized Lambadas for new constitutional status as STs. In 1954, under the leadership of Deeplal Chowhan, Begya Naik, convened a public meeting at Vijaywada demanding ST status for Telangana Lambadas. Since then they had been constantly pressurizing Government to include them in STs. Following the politics of separate statehood for people speaking Telugu, a new state of Andhra Pradesh was

⁶ Interview with Bellaiah Naik

crafted combining the erstwhile Andhra state and Telangana in 1956. As a result, Lambadas are under two constitutional categories in the newly formed state of Andhra Pradesh- Scheduled Tribe in coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema, and OBC in Telangana region. In 1964, Lambadas organized a Public meeting at Nekkonda to further their demand. It was attended by the then Chief Minister of Maharashtra Vasantha Rao Naik as Chief Guest along with the then Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister Kasu Brahmananda Reddy. The demand to include in STs was accepted by Kasu and later a Legislative Assembly resolution was passed supporting the Lambada demand.

In 1968, the KN Anantharaman Commission was appointed to identify Backward Communities in Andhra Pradesh. The commission identified Lambadas as OBCs in Andhra Pradesh (Poyam, 2020). Later Kasu Brahmananda Reddy was sworn in as Union Minister for Home Affairs during 1974-77. The Lambada population was predominant in his constituency and with the consistent pressure from the Lambadas to keep the promise, the Congress Government passed a gazette in 1976 of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Amendment) Act, 1976. They included Lambadas at entry no. 29 in the Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Tribes list. A gazette of India in 1976 contained their name among Scheduled Tribes of Andhra Pradesh was issued. LHPS confidently assert their inclusion happened according to the procedure established by the Constitution and passed by the Parliament.

LHPS countered three challenges raised by Thudum Debba. The first was a sudden Lambada population explosion between 1971 and 1981. LHPS presented a counter-argument stating that when they were under denotified tribes the community population was not calculated. It was only after inclusion their population was calculated under STs, and that is the reason for the sudden surge in the tribal population of Telangana. Bellaiah Naik further mentioned that their population in Adilabad constantly stood at 2.5% before and after inclusion. The second argument of Adivasis is that Lambadas are taking away all the benefits of exploiting the Adivasis. LHPS on contrary stated it is because of Lambadas the Adivasis are benefiting. They justified this claim by pointing to budget allocation. Since the budget allocation was made according to the population proportion of communities, the presence of a high Lambada population has been the reason for the allocation of an adequate budget for STs, their share of the population is around 70% of the ST population. In addition to the point mentioned, he further emphasises that 60-70% of the budget was spent on Adivasis in Scheduled Areas against the Lambada population, claiming injustice and victimhood meted out to the Lambadas.

It is claimed that they have been making the most of reservations. But LHPS claimed that they were not getting a share according to the population proportion. Bellaiah Nayak cites the political representatives from each ST. He stressed that Gonds and Koyas MPs and MLAs are on par with Lambadas even when Lambadas outweigh Adivasis. Then he asks, “Where have the Lambadas taken a disproportionate share of reservations?”. He claimed that because of his leadership, around three thousand *Thandas* and *Gudems* are made Panchayats, this helped Adivasis to become Sarpanches. LHPS has benefitted Adivasis rather than the damaging, he asserted. Coming to Engineering and Medical seats, he acknowledges that Adivasis are not entering higher education. The reason he draws is that Adivasi students are not interested to apply for EAMCET (state level entrance exam for Engineering and Medicine). He concludes that even after the Lambadas were filled, many seats lie vacant for Adivasis. He remarks on two reasons, the first, the Adivasi youth, according to Bellaiah Nayak, has been resorting to local employment provided by Government after secondary school and intermediate education. They are satisfied with the employment they found at the local level and never bothered to pursue higher education. The second is high dropouts due to poverty among Adivasi students. Poor Adivasi students have been suffering from absolute poverty, they had to struggle for completing secondary education, leave alone higher education. They had to drop out in search of livelihood for surviving families. The above mentioned two are reasons for the invisibility of Adivasi students in higher education and professional educational institutions and not that presence of Lambadas is the reason, he claims. This injustice and inequality are perpetuated by a larger socio-economic structure rather than Lambadas. He stresses that it is the duty of the Government to make reparations by providing economic sustainability. To the claim that they have been cornering the employment opportunities under ST reservations, he clarified that presence of a large population and educated certainly makes Lambadas visible in every field. Since the beginning, LHPS supported the demand for sub-classification of ST reservations to fair share among stakeholders, but Thudum Debba failed to realise its goal. The leaders filled with self-interest in Thudum Debba are using it for political gains alleged Bellaiah.

On the question of Land, he stated that they should come with proper scientific evidence to show that the land has been alienated by Lambadas. He explained that both Lambadas and Adivasis hold lands, and the claim made by Adivasis is baseless. They have not fought the dilution of the Forest Act, 2006, and Land encroachment by non-tribals and dominant castes. But they are hellbent on Lambadas. To the question of G.O. Ms. No.3, it is because of his

constant efforts and demands to the government of erstwhile Andhra Pradesh that the G.O. was promulgated. He cites a clause in the G.O. which states STs as those living in Scheduled Areas since 26 January 1950. This makes them eligible for jobs in Scheduled Areas.

The President of LHPS further charges that Thudum Debba's demand was instigated by Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram, an affiliate of RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh). He points to the RSS's disposition towards reservations claiming that they are anti-reservationists. To melt down the reservations per se, the RSS has been creating internal conflicts among the reserved categories. He pointed out that in Madhya Pradesh many tribes are against Gonds, in Rajasthan many tribes are against the Meena tribe. Abetting one tribe against another tribe is the strategy of RSS and upper castes to establish hegemony over tribes, he inferred. While pertaining to the question of *Sammakka-Sarakka Jatara* Trust Board Membership, he agrees with the demand of Adivasis it is their culture and that only they have the right to execute and organize. But, they should have resisted recognition and organising by the Government. Once the Government took the responsibility for conducting it, the Government has the right to appoint anyone on the board. But he clears that no Lambada and non-tribe should be on the board, providing autonomy to Adivasis to protect and manage their cultural affairs.

The role of the State in perpetuating conflict

The Scheduled Tribes are those people who are living in Scheduled Areas which are situated in deep isolated forests without having any contact with the outside world. The British administration in Scheduled District Act, 1874 and subsequent Government of India Act, 1919 classified tribal areas as 'Wholly Excluded Areas' and 'areas with modified exclusion'. The Government of India Act, 1935 continued the categories of previous acts but with slight modifications i.e. "excluded areas" and "partially excluded areas." These excluded areas do not come under the general administration unless the Governor of a particular state intended. This provision is brought to protect the scheduled tribes from the outsiders, the plainsmen who are far advanced and are capable of exploiting the Scheduled Tribes (STs). It is this understanding that was incorporated into the Constitution of India. The framers of the Constitution have acknowledged the plight of the STs. If certain sections were to include in STs, the Constitution also laid down certain procedures to include or exclude any group into the Scheduled Tribes. In the process of public notification by the President of India in consultation with the Governor of that state, specific tribes or tribal communities can be

deemed as Scheduled Tribes. In the next step, the Parliament is required to amend The Article-342 of the Indian Constitution for including any group as an ST or delete any group from STs. This is the procedure established by the Constitution of India.

In the Gazette of India, 1950 relating to the Constitution(Scheduled Tribes) Order 1950, the Lambadas were not recognized as Scheduled Tribe in the then Hyderabad State. It consisted of 9 tribes viz. Andh, Bhil, Chenchu, Gond, Hill Reddis, Kolam, Koya, Pradhan and Thoti (Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) order, 1950). The Madras Presidency of which the Andhra region was part had not identified Lamabadas or Banjaras as Scheduled Tribe during the 1950 order.

The Government of India constituted a committee under the Chairmanship of Kaka Kalelkar on 29th January 1953 to study the social and educational status of Backward Classes (in addition to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) and if required inclusion of communities in the Backward Classes. The Committee included 3 tribes, Lambada, Yenadi and Yerukala in the Scheduled Tribes list who were under the Backward Classes list of Madras Presidency. On the recommendations of the Kalelkar Commission those three tribes were included and subsequent The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Act, 1956, was passed by the Parliament in which Lamadas, Yenadis and Yerukulas appeared at serial numbers 21, 22 and 23 respectively in the ST list of Andhra Pradesh. The Thudum Debba alleges that there was no notification by the President in consultation with the Governor of the State and the Governor had not recommended any Scheduled Tribe status to the newly added three tribes. During this period, Lambadas in the Telangana region were still recognized as BCs while in Andhra and Rayalaseema regions they were recognized as Scheduled Tribes. There were continuous demands from the Lambadas of the Telangana region to include them in STs.

During the Internal Emergency period in India from 1975 to 1977, the Government of India issued a Gazette of The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Act, 1976 which mentions Sugalis, Lambadas at Serial number 29 of Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Tribes list, merging Lambadas of Telangana region into STs. Ever since then the Lambadas are considered a Scheduled Tribe in unified Andhra Pradesh. As per the Constitution, the inclusion of any group or community into STs is required to amend Article-342 of the Indian Constitution through Parliament. But the reply of the Union Government to an RTI filed by the Adivasis

stated that Government does not have any records of inclusion, and did not happen through the amendment.

In 2010 The Ministry replied, “The ‘Lambada’ community has not been notified as Scheduled Tribe under Article-342 of the Constitution in the State of Andhra Pradesh” (Ministry of Tribal Affairs, 2010). However, the Ministry enclosed the copy of Gazette of 1976 which mentions the inclusion of Lambadas as STs in Andhra Pradesh. The Andhra Pradesh Government replied that the government do not possess any original records of the commission recommending ST status Lambadas. Adivasi (Girijana) Employees Welfare and Cultural Association in 2019 in a press statement said that through RTI to the AP Government, it had sought information regarding the inclusion of Lambadas. To this query, “AP Government replied as of 1950, under Article 342 of the Indian Constitution the Lambada community has not been notified as a Scheduled Tribe in the state of Andhra Pradesh. The Association released a press note further stating that in 1956, Lambadas were not listed under STs in the Adivasi predominant regions of the state, like Adilabad, Hyderabad, Karimnagar, Khammam, Mahbubnagar, Medak, Nalgonda, Nizamabad, Warangal. These replies helped as launching pads to Adivasi demand to remove lambadas from STs” (Poyam, 2020).

A committee was constituted under the chairmanship of B. N. Lokur to advise on the revision of Lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The report that was submitted by the committee in 1965 mentions, “We have looked for indications of primitive traits, distinctive culture, geographic isolation, shyness of contact with the community at large and backwardness: we have considered that tribes whose members have by and large mixed up with the general population are not eligible to be in the list of Scheduled Tribes” (cited in Galanter, 1984). The State, not adhering to the rules and procedures established by it damaged the social solidarity and engendered a conflict between Lambadas and Adivasis beyond reparation, leading to hate and violence between them. The Adivasis alleged that Kayam Ramakrishna was kidnapped by Lambadas leaders purportedly because Kayam was above the rank of a Lambada aspirant. However, the fact remains whether it is true or just an allegation to vent the anger, the violence between the Adivasis and Lambadas has escalated. The political parties that are dying to capture political power to meet their sectarian interests make grave mistakes that invite unwanted miseries to the general population. The vote bank politics played by the political parties pit one group or community against the other. This severely damages the social fabric of the nation. Though the committee recommended that tribes that are inducted

into mainstream society should not be included in STs, the party of the day leading the Government deliberately committed the mistake which was warned against. If the intentions of the Government were to provide affirmative action to the marginalized community like Lambadas, it should have followed proper procedures in consultation with the stakeholders. Arbitrary inclusion without following the procedures established by the law, the State should be held as the culprit in creating hostility between two communities.

Employment Statistics

“According to the employment statistics of 2010, seats in educational institutions under the ST category were filled with 57 percent by Lambadas, 26 percent by (Y)erukala, and 7 percent by Yanaadi tribes. While the rest of the 10 per cent seats were shared by the other ST groups together. It is stated that there is no at least one single IAS or IPS officer from non-Lambada ST in both Telugu states. On contrary, there are 27 IAS officers who hail from Lambada Tribe in the Nirmal region alone, and more than 70 IAS officers are all over the state. There is a total of In Osmania University a total of 95 Lambada faculty were present against 6 Adivasis. At Kakatiya University, the representation stands 15 professors from Lambada against one Adivasi Professor. In other state and Central Universities in Telangana, including the Hyderabad Central University and the English and Foreign Languages University, both of which are in Hyderabad, there is not a single Adivasi faculty member. There is no at least a single PhD scholar in central universities like the University of Hyderabad and English and Foreign Languages University in the Telangana state representing Adivasis, mostly occupied by Lambadas” (Poyam, 2020).

***Table-1* Tribe wise Scheduled Tribe population in Andhra Pradesh from 1961 to 2011**

Source: Tribal Welfare Department, Ministry of Andhra Pradesh

The above table reflects tribe wise decadal growth starting from 1961 to 2001. It is observed from the above table that Sugalis or Lambadas recorded the highest growth rate of 774.45 for a decade between 1971 to 1981. More than Ten lakhs to the Lambada population were added in a decade. This was the time that Lambadas were included in the ST list of erstwhile Andhra

TRIBE	POPULATION					
	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Chenchu, Chenchuwar	17, 609	24,178	28, 434	40, 869	49232	16, 912
Gond, naikapod	1,43,680	1,57,489	1,69,477	2,12, 058	2,52,038	2,97, 846
Kolam, mannevarlu	16,731	26, 498	21,842	41, 254	45671	44,805
Kondareddi	35, 439	42, 777	54, 685	76, 391	83096	7, 997
Koya	2,20, 146	2, 85, 226	3,59, 799	4, 56,496,	568019	4, 86, 391
Pardhan	9701	11,407	16, 203	20, 387	23724	24, 776
Sugali, lambadi	96,174	1, 32, 464	11, 58, 342	16, 41, 897	20,77, 947	20, 46, 117
Thoti	546	1,785	1,416	3, 654	2074	4, 811
Yerukula	1, 28, 024	1, 62, 560	3,00, 557	3,87, 898	43, 7459	1, 44, 128

Pradesh. This sudden population explosion of the Lambada tribe in the state region is one of the primaries of grievances raised by Thudum Debba. The new ST status attracted Lambadas from neighbouring states. With the increase in migration from the other states, the Adivasis say, that Lambadas outnumbered local Adivasis by several multitudes. This huge population enabled Lambadas to enter and register into several public and private institutions in the majority. This acted against the interests of Adivasis. Since the reservations and other affirmative actions were limited and already filled by Lambadas, the Adivasis faced challenges to enter public institutions in particular. This enraged the anger of the Adivasis.

Table-2 Tribe wise and sex-wise literates and literacy rates of Scheduled Tribes of Telangana-2011

Source: Department of Tribal Welfare, Telangana.

The above table illustrates that despite their large population, the literacy rate among the

SL.N O.	TRIBE	Population			LITER- ACY RATE		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1	Chench u	16912	8349	8563	40.54	47.30	33.95
2	Gond	297846	146846	151000	49.30	58.27	40.64
3	Kolam	44805	22472	22333	39.02	47.51	30.53
4	Konda reddis	16270	8234	8036	55.28	62.24	48.15
5	Koya	381354	187033	194321	53.67	60.66	46.98
6	Pardhan	24776	12448	12328	66.16	75.64	56.74
7	Sugali	2044039	1044345	999694	49.02	60.04	37.62
8	Thoti	4811	2308	2503	62.77	75.20	51.45
9	Yerukul a	144128	71861	72267	55.13	63.67	46.71

Lambadas is very low in proportion to their population. Lambada women's literacy rate is extremely low and requires immediate attention to ameliorate this condition. The rest of the Adivasi population combined together does not reach near to Lambada population. The Adivasi literacy rate plausibly looks better than the Lambadas. This trend explains that due to the extremely low population of Adivasis, their literacy rate has been appearing to be better to their population proportion than Lambadas.

