

**POLITICAL ECONOMY OF TRIBAL LIVELIHOOD:
A STUDY IN TELANGANA STATE**

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**CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND INCLUSIVE POLICY
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BY

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A. Published in the following Journal:

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List of Abbreviations

A.P	Andhra Pradesh
AMSY	Adivasi Mahila Sashaktikarana Yojana
AMSY	Adivasi Mahila Sashaktikarana Yojana
ANM	Auxiliary Nurse Midwife
BCG	Bacille Calmette-Guerin
CES	Coverage Evaluation Survey
CFM	Community Forest Management
CHCs	Community Health Centres
DLHS	District Level Household & Facility Survey
DPT	Diphtheria-Pertussis-Tetanus
GCC	Girijan Co-operative Corporation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoI	Government of India
GoT	Government of Telangana
IIIT	Indian Institute of Information Technology
IIM	Indian Institute of Management
IIT	Indian Institute of Technology
IMR	Infant Mortality Rate
IRDP	Integrated Rural Development Programme
JFM	Joint Forest Management
LIC	Life Insurance Corporation
LTR	Land Transfer Regulation Act
M.P	Madhya Pradesh
MADA	Modified Area Development Approach
MAP	Medicinal And Aromatic Plants
MFAL	Marginal Farmers And Agricultural Labourers scheme

MFP	Minor Forest Products
MGNREGA	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
MH&FW	Ministry of Health and Family Welfare
MoEF	Ministry of Environment and Forests
M.P	Madhya Pradesh
MSPI	Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation
MWCD	Ministry of Women and Child Development
NCA	National Commission on Agriculture
NEP	National Education Policy
NFHS	National Family Health Survey
NTFP	Non-Timber Forest Products
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NSSO	National Sample Survey Office
NSTFDC	National Scheduled Tribe Finance Development Corporation
OBC	Other Backward Class
PCI	Per Capita Income
PDS	Public Distribution System
PESA	Panchayat Extension to Schedule Areas
PHCs	Public Health Centres
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PTG	Primitive Tribal Group
RSOC	Rapid Survey on Children
RTC	Road Transport Corporation
SC	Scheduled Caste
SCS	Special Category States
SFDA	Small Farmers Development Agency
SSA	Sarva Siksha Abhiyan

ST	Scheduled Tribe
TDCs	Tribal Development Corporations
TRI	Tribal Research Institute
TRIFED	The Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation of India
TSP	Tribal Sub-Plan
WHO	World Health Organisation
WTO	World Trade Organisation

Chapter- 1

Introduction

Schedule tribes in India depend on agricultural and allied activities whereas around half of the population live below poverty line. Tribes choose to live in remote forest areas as they depend on forest and forest based products for their livelihood. With the introduction of globalisation policies livelihood opportunities of the scheduled tribe communities are deteriorated. There are several factors behind the tribal backwardness such as land alienation, land displacement, low literacy rate, exploitation of moneylenders and non-tribes, low production output, and lack of awareness about the schemes which are introduced for their development. Various policies and welfare schemes are introduced in the name of tribal development but they have not succeeded in uplifting the livelihood standards of tribals. So, in this juncture, it is to know the working status of political system at ground level in terms of enhancing the livelihood conditions of schedule tribes, is the core objective of the study. The study discusses about the interlinkages between the political economy and schedule tribes livelihood as a whole.

In connection to the study, the present chapter introduces the concept of political economy and its impact on tribal development and their economy along with the objectives, methodology and chapterisation. Political economy mainly deals with government and its law and institution related to the study of production and trade. It studies about the policies introduced in the economy and the introduction to economic theory and its method influences the development of different social and economic structures such as capitalism, socialism and communism. The study also explores how public policy has been formed and executed. Moreover, tribal population is considered as underprivileged and disadvantaged community which faces severe socio-economic exclusion. In this juncture, the present chapter discusses about the role of political economy and tribal livelihood conditions in India.

In India, tribal community had been neglected for many centuries until independence. After that, they are incorporated into mainstream society through various government policies. Every time, tribal development poses a challenge to policy makers, administrators and social workers. Living conditions of most of the tribes are more backward when compared to monetary terms and even in economic aspects such

as earnings and income (Vidyarthi 1981). During British rule in India, tribes were not concentrated much but later their provinces were brought into development for revenue collection as they lived near the forest areas. Tribal regions were slowly being incorporated into mainstream society by bringing uniform laws on one side and on other side development has been done by providing transportation facilities such as laying or extending roads, constructing railways and other means of communication. But these developments have not helped tribal community to escape from exploitation and discrimination. Non-tribes took this as an opportunity to invade tribal lands and they started to grab tribal lands in different ways and made tribes to work within their own lands as labourers. Slowly, the tribal community came to know the importance of land rights and they started movements in several areas. British administration brought new laws to exploit tribes which benefited the non-tribes. The policies introduced by British government imposed laws on land system and usage of forest area and its resources which worsened the tribal life. They had been pushed into backwardness with poor socio-economic life. These aspects made tribes to maintain their lives in separate entity with their own culture, language, traditions, and socio-economic life (Brahmanandam and BosuBabu 2016).