Table-3: Distribution of National Fellowships for Scheduled Tribes between Lambadas and non-Lambada tribes of Telangana

SL No.	Year	Total fellowships are given to STs in Telangana State Universities	Lambada	Non-Lambada Adivasis
1	2017-18	60	47	13
2	2018-19	124	96	28
3	2019-2020	47	32	15
4	2020-21	21	14	7

Source: Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India

The above table demonstrates the distribution of National Fellowships to Scheduled Tribes to Research Scholars enrolled in M.Phil. and PhD. Research in various Telangana State Universities. Telangana state universities like Kakatiya University, Potti Sreeramulu Telugu University, Professor Jayashankar Telangana State Agricultural University, Osmania University, Satavahana University, Telangana University have been selected. The table represents how the national fellowships are distributed between Lambadas and non-Lambada tribes of Telangana universities. It is observed that the Lambadas have availed most of the National Fellowship in Scheduled Tribe quota from Telangana Universities. It is because of the enrollment of a high number of Lambada research scholars against Adivasis research scholars. The statistics informed in the above table are self-made with the help of Surnames. Some of the surnames could not be identified with any tribe. Those were put on the non-Lambada list. If those unidentified surnames include Lambadas, then the number of Lambada researchers availed of the fellowships will increase.

Table- 4: Tribe Wise filling up posts reserved for local scheduled tribes in the Adilabad, Komaram Bheem Asifabad and Mancherial Districts (ITDA-Utnoor) in 2019

District	Departments	No. of post reserved for local agency area	No. of posts filled	Vacant	Lambada	Gond	Naikpod	Kolam	Thoti	Pardhan	Andh	Erakala	Koya	Other STs	Filled by non-STs
Adilabad	All departments	3567	2722	845	1007	490	86	59	36	331	17	2	33	8	652
Kb asifabad	All departments	1986	1179	807	379	329	31	30	21	130	5	0	44	7	126
Mancherial	All departments	472	408	64	42	24	27	1	6	16	2	0	7	2	277
	All departments	6025	4309	1716	1428	843	144	90	63	477	24	2	84	17	1055

Source: Department of Tribal Welfare, Government of Telangana

Table-5: ITDA – Eturnagaram

Department-wise, Tribe-wise filling up of posts reserved for local Scheduled Tribes

Sl. No	Department/its unit working in Scheduled area	Category of Posts reserved for local Scheduled Tribes	No. of posts Sanctioned	No. of posts filled	Vacant	Post filled by										
						Lambadis	Gond	Naikpod	Kolam	Thoti	Pardhan	Andh	Yerukula	Koya	Other STs	Filled by Non ST's
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1	ITDA	All Posts	15	9	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0
2	GCC	All Posts	198	59	139	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	32	0	15
3	Horticulture & Sericulture	All Posts	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	Agriculture Dept.	All Posts	28	27	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24
5	RJD (Junior College)	All Posts	19	16	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	11
6	TW. Engineering	All Posts	12	6	6	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
7	Residential I.T.I	All Posts	13	3	10	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
8	Panchayat Raj Engineering	All Posts	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
9	Department of School Education. Warangal Rural	All Posts	87	77	10											0
10	Fisheries Department	All Posts	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	Medical and Health Department	All Posts	424	301	123	59	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	162	0	80
12	Forest Dept.	All Posts	102	35	67	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	17
13	Forest Dev. Corp.	All Posts														
14	Women Development	All Posts	439	407	32	81	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	299	0	27
15	TW Gurukulam	All Posts	75	43	32	12	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	22	0	5
		Grand Total	1414	985	429	186	0	3	0	0	0	0	2	533	1	183

Source: Department of Tribal Welfare, Government of Telangana

Table-4 illustrates which tribe occupied how many jobs in the Tribal Welfare Education Department of above mentioned districts. It is evident from the table that Lambadas are filled in more numbers in the jobs reserved for STs. They were followed by Gonds and Pardhans respectively. In Komaram Bheem Asifabad Gonds were in more number than the Lambadas. However, a large number of jobs were left unfilled. While several tribals were aspiring to secure employment the Government let the jobs remain unfilled.

Table-5 Sketches the patterns of tribe wise filling of jobs under ITDA-Eturnagaram. It is observed from the table that, unlike the ITDA-Utnoor where Lambadas filled in the majority of the jobs, ITDA-Eturnagaram jobs were largely filled by Koya Tribe. Lambadas are significantly less in the compared to Koya. Non-Tribes were filled in the jobs that were reserved for the local Scheduled Tribe. Non-tribes employees are on par with Lambada employees. Several job vacancies were left unfilled in this ITDA. But, compared to ITDA-Utnoor, vacancies that were left unfilled are fewer. It is observed that none of the other tribes apart from Lambada and Koya, were seen employed.

Table-6: Tribe wise medical posts filled in erstwhile Adilabad district under ITDA-Utnoor, 2019

District	Department	Name of the Post	No. of post reserved for Local Agency Area	No. of posts filled	Vacant	Lambada	Gond	Naikpod	Kolam	Thoti	Pardhan	Andh	Erakala	Koya	Other STs	Filled by Non-ST's
Erstwhile Adilabad	Medical & Health	All Posts	549	453	96	132	62	11	0	10	41	2	0	26	0	169
		Total	549	453	96	132	62	11	0	10	41	2	0	26	0	169

Source: Department of Tribal Welfare, Government of Telangana

The above table illustrates that the jobs filled by various tribes under ITDA-Utnoor in erstwhile Adilabad district. It evinces that most of the posts in the medical and Health department lies vacant. This suggests that medical facilities in the agency areas are in poor state of affairs.

It is also observed that several posts were filled with non-STs which are reserved for local Scheduled Tribes. It can be interpreted that there are less eligible candidates among Adivasis to be recruited in medical and Health department. After filling of non-STs, the majority of the jobs are filled with the dominant Lambada tribe.

Table-7: Tribe wise reservation of seats in Tribal Gurukula Schools, 2022

Sanctioned Seats	Andh	Gond/ Nayakpod	Kolam	Koya	Pardhan	Yerukala	Lambadi	Other ST sub- Castes
50	0	1	0	4	0	1	43	1
45	0	1	0	4	0	1	38	1
40	0	1	0	4	0	1	33	1

Source: Tribal Welfare Department, Government of Telangana.

The above table- demonstrates the tribe wise distribution was seats in tribal Gurukula Schools of Telangana. It evinces that a huge share of seats was reserved for Lambadas leaving a few to Adivasis. This insufficient sanctioning of educational seats in schools deprive several Adivasis of accessing Education. This policy excludes several Adivasi tribes from entering into school education offered by the Government. This shows that the tribes living on plains are bagging a huge share of tribal reservations against Agency tribes which further marginalizes them. Initially, the Government released a notification mentioning the reservation of seats accordingly cited in the above table. Adivasis challenged this notification in Court. Later the Government released a new notification that removed this table specifying reservations.

From the above tables and data, we can observe that a high percentage of jobs reserved for local Scheduled Tribes under ITDA-Utnoor were filled with non-STs and are several jobs lying vacant. While there are several tribal unemployed youths aspiring for jobs, the government has not initiated any measures to fill the vacancies. It also suggests that there are also no eligible candidates among Adivasis. Following vacancies and non-STs, the Lambadas are present in high numbers. The high population facilitates them to enter into educational institutions,

employment in abundant number. As a consequence, the other Adivasis face tough competition for limited public resources. The Lambadas, as stated by Janardhan Rao, are relatively advanced compared to Adivasis. This enables them to build better social capital which helps them to advance against the Adivasis. K. Balagopal (1999) makes his observation comments along similar lines. He states that the tribes which are living outside agencies are bagging the benefits of reservations. Therefore, this causes infuriation among the Adivasis against Lambadas.

CHAPTER-5

CONCLUSION

The previous chapter focused on debates between the Adivasis and Lambadas claiming the tribal identity. It delineated the various reasons for engendering the conflict between Adivasis and Lambadas. It also incorporated statistical data on population, employment and reservation of seats in educational institutions, sketching the inequalities in accessing various opportunities by different tribal communities. This chapter focuses on the findings that are made during the study. It also suggests a few methods by which this kind of sub-category conflicts can be avoided. Finally, it ends with concluding remarks.

Findings

The political party in power cautiously escapes or offers momentary solutions to the aggrieved communities. It cannot take audaciously take decisions to meet the promised justice. The vote bank politics of political parties play with the anxieties and wants of citizens. They make promises but never get fulfilled. In every election, they promise to resolve the problem that is forgotten after the election. The genuine developmental issues concerning urgent needs are delayed for several years. By this time the citizens and communities had to face severe repercussions. Besides complex political and administration challenges, one reason the political party in power fears if any decision in support of any single community will cause discontent among the others who perceive that decision will affect their prospects. The party in power fears that any endorsing a demand of a particular community will attract criticism from the opponents, and affects them in the next elections. The political parties have always seen issues of reservations, and inclusion under various rcategories as potential vote banks, which advantage them to get elected to power.

The Congress party under Indira Gandhi promised to include Lambadas in the ST list of erstwhile Andhra Pradesh. But, as per the record, their inclusion is not sure if they followed the procedure that was established by the Constitution. The arbitrary inclusion has now become a hurdle to the Adivasis and Lambadas' solidarity. The Lambadas are garnering most of the reservation benefits that were to be shared among all the tribes. The Adivasis problems with Lambadas did not start at the reservations, it started with the dispossession of lands and went beyond many strands. Most of the forest dwelling tribes do not make it to higher education, or

upper levels of employment. Adivasis demanded sub-categorization of Scheduled Tribes way back in the 1990s itself. But Lambadas initially did not support the sub-categorization of STs. The state did not have the political will to resolve the issue. The political parties only count people as votes and heed the interests of the community whose votes decide the elections. To put in simple sentences, political parties favour those groups who are large in number, organized, and politically conscious to vote and alter the voting pattern to decide elections results. The vulnerable, politically disorganized, fragmented communities and their demands are relegated. This is what had happened with the Lambada inclusion. It is not exaggerating to say that the conflict is perpetuated by the state.

Lambadas are a politically conscious and organized community. In this scenario, any political party tries to woo such a community against the Adivasis who were far away from the visibility of state and politics, and have no significance in electoral politics. Making promises to newly add various communities to already overcrowded categories only engenders the worst competition and conflict. The Bhuria Commission proposed an increase of reservations to tribes in proportion to their population. The Telangana Government promised to increase ST reservations by 10 percent against 9 percent of the tribal population of Telangana. The TRS government is silent for seven years now. Telangana Government without resolving the Adivasi-Lambada conflict constituted Chellappa Committee to look into the prospects of including 'Valmiki Boya' and 'Khaithi Lambadi' in STs of Telangana. Pushing more and more communities into overcrowded categories further creates tensions.

The developmental policies undertaken by the state have not been inclusive of Scheduled Tribes and they have become detrimental to the livelihoods of STs. With the effect of the construction of Dams, irrigation projects, mining etc. Adivasis are being dispossessed from their lands and villages which they have been living in since historical times. It is said that Rehabilitation and Resettlement have never been implemented as per the rule promised by the Government. Traditional livelihoods were lost with new economic methods of production and distribution. They have been migrating to metropolitan cities in search of work, majorly involving the informal sector. Formal education and employment are a far distant dream for both agency tribes and plain tribes. Economic hurdles and socio-cultural alienation is excluding them from social spaces. The compensatory discrimination intended to protect education and employment interests and help for the upward mobility of these communities, in turn, has been the reason for violence between them. State turning a blind eye towards their empowerment,

they have been relegated from the development. Indian State without a rational thought has tied two distinct socio-cultural communities varied by spatial and temporal circumstances under a single umbrella and put them in competition for scarce resources claiming one against the other, leading to violence between them. In recent decades, there is an increasing demand from new caste groups to include them in SC, ST and OBC categories and provide them reservations. This demand has to be seen in the light of the current changing political economy of India.

The increasing role of the service sector against the agricultural sector created an agrarian crisis. Hitherto agrarian communities have been dislodging themselves from agricultural production and seeking other modes of employment. They have witnessed the upward mobilization of beneficiary castes such as SC, STs, and OBCs. This has provoked many castes to seek reservations by enlisting them under various categories. The new reservations to Economically Weaker Sections have provided some relief to upper castes, but the discontent persists. The increasing literacy rates and consciousness among citizens of India regardless of the category to which they belong are demanding new opportunities. If affirmative policies like reservations and measures to ameliorate unemployment are not implemented in private sector industries for which Prof. Kancha Ilaiah predicts that this country would slip into a civil war.

Suggestions

India's population has crossed over one hundred thirty crores. It is a sad state of affairs that governments try to insert such a vast population into four administrative categories– General or Open category (OC), OBCs, SC and STs, until recent the fifth EWS category. Governments' idea of locating such diverse, multicultural, multiethnic people in these categories is bad logic. Since there are only four categories available to 1.3billion, the demand to include under three categories by various communities increases. Communities who are already present in those categories fear the inclusion suspecting that they would be deprived of opportunities because of the newly added communities. This is the reason for the emergence of intratribal, intraSC , and intraOBC conflicts. Governments have to find ways in accommodating diverse populations by creating new categories to suit administration. For example, there is no administrative specific category regarding nomadic, semi-nomadic and denotified tribes. A new administrative category could be created specifically for them to provide affirmative action and

welfare rather than inserting them into other categories. This would do justice to both nomadic tribes and Scheduled Tribes.

There is an urgent need to sub-categories SC, ST and OBCs categories. Without sub-categorisation, the dominant communities within the category corner the benefits disproportionally leaving nothing for weaker communities. A 30-year long demand for sub-categorisation of SCs by MRPS in Telugu is not yet realized. They are battling for the demand with every government and at every election. The commissions reported an urgent need to sub-categorise. But the state and central governments make promises during elections to sub-categorise and forget or keep silent after coming to power. This deception by the political parties has been happening for decades denying justice to aggrieved communities.

Governments without increasing the percentage of reservations according to the population proportion and not extending reservations in the private sector are nothing but deprivation of the socially disadvantaged. Balagopal comments on what logic Supreme Court has capped reservations at fifty percent. This is offering a half pie to nearly 80 to 85 % of people to share according to a pre-determined proportion. It is an illusion showing to the already overcrowded categories that there is something reserved for them while there is a small portion of the grain is left for majority of the marginalised. With this kind of perception and implementation of reservations, no community gets a substantial share in the reservations deprived of opportunities to climb the ladder. This emphasizes that there is a need to increase reservations percentage and extend to private sector.

The public education is still offered at free cost at the primary level, there are serious concerns about the quality of free education that is offered at the school level. This kind of low-quality education does not help in fetching a dignified job in private sector. Therefore, SC, ST, BCs lose employment in both public and private sector jobs. They have to fight wage a hard battle for scarcely limited positions with the advanced communities. Therefore, there is need to increase quality of education that is delivered to tribes.

The Scheduled Tribes have the most vulnerable social groups prone to exploitation across India. Most of them continue to live in isolated areas for they do not want to interact, interconnect, and socialize with the outsiders and also seek autonomy from the State to not interfere in their affairs. Till the arrival of the British, they have been living in isolation in peace

in the laps of nature. With the coming of the British, the tribes were integrated with other non-tribal communities brought under the administration of the state. The Adivasis hitherto enjoyed seamless sovereignty over forests and their way of life. The British brought forests under their control and reserved them for commercial purposes. This restricted the movement of Adivasis, restricting the grazing of their cattle, disallowing them to use firewood and restricting the cutting of trees for various purposes. Trespassing any into reserved forests or any of the forest laws branded them as criminals attracting punishment from the state. These hurdles which were never experienced by the tribes sprouted resentment. The British had not stopped its intrusion there itself, it forcefully collected taxes from tribal peasants which impoverished the tribes. The commodification of forests, commerce and the generation of revenue that the British aimed by exploiting the forests had also helped non-tribes to migrate into the habitations of the tribes. Non-tribals taking the advantage of the innocence of the tribals exploited them in several ways. Moneylenders lent loans at high interest rates by mortgaging lands and other properties of the tribes. On the one hand, collecting high taxes and increasing interest in loans. This double edged sword pierced the lives of tribes. Eventually, tribes lost their lands, became serfs under landlords, peasants turned to landless labourers ravaging their lives. The very forest which they once owned with their identity had been slipping from their hands, the economic exploitation triggered rebellions viz. Santal rebellion, Munda Rebellion, Rampa Rebellion etc. Realizing their mistakes, the British administration attempted to bring a few protective measures to mitigate the damage. Legislations like the 'Land Transfer Regulation Act prevent the transfer of land to non-tribals.

In 1935, the Government created excluded areas and partially excluded areas to keep them secluded from outsiders and autonomous from the state. The colonial administration also brought affirmative actions to include them in the state. The Scheduled Tribe category thus created has pertinent reasons. The Scheduled Tribes, for the first time, participated in elections in 1935 enabled by the Government of India Act, 1935 (Ambagudia and Xaxa, 2021). This understanding was incorporated into the Indian Constitution. The post-colonial state continued the protective measures against the vulnerability, affirmative actions and autonomy to benefit and welfare of STs. But in the post-Independence several communities are demanding to include them under Scheduled Tribes citing cultural, and linguistic differences. Apart from those, what is more, important in regard to demanding ST status is to ameliorate their economic and material conditions. The idea that reservations in public education and employment would empower them against the socio-economic marginalization and exclusion has been a pressing

demand. But many of these communities like Lambada, Yenadi and Yerukala live not in isolated forests but on the fringes of mainstream villages. Several of these communities are nomads living in abject poverty and destitute conditions. By creating alternative categories for them, their conditions can be improved. Relative advancement of people from the plains exploits the fortunes of forest tribes. This is the reason for hostility between Adivasis of Telangana and Lambadas. The inclusion of relatively far advanced Lambadas in STs of Telangana played against the benefits of Adivasis. The social capital of Lambadas enables them to grab opportunities against the forest tribes. The limited six percent of reservations in education and employment are being largely occupied by Lambadas. This deprived the Adivasis of utilizing reservations, which aggravated Adivasis to agitate against Lambadas.

The responsibility for the hostile environment between Lambadas and Adivasis should be taken by State and its apparatus. The state turning a blind eye to consequences promises to include more and more communities into STs. The Government of Telangana's interest to include 'Valmiki Boyas' and 'Kaithi Lambadas' in STs of Telangana, Adivasis had vehemently opposed this move by stating that Valmiki Boyas are Scheduled Castes and including them would deprive them further. It is nothing wrong with the demands of the communities to include them in STs. But it is the responsibility of the state to follow the rationale while promising the ST status to certain communities so that none of the communities suffers the consequences. If the Government intends to include any community, then it should have a dialogue with all the stakeholders and suggest a mechanism to resolve the conflict of interests. The creation of the SC category and ST category by the founding fathers of the nation has certain reasons. Governments should bear them in mind while making promises of inclusion or inclusion. It is not to forget the tragedy that happened in Kandhamal of Odisha. According to Kanungo (2008), the Dalit Panas were demanding Scheduled Tribe status since they too spoke the Kui language. The Panas are relatively more progressed than the Kandha tribe with the help of Christian missionaries and were able to secure few government jobs and lead a dignified life. But a majority of Panas live in deprived material conditions. However, the demand of Dalit Panas to include in STs, among other things, outraged Kandha tribes. This demand resulted in the killing of Dalits.

On the other side, these demands and antagonism are required to understand by looking at the larger political economy of the development of the Indian State. For decades, the Scheduled

Tribes and nomads are far away from the reach of economic benefits. The Liberalization of the Indian economy and the rolling back of the welfare state further aggravated the problems of marginalized communities. Disinvestments and privatization of the public sector units have been taking place rapidly. With the decline of the public sector, employment opportunities through reservations have also fallen steeply. There are no reservations in the private sector to ensure Social Justice and no obligation to provide employment for SC, ST and BC by reserving seats. The question of merit and the perception that SC, ST, and OBCs do not possess merit pervades among Private Corporate companies and are on the back foot to provide employment opportunities. Loss of traditional livelihoods, non-availability of public employment to meet the needs of rapidly increasing educated aspirants on the one side and scarce employment opportunities available in private sector industries on the other have created a vast gulf between aspirations and availabilities. Now, every community and individual has to compete against these available reduced narrow reservations which make the competition intense and burdensome. This frustration, as Jayati Ghosh argued, will direct against those who are visibly better than them rather than the larger structural problems. The Bhuria commission (2002-2004) recommended extending reservations in the Private sector. But no governments have taken this recommendation seriously and lack the political will to enhance the living conditions of STs. There is an urgent need to extend reservations in private sector to combat the problems of unemployment and overall development of tribes.

Bibliography

- Ambagudia, J., & Xaxa, V. (Eds.). (2020). *Handbook of Tribal Politics in India*. Sage Publications Pvt. Limited.
- Balagopal, K., Baviskar, A., Firdos, S., Gadgil, M., Guha, R., Kabra, A., & Kelkar, G. (2013). *The Adivasi question: Issues of land, forest and livelihood*. Orient Blackswan Private Limited.
- Balagopal, K. (1986). Agrarian struggles.
- Bara, J. (2007). Colonialism, Christianity and the Tribes of Chhotanagpur in East India, 1845–1890. *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 30(2), 195-222.
- Bara, J. (2009). Alien construct and tribal contestation in colonial Chhotanagpur: the medium of Christianity. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 90-96.
- Beteille, A. (1986). The concept of tribe with special reference to India. *European Journal of Sociology/Archives Européennes de Sociologie*, 27(2), 296-318.
- Bergmann, T. (1982). Peasant Struggles in India.
- Bhukya, B. (2010). *Subjugated nomads: The Lambadas under the rule of the Nizams*. Hyderabad: Orient BlackSwan.
- Bhukya, B. (2017). *The roots of the periphery: A history of the Gonds of Deccan India*. Oxford University Press.
- Chalam, K. S. (2007). *Caste-based reservations and human development in India*. SAGE Publications India.
- Chalam, K. S. (2011). *Economic reforms and social exclusion: Impact of liberalization on marginalized groups in India*. SAGE Publications India.
- Cheeny Naik, B. (1998). Banjara Charitra; Samskruthi, Pragati.
- Davidsdottir, E. (2021). Our rights are carved in stone: the case of the Pathalgadi movement in Simdega, Jharkhand. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 25(7), 1111-1125.
- Desai, A. R. (1986). Agrarian struggles in India after independence.
- Dirks, N. B. (1992). Castes of mind. *Representations*, 37, 56-78.
- Galanter, M. (1984). Competing Equalities: Law and the Backward Classes in India.
- Guha, R. (1999). *Elementary aspects of peasant insurgency in colonial India*. Duke University Press.
- Heredia, R. C. (2007). *Denotified and Nomadic Tribes: The Challenge of Free and Equal Citizenship*. Department of Sociology, University of Pune.
- Janardhan Rao, B. (1987). *Land alienation in tribal areas* (Doctoral dissertation, Kakatiya School of Public Administration).

Kannabiran, K., Hyderabad Council for Social Development (India). Southern Regional Centre, International Conference on Violence, & India) Its Habitations in India (2013: Hyderabad. (2016). *Violence studies*.

Mishra, A., & Paty, C. K. (Eds.). (2010). *Tribal Movements in Jharkhand, 1857-2007*. Concept Publishing Company.

Meyer, D. S., Whittier, N., & Robnett, B. (Eds.). (2002). *Social movements: Identity, culture, and the state*. Oxford University Press.

Narayan, B. (2015). Democracy and identity politics in India: Is it a snake or a rope? *Economic and Political Weekly*, 61-65.

Omvedt, G. (1988). The “new peasant movement” in India. *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, 20(2), 14-23.

Omvedt, G. (1993). *Reinventing revolution: New social movements and the socialist tradition in India*. ME Sharpe.

Raghavaiah, V. (1971). Tribal Revolts, Andhra Rashtira Adima-jati Sevak Sangh.

Raghavaiah, V. (1979). Background of Tribal Struggles in India. *Peasant Struggle in India, Bombay*, 12-27.

Raina, V. (2004). Political diversity, common purpose: social movements in India. *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 5(2), 320-327.

Ramaswamy, G., & Bhukya, B. (2002). Lambadas: Changing cultural patterns. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 1497-1499.

Rao, S. L., Deshingkar, P., & Farrington, J. (2006). Tribal land alienation in Andhra Pradesh: processes, impacts and policy concerns. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 5401-5407.

Rao, V. S. (Ed.). (2018). *Adivasi rights and exclusion in India*. Taylor & Francis.

Ray, R., & Katzenstein, M. F. (Eds.). (2005). *Social movements in India: Poverty, power, and politics*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Rupavath, R. (2009). *tribal land alienation and political movements: socio-economic patterns from south India*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Rupavath, R. (Ed.). (2009). *Democracy, Development and Tribes in India. Reality and Rhetoric*,

Rupavath, R. (2020). *Democracy of the Oppressed: Adivasi Poverty and Hunger*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Satya, L. D. (1997). Colonial sedentarisation and subjugation: the case of the Banjaras of Berar 1850–1900. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 24(4), 314-336.

- Sengupta, N. (1988). Reappraising Tribal Movements: I: A Myth in the Making. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 943-945.
- Sengupta, N (1990). The social and economic basis of current tribal movements. *Social Action (New Delhi)*, 40(4), 336-346.
- Shah, G. (2004). Social movements in India: A review of literature.
- Sharma, C. K. (2001). Tribal Land Alienation: Government's Role. *Economic and political weekly*, 4791-4795.
- Singh, K. S. (Ed.). (2006). *Tribal movements in India* (Vol. 2). Manohar Publishers.
- Thorat, S., & Attewell, P. (2007). The legacy of social exclusion: A correspondence study of job discrimination in India. *Economic and political weekly*, 4141-4145.
- Thorat, S., & Newman, K. S. (2007). Caste and economic discrimination: Causes, consequences and remedies. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 4121-4124.
- Thorat, S., & Newman, K. S. (2012). *Blocked by caste: Economic discrimination in modern India*. Oxford University Press.
- Thorat, S., Tagade, N., & Naik, A. K. (2016). Prejudice against reservation policies: How and why?. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 61-69.
- Thurston, E. (1909). *Castes and tribes of southern India* (Vol. 3). Government Press.
- Varady, R. G. (1979). North Indian banjaras: Their evolution as transporters. *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 2(1-2), 1-18.
- Vergheese, A. (2016). British rule and tribal revolts in India: The curious case of Bastar. *Modern Asian Studies*, 50(5), 1619-1644.
- von Fürer-Haimendorf, C., & Von, F. H. C. (1982). *Tribes of India: the struggle for survival*. Univ of California Press.
- von Fürer-Haimendorf, C., & von Fürer-Haimendorf, E. (2021). *The Gonds of Andhra Pradesh: tradition and change in an Indian tribe*. Routledge.
- Xaxa, V. (2008). *State, society, and tribes: Issues in post-colonial India*. Pearson Education India.
- <https://caravanmagazine.in/communities/adivasi-lambada-reservation-telangana-bjp>

REGISTERED No. D-481

The Gazette of India



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 published for general information:—

THE CONSTITUTION (SCHEDULED TRIBES) ORDER, 1950

1. In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (1) of Article 3 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 the 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 26 January, 1950.

THE SCHEDULE

PART I—ASSAM

1. In the Autonomous Districts:—

- 1 Dimas (Kachari)
- 2 Garo
- 3 Hajong
- 4 Khasi and Jaintia
- 5 Any Kuki tribes

- 6 Laker
- 7 Any Lushai (Mizo) tribes
- 8 Mikir
- 9 Any Naga tribes
- 10 Synteng

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 Gharchiroli 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 | 16 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 Mashwar |
| 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 Parhi |
| | 29 Parja |
| | 30 Saonta or Saunta |
| | 31 Sawar or Sawara |

MADRAS

Throughout the State:—

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 Aranadan | 8 Goudus—Bato, Bhirithya |
| 2 Bagata | Dudhokouria, Hato, Jatako and Joria |
| 3 Bhottadas—Bodo Bhottada, Muria Bhottada and Sano Bhottada | 9 Kosalya Goudus—Bosothoriya Goudus, Chitti Goudus, Dangayath Goudus, Doddu Kamariya, Dudu Kamara, Ladiya Goudus and Pullosoriya Goudus |
| 4 Bhumias—Bhuri Bhumia and Bodo Bhumia | 10 Magatha Goudus—Bernia Goudu, Bodo Magatha, Dongayath Goudu, Ladia 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 Mahna Dhora |
| 15 Kattunayakan | 29 Maune |
| 16 Khattis—Khatti, Kommarao | 30 Mukha Dhora—Nooka Dhora |
| and Lohara | 31 Muria |
| 17 Kodu | 32 Paigarapu |
| 18 Kommar | 33 Palasi |
| 19 Konda Dhoras | 34 Paniyan |
| 20 Konda Kapus | 35 Porjas—Bodo Bonda, Daruva, |
| 21 Kondareddis | Didua, Jodia, Mundili, |
| 22 Kondhs—Desaya Kondhs, | Pengu, Pydi and Saliya |
| Dongria Kondhs, Kuttia | 36 Reddi Dhoras |
| Kondhs, Tikria Kondhs and | 37 Savaras—Kapu Savaras, |
| Yeniy Kondhs | Khutto Savaras and Maliya |
| 23 Kota | Savaras |
| 24 Kotia—Bartika, Benth Otiya, | 38 Sholaga |
| Dhulia or Dulla, Holva | 39 Toda |
| Paiko, Putiya, Sanrona, and | 40 Inhabitants of the Laccadive, |
| Sidho Paiko | Minicoy and Amindivi |
| 25 Koya or Goud, with its sub- | Islands who, and both of |
| sects—Raja or Rasha Koyas, | whose parents were born in |
| Lingadhari Koyas (ordi- | these Islands. |
| nary) and Kottu Koyas | |

PART VI—ORISSA

Throughout the State:—

- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 Bagata | 23 Kisan |
| 2 Balga | 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 Binjhua | 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 |
| 15 Gorait or Korait | Munda-Mahalis) |
| 16 Ho | 37 Mundari |
| 17 Jatapu | 38 Oraon |
| 18 Juang | 39 Paroja |
| 19 Kavar | 40 Santal |
| 20 Kharia or Kharian | 41 Saora, or Savar, or Saura |
| 21 Kharwar | or Sahara |
| 22 Khond (Kond), or Kandha, | 42 Tharua |
| 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- |
| 2 Bhil | varlu) |
| 3 Chenchu, or Chenchwar | 7 Koya (including Bhine Koya |
| 4 Gond (including Naikpod and | and Rajkoya) |
| Rajgond) | 8 Pardhan |
| 5 Hill Reddis | 9 Thoti |

PART X—MADHYA BHARAT

1. Throughout the State:—

- 1 Gond
- 2 Korku
- 3 Seharis

2. In the Revenue District of Jabua; 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 |

BC-12014/31/76-SC-25

448

रजिस्ट्री सं० डी-(डी)-72

REGISTERED No. D-(D)-72



भारत का राजपत्र The Gazette of India

असाधारण

EXTRAORDINARY

भाग II—खण्ड 1

PART II—Section 1

प्राधिकार से प्रकाशित

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY

सं० 151] नई दिल्ली, सोमवार, सितम्बर 20, 1976/भाद्र 29, 1898

No. 151] NEW DELHI, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1976/BHADRA 29, 1898

इस भाग में भिन्न पृष्ठ संख्या दी जाती है जिससे कि यह अलग संकलन के रूप में रखा जा सके।
Separate paging is given to this Part in order that it may be filed
as a separate compilation

MINISTRY OF LAW, JUSTICE AND COMPANY AFFAIRS (Legislative Department)

New Delhi, the 20th September, 1976/Bhadra 29, 1898 (Saka)

The following Act of Parliament received the assent of the President on the 18th September, 1976, and is hereby published for general information:—

THE SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES ORDERS (AMENDMENT) ACT, 1976

No. 108 of 1976

[18th September, 1976]

An Act to provide for the inclusion in, and the exclusion from, the lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, of certain castes and tribes, for the re-adjustment of representation of parliamentary and assembly constituencies in so far as such re-adjustment is necessitated by such inclusion or exclusion and for matters connected therewith.