1. Political Economy

Political economy is a study of both political and economic aspects mainly running between the economy and the political sociology via the society and social classes. The well-defined definition of political economy is “the study of the political factor in its interaction with the economic relations” (Robbins 1976).

Introduction of economic reforms mostly draws a line between small groups and other huge sections of beneficiaries. In India, political economy of reforms can be designed and introduced to benefit the transformation of working people’s welfare and to develop their living standards and competing along with other section of people in the society. The discourse of introducing pro-reforms in India not at all turned around the theme of growth and development of lower groups. The main principle of globalisation lies in imposing the global level capital authority to call different economic groups to choose other countries or sectors of economy across the globe to come together and start according to the terms and levels of investment. Agrarian reforms were initiated in the first few decades after independence, but never aimed at

sweeping away the vestiges of feudalism. Even though the ongoing economic reforms are yet to be fully extended to the agricultural sector, it attempts to reverse and roll back as same as the earlier agrarian reforms which have already begun. Agriculture indebted peasants are being driven to suicides. In the urban economy, manufacturing is being increasingly marginalised by the rapid rise of the speculation of intensive service sector. Production is also being increasingly channelised through ancillaries and informal sector units. The disorganisation of the organised sector, especially in the public sector, and growing casualisation of labour are having a depressing impact on the working conditions and living standards of major sections of the working class. The political economy of radical transformation can also see where the economic sovereignty and self-reliance of the nation will reinforce and get reinforced by a firm accent on the working people's welfare (Bhattacharya 1999).

In the process of capitalistic development with its inevitable relation of primitive accumulation at the initial stages, peasants and other petty producers are dispossessed of their means of production. But in the current conditions of economic growth in developing countries, they are unlikely to be reabsorbed in the new growth sectors of the economy. So, this led to the exclusion of certain societies belonging to the informal and self-employed region but they survive at the border of subsistence level through other political negotiations and struggle in electoral democracies like India. Capitalist development as such cannot dissolve this pool of surplus labour. The patronage politics of India stretch the legality for all classes of people. Due to the increase in inequality among different regions, people from under developed areas have started migrating to other areas to find employment opportunities to meet their subsistence level of living. Migrating to other areas lead those people into distress as they have to cop-up with the open market competition challenges over the period of time. But the support from their community keeps them away from stress. One of the reasons for migration, of tribes is the extraction of natural resources from their hands by both non-tribes and government. Even, government grabs the tribal land for the purpose of extracting the minerals. This ineffectiveness of regional level government administration plays an equal role in exploitation and exclusion of scheduled tribes from their areas. After independence, the transition of economic reforms did not benefit tribal community and not helped them in developing their livelihood opportunities (Bardhan 2009).

Here, political economy can be seen as three sub-concepts which are Capitalism, Communalism and Socialism.

Adivasis and dalits are the most affected communities due to capitalism nature introduced within the globalisation policies. The mode of production through forced labour led to surplus production but also created underdevelopment as within this process most of the tribal communities got delinked with the outer world and became victims of labour. The capitalism created dependency theory for the tribals and dalits as they were the backward communities and their lands were grabbed in the name of modernisation policies. The market development was taken into consideration but the lands were taken off from the tribal communities which made them to work as daily wage laborers in their own lands. All these happened because of the introduction of capitalistic globalisation development policies. But according to Marx, land reforms are one of the solution for development of tribal community which helps them to get included in the mainstream society. The local gram panchayats control the tribes to get documentation of land which they are using in their daily life. So, proper legislation should be enacted on the reduction of capitalistic hegemony. Policy framework should be implemented to overcome the capitalistic globalisation policies of implementation mainly in rural areas (Omvedt 2005).

The recent changes in capitalism and the role of state in these general changes in the present theory are observed, but this type of changes can be applied to the Marx critique on political economy. Both the theories are interrelated which expose to basic mode of capitalistic production. The theory of capitalism is specific to capitalist and social formation. Theory of monopoly basically deals as how free competition in the economy was later converted into monopoly. All the existing theories of new age of capitalism have its own historical pre-conditions. Marx critique on political economy starts with in the connection of wealth of labour. The value of the commodity is created by labour using both of his skills and time. Here, Marx explained in his main work as, capital can be seen as a criticism of political economy. Marx in his critique of political economy consciously analyses the concept, social formation and also economic determinants in the commercial method of production. Capitalism is based on class society and value of commodity which are created by the labour. The fact that in the mode of production from each surplus labour extracts the producer, clearly states that society is based on slave labour. As per Marx, society of commodity production, labour

should get his value and there should not be any exploitation of labour as per natural laws of societies (Kosonen 1977).