Be it enacted by Parliament in the Twenty-seventh Year of the Republic of India as follows:—

1. (1) This Act may be called the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Act, 1976.

Short
title and
Com-
mence-
ment.

(2) It shall come into force on such date as the Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, appoint.

2. In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires,—

Defini-
tions.

(a) "census authority" means the Registrar General and ex officio Census Commissioner for India;

(b) "Commission" means the Election Commission appointed by the President under article 324 of the Constitution;

(c) "Delimitation Act" means the Delimitation Act, 1972;

(d) "last census" means the census held in India in 1971;

(e) "Scheduled Castes Order" means the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1950, made by the President under article 341 of the Constitution;

(f) "Scheduled Tribes Orders" means the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950 and the Constitution (Andaman and Nicobar Islands) Scheduled Tribes Order, 1959, made by the President under article 342 of the Constitution;

(g) "State" means a State included in the Scheduled Castes Order and the Scheduled Tribes Orders, and includes the Union territory of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands;

Amendment of Scheduled Castes Order.

3. The Scheduled Castes Order is hereby amended in the manner and to the extent specified in the First Schedule.

Amendment of Scheduled Tribes Orders.

4. The Scheduled Tribes Orders are hereby amended in the manner and to the extent specified in the Second Schedule.

Determination of population of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

5. (1) As soon as may be after the commencement of this Act, the population as at the last census of the Scheduled Castes or, as the case may be, of the Scheduled Tribes, in each State shall be ascertained or estimated by the census authority.

(2) Where by reason of the amendments made by section 3 or section 4—

(a) any locality in a State specified in relation to any caste or tribe in any of the parts of the Schedules to the Orders referred to in the said sections is varied so as to specify a larger area in relation to such caste or tribe, the census authority shall take into account the population figures of the caste or tribe as ascertained in the last census and in any previous census wherein the population figures of the caste or tribe in respect of the increased area had been ascertained and determine the population of that caste or tribe as on the 1st day of April, 1971 by increasing or decreasing such figures by the proportion in which the general population of the State or, as the case may be, the division, district, taluk, tahsil, police station, development block or other territorial division in relation to which such caste or tribe has been specified by the said amendments has increased or decreased between the previous census aforesaid and the last census;

(b) any caste or tribe which is deemed to be both a Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe in relation to a State or part thereof is varied so as to specify such caste or tribe only as a Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe in relation to that State or part, the census authority shall take into account the population figures of such Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe as ascertained in the last census;

Provided that it shall not be necessary for the census authority to determine the population of any Scheduled Caste or Tribe as on the 1st day of April, 1971, if the population of that caste or tribe was not

ascertained at the last census and in any of the previous censuses and is, in the opinion of that authority, numerically small.

Explanation.—Where the population figures of any caste or tribe in respect of any increased area referred to in clause (a) had been ascertained in more than one previous census, the census authority shall take into account, for the purposes of that clause, the population figures of such caste or tribe as ascertained in the previous census which is nearest in point of time to the last census.

(3) The population figures ascertained or determined under sub-section (2) shall be notified by the census authority in the Gazette of India.

(4) The population figures so notified shall be taken to be the relevant population figures as ascertained at the last census and shall supersede any figures previously published; and the figures so notified shall be final and shall not be called in question in any court.

6. (1) After the population figures have been notified for any State under section 5, it shall be the duty of the Commission to make such amendments as may be necessary in the Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order, 1976, (without altering the extent of any constituency as given in such Order) having regard to the provisions of articles 81, 170, 330 and 332 of the Constitution, of section 8 of the Delimitation Act, and of this Act, for the purpose of giving proper representation to the Scheduled Castes or, as the case may be, to the Scheduled Tribes of that State on the basis of the number of reserved seats as specified in that Order as hereunder amended by the Commission, and the First Schedule and Second Schedule to the Representation of the People Act, 1950 shall be deemed to have been amended accordingly.

Re-ad-
justment
of consti-
tuencies
by the
Election
Com-
mission

43 of 1950.

(2) In making any amendments under sub-section (1), the Commission shall, as far as may be necessary, have regard to the provisions of clauses (c) and (d) of sub-section (1) of section 9 of the Delimitation Act.

(3) The Commission shall—

(a) publish its proposals for the amendments in the Gazette of India and the Official Gazette of the State concerned and also in such other manner as it thinks fit;

(b) specify a date on or after which such proposals will be further considered by it;

(c) consider all objections and suggestions which may have been received by it before the date so specified; and

(d) thereafter make the necessary amendments in the order.

Procedure
and
powers
of the
Commis-
sion.

7. (1) In the discharge of its functions under this Act, the Commission shall determine its own procedure and shall have all the powers of a civil court under the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908, while trying a suit in respect of the following matters, namely:—

5 of 1908.

(a) summoning and enforcing the attendance of witnesses;

(b) requiring the production of any document; and

(c) requisitioning any public record from any court or office.

(2) The Commission shall have the power to require any person to furnish any information on such points or matters as, in the opinion of the Commission, may be useful for, or relevant to, any matter under the consideration of the Commission.

(3) The Commission shall be deemed to be a civil court for the purposes of sections 345 and 346 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973.

2 of 1974.

Explanation.—For the purpose of enforcing the attendance of witnesses, the local limits of the jurisdiction of the Commission shall be the limits of the territory of India.

Publica-
tion of
amend-
ments
and their
dates of
operation.

8. (1) The Commission shall cause the amendments made by it in the Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order, 1976 to be published in the Gazette of India and in the Official Gazettes of the States concerned.

(2) Upon publication in the Gazette of India, every such amendment shall have the force of law and shall not be called in question in any court.

(3) As soon as may be after such publication in the Gazette of India, every such amendment shall be laid before the House of the People and the Legislative Assemblies of the States concerned.

(4) Subject to the provisions of sub-section (5), the readjustment of representation of any territorial constituencies in the House of the People or in the Legislative Assembly of a State necessitated by any amendments made by the Commission in the Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order, 1976 and provided for in that Order as so amended shall apply in relation to every election to the House or, as the case may be, to the Assembly, held after the publication in the Gazette of India under sub-section (1) of such amendments and shall so apply in supersession of the provisions relating to representation contained in the Representation of the People Act, 1950.

43 of 1950.

(5) Nothing contained in the foregoing sub-sections shall affect the representation in the House of the People or in the Legislative Assembly of a State, existing on the date of publication in the Gazette of India under sub-section (1) of the amendments made by the Commission under this Act.

9. (1) The Commission may, from time to time, by notification in the Gazette of India and in the Official Gazette of the State concerned—

Certain
other
powers of
Election
Commis-
sion.

(a) correct any printing mistake in the Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order, 1976 as amended under this Act, or any error occurring therein from any inadvertent slip or omission; and

(b) where the boundaries or the name of any district or any territorial division mentioned in the said Order are or is altered, make such amendments as appear to it to be necessary or expedient for bringing the Order up-to-date.

(2) Every notification under this section shall be laid, as soon as may be after it is issued, before the House of the People and the Legislative Assembly of the State concerned.

10. All things done, and all steps taken, before the commencement of this Act by the census authority for the determination of population of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, or by the Commission for the purpose of re-adjustment of constituencies shall, in so far as they are in conformity with the provisions of this Act, be deemed to have been done or taken under these provisions as if such provisions were in force at the time such things were done or such steps were taken.

Valida-
tion of
acts
done pre-
vious to
the com-
mence-
ment
of the Act.

THE FIRST SCHEDULE

(See section 3)

In the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1950—

(a) in paragraph 2, for the figures "XVII", the figures "XIX" shall be substituted;

(b) for paragraph 4, substitute—

"4. Any reference in this Order to a State or to a district or other territorial division thereof shall be construed as a reference to the State, district or other territorial division as constituted on the 1st day of May, 1976."

(c) for the Schedule, substitute—

"THE SCHEDULE

PART I.—*Andhra Pradesh*

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Adi Andhra | 31. Madasi Kuruva, Madari |
| 2. Adi Dravida | Kuruva |
| 3. Anamuk | 32. Madiga |
| 4. Aray Mala | 33. Madiga Dasu, Mashteen |
| 5. Arundhatiya | 34. Mahar |
| 6. Arwa Mala | 35. Mala |
| 7. Bariki | 36. Mala Dasari |
| 8. Bavuri | 37. Mala Dasu |
| 9. Beda Jangam, Budga Jangam | 38. Mala Hannai |
| 10. Bindla | 39. Malajangam |
| 11. Byagara | 40. Mala Masti |
| 12. Chachati | 41. Mala Sale, Netkani |
| 13. Chalavadi | 42. Mala Sanyasi |
| 14. Chamar, Mochi, Muchi | 43. Mang |
| 15. Chambhar | 44. Mang Garodi |
| 16. Chandala | 45. Manne |
| 17. Dakkal, Dokkalwar | 46. Mashti |
| 18. Dandasi | 47. Matangi |
| 19. Dhor | 48. Mehtar |
| 20. Dom, Dombara, Paidi, Pano | 49. Mitha Ayyalvar |
| 21. Ellamalawar, Yellammala- | 50. Mundala |
| wandlu | 51. Paky, Moti, Thoti |
| 22. Ghasi, Haddi, Relli | 52. Pambada, Pambanda |
| Chachandi | 53. Pamidi |
| 23. Godagali | 54. Panchama, Pariah |
| 24. Godari | 55. Relli |
| 25. Gosangi | 56. Samagara |
| 26. Holey | 57. Samban |
| 27. Holey Dasari | 58. Sapru |
| 28. Jaggali | 59. Sindhollu, Chindollu |
| 29. Jambuvulu | |
| 30. Kolupulvandlu | |

PART II.—*Assam*

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Bansphor | 9. Kaibartta, Jaliya |
| 2. Bhuinmali, Mali | 10. Lalbegi |
| 3. Britthal Bania, Bania | 11. Mahara |
| 4. Dhupi, Dhobi | 12. Mehtar, Bhangi |
| 5. Dugla, Dholi | 13. Muchi, Rishi |
| 6. Hira | 14. Namasudra |
| 7. Jalkeot | 15. Patni |
| 8. Jhalo, Malo, Jhalo-Malo | 16. Sutradhar |

PART III.—*Bihar*

- | | |
|-----------|----------------------------|
| 1. Bantar | 5. Bhumij (excluding North |
| 2. Bauri | Chotanagpur and South |
| 3. Bhogta | Chotanagpur divisions and |
| 4. Bhuiya | Santal Parganas district) |

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------|
| 6. Chamar, Mochi | 15. Kanjar |
| 7. Chaupal | 16. Kurariar |
| 8. Dabgar | 17. Lalbegi |
| 9. Dhobi | 18. Musahar |
| 10. Dom, Dhangad | 19. Nat |
| 11. Dusadh, Dhari, Dharhi | 20. Pan, Sawasi |
| 12. Ghasi | 21. Pasi |
| 13. Halalkhor | 22. Rajwar |
| 14. Hari, Mehtar, Bhangi | 23. Turi. |

PART IV.—Gujarat

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Ager | 14. Holar, Valhar |
| 2. Bakad, Bant | 15. Holaya, Holer |
| 3. Bawa-Dedh, Dedh-Sadhu | 16. Lingader |
| 4. Bhambi, Bhambhi, Asadaru, Asodi, Chamadia, Chamar, Chambhar, Changar, Haralaya, Harali, Khalpa, Machigar, Mochigar, Madar, Madig, Mochi, Nalia, Telegu Mochi, Kamati Mochi, Ranigar, Rohidas, Rohit, Samgar | 17. Mahar, Taral, Dhegu Megu |
| 5. Bhangi, Mehtar, Olgana, Rukhi, Malkana, Halalkhor, Lalbegi, Balmiki, Korar, Zadmalli | 18. Mahyavansi, Dhed, Dhedh, Vankar, Maru Vankar, Antyaj |
| 6. Chalvadi, Channayya | 19. Mang, Matang, Minimadig |
| 7. Chenna Dasar, Holaya Dasar | 20. Mang-Garudi |
| 8. Dangashia | 21. Meghval, Meghwal, Menghvar |
| 9. Dhor, Kakkayya, Kankayya | 22. Mukri |
| 10. Garmatang | 23. Nadia, Hadi |
| 11. Garoda, Garo | 24. Pasi |
| 12. Halleer | 25. Senva, Shenva, Chenva, Sedma, Rawat |
| 13. Halsar, Haslar, Hulasvar, Halasvar | 26. Shemalia |
| | 27. Thori |
| | 28. Tirgar, Tirbanda |
| | 29. Turi |
| | 30. Turi Barot, Dedh Barot |

PART V.—Haryana

- | | |
|--|------------------------------|
| 1. Ad Dharmi | 14. Dhanak |
| 2. Balmiki, Chura, Bhangi | 15. Dhogri, Dhangri, Sigg |
| 3. Bangali | 16. Dumna, Mahasha, Doom |
| 4. Barar, Burar, Berar | 17. Gagra |
| 5. Batwal | 18. Gandhila, Gandil Gondola |
| 6. Bauria, Bawaria | 19. Kabirpanthi, Julaha |
| 7. Bazigar | 20. Khatik |
| 8. Bhanjra | 21. Kori, Koli |
| 9. Chamar, Jatia Chamar, Rehgar, Raigar, Ramdasi, Ravidasi | 22. Marija, Marecha |
| 10. Chanal | 23. Mazhabi |
| 11. Dagi | 24. Megh |
| 12. Darain | 25. Nat |
| 13. Deha, Dhaya, Dhea | 26. Od |
| | 27. Pasi |
| | 28. Perna |

29. Pherera
30. Sanhai
31. Sanhal
32. Sansi, Bhedkut, Manesh
33. Sansoi

34. Sapela
35. Sarera
36. Sikligar
37. Sirkiband

PART VI.—Himachal Pradesh

1. Ad Dharmi
2. Badhi, Nagalu
3. Balmiki, Bhangi, Chuhra, Chura, Chuhre
4. Bandhela
5. Bangali
6. Banjara
7. Bansi
8. Barad
9. Barar, Burar, Berar
10. Batwal
11. Bauria, Bawaria
12. Bazigar
13. Bhanjra, Bhanjre
14. Chamar, Jatia Chamar, Rehgar, Raigar, Ramdasi, Ravidasi, Ramdasia, Mochi
15. Chanal
16. Chhimbe, Dhobi
17. Dagi
18. Darain
19. Darai, Daryai
20. Daule, Daole
21. Dhaki, Toori
22. Dhanak
23. Dhaogri, Dhuai
24. Dhogri, Dhangri, Sigg
25. Doom, Doomna, Dumna, Dumne, Mahasha
26. Gagra
27. Gandhila, Gandil Gondola

28. Hali
29. Hesi
30. Jogi
31. Julaha, Julahe, Kabirpanthi, Keer
32. Kamoh, Dagoli
33. Karoack
34. Khatik
35. Kori, Koli
36. Lohar
37. Marija, Marecha
38. Mazhabi
39. Megh
40. Nat
41. Od
42. Pasi
43. Perna
44. Phrera, Pherera
45. Rehar, Rehara
46. Sanhai
47. Sanhal
48. Sansi, Bhedkut, Manesh
49. Sansoi
50. Sapela
51. Sarde, Sarera, Sarare, Siryare, Sarehde
52. Sikligar
53. Sipi
54. Sirkiband
55. Teli
56. Thathiar, Thathera

PART VII.—Karnataka

1. Adi Andhra
2. Adi Dravida
3. Adi Karnataka
4. Adiya (in Coorg district)
5. Ager
6. Ajila
7. Anamuk
8. Aray Mala
9. Arunthathiyar
10. Arwa Mala
11. Balra
12. Bakad
13. Bant (in Belgaum, Bijapur,

- Dharwar and North Kanara districts)
14. Bakuda
15. Balagai
16. Bandi
17. Banjara, Lambani
18. Bathada
19. Beda Jangam, Budga Jangam.
20. Bellara
21. Bhangi, Mehtar, Olgana, Rukhi, Malkana, Halalkhor, Lalbegi, Balmiki, Korar, Zadmalli

22. Bhambi, Bhambhi, Asadaru, Asodi, Chamadia, Chamar, Chambhar, Chamgar, Hara-layya, Harali, Khalpa, Machigor, Mochigar, Madar, Madig, Mochi, Muchi, Telegu Mochi, Kamati Mochi, Rani-gar, Rohidas, Rohit, Samgar.
23. Bhovi
24. Bindla
25. Byagara
26. Chakkiliyan
27. Chalavadi, Chalvadi, Chan-nayya
28. Chandala
29. Chenna Dasar, Holaya Dasar
30. Dakkal, Dokkalwar
31. Dakkaliga
32. Dhor, Kakkayya, Kankayya
33. Dom, Dombara, Paidi, Pano
34. Ellamalwar, Yellammalawan-
dlu
35. Ganti Chores
36. Garoda, Garo
37. Godda
38. Gosangi
39. Halleer
40. Halsar, Haslar, Hulasvar, Halasvar
41. Handi Jogis
42. Hasla
43. Holar, Valhar
44. Holaya, Holer, Holey
45. Holey Dasari
46. Jaggali
47. Jambuvulu
48. Kadaiyan
49. Kalladi
50. Kepmaris
51. Kolupulvandlu
52. Koosa
53. Koracha
54. Korama
55. Kotegar, Metri
56. Kudumban
57. Kuravan
58. Lingader
59. Machala
60. Madari
61. Madiga
62. Mahar, Taral, Dhegu Megu
63. Mahyavanshi, Dhed, Vankar Maru Vankar
64. Maila
65. Mala
66. Mala Dasari
67. Mala Hannai
68. Mala Jangam
69. Mala Masti
70. Mala Sale, Netkani
71. Mala Sanyasi
72. Mang, Matang, Minimadig
73. Mang Garudi, Mang Garodi
74. Manne
75. Masthi
76. Mavilan
77. Meghval, Menghvar
78. Moger
79. Mukri
80. Mundala
81. Nadia, Hadi
82. Nalkadaya
83. Nalakeyava
84. Nayadi
85. Pale
86. Pallan
87. Pambada
88. Panchama
89. Panniandi
90. Paraiyan, Paraya
91. Paravan
92. Raneyar
93. Samagara
94. Samban
95. Sapari
96. Sillekayathas
97. Sindhollu, Chindollu
98. Sudugadu Siddha
99. Thoti
100. Tirgar, Tirbanda
101. Valluvan.

PART VIII.—Kerala

1. Adi Andhra
2. Adi Dravida
3. Adi Karnataka
4. Ajila
5. Arunthathiyar
6. Ayyanavar
7. Baira
8. Bakuda
9. Bandi
10. Bathada
11. Bellara
12. Bharatar

13. Boyan [excluding the areas comprising the Malabar district as specified by sub-section (2) of section 5 of the States Reorganisation Act, 1956 (37 of 1956)].
14. Chakkiliyan
15. Chamar, Muchi
16. Chandala
17. Cheruman
18. Domban
19. Gavara
20. Godagali
21. Godda
22. Gosangi
23. Hasla
24. Holey
25. Kadaiyan
26. Kakkalan
27. Kalladi
28. Kanakkan, Padanna
29. Karimpalan
30. Kavara
31. Koosa
32. Kootan, Koodan
33. Kudumban
34. Kuravan, Sidhanar
35. Maila
36. Malayan [in the areas comprising the Malabar district as specified by sub-section (2) of section 5 of the States Reorganisation Act, 1956 (37 of 1956)]
37. Mannan
38. Mavilan
39. Moger
40. Mundala
41. Nalakeyava
42. Nalkadaya
43. Nayadi
44. Padannan
45. Pallan
46. Palluvan
47. Pambada
48. Panan
49. Panchama
50. Paraiyan, Parayan, Sambavar
51. Paravan
52. Pathiyan
53. Perumannan
54. Pulayan, Cheramar
55. Pulaya Vettuvan
56. Puthirai Vannan
57. Raneyar
58. Samagara
59. Samban
60. Semman
61. Thandan
62. Thoti
63. Vallon
64. Valluvan
65. Vannan
66. Velan
67. Vetan
68. Vettuvan

PART IX.— Madhya Pradesh

1. Audhelia
2. Bagri, Bagdi
3. Bahna, Bahana
4. Balahi, Balai
5. Banchada
6. Barahar, Basod
7. Bargunda
8. Basor, Burud, Bansor, Bansodi, Bansphor, Basar
9. Bedia
10. Beldar, Sunkar
11. Bhangi, Mehtar, Balmik, Lalbegi, Dharkar
12. Bhanumati
13. Chadar
14. Chamar, Chamari, Bairwa, Bhambi, Jatav, Mochi, Regar, Nona, Rohidas, Ramnami, Satnami, Surjyabanshi, Surjyaramnami, Ahirwar, Chamar Mangan, Raidas
15. Chidar
16. Chikwa, Chikvi
17. Chitar
18. Dahait, Dahayat, Dahat
19. Dewar
20. Dhanuk
21. Dhed, Dher
22. Dhobi (in Bhopal, Raisen and Sehore districts)
23. Dohor
24. Dom, Dumar, Dome, Domar, Doris
25. Ganda, Gandi
26. Ghasi, Ghasia
27. Holiya

- | | |
|--|---|
| 28. Kanjar | Mahasi, Madari, Garudi, |
| 29. Katia, Patharia | Radhe Mang |
| 30. Khatik | 38. Meghwal |
| 31. Koli, Kori | 39. Moghia |
| 32. Kotwal (in Bhind, Dhar, Dewas, Guna, Gwalior, Indore, Jhabua, Khargone, Mandsaur, Morena, Rajgarh, Ratlam, Shajapur, Shivpuri, Ujjain and Vidisha districts) | 40. Muskhan |
| 33. Khangar, Kanera, Mirdha | 41. Nat, Kalbelia, Sapera, Navdi-gar, Kubutar |
| 34. Kuchbandhia | 42. Pardhi (in Bhind, Dhar, Dewas, Guna, Gwalior, Indore, Jhabua, Khargone, Mandsaur, Morena, Rajgarh, Ratlam, Sha-japur, Shivpuri, Ujjain and Vidisha districts) |
| 35. Kumhar (in Chhatarpur, Datia, Panna, Rewa, Satna, Shahdol, Sidhi and Tikamgarh districts) | 43. Pasi |
| 36. Mahar, Mehra, Mehar | 44. Rujjhar |
| 37. Mang, Mang Garodi, Mang Garudi, Dankhni Mang, Mang | 45. Sansi, Sansia |
| | 46. Silawat |
| | 47. Zamral. |

PART X.—Maharashtra

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Ager | 20. Ellamalvar, Yellammalawan-du |
| 2. Anamuk | 21. Ganda, Gandi |
| 3. Aray Mala | 22. Garoda, Garo |
| 4. Arwa Mala | 23. Ghasi, Ghasia |
| 5. Bahna, Bahana | 24. Halleer |
| 6. Bakad, Bant | 25. Halsar, Haslar, Hulasvar, Hal-asvar |
| 7. Balahi, Balai | 26. Holar, Valhar |
| 8. Basor, Burud, Bansor, Ban-sodi | 27. Holaya, Holer, Holey, Holiya |
| 9. Beda Jangam, Budga Jangam | 28. Kaikadi (in Akola, Amravati Bhandara, Buldana, Nagpur, Wardha and Yavatmal dis-tricts and Chandrapur dis-trict, other than Rajura tahsil) |
| 10. Bedar | 29. Katia, Patharia |
| 11. Bhambi, Bhambhi, Asadaru, Asodi, Chamadia, Chamar, Chamari, Chambhar, Chamgar, Haralayya, Harali, Khalpa, Machigar, Mochigar, Madar, Madig, Mochi, Telegu Mochi, Kamati Mochi, Ranigar, Rohi-das, Nona, Ramnami, Rohit, Samgar, Samagara, Satnami, Surjyabanshi, Surjyaramnami | 30. Khangar, Kanera, Mirdha |
| 12. Bhangi, Mehtar, Olgana, Rukhi, Malkana, Halalkhor, Lalbegi, Balmiki, Korar, Zedmali | 31. Khatik, Chikwa, Chikvi |
| 13. Bindla | 32. Kolupulvandlu |
| 14. Byagara | 33. Kori |
| 15. Chavadi, Channayya | 34. Lingader |
| 16. Chenna Dasar, Holaya Dasar, Holey, Dasari | 35. Madgi |
| 17. Dakkal, Dokkalwar | 36. Madiga |
| 18. Dhor, Kakkayya, Kankayya, Dohor | 37. Mahar, Mehra, Taral, Dhegu Megu |
| 19. Dom, Dumar | 38. Mahyavanshi, Dhed, Vankar, Maru Vankar |
| | 39. Mala |
| | 40. Mala Dasari |
| | 41. Mala Harinal |
| | 42. Mala Jangam |
| | 43. Mala Masti |
| | 44. Mala Sale, Netkani |

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 45. Mala Sanyasi | 51. Mitha Ayyalvar |
| 46. Mang, Matang, Minimadig,
Dankhni Mang, Mang Mahashi,
Madari, Garudi, Radhe Mang | 52. Mukri |
| 47. Mang Garodi, Mang Garudi | 53. Nadia, Hadi |
| 48. Manne | 54. Pasi |
| 49. Mashti | 55. Sansi |
| 50. Meghval, Menghvar | 56. Shenva, Chenva, Sedma,
Ravat |
| | 57. Sindhollu, Chindollu |
| | 58. Tirgar, Tirbanda |
| | 59. Turi. |

PART XI.—Manipur

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------|
| 1. Dhupi, Dhobi | 5. Patni |
| 2. Lois | 6. Sutradhar |
| 3. Muchi, Ravidas | 7. Yaithibi. |
| 4. Namasudra | |

PART XII.—Meghalaya

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Bansphor | 9. Kaibartta, Jaliya |
| 2. Bhuinmali, Mali | 10. Lalbegi |
| 3. Brittial Bania, Bania | 11. Mahara |
| 4. Dhupi, Dhobi | 12. Mehtar, Bhangi |
| 5. Dugla, Dholi | 13. Muchi, Rishi |
| 6. Hira | 14. Namasudra |
| 7. Jalkeot | 15. Patni |
| 8. Jhalo, Malo, Jhalo-Malo | 16. Sutradhar. |

PART XIII.—Orissa

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Adi Andhra | 24. Dewar |
| 2. Amant, Amat | 25. Dhanwar |
| 3. Audhelia | 26. Dhoba, Dhobi |
| 4. Sadaik | 27. Dom, Dombo, Duria Dom |
| 5. Bagheti, Baghuti | 28. Dosadha |
| 6. Bajikar | 29. Ganda |
| 7. Bari | 30. Ghantarghada, Ghantra |
| 8. Bariki | 31. Ghasi, Ghasia |
| 9. Basor, Burud | 32. Ghogia |
| 10. Bauri | 33. Ghusuria |
| 11. Bauti | 34. Godagali |
| 12. Bavuri | 35. Godari |
| 13. Bedia, Bejia | 36. Godra |
| 14. Beldar | 37. Gokha |
| 15. Bhata | 38. Gorsit, Korait |
| 16. Bhol | 39. Haddi, Hadi, Hari |
| 17. Chachati | 40. Irika |
| 18. Chakali | 41. Jaggali |
| 19. Chamar, Mochi, Muchi, Sat-nami | 42. Kandra, Kandara |
| 20. Chandala | 43. Karua |
| 21. Chandnai Maru | 44. Katia |
| 22. Cherua, Chhelia | 45. Kela |
| 23. Dandasi | 46. Khadala |

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 47. Kodalo, Khodalo | 71. Panika |
| 48. Kori | 72. Panka |
| 49. Kummari | 73. Pentanti |
| 50. Kurunga | 74. Pap |
| 51. Laban | 75. Pasi |
| 52. Laheri | 76. Patial, Patikar, Patratanti, Patua |
| 53. Madari | 77. Rajna |
| 54. Madiga | 78. Relli |
| 55. Mahuria | 79. Sabakhia |
| 56. Mala, Jhala, Malo, Zala | 80. Samasi |
| 57. Mang | 81. Sanei |
| 58. Mangan | 82. Sapari |
| 59. Mehra, Mahar | 83. Sauntia, Santia |
| 60. Mehtar, Bhangri | 84. Sidhria |
| 61. Mewar | 85. Sinduria |
| 62. Mundapotta | 86. Siyal |
| 63. Musahar | 87. Tamadia |
| 64. Nagarchi | 88. Tamudia |
| 65. Namasudra | 89. Tanla |
| 66. Paidi | 90. Tiar, Tior |
| 67. Painda | 91. Turi |
| 68. Pamidi | 92. Ujia |
| 69. Pan, Pano | 93. Valamiki, Valmiki. |
| 70. Panchama | |