Since last two decades, communalism has changed its nature in the long history of Indian economy. Communal tension and riots were common in Indian political economy, whereas here communal tension is understood in-between Hindu community and Muslim community which includes both social and civil conflicts in the society. Local factors in the society such as one community does not worship the cow and other community treat cow as god. It creates a communal gap between one community to opposite community in the name of god, culture and practices. Most of the communal tensions have taken place at the time of religious occasions such as festivals and at worship houses such as temples, masjid and churches. Deterioration of social and human relation in the name of religion leads to communal tensions. Communal tensions and riots are taking place suddenly without any anticipation, and it is not even possible for most of the social scientists to know the reasons behind that communal tensions, but for the research purpose they have to be present at the place when it took place to know the actual reasons behind it. Doing research on communal tensions is not easy for the social scientists as it may cost their lives in the process. Communal disturbances may occur due to cultural and religious differences between certain groups of people in the society. Sometimes journalists are more advantageous people as compared to social scientists, because when any communal tension takes place, journalists are present on the scene as first information report is made by them. But most of the information gathered by journalists are not presented in open area as they also have their own restriction on what to show and what not to show to public, because it is an internal business of them whether they completely open the information, sometimes it costs their valuable things or even their own lives. Most of the townships and cities are becoming places of communal violence, even though social structure of the cities and towns are changing over decades. Equal opportunities in economic development in the name of industrialisation and modernisation have happened. If any group of people benefit more than the other group, it leads to communal violence in the towns. Communal tensions in India is seen as illogical and irrational aspect of society, this is only the outcome of emotional responses of the people (Ahmed 1984).

In the context of society, there are many factors that are related to the human relations. Economy has to transform from capitalism to socialism which begets socialist

economy. Once upon a time, during the period of First World War- October revolution, the question of socialist construction became a political problem. At that time capitalism was in its high volume, and society was built with it. Revolution in central Europe, Austria and Germany raised the question of transition from capitalism to socialism. There are literature that deals with the economic problems of socialism. Many economists such as Marx Weber, Lenin, etc., talks about the concept of socialism. Most of the Non-Marxist literature argues that it is impossible to implement or establish proper economic accounting under socialism. To form a socialist economy, there is a need for special economic laws. According to scientific treatment, political economy of socialism is an assumption which consists of objective economic laws. Socialist economy is formed subject to various historical materialism. According to historical materialism, contradiction began between development of productive forces and relations between productions. Secondly, in between mode and super structure of the organisation led to the declining of output in production process. In an organisation, social classes are based on the relations within the organisation. Giving equal opportunities, keeping profit motive aside and making socialistic decisions are impossible in capitalist mode of production which prevails mostly in present society. It is a very long process of developing new management with new economic policies which definitely helps to bring structural changes in the economy (Lange 1959).

In the Constitution of India, Article 342 mentions the term ‘tribal folk’ but not as ‘tribe’ which implies as people who live in their own territories or boundaries and who marry within their community itself. They do not have any specific skills in any work and are ruled by only their adivasi leaders and have a separate language and traditional beliefs and customs. But in the present era the above theory or statement may not be fit to raise a question in the society, as today many tribal communities migrate or live in different parts of India. For example, Kerala state which is socially more developed when compared with other states, even though still some primitive tribes are living in forests itself. The definition of tribe in constitution itself seems to mention tribes as species who are preserved to be in national park. This perception has lasted for many long years in the society and even tribes have also maintained their existence uninfluenced by the changes in the society outside. Many efforts are made to incorporate tribes with other group of sections in the society. Tribes have maintained a rich cultural inheritance but separate themselves with a definite terrain, name, culture,

district, group, limits with different socio-political system which develop complete faith on their leaders and self-sufficiency in their economy. Even, their history is considered from pre-historic period but due to lack of writings about their traditions it is difficult for both historians and anthropologists to record their past. It is said that the history of tribes till Aryan dynasty invasion is covered as insignificant. Only some stone equipments which were used by pre-historic men have been discovered but there is no indication of skeletons of people who used these equipments. So, just by studying about the human remains, anthropologists are not able to come to a conclusion of the existence of pre-historic men in India. The ancient writings of Vedic period has some reference to tribes but mostly it contains the writings about Aryans from north-east parts and their fight against non-aryans in India (Vidyarthi 1981).