PART XIV.—*Punjab*

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| 1. Ad Dharmi | 19. Kabirpanthi, Julaha |
| 2. Balmiki, Chura, Bhangri | 20. Khatik |
| 3. Bangali | 21. Kori, Koli |
| 4. Barar, Burar, Berar | 22. Marija, Marecha |
| 5. Batwal | 23. Mazhabi |
| 6. Bauria, Bawaria | 24. Megh |
| 7. Bazigar | 25. Nat |
| 8. Bhanjra | 26. Od |
| 9. Chamar, Jatia Chamar, Rehgar, Raigar, Ramdasi, Ravidasi | 27. Fasi |
| 10. Chanal | 28. Perna |
| 11. Dagl | 29. Pherera |
| 12. Darain | 30. Sanhai |
| 13. Deha, Dhaya, Dhee | 31. Sanhai |
| 14. Dhanak | 32. Sansi, Bhedkut, Manesh |
| 15. Dhogri, Dhangri, Sigg | 33. Sansol |
| 16. Dumina, Mahasha, Doom | 34. Sapela |
| 17. Gagra | 35. Sarera |
| 18. Gandhila, Gandil Gondola | 36. Sikligar |
| | 37. Sirkiband. |

PART XV—Rajasthan

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Adi Dharmi | 27. Garo, Garura, Gurda, Garoda |
| 2. Aheri | 28. Gavarra |
| 3. Badi | 29. Godhi |
| 4. Bagri, Bagdi | 30. Jingar |
| 5. Bairwa, Berwa | 31. Kalbelia, Sopera |
| 6. Bajgar | 32. Kamad, Kamadia |
| 7. Balai | 33. Kanjar, Kunjar |
| 8. Bansphor, Bansphod | 34. Kapadia Sansi |
| 9. Baori | 35. Khangar |
| 10. Bargi, Vargi, Birgi | 36. Khatik |
| 11. Bawaria | 37. Koli, Kori |
| 12. Bedia, Beria | 38. Kooch Band, Kuchband |
| 13. Bhand | 39. Koria |
| 14. Bhangi, Chura, Mehtar,
Olgana, Rukhi, Malkana,
Halalkhor, Lalbegi, Balmiki,
Valmiki, Korar, Zadmalli. | 40. Madari, Bazigar |
| 15. Bidakia | 41. Mahar, Taral, Dhegumegu |
| 16. Bola | 42. Mahyavanshi, Dhed, Dheda,
Vankar, Maru Vankar |
| 17. Chamar, Bhambhi, Bambhi,
Bhambi, Jatia, Jatav, Jatava,
Mochi, Raidas, Rohidas, Regar,
Raigar, Ramdasia, Asadaru,
Asodi, Chamadia, Chambhar,
Chamgar, Haralayya, Harali,
Khalpa, Machigar, Mochigar,
Madar, Madig, Telegu Mcchi,
Kamati Mochi, Ranigar, Rohit,
Samgar | 43. Majhabi |
| 18. Chandai | 44. Mang, Matang, Minimadig |
| 19. Dabgar | 45. Mang Garodi, Mang Garudi |
| 20. Dhanak, Dhanuk | 46. Megh, Meghval, Meghwal,
Menghvar |
| 21. Dhankia | 47. Mehar |
| 22. Dhobi | 48. Nat, Nut |
| 23. Dholi | 49. Pasi |
| 24. Dome, Dom | 50. Rawal |
| 25. Gandia | 51. Salvi |
| 26. Garancha, Gancha | 52. Sarsi |
| | 53. Santia, Satia |
| | 54. Sarbhangi |
| | 55. Sargara |
| | 56. Singiwala |
| | 57. Thori, Nayak |
| | 58. Tirgar, Tirbanda |
| | 59. Turi. |

PART XVI.—Tamil Nadu

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| 1. Adi Andhra | 12. Chakkiliyan |
| 2. Adi Dravida | 13. Chalavadi |
| 3. Adi Karnataka | 14. Chamar, Muchi |
| 4. Ajila | 15. Chandala |
| 5. Arunthathiyar | 16. Cheruman |
| 6. Ayyanavar (in Kanyakumari
district and Shenkottah taluk
of Tirunelveli district) | 17. Devendrakulathan |
| 7. Baifra | 18. Dom, Dombara, Paidi, Panna |
| 8. Bakuda | 19. Domban |
| 9. Bandi | 20. Godagali |
| 10. Bellara | 21. Godda |
| 11. Bharatar (in Kanyakumari
district and Shenkottah taluk
of Tirunelveli district) | 22. Gosangi |
| | 23. Holey |
| | 24. Jaggali |
| | 25. Jambuvulu |

- | | |
|---|---|
| 26. Kadaiyan | 52. Panan (in Kanyakumari district and Shenkottah taluk of Tirunelveli district) |
| 27. Kakkalan (in Kanyakumari district and Shenkottah taluk of Tirunelveli district) | 53. Panchama |
| 28. Kalladi | 54. Pannadi |
| 29. Kanakkan, Padanna (in the Nilgiris district) | 55. Panniandi |
| 30. Karimpalan | 56. Paraiyan, Parayan, Sambavar |
| 31. Kavara (in Kanyakumari district and Shenkottah taluk of Tirunelveli district) | 57. Paravan (in Kanyakumari district and Shenkottah taluk of Tirunelveli district) |
| 32. Koliyan | 58. Pathiyan (in Kanyakumari district and Shenkottah taluk of Tirunelveli district) |
| 33. Koosa | 59. Pulayan, Cheramar |
| 34. Kootan, Koodan (in Kanyakumari district and Shenkottah taluk of Tirunelveli district) | 60. Puthirai Vannan |
| 35. Kudumban | 61. Raneyar |
| 36. Kuravan, Sidhanar | 62. Samagara |
| 37. Madari | 63. Samban |
| 38. Madiga | 64. Sapari |
| 39. Maila | 65. Semman |
| 40. Mala | 66. Thandan (in Kanyakumari district and Shenkottah taluk of Tirunelveli district) |
| 41. Mannan (in Kanyakumari district and Shenkottah taluk of Tirunelveli district) | 67. Thoti |
| 42. Mavilan | 68. Tiruvalluvar |
| 43. Moger | 69. Vallon |
| 44. Mundala | 70. Valluvan |
| 45. Nalakeyava | 71. Vannan (in Kanyakumari district and Shenkottah taluk of Tirunelveli district) |
| 46. Nayadi | 72. Vathiriyar |
| 47. Padannan (in Kanyakumari district and Shenkottah taluk of Tirunelveli district) | 73. Velan |
| 48. Pagadai | 74. Vetan (in Kanyakumari district and Shenkottah taluk of Tirunelveli district) |
| 49. Pallan | 75. Vettiyan |
| 50. Palluvan | 76. Vettuvan (in Kanyakumari district and Shenkottah taluk of Tirunelveli district) |
| 51. Pambada | |

PART XVII.—Tripura

- | | |
|--------------------|----------------|
| 1. Bagdi | 17. Kanugh |
| 2. Bhuimali | 18. Keot |
| 3. Bhunar | 19. Khadit |
| 4. Chamar, Muchi | 20. Kharia |
| 5. Dandasi | 21. Koch |
| 6. Dhenuar | 22. Koir |
| 7. Dhoba | 23. Kol |
| 8. Dum | 24. Kora |
| 9. Ghasi | 25. Kotal |
| 10. Gour | 26. Mahisyadas |
| 11. Gur | 27. Mali |
| 12. Jalia Kaibarta | 28. Mehtor |
| 13. Kahar | 29. Musahar |
| 14. Kalindi | 30. Namasudra |
| 15. Kan | 31. Patni |
| 16. Kanda | 32. Sabar. |

PART XVIII.—Uttar Pradesh

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Agariya | 34. Gharami |
| 2. Badhik | 35. Ghasiya |
| 3. Badi | 36. Gond |
| 4. Baheliya | 37. Gual |
| 5. Baiga | 38. Habura |
| 6. Baiswar | 39. Hari |
| 7. Bajaniya | 40. Hela |
| 8. Bajgi | 41. Kalabaz |
| 9. Balahar | 42. Kanjar |
| 10. Balai | 43. Kapariya |
| 11. Balmiki | 44. Karwal |
| 12. Bangali | 45. Khairaha |
| 13. Banmanus | 46. Kharwar (excluding Ben- |
| 14. Bansphor | bansi) |
| 15. Barwar | 47. Khatik |
| 16. Basor | 48. Khorot |
| 17. Bawariya | 49. Kol |
| 18. Beldar | 50. Kori |
| 19. Beriya | 51. Korwa |
| 20. Bhantu | 52. Lalbegi |
| 21. Bhuiya | 53. Majhwar |
| 22. Bhuyiar | 54. Mazhabi |
| 23. Boria | 55. Musahar |
| 24. Chamar, Dhusia, Jhusia,
Jatava | 56. Nat |
| 25. Chero | 57. Pankha |
| 26. Dabgar | 58. Parahiya |
| 27. Dhangar | 59. Pasi, Tarmali |
| 28. Dhanuk | 60. Patari |
| 29. Dharkar | 61. Rawat |
| 30. Dhobi | 62. Saharya |
| 31. Dom | 63. Sanaurhiya |
| 32. Domar | 64. Sansiya |
| 33. Dusadh | 65. Shilpkar |
| | 66. Turaiha |

PART XIX.—West Bengal

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Bagdi, Duley | 14. Damai (Nepali) |
| 2. Bahelia | 15. Dhoba, Dhobi |
| 3. Baiti | 16. Doai |
| 4. Bantar | 17. Dom, Dhangad |
| 5. Bauri | 18. Dosadh, Dusadh, Dhari,
Dharhi |
| 6. Beldar | 19. Ghasi |
| 7. Bhogta | 20. Gonrhi |
| 8. Bhuimali | 21. Halalkhor |
| 9. Bhuiya | 22. Hari, Mehtar, Mehtor, Bhang |
| 10. Bind | 23. Jalia Kaibartta |
| 11. Chamar, Charmakar, Mochi,
Muchi, Rabidas, Ruidas, Rishi | 24. Jhalo Malo, Malo |
| 12. Chaupal | 25. Kadar |
| 13. Dabgar | |

26. Kami (Nepali)	43. Mal
27. Kandra	44. Mallah
28. Kanjar	45. Musahar
29. Kaora	46. Namasudra
30. Karenga, Koranga	47. Nat
31. Kaur	48. Nuniya
32. Keot, Keyot	49. Paliya
33. Khaira	50. Pan, Sawasi
34. Khatik	51. Pasi
35. Koch	52. Patni
36. Konai	53. Pod, Poundra
37. Konwar	54. Rajbanshi
38. Kotal	55. Rajwar
39. Kurariar	56. Sarki (Nepali)
40. Lalbegi	57. Sunri (excluding Saha)
41. Lohar	58. Tiyar
42. Mahar	59. Turi."

THE SECOND SCHEDULE

(See section 4)

CHAPTER I

In the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950,—

(a) for paragraph 3, substitute—

"3. Any reference in this Order to a State or to a district or other territorial division thereof shall be construed as a reference to the State, district or other territorial division as constituted on the 1st day of May, 1976.";

(b) for the Schedule, substitute—

"THE SCHEDULE

PART I.—*Andhra Pradesh*

1. Andh	16. Kondhs, Kodi, Kodhu, Desaya
2. Bagata	Kondhs, Dongria Kondhs, Kutiya Kondhs, Tikiria Kondhs.
3. Bhil	Yeniy Kondhs
4. Chenchu, Chenchwar	17. Kotia, Benthoriya, Bartika,
5. Gadabas	Dhulia, Dulia, Holva, Paiko,
6. Gond, Naikpod, Rajgond	Putiya, Sanrona, Sidhopaiko
7. Gouda (in the Agency tracts)	18. Koya, Goud, Rajah, Rasha
8. Hill Reddis	Koya, Lingadhari Koya (ordinary), Kottu Koya, Bhine
9. Jatapus	Koya, Rajkoya
10. Kammara	19. Kulia
11. Kattunayakan	20. Malis (excluding Adilabad, Hyderabad, Karimnagar, Khammam, Mahbubnagar, Medak Nalgonda, Nizamabad and Warangal districts)
12. Kolam, Mannervaru	21. Manna Dhora
13. Konda Dhoras	
14. Konda Kapus	
15. Kondareddis	

22. Mukha Dhora, Nooka Dhora
 23. Nayaks (in the Agency tracts)
 24. Pardhan
 25. Porja, Parangiperja
 26. Reddi Dhoras
 27. Rona, Rena
 28. Savaras, Kapu Savaras, Maliya Savaras, Khutto Savaras
 29. Sugalis, Lambadis
 30. Thoti (in Adilabad, Hyderabad, Karimnagar, Khammam, Mahbubnagar, Medak, Nalgonda, Nizamabad and Warangal districts)
 31. Valmiki (in the Agency tracts)
 32. Yenadis
 33. Yerukulas.

PART II.—Assam

- I. In the autonomous districts:—
1. Chakma
 2. Dimasa, Kachari
 3. Garo
 4. Hajong
 5. Hmar
 6. Khasi, Jaintia, Synteng, Pnar, War, Bhoi, Lyngngam
 7. Any Kuki Tribes, including:—
 - (i) Biate, Biete
 - (ii) Changsan
 - (iii) Chongloi
 - (iv) DOUNGEL
 - (v) Gamalhou
 - (vi) Gangte
 - (vii) Guite
 - (viii) Hanneng
 - (ix) Haokip, Haupt
 - (x) Haolai
 - (xi) Hengna
 - (xii) Hongsung
 - (xiii) Hrangkhwal, Rangkhoh
 - (xiv) Jongbe
 - (xv) Khawchung
 - (xvi) Khawathlang, Khothalong
 - (xvii) Khelma
 - (xviii) Kholhou
 - (xix) Kipgen
 - (xx) Kuki
 - (xxi) Lengthang
 - (xxii) Lhangum
 - (xxiii) Lhoujem
 - (xxiv) Lhouvun
 - (xxv) Lupheng
 - (xxvi) Mangjel
 - (xxvii) Misao
 - (xxviii) Riang
 - (xxix) Sairhem
 - (xxx) Selnam
 - (xxxi) Singson
 - (xxxii) Sitlhou
 - (xxxiii) Sukte
 - (xxxiv) Thado
 - (xxxv) Thangngeu
 - (xxxvi) Uibuh
 - (xxxvii) Vaiphei
 8. Lakher
 9. Man (Tai speaking)
 10. Any Mizo (Lushai) tribes
 11. Mikir
 12. Any Naga tribes
 13. Pawi
 14. Syntheng.
- II. In the State of Assam excluding the autonomous districts:—
1. Barmans in Cachar
 2. Boro, Borokachari
 3. Deori
 4. Hojai
 5. Kachari, Sonwal
 6. Lalung
 7. Mech
 8. Miri
 9. Rabha.

PART III.—Bihar

1. Asur
2. Baiga
3. Banjara
4. Bathudi
5. Bedia
6. Bhumij (in North Chotanagpur and South Chotanagpur divisions and Santal Parganas districts)
7. Binjhia

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|
| 8. Birhor | 20. Kora |
| 9. Birjia | 21. Korwa |
| 10. Chero | 22. Lohara, Lohra |
| 11. Chik Baraik | 23. Mahli |
| 12. Gond | 24. Mal Paharia |
| 13. Gorait | 25. Munda |
| 14. Ho | 26. Oraon |
| 15. Karmali | 27. Parhaiya |
| 16. Kharia | 28. Santal |
| 17. Kharwar | 29. Sauria Paharia |
| 18. Khond | 30. Savar. |
| 19. Kisan | |

PART IV.—Gujarat

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Barda | 15. Koli (in Kutch district) |
| 2. Bavacha, Bamcha | 16. Koli Dhor, Tokre Koli, Kolcha, Kolgha |
| 3. Bharwad (in the Nesses of the forests of Alech, Barada and Gir) | 17. Kunbi (in the Dangs district) |
| 4. Bhil, Bhil Garasia, Dholi Bhil, Dungri Bhil, Dungri Garasia, Mewasi Bhil, Rawal Bhil, Tadvi Bhil, Bhagalia, Bhilala, Pawra, Vasava, Vasave | 18. Naikda, Nayaka, Cholivala Nayaka, Kapadia Nayaka, Mota Nayaka, Nana Nayaka |
| 5. Charan (in the Nesses of the forests of Alech, Barada and Gir) | 19. Padhar |
| 6. Chaudhri (in Surat and Val-sad districts) | 20. Paradhi (in Kutch district) |
| 7. Chodhara | 21. Pardhi, Advichincher, Phanse Pardhi (excluding Amreli, Bhavnagar, Jamnagar, Junagadh, Kutch, Rajkot and Surendranagar districts) |
| 8. Dhanka, Tadvi, Tetaria, Valvi | 22. Patelia |
| 9. Dhodia | 23. Pomla |
| 10. Dubla, Talavia, Halpati | 24. Rabari (in the Nesses of the forests of Alech, Barada and Gir) |
| 11. Gamit, Gamta, Gavit, Mavchi, Padvi | 25. Rathawa |
| 12. Gond, Rajgond | 26. Siddi (in Amreli, Bhavnagar, Jamnagar, Junagadh, Rajkot and Surendranagar districts) |
| 13. Kathodi, Katkari, Dhor Kathodi, Dhor Katkari, Son Kathodi, Son Katkari | 27. Vaghri (in Kutch district) |
| 14. Kokna, Kokni, Kukna | 28. Varli |
| | 29. Vitola, Kotwalia, Barodia. |

PART V.—Himachal Pradesh

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Bhot, Bodh | (1) of section 5 of the Punjab Reorganisation Act, 1966 (31 of 1966)] |
| 2. Gaddi [excluding the territories specified in sub-section (1) of section 5 of the Punjab Reorganisation Act, 1966 (31 of 1966), other than the Lahaul and Spiti district] | 4. Jad, Lamba, Khampa |
| | 5. Kanaura, Kinnara |
| | 6. Lahaula |
| | 7. Pangwala |
| 3. Gujjar [excluding the territories specified in sub-section | 8. Swangla. |

PART VI.—Karnataka

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Adiyān | 23. Konda Kapus |
| 2. Barda | 24. Koraga |
| 3. Bavacha, Bamcha | 25. Kota |
| 4. Bhil, Bhil Garasia, Dholi Bhil, Dungri Bhil, Dungri Garasia, Mewasi Bhil, Rawal Bhil, Tadvī Bhil, Bhagalia, Bhi-lala, Pawra, Vasava, Vasave | 26. Koya, Bhine Koya, Rajkoya |
| 5. Chenchu, Chenchwar | 27. Kudiya, Melakudi |
| 6. Chodhara | 28. Kuruba (in Coorg district) |
| 7. Dubla, Talavia, Halpati | 29. Kurumans |
| 8. Gamit, Gamta, Gavīt, Mavchi, Padvi, Valvi | 30. Maha Malasar |
| 9. Gond, Naikpod, Rajgond | 31. Malaikudi |
| 10. Gowdalu | 32. Malasar |
| 11. Hakkipikki | 33. Malayekandi |
| 12. Hasalaru | 34. Maleru |
| 13. Irular | 35. Maratha (in Coorg district) |
| 14. Iruliga | 36. Marati (in South Kanara district) |
| 15. Jenu Kuruba | 37. Meda |
| 16. Kadu Kuruba | 38. Naikda, Nayaka, Chelivala Nayaka, Kapadia Nayaka, Mota Nayaka, Nana Nayaka |
| 17. Kammara (in South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district) | 39. Palliyan |
| 18. Kaniyan, Kanyan (in Kollegal taluk of Mysore district) | 40. Paniyan |
| 19. Kathodi, Katkari, Dhor Kathodi, Dhor Katkari, Son Kathodi, Son Katkari | 41. Pardhi, Advichincher, Phanse Pardhi |
| 20. Kattunayakan | 42. Patelia |
| 21. Kokna, Kokni, Kukna | 43. Rathawa |
| 22. Koli Dhor, Tokre Koli, Kolcha, Kolgha | 44. Sholaga |
| | 45. Soligarū |
| | 46. Toda |
| | 47. Varli |
| | 48. Vitolia, Kotwalia, Barodia |
| | 49. Yerava. |

PART VII.—Kerala

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Adiyān | 17. Kurumans |
| 2. Arandan | 18. Kurumbas |
| 3. Eravallan | 19. Maha Malasar |
| 4. Hill Pulaya | 20. Malai Arayan |
| 5. Irular, Irulan | 21. Malai Pandaram |
| 6. Kadar | 22. Malai Vedan |
| 7. Kammara [in the areas comprising the Malabar district as specified by sub-section (2) of section 5 of the States Reorganisation Act, 1956 (37 of 1956)] | 23. Malakkuravan |
| 8. Kanikaran, Kanikkar | 24. Malasar |
| 9. Kattunayakan | 25. Malayan [excluding the areas comprising the Malabar district as specified by sub-section (2) of section 5 of the States Reorganisation Act, 1956 (37 of 1956)] |
| 10. Kochu Velan | 26. Malayarayar |
| 11. Konda Kapus | 27. Mannan |
| 12. Kondareddis | 28. Marati (in Hosdrug and Kasaragod taluks of Cannanore district) |
| 13. Koraga | 29. Muthuvan, Mudugar, Muduvan |
| 14. Kota | 30. Palleyan |
| 15. Kudiya, Melakudi | |
| 16. Kurichchan | |

31. Palhyan
32. Palliyar
33. Paniyan

34. Ulladan
35. Uraly.

PART VIII.—*Madhya Pradesh*

1. Agariya
2. Andh
3. Baiga
4. Bhaina
5. Bharia, Bhumla, Bhuinhar, Bhumla, Bhumniya, Bharia, Palha, Pando
6. Bhatta
7. Bill, Bhilala, Barela, Patelia
8. Bill Mina
9. Bhunjia
10. Biar, Biyar
11. Binjhwar
12. Birhul, Birhor
13. Damor, Damarla
14. Dhanwar
15. Gadaba, Gadba

16. Gond; Arakh, Arrakh, Agaria, Asur, Badi Maria, Bada Maria, Bhatola, Bhimma, Bhuta, Koilabhuta, Koliabhuti, Bhar, Bisonhorn Maria, Chota Maria, Dandami Maria, Dhuru, Dhurwa, Dhoba, Dhulia, Dorla, Gaiki, Gatta, Gatti, Gaita, Gond Gowari, Hill Maria, Kandra, Kalanga, Khatola, Koitar, Koya, Khirwar, Khirwara, Kucha Maria, Kuchaki Maria, Madia, Maria, Mana, Mannewar, Moghya, Mogia, Monghya, Mudia, Muria, Nagarchi, Nagwanshi, Ojha, Raj, Sonjhari, Jhareka, Thatia, Thotya, Wade Maria, Vade Maria, Daroi

17. Halba, Halbi

18. Kamar

19. Karku

20. Kavar, Kanwar, Kaur, Cherwa, Rathia, Tanwar, Chattri

21. Keer (in Bhopal, Raisen and Sehore districts)

22. Khairwar, Kondar

23. Kharia

24. Kondh, Khond, Kandh

25. Kol

26. Kolam

27. Korku, Bopchi, Mouasi, Nihal, Nahul, Bondhi, Bondeya

28. Korwa, Kodaku

29. Majhi

30. Majhwar

31. Mawasi

32. Mina (in Sironj sub-division of Vidisha district)

33. Munda

34. Nagesia, Nagasia

35. Oraon, Dhanka, Dhangad

36. Panika (in Chhatarpur, Datia, Panna, Rewa, Satna, Shahdol, Sidhi and Tikamgarh districts)

37. Pao

38. Pardhan, Pathari Saroti

39. Pardhi (in Bhopal, Raisen and Sehore districts)

40. Pardhi; Bahelia, Bahellia, Chita Pardhi, Langoli Pardhi, Phans Pardhi, Shikari, Takankar, Takia [in (1) Bastar, Chhindwara, Mandla, Raigarh, Seoni and Surguja districts, (2) Baihar tahsil of Balaghat district, (3) Betul and Bhainsdehi tahsils of Betul district, (4) Bilaspur and Katghora tahsils of Bilaspur district, (5) Durg and Balod tahsils of Durg district, (6) Chowki, Manpur and Mohala Revenue Inspectors' Circles of Rajnandgaon district, (7) Murwara, Patan and Sihora tahsils of Jabalpur district, (8) Hoshangabad and Sohagpur tahsils of Hoshangabad district and Narsimhapur district, (9) Harsud tahsil of Khandwa district, (10) Bindra-Nawagarh, Dhamtari and Mahasamund tahsils of Raipur district]

41. Parja

42. Sahariya, Saharia, Seharla, Sehria, Sosia, Sor

43. Saonta, Saunta

44. Saur

45. Sawar, Sawara

46. Sonr.

PART IX.—Maharashtra

1. Andh
2. Baiga
3. Barda
4. Bavacha, Bamcha
5. Bhaina
6. Bharia Bhumia, Bhuinhar Bhumia, Pando
7. Bhattra
8. Bhil, Bhil Garasia, Dholi Bhil, Dungri Bhil, Dungri Garasia, Mewasi Bhil, Rawal Bhil, Tadvil Bhil, Bhagalia, Bhilala, Pawra, Vasava, Vasave
9. Bhunjia
10. Binjhar
11. Birhul, Birhor
12. Chodhara (excluding Akola, Amravati, Bhandara, Buldana, Chandrapur, Nagpur, Wardha, Yavatmal, Aurangabad, Bhir, Nanded, Osmanabad and Parbhani districts)
13. Dhanka, Tadvil, Tetaria, Valvi
14. Dhanwar
15. Dhodia
16. Dubla, Talavia, Halpati
17. Gamit, Gamta, Gavit, Mavchi, Padvi
18. Gond Rajgond, Arakh, Arrakh, Agaria, Asur, Badi Maria, Bada Maria, Bhatola, Bhimma, Bhuta, Koilabhuta, Koilabhuti, Bhar, Bisonhorn Maria, Chota Maria, Dandami Maria, Dhuru, Dhurwa, Dhoba, Dhulia, Dorla, Gaiki, Gatta, Gatti, Gaita, Gond Gowari, Hill Maria, Kandra, Kalanga, Khatola, Koitar, Koya, Khirwar, Khirwara, Kucha Maria, Kuchaki Maria, Madia, Maria, Mana, Mannewar, Moghya, Mogia, Monghya, Mudia, Muria, Nagarchi, Naikpod, Nagwanshi, Ojha, Raj, Sonjhari Jhareka, Thatia, Thotya, Wade Maria, Vade Maria
19. Halba, Halbi
20. Kamar
21. Kathodi, Katkari, Dhor Kathodi, Dhor Kathkari, Son Kathodi, Son Katkari
22. Kavar, Kanwar, Kaur, Cherwa, Rathia, Tanwar, Chattri
23. Khairwar
24. Kharia
25. Kokna, Kokni, Kukna
26. Kol
27. Kolam, Mannervarlu
28. Koli, Dhor, Tokre Koli, Kolcha, Kolgha
29. Koli Mahadev, Dongar Koli
30. Koli Malhar
31. Kondh, Khond, Kandh
32. Korku, Bopchi, Mouasi, Nihal, Nahul, Bondhi, Bondeya
33. Koya, Bhine Koya, Rajkoya
34. Nagesia, Nagasia
35. Naikda, Nayaka, Cholivala Nayaka, Kapadia Nayaka, Mota Nayaka, Nana Nayaka
36. Oraon, Dhangad
37. Pardhan, Pathari, Saroti
38. Pardhi; Advichincher, Phans Pardhi, Phanse Pardhi, Langoli Pardhi, Bahelia, Bahellia, Chita Pardhi, Shikari, Takankar, Takia
39. Parja
40. Patelia
41. Pomla
42. Rathawa
43. Sawar, Sawara
44. Thakur, Thakar, Ka Thakur, Ka Thakar, Ma Thakur, Ma Thakar
45. Thoti (in Aurangabad, Bhir, Nanded, Osmanabad and Parbhani districts and Rajura tahsil of Chandrapur district)
46. Varli
47. Vitolia, Kotwalia, Barodia.

PART X.—Manipur

1. Aimol
2. Anal
3. Angami
4. Chiru
5. Chothe
6. Gangte
7. Hmar
8. Kabui
9. Kacha Naga
10. Koirao
11. Koirang
12. Kom

- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------|
| 13. Lamgang | 22. Ralte |
| 14. Mao | 23. Sema |
| 15. Maram | 24. Simte |
| 16. Maring | 25. Suhte |
| 17. Any Mizo (Lushai) tribes | 26. Tangkhul |
| 18. Monsang | 27. Thadou |
| 19. Moyon | 28. Vaiphui |
| 20. Paite | 29. Zou. |
| 21. Purum | |

PART XI.—Meghalaya

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| 1. Chakma | (xix) Kipgen |
| 2. Dimasa, Kachari | (xx) Kuki |
| 3. Garo | (xxi) Lengthang |
| 4. Hajong | (xxii) Lhangum |
| 5. Hmar | (xxiii) Lhoujem |
| 6. Khasi, Jaintia, Synteng, Pnar, War, Bhoi, Lyngngam | (xxiv) Lhouvun |
| 7. Any Kuki Tribes including:— | (xxv) Lupheng |
| (i) Mole, Mole | (xxvi) Mangjel |
| (ii) Chunguan | (xxvii) Misao |
| (iii) Chonglul | (xxviii) Riang |
| (iv) Doungel | (xxix) Sairhem |
| (v) Imathou | (xxx) Selnam |
| (vi) Gangte | (xxxi) Singson |
| (vii) Gulle | (xxxii) Sitlhou |
| (viii) Hanneng | (xxxiii) Sakte |
| (ix) Haokip, Haupit | (xxxiv) Thado |
| (x) Haolai | (xxxv) Thangngeu |
| (xi) Hengna | (xxxvi) Uibuh |
| (xii) Hongsungh | (xxxvii) Vaiphci |
| (xiii) Hrangkhwal, Rangkhoh | 8. Lakher |
| (xiv) Jongbe | 9. Man (Tai speaking) |
| (xv) Khawchung | 10. Any Mizo (Lushai) tribes |
| (xvi) Khawathlang, Khothalong | 11. Mikir |
| (xvii) Khelma | 12. Any Naga tribes |
| (xviii) Kholhou | 13. Pawi |
| | 14. Synteng. |

PART XII.—Orissa

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------|
| 1. Bagata | 12. Birhor |
| 2. Baiga | 13. Bondo Poraja |
| 3. Banjara, Banjari | 14. Chenchu |
| 4. Bathudi | 15. Dal |
| 5. Bhattada, Dhotada | 16. Desua Bhumij |
| 6. Bhuiya, Bhuyan | 17. Dharua |
| 7. Bhumia | 18. Didayi |
| 8. Bhumij | 19. Gadaba |
| 9. Bhunjia | 20. Gandia |
| 10. Binjal | 21. Ghara |
| 11. Bophia, Binjhoa | 22. Gond, Condo |

23. Ho	43. Lodha
24. Holva	44. Madia
25. Jatapu	45. Mahali
26. Juang	46. Mankidi
27. Kandha Gauda	47. Mankirdia
28. Kavar	48. Matya
29. Kharia, Kharian	49. Mirdhas
30. Kharwar	50. Munda, Munda Lohara, Munda Mahalis
31. Khond, Kond, Kandha, Nan- guli Kandha, Sitha Kandha	51. Mundari
32. Kisan	52. Omanatya
33. Kol	53. Oraon
34. Kolah Loharas, Kol Loharas	54. Parenga
35. Kolha	55. Paroja
36. Koli, Malhar	56. Pentia
37. Kondadora	57. Rajuar
38. Kora	58. Santal
39. Korua	59. Saora, Savar, Saura, Sahara
40. Kotia	60. Shabar, Lodha
41. Koya	61. Sounti
42. Kulis	62. Tharua.