Tribal community began to face the problem of exploitation even before the colonialism in India. Non-tribals and government started to exploit the tribals. Even, their basic human rights are also violated, particularly health care, education, cultural life, food, shelter, and social security. In united Andhra Pradesh, the lands where the tribals lived and cultivated are illegally occupied by the government and considered them as forests, national parks and sanctuaries. Non-tribals occupy the tribal lands by marrying tribal woman. In 1930s, Gonds in Adilabad district lost their lands to the Hindu and Muslim settlers from other districts. The panchayat PESA Act 1996 is introduced for the development of tribal communities. But the government has failed to constitute tribal sub-plan in India. Violation on their language and cultural practices are also increasing (Halavath 2014).

After the colonial era, British government has rigorously fragmented the relation of tribes, particularly with land and forest. Colonial capitalist and profit oriented economic and political forces uprooted the artisans and peasant tribes. Tribes in India are always being exploited geologically, socially, economically and remains as a marginal group of sections in the society. Due to many reasons, they have been maintaining their own administrative system. With the introductory policies of British government, a lot of tribal regions have become open to development but in the process of development they got themselves pushed into margins as many other groups in society started to exploit them.

Mainly during colonial rule, tribes have been isolated, segregated and exploited by non-tribals as money lenders and contractors. Because of cultural backwardness of tribes, British government took this as an advantage and segregated them as tribes and non-tribes. These types of measures helped the British rulers to have free access to natural resources of forests. Mainly during the British rule, they practiced the policy of divide and rule. With the effect of that type of policies, tribes are not brought into mainstream society. Colonial administration never gave a space to a consistent policy towards the betterment of tribal communities. Tribes are considered as a category of caste along with the religion, language and region. The usage of word tribe is changed from colonial expansion because castes are regulated by hereditary division of labour, hierarchy and religious disabilities. Slowly, even tribals also have accepted the moral belief of caste structure and have got immersed within it such as Raj-Gonds, Bhils, Bhumijis, Majhis, and Khasas. Transformation of tribes have been done by adopting the process of sanskritisation. This process is seen as embracing the lifestyle of upper caste of a region. The other upper caste communities lower down their social hierarchy. Tribes are distinguished not only in the perspective of caste but also from the upper dominant community. Their set of customs, language and social union to lead a way of life are much different from other tribes. In tribal society, there is a problem of social differentiation in various aspects such as occupation, wealth, income, belief, moralities, political coordination, etc. Slowly, tribal society also can be described as becoming caste society with adopting specific changes in education, occupation and specialisation by adopting modern technology, etc. (Xaxa 1999).

During initial stages of policy framework, tribes are considered as a group of community living with homogeneous social order with separate socio-cultural and own ecological ambience. Later, they came under dominance of government and non-tribes through the implementation of modern planning policies. In India, land distribution follows social hierarchy in the society. The large land holdings belong to upper caste community and the cultivators belong to middle-caste community whereas agricultural labourers mostly belong to scheduled castes and scheduled tribe community. As everyone considers land as an important social valued asset, the unequal distribution helps to strengthen the upper caste community people to develop more and gives a chance to exploit scheduled tribes in various socio-economic spheres. The measures

taken while allotting the land to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes are also not sufficient in developing their livelihood patterns (Mohanty 2001).

2. Review of Literature

Under review of literature made an attempt to present a brief survey of studies on political economy, tribes and its relation with political and economic factors. The following is the literature review of the above mentioned concepts.

Political economy is a branch of social science which studies the interrelationship between political and economic aspects. To measure the relation between both the factors are not simple because they are not in directional, as to relate them only from political to economical. The reverse linkage was also very important. But it is a very complex process. To know the reverse relation between both the factors, there is a need of understanding fundamentals of the relation between the societies including class structure. Especially into the Marxian ideology of class structure, which is also known as political sociology. The relation which starts from economic to political via social classes is called as a theory of political economy. Both the factors in the branch of political economy were essential, either of two linkages is one sided game. But both together will construct a theory of political economy. The roots of the political economy, can be understood through class structure, where the concept starts from political to economic. The structure of the society is very much important to understand the roots of the political economy and branches which include several other factors. Study of the political economy is divided into three branches which are social analysis, political analysis and economic analysis (Gupta 1992).

Many different tribal communities became backward in Indian society due to their low status of economy, education, health, etc. Land alienation is the major problem faced by tribes which seem to happen through the involvement of non-tribes from other regions. Intrusion of non-tribes is not stopped by the government policies but it generates rebellious movements from tribes which force government to relocate their lands and develop the region. During early 20th century, many tribal farmers and labourers started migrating from East Bengal to Assam which reflect the worse situation faced by tribal communities in those areas. The large-scale settlement of immigrants resulted in the displacement of tribal peasantry from their lands. Even, government grabbed tribal lands and displaced them in the name of developmental

projects such as construction of dams, railways, roads, major and minor irrigation projects, mining, industries, etc. According to Tribal Research Institute (TRI) readings, the major important factor in Assam leading to tribal displacement by government itself is by establishing industries and irrigation projects in tribal areas. However the forced migration of tribes could not be stopped by government (Sharma 2001).

While comparing the two national tribal policy drafts, it is found that there are various goals which existed in a tribal policy drafts such as improving the quality of tribals lives, equal development of all tribals in the area of opportunities and available resources, and there should be no hierarchy in between them. The main aim is to integrate them in to the mainstream society. Whatever may be the aims of the policy, it should be holistic in nature and should include all the aspects that belong to tribal community. It should be providing a road map for various development programmes and after framing the required policy it should be translated into action, but every policy has remained as a piece of paper. Many issues are faced by the tribal population in India, however, they themselves have their own plan of action to protect their rights. They have also many movements for their environmental protection, cultural and human rights, showing their agitation on certain other people who want to exploit them in the name of modernisation. By closing the liquor shops in their areas they only became capable of protecting themselves from external threats. This type of dynamic reality about the tribes is missing in this draft. Some of the private companies should take initiative in the field of tribal infrastructure to help most of them in all-round development (Srivastava 2008).

Capitalism in India has its own existence in the form of private ownership and capital accumulation. There are several questions that has to be addressed by capitalists in which most of the economies were relocating industries in providing filling to industrialisation in major parts of the nation. But, some parts of the nation were not even touched by the idea of modernisation and in the present era raising the basic question like whether capitalist development in developing nations like India help the transformation of state and society by adopting the technique of modernisation. Capitalism in Indian economy is a dominant mode of production, and from several decade's capitalist class is strengthening its position beyond recognition. Industry is the home for capitalism in India. Transition of capitalism over the centuries from Britain to United States and from there to elsewhere and present changes in division of labour

such as international division of labour sets standards in the field of man power. Now, India became one of the major industrial powers in the third world countries which has largest industrial base as compared with the other nations.

Capitalist development in Indian economy results in greater transformation of society and state as a whole. Classical economics analysis explains that there is an increase in industrial base enormously. But, increase in population leads to cultivation process that goes beyond the limits. Such cultivating on more and more inferior land lead to rise in prices of major food grains. That may result fall in industrial profit which definitely affects the entire economy at statutory state. Some of the present contemporary economists express same level of fear in India also. Most common perception on Indian marketing base is minimal at level of shortage. Practical thing is every raw material in India is in shortage except population. People in India waits long hours for Maruthi cars and set a queue for imported colour televisions and also black market is expanding as its base results in lack of raw materials in the markets. Many textile mills are compelled by the government as they are all in stagnant position, such as cotton etc. Low level of capital investment due to lack of savings and market profit are the major motive for the capitalistic class in any economy. There are multiple pressures and hindrances in the capitalist development. There are several paths for feudalism to capitalism to grow up capital investment in India as foreign investment is not only the solution. Before opening the economy to other economies there is a need to develop the home economy where different sectors of economy has to be developed such as primary sectors like agricultural sector, which is very much in need of steady growth in this sector, because agricultural sector is the basic source for all other sectors, particularly in Indian economy, which requires raw material in industrial sector and should come from agricultural sector. We have more population which can be used as capital, so, there is the need of development of human capital by giving education and skills that lead to improvement in the capital. The skilled labour results in raising the growth rate in economy. Using surplus labour to industrial sector through urbanisation definitely raises the rate of skilled labour which also benefits the service sector of Indian economy. Then, we can go for foreign investment which helps in expansion of industrial base in the economy by showing increase in the growth rate of country (Sau 1984).

Performance of Indian economy is remarkable both in terms of past performances and the growth rate which is measured by aggregate income as compared with other nations. There are various factors behind this, mainly due to economic reforms in 1990s and sharp increase in the savings by nationalisation of banking system 1969. In the period of 1900 to 1950s, the growth rate was one per cent. Between 1950 and 1960s, growth rate was 3.5 per cent. From late 1970s, growth rate has suddenly picked up and from 1993s, there is a sharp increase in growth rate around six per cent. From 2008, the growth rate is flourishing around nine per cent per annum which shows that perfect policy making was seen in these successful years. Many changes at international levels made Indian economy into a deep dilemma on foreign policy relations. Collaboration with U.S on vital matters such as nuclear energy, defense and trade investment are done. This type of collaborations lead to giving up of the foreign policy and falling totally into the hands of western countries. U.S and India have much policy making on trade investment and many other sectors. If India utilises the advantage of collaboration, it definitely helps India to construct ideological independence and effective relations between other Asian countries and also with China. It is very essential to have multi country strong relationship (Basu 2008).

Increase in population makes more food insecurity in the economy, near emergency with respect to most of sensitive group of people such as women, children and other vulnerable groups in the economy. According to National Family Health Survey (NFHS), most of the men and women and also children are under malnutrition levels. 79 per cent of children aged between 6–35 months are affected with anemia and 46 per cent of the children below three years are under weight. There are various economic factors behind this crisis, those includes neglecting the agricultural sector over past two decades. This factor is prolonging the agrarian crisis among various developing countries. One of the major elements in agricultural sector is lack of investment which results in low yield of production, especially in tropical agricultural areas. Changing farming methods, such as using more chemicals in production process and ground water exploitation leads to the reduction in soil fertility and inadequate attention on regenerating land. A law has to come into existence that public procurement also come into existence along with public distribution system which enables more food supply to all sections of the people. It is the responsibility of state governments to ensure food supply to all sections of people without any inclusion and

exclusion errors as per government of India. There is a need of successful programmes on health and nutritional levels which ensures food security among all the population. There is a need of universal access to food grains over the countries at the same price. It will help to have effective health conditions among the people. Political and social mobilisation about the food security issue as to make it a strong demand that cannot be ignored is very essential (Ghosh 2010).

Earlier, British government introduced Land Acquisition Act 1894, in which the government has complete rights on any land to grab and to use it for any public purpose, even by acquiring it forcibly from the people. The government grabbed the land of the tribes which they are using from their ancestors by forming a law through Indian Forest Act 1927. The lands without documentation are taken into the hands of forest department. It has become hell for the tribes as they live in forests and uses the forest resources without any documentation of the lands, which they use for their livelihood. This became more problem for tribal community than the zamindari system. After independence, government abolished zamindari system but still the law exists and the land acquisition is continued under the name of development projects. In India even after independence industrial development required a huge abstraction of natural resources which led to the continuation of the rule of law. Later, the government of India formed the fifth schedule of the constitution for adivasi areas and also tried to stop the migration of tribal lands to non-tribes (Banerjee 2007).

Globalisation is helpful to the Indian economy to become open to other countries for imports and exports through the liberalisation policies. The development of industries through the entry of privatisation started decreasing forest land which helps the existence of tribal community livelihood. Most of the forest lands are destroyed in the name of development. In Orissa, the forest lands are destroyed for laying roads and water pipeline to the corporate entities by state government. Number of protests are taking place by the nearby villagers as they completely depend on the forests itself and the state formed environmental schemes for them like Joint Forest Management (JFM) to use the forest resources. But due to the fossil-fuel based companies, climate change is becoming a major problem. Villagers with the help of Non-government Organisations (NGOs) are developing sustainable livelihood by forming self-initiated community forest management (CFM) which took the initiatives of factors causing deforestation and other forest degradation policies. The high

opposition to corporate companies make government to get involved and took back the subsidies and other facilities provided to the co-operate companies for violating environmental laws. But government should also take initiatives to provide employment opportunities for tribes other than MGNREGA and also in aspects of health, education and other amenities. Also, if any other developmental projects are initiated the local gram panchayat members should get the information and after their acceptance, government should start the rest of the process (Wani and Ashish 2008).

In the history of Indian society, tribes have remained as aboriginals living in the forest area and have minimal contact with the rest of population, and no Hindu society has tried to join in their system. Tribes in India are characterised generally by various following features such as isolated group, low density population, primitive technological and political groups. In various branches of established areas, there is no script for their language. They are treated as strong and dangerous because of their forest living conditions. Tribes are geographically, economically and socially isolated sections of Indian society. Gandhi never used the term Girijan, he always uses the terms like culturally and economically marginal people. During the period of Moghuls, most of the tribes were forcefully converted to Islam. In the name of extension of centralised administration, British government had forced many tribals as their slaves and encroachment on their traditional habitats. The tribals could not tolerate any oppression on them. They clearly showed their resistance and intolerance on any encroachment on their traditional habitats, which resulted into armed revolts. British government regularly used the armed force on tribes, but they realised soon and declared tribal area as non-regulatory area with traditional system of government. But British government frequently forced tribal people to convert into Christianity by messaging them love and humanity. Various forms of exploited groups such as zamindari system, contractors, revenue and police officials, and middle man exploited tribals in different forms. Due to various exploitative practices most of the tribals remained as land less labourers and agricultural workers, in the same land their fore fathers owned. There are different type of problems which have forced many tribes into the high darkness in their life such as indebtedness, land alienation, shifting cultivation, lack of education, migration, urbanisation, unemployment, agricultural labourers, impact of urbanisation and industrialisation, deforestation, de-population, and regionalism. There are different Gandhian principles which clearly says that first understand the world of tribals and

react peacefully with love and humanity but not in violent manner, every villager has right of republic and tribals have their traditional rights. Whatever the development it should not take the cost of tribal lives. Voluntary organisations should take up the responsibility of improving the backward sections of the society, by providing education and giving appropriate technological adaptations (Preet 1994).

Language, religion and identity, each forms a special character to find and name a community. The term 'Tribe' is used to describe a separate community who lives away from the mainstream society. Even in the colonial period, tribal community was seen separate due to the variation in their demographic and living conditions, developmental factors, social formation and linguistic traits. From 16th century, the term tribe was considered for community who lives in primitive conditions of long-lasting forest areas. Indian constitution kept them in scheduled tribes as they have their own language and lives quite different social life compared to the other regional community. The constitution provides them to use their own language even in education and also has given special provisions by providing reservations in employment, political administrations and education to integrate themselves with other communities in the society. But tribal community is still backward compared to others in the aspects of indebtedness and land, because most of the land alienation occurs in those areas because of some projects the government itself takes their land at very low price which leads them to become away from their land resources and sustainability. The tribal community is homogenous and the change was started in all directions and aspects (Xaxa 2005).

The decentralised policies have not helped much the tribal communities to develop their income levels. The resource distribution among the communities faces a lot of problems. The growth and economic efficiency are very less after the independence. So, most of the development is considered only by the agriculture but the lower communities face problems of zamindari system. Government initiated green revolution but after using those methods for continuous years also the output was affected. The agrarian structure took various stage but much more development is required in other aspects such as labour force, agricultural wages, marketed surplus, farm size and productivity. The method of implementation of policies and reforms should be more effective. The wage-labour wage differentiation should not be neglected with reference to the gender. The local authorities should be responsible for the

differentiations that occurs in the village level. The leftist and right-wing parties are debating about problems of the reforms and policies, but the policy framework is not initiated properly in rural areas. The land reforms may help the communities to develop their income levels (Das 2003).

In the Indian society, even for today, the tribal communities are considered as backward. The tribals are stratified mainly in terms of control over their resources. From colonial period to the present, there are many changes in their lives. The tribes are seen separately in terms of their language, culture, and low-level of literacy. Caste is the main dominant factor which separates them from mainstream society. Gujarat has the fourth largest population of tribes in India, even today the tribals in that state face the number of problems by planned and unplanned changes towards their agricultural production process. After the colonial era, the tribals slowly stopped shifting cultivation process and started staying continuously in one place. After introducing globalisation policies, the agricultural output is varied and they started facing development. Along with the output, there is increase in the yield and also cropping pattern has changed according to the season. The development is varied from region to region within the state. The use of inputs such as fertilisers, chemicals and seeds which were given under government subsidies led them to get better output. The high level of output led the tribals enter into market economy. The agricultural labours also get wages accordingly to the minimum wage price. Slowly, the political economy reforms got initiated in their areas, also with the help of naxalities as they created awareness among tribals. The stratification is also seen in literacy rate. The political power and authority are seen from the rich class tribals within their communities. The political leaders within tribals struggled for the development of the communities by providing roads, schools, electricity, and irrigation which are fundamentally required to uplift the economy. The individual development should be important for any community to increase their political and economic factors and in comprehending their interests (Bose 1981).

Landlessness is the major reason for backwardness of tribal community particularly to Kerala. The northern tribal households have a bit more land compared to south- where the tribals lost their land in the process of land alienation. So, the migrations happened and the forest land was used even in hill area. The tribals follow shifting cultivation for their livelihood but after the market economy increased, they started cultivation in only one place for years and also cultivating only few crops. They

also started investing on the land where they used to work and also getting documentation by government. Investment on lands are done mostly in the south compared to northern districts. Some of the tribals became agricultural labours in their own land because of the debt they have taken from dalaries and got cheated due to their illiteracy rate. The agricultural wage rate consistency is very low in tribal regions and they get exploited easily by the higher communities. The bargaining power is also very low in northern side. The development of literacy rate, market participation knowledge, and wage rates among tribes can only help them to uplift their economy high when compared to their intra-region analysis in Kerala (Kunhaman 1985).

Scheduled tribes are considered as backward communities in Indian society. Tribes are neglected due to many reasons behind in the society. So, any development programmes should start by considering the development of tribes. Most number of tribals are found in north-eastern states and southern India. Tribals are dependent on the forest land through shifting cultivation. The tribals are different in every aspect such as cultivating the crops, festivals, own language, etc. Most of the years, tribals live themselves and consider them as separate from the mainstream society. After the liberalisation policies came up, the land alienation became major problem for them. The non-tribals tried to take over the control of the community completely by giving loans through keeping their lands as mortgage. The five-year plans policies should reconsider the framing structural development of tribes through development of skills, income, education, health, and nutrition which also for the women by organising various schemes (Reddy 2000).

The tribal community have only oral identity but not of anything written identity. The traditional sources reveal that the term 'adivasi' has originated from Bihar in 1930 and extended to other regions in 1940. Gandhi called them even as 'vanyajati' and 'giriyan'. Later, the Indian constitution classified them as scheduled tribes and brought them under the government control. The tribals live entirely different compared to the other communities through separate culture and language within their historical origins. The tribals are squeezed between the zamindaris and the state governments. Their revenue generation which is from the forest lands are under government and they became labourers to the zamindaris due to the debt taken from them. The revenue system is evolved only to the higher-class communities. The tribal resistance movements are taking place for accompanying their rights. They struggled for their

upliftment of lives. Later, the government created several policies to protect their rights by giving reservations to them in aspects such as education, employment and political administration. The naxalites have also helped them by creating awareness and educating them on the government policies. The self-realisation of their lives can only create the development in their economy (Heredia 2000).

Tribes in India from decades are fighting for land rights, there are many studies which have given open debate on the issues of both land deprivation and alienation. The erosion of tribal lives and land ownerships, and imposition of state regulatory practices on them making tribal lives most depressed. The issue of land right came into existence from period of colonialism. Now a days land rights have become a central issue in tribal communities. Because, one of the most marginalised communities in India is tribal community from decades, it is facing exploitation from mainstream economy, despite of special provisions from the constitution of India. Also, legal framework for the implementation of prescribed provisions and many targeted public welfare initiatives. Problem of land alienation among tribals which leads to tribal struggles for their survival, loss of their private holdings was happening from colonial period which most of land lords grabbed the land of tribals and converted most of the tribes as slaves and wage labourers in their own cultivable land. There are number of laws that are passed out in pre-colonial period as well as post-colonial state. The ongoing struggles of land disputes in some of the districts of Orissa especially Malkangiri, Koraput and Nabarangpur struggles added new dimensions to the relationship between existing land laws and tribal rights. In India, land has its major significance, people's social status is decided on the assets they are having such as land and fixed properties. But, all along land play major role in deciding the social status of the people. It is very clear that tribals in India have very little access to the productive resources such as land. This shows the history of tribes with high level of deprivation, dispossession, exploitation, and marginalisation with the level of land problem among their communities. By considering all the above factors government has taken many initiatives such as land reforms to redistribute lands to the tribal communities for improving their social status in the society. Major purpose of land reforms initiative by government is to raise levels of production in agricultural practices which enable the easy function of industrialisation, and bring equality among the different social groups that may enable social justice in the societies. Primary aim of the land reforms in India

is to bring social justice to ensure equality and to prevent the concentration of land ownerships. Land is not only the livelihood source of the tribals, but from decades it is the symbol of their social prestige. Issue of land in case of tribals, land alienation and its effects are major concern to most planners, politicians, researchers, social scientists, and academicians, because despite having strong provisions and legislations, in most of the incidents tribals are getting threatening messages on their land rights and most of them are losing their land ownerships. Due to high level of exploitation, tribals in the various villages are choosing the way of urbanisation. Their areas are changing face of natural to negative development process. They are losing their lands in the name of modernisation, industrialisation and commercialisation. This is a serious threat to the livelihood of the tribal communities (Ambagudia 2010).

It is necessary to locate alternate land use strategies for tribes in this neo-liberal developmental process. In the scenario of changing agricultural methods and practices, there is need of alternate management and land use strategies to strengthen the living conditions of marginalised people like Adivasi. From the past decades several factors such as land alienation, soil degradation, wild animal attacks, climate changes, and declining access to the forest resources are affecting the living standards of tribal people in the society. There are various alternative present farming is adopting such as millet based farming with adoption of soil conservation technique which are most economically efficient practice in the field of agriculture. In this regard, new tribal development policies are required. In the areas like southern states of country, most of the land are dry lands and mountain region lands which are not preferred for regular methods of irrigation. There is a need of alternative farming methods in that type land areas. Here, there are some alternative land use patterns for dry as well as hill area lands. Multipurpose trees for ten years and dry farming resumed by retaining some trees as agro forestry practiced with protection which is an effective as well as efficient method, millets, un-irrigated neem