PART XIII.—Rajasthan

1. Bhil, Bhil Garasia, Dholi Bhil, Dungri Bhil, Dungri Garasia, Mewasi Bhil, Rawal Bhil, Tadvi Bhil, Bhagalia, Bhilala, Pawra, Vasava, Vasave	7. Kokna, Kokni, Kukna
2. Bhil Mina	8. Koli Dhor, Tokre Koli, Kolcha, Kolgha
3. Damor, Damaria	9. Mina
4. Dhanka, Tadvi, Tetaria, Valvi	10. Naikda, Nayaka, Cholivala Nayaka, Kapadia Nayaka, Mota Nayaka, Nana Nayaka
5. Garasia (excluding Rajput Garasia)	11. Patelia
6. Kathodi, Katkari, Dhor Ka- thodi, Dhor Katkari, Son Ka- thodi, Son Katkari	12. Seharia, Sehria, Sahariya.

PART XIV.—Tamil Nadu

1. Adiyar	10. Kochu Velan
2. Aranadan	11. Konda Kapus
3. Eravallan	12. Kondareddis
4. Irular	13. Koraga
5. Kadar	14. Kota (excluding Kanyakumari district and Shenkottah taluk of Tirunelveli district)
6. Kammara (excluding Kanya- kumari district and Shenkot- tah taluk of Tirunelveli dis- trict)	15. Kudiya, Melakudi
7. Kanikaran, Kanikkar (in Kanyakumari district and Shenkottah taluk of Tirunel- veli district)	16. Kurichchan
8. Kaniyan, Kanyan	17. Kurumbas (in the Nilgiris district)
9. Kattunayakan	18. Kurumans
	19. Maha Malasar
	20. Malai Arayan

- | | |
|---|--|
| 21. Malai Pandaram | 28. Mudugar, Muduvan |
| 22. Malai Vedan | 29. Muthuvan |
| 23. Malakkuravan | 30. Palleyan |
| 24. Malasar | 31. Palliyan |
| 25. Malayali (in Dharmapuri,
North Arcot, Pudukottai,
Salem, South Arcot and Tiru-
chirapalli districts) | 32. Palliyar |
| 26. Malayekandi | 33. Paniyan |
| 27. Mannan | 34. Sholaga |
| | 35. Toda (excluding Kanyakumari
district and Shenkottah taluk
of Tirunelveli district) |
| | 36. Uraly. |

PART XV.—*Tripura*

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| 1. Bhil | (x) Laifang |
| 2. Bhutia | (xi) Lentei |
| 3. Chaimal | (xii) Mizel |
| 4. Chakma | (xiii) Namte |
| 5. Garoo | (xiv) Paitu, Paite |
| 6. Halam | (xv) Rangchan |
| 7. Jamatia | (xvi) Rangkhole |
| 8. Khasia | (xvii) Thangluya |
| 9. Kuki, including the following
sub-tribes:— | 10. Lepcha |
| (i) Balte | 11. Lushai |
| (ii) Belalhut | 12. Mag |
| (iii) Chhalya | 13. Munda, Kaur |
| (iv) Fun | 14. Noatia |
| (v) Hajango | 15. Orang |
| (vi) Jangtei | 16. Riang |
| (vii) Khareng | 17. Santal |
| (viii) Khephong | 18. Tripura, Tripuri, Tippera |
| (ix) Kuntei | 19. Uchai. |

PART XVI.—*West Bengal*

- | | |
|--|---------------------------|
| 1. Asur | 20. Kora |
| 2. Baiga | 21. Korwa |
| 3. Bedia, Bediya | 22. Lepcha |
| 4. Bhumij | 23. Lodha, Kheria, Kharia |
| 5. Bhutia, Sherpa, Toto, Dukpa,
Kagatay, Tibetan, Yolmo | 24. Lohara, Lohra |
| 6. Birhor | 25. Magh |
| 7. Birjia | 26. Mahali |
| 8. Chakma | 27. Mahli |
| 9. Chero | 28. Mal Pahariya |
| 10. Chik Baraik | 29. Mech |
| 11. Garo | 30. Mru |
| 12. Gond | 31. Munda |
| 13. Gorait | 32. Nagesia |
| 14. Hajang | 33. Oraon |
| 15. Ho | 34. Parhaiya |
| 16. Karmali | 35. Rabha |
| 17. Kharwar | 36. Santal |
| 18. Khond | 37. Sauria Paharia |
| 19. Kisan | 38. Savar." |

CHAPTER II

In the Constitution (Andaman and Nicobar Islands) Scheduled Tribes Order, 1959,—

(a) in paragraph 2, for the words “resident in the localities specified in relation to them in that Schedule”, the words “resident in that Union territory” shall be substituted;

(b) for the Schedule, substitute—

“THE SCHEDULE

- | | |
|--|----------------|
| 1. Andamanese, Chariar, Chari,
Kora, Tabo, Bo, Yere, Kede,
Bea, Balawa, Bojigiyab, Juwai,
Koi | 3. Nicobarese |
| 2. Jarawas | 4. Onges |
| | 5. Sentinelese |
| | 6. Shom Pens.” |

S. K. MAITRA,

Jt. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

CORRIGENDA

In the Central Sales-tax (Amendment) Act, 1976 (103 of 1976) as published in the Gazette of India, Extraordinary, Part II, Sec. I, dated the 9th September, 1976:—

- (i) at page 1255, for section “30” read “3”, and
- (ii) at page 1256, in item (vi) of sub-section (a) of section 7, for “malze (*Zea mays* D)” read “maize (*Zea mays* L)”.

Shastri Bhawan, New Delhi-11
Dated: 8th November, 2011

To,

Sh. Sunnam Venkata Ramana,
State General Secretary,
Adivasi Samikshema Parishath,
Pandurangapuram Village, Bhadrachalam Mandal,
Khammam - District (Andhra Pradesh)

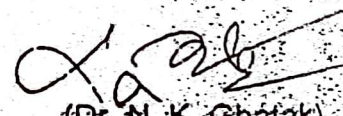
Sub: Furnishing of information under Right to Information (RTI) Act, 2005 regarding Inclusion of Lambada in ST Category.

Sir

I am to refer your application dated 11.10.10 on the subject cited above and to say to that Indian Postal Order for Rs 10/- enclosed with the application is in favour of Information Officer which is not acceptable under RTI Act, 2005. The fee under RTI Act should be in favor of Pay & Accounts Officer, Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Shastri Bhawan, New Delhi in form of Indian Postal Order/ Demand Draft/ Banker Cheque/ Cash in terms of Rupees 10/-. The Indian Postal Order in original is returned here with.

However, It is informed that the Ministry of Tribal Affairs has been created in October, 1999 by bifurcation of the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment. The information sought in application is not available in this Ministry. The 'Lambada' community has not been notified as Scheduled Tribe under Article 342 of the Constitution in the State of Andhra Pradesh. A copy of relevant portion of "the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Act, 1976 (No. 108 of 1976) dated 18.9.1976" published in the Gazette of India, Part-II Section-I on 20.9.1976 in relation to the list of Scheduled Tribes of Andhra Pradesh is in enclosed.

Yours faithfully,


(Dr. N. K. Ghatak)
Joint Director and CPIO
Telefax No. 23383965

[NB. In terms of Section 19(1) of the Right to Information Act, 2005, Sh. P.D. Meena, Joint Secretary in the Ministry of Tribal Affairs (Room No. 741, "A" Wing, Shastri Bhawan, New Delhi-110001; Tel. No. 011-23383622 (Office); 2307 5705 (Res.), has been designated as the Authority for the Ministry of Tribal Affairs for the purpose of the implementation of the Right to Information Act, 2005].

UNDERSTANDING CONFLICT AMONG SCHEDULED TRIBES IN TELANGANA STATE

Surapogu Vamsi M.Phil. Scholar, Center for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy, School of Social Sciences, University of Hyderabad, Prof. C.R. Rao Road, Gachibowli, Hyderabad, Telangana-500046.

Suman Damera Doctrol Fellow, Department of Political Science, School of Social Sciences, University of Hyderabad, Prof. C.R. Rao Road, Gachibowli, Hyderabad, Telangana-500046.

Abstract

The Telangana State witnessed unprecedented violent clashes between Gonds and Lambadas (also known as Banjaras) in 2017. However, the conflict between these groups is continuing for decades but it is intensified in the year 2017. Teachers from the latter community were denied entry into local schools in Gond hamlets. Gonds are vehemently demanding for descheduling of Lambadas from the Scheduled Tribes (STs) category in Telangana State. Both, Lambada and Gond tribes are categorised under the ST category but Gonds along with other non-Lambadas are outraged to delist Lambadas from the ST category. The non-Lambadas tribal communities have organised under the common banner 'Adivasi Hakkula Porata Samithi (AHPS)' which is also known with the other name '*Thudum Debba*' demanding descheduling of Lambadas. The demand that flared up by the Thudum Debba against Lambada Tribes is no usual demand. They challenged the identity and eligibility of Lambadas to be recognized as a Scheduled Tribe. They intensified movement in inculcating Lambadas of availing disproportionate share of reservations, far extending beyond their population proportion, is being cornered by them. On the contrary, Lambadas started a counter-campaign under the banner Lambada Hakkula Porata Samithi (LHPS), countered Adivasis accusations, and justifying their identity and status as Scheduled Tribes, and equity in sharing reservations. The paper focuses on the history of conflict between Adivasis and Lambadas. It also attempts to explain the conflict beyond proportionate share in reservations. It also aims to understand the conflict from a cultural dimension.

Keywords: Conflict, Adivasis, Lambadas, Reservations, cultural dimension.

Introduction

The Telangana State witnessed unprecedented violent clashes between Gonds and Lambadas (also known as Banjaras) in 2017. However, the conflict between these groups is continuing for decades but it is intensified in the year 2017. Teachers from the latter community were denied entry into local schools in Gond hamlets. Gonds are vehemently demanding for descheduling of Lambadas from the Scheduled Tribes (STs) category in Telangana State. Both, Lambada and Gond tribes are categorised under the ST category but Gonds along with other non-Lambadas are outraged to delist Lambadas from the ST category. The non-Lambadas tribal communities have organised under the common banner 'Adivasi Hakkula Porata Samithi (AHPS)' which is also known with the other name '*Thudum Debba*' demanding descheduling of Lambadas. The demand that flared up by the Thudum Debba against Lambada Tribes is no usual demand. They challenged the identity and eligibility of Lambadas to be recognized as a Scheduled Tribe. They intensified movement in inculcating Lambadas of availing disproportionate share of reservations, far extending beyond their population proportion, is being cornered by them. On the contrary, Lambadas started a counter-campaign under the banner Lambada Hakkula Porata Samithi (LHPS), countered Adivasis accusations, and justifying their identity and status as Scheduled Tribes, and equity in sharing reservations. The paper focuses on the history of conflict between Adivasis and Lambadas. It also attempts to explain the conflict beyond proportionate share in reservations. It also aims to understand the conflict from a cultural dimension. The paper is classified into three sections. Section-I deals with the migration and historical note on the conflict between Adivasis and



National Seminar on

"Sustainable Development Goals: Building Future India"

March 26-28, 2019


ICSSR-SRC



This is to certify that **Dr/Ms/Mr Bhagopu Vamsi** has participated/presented a paper titled **Discerning the Differences within**

Rajbal Development in Telangana : A Study of ST Reservations

in the three day National Seminar on **"Sustainable Development Goals and Building Future India"** organized (in collaboration with ICSSR- SRC, Hyderabad) by the **Centre for the Study of Social**

Exclusion and Inclusive Policy (CSSEIP), School of Social Sciences, University of Hyderabad.



Prof. K. RAJA MOHAN RAO
HEAD, CSSEIP &
Seminar Coordinator



CERTIFICATE OF APPRECIATION

ending
conferences
the last individual of a species

Certified for Mr/Ms.

Presented a Paper Titled

Surepogu Vamsi, (M.Phil), CSSEIP, UoH.
Telangana and its Development: Analyzing
the growth and development post- State formation.

In 2nd International Conference on Rural Development, Social Dynamics and Women's Welfare
March 04 - 05, 2020, University of Hyderabad, India

Organized by

Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy (CSSEIP), Centre for Women's Studies (CWS) and
Dean, Students' Welfare (DSW), University of Hyderabad, India

Prof. Devi Prasad Juvvadi

Conference Chairman
ICRDS 2020

Dr. J. Rani Ratna Prabha

Conference Convenor
University of Hyderabad

Prof. Rekha Pande

Conference Convenor
University of Hyderabad

Dr. Padmaja Gadiraju

Conference Convenor
University of Hyderabad

Politics of Claims: The Identity struggle between Adivasis and Lambadas of Telangana State

by Surapogu Vamsi

Submission date: 26-Apr-2022 07:26PM (UTC+0530)

Submission ID: 1820885712

File name: SURAPOGU_VAMSI.docx (222.71K)

Word count: 30283

Character count: 167726

Politics of Claims: The Identity struggle between Adivasis and Lambadas of Telangana State

ORIGINALITY REPORT

3%

SIMILARITY INDEX

3%

INTERNET SOURCES

1%

PUBLICATIONS

0%

STUDENT PAPERS

PRIMARY SOURCES

1

www.aptribes.gov.in

Internet Source

<1 %

2

edoc.pub

Internet Source

<1 %

3

tribal.nic.in

Internet Source

<1 %

4

dokumen.pub

Internet Source

<1 %

5

tribal.gov.in

Internet Source

<1 %

6

caravanmagazine.in

Internet Source

<1 %

7

aptri.in

Internet Source

<1 %

8

mafiadoc.com

Internet Source

<1 %

9

archive.org

Internet Source

<1 %

10	"Caste, COVID-19, and Inequalities of Care", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2022 Publication	<1 %
----	---	------

11	globaljournals.org Internet Source	<1 %
----	---------------------------------------	------

12	Vijay Korra. "Forgotten Communities of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2019 Publication	<1 %
----	--	------

13	inet.vidyasagar.ac.in:8080 Internet Source	<1 %
----	---	------

14	en.wikipedia.org Internet Source	<1 %
----	-------------------------------------	------

15	lrd.yahooapis.com Internet Source	<1 %
----	--------------------------------------	------

16	www.ifad.org Internet Source	<1 %
----	---------------------------------	------

17	en.unionpedia.org Internet Source	<1 %
----	--------------------------------------	------

18	hdl.handle.net Internet Source	<1 %
----	-----------------------------------	------

19	scroll.in Internet Source	<1 %
----	------------------------------	------

www.daltrijournals.org

20

Internet Source

<1 %

21

www.ocms.ac.uk

Internet Source

<1 %

22

www.tribal.nic.in

Internet Source

<1 %

23

5nib.com

Internet Source

<1 %

24

Submitted to University of Hull

Student Paper

<1 %

25

www.trchyd.org

Internet Source

<1 %

26

Submitted to University of Hyderabad,
Hyderabad

Student Paper

<1 %

27

ijrar.com

Internet Source

<1 %

Exclude quotes

On

Exclude matches

< 14 words

Exclude bibliography

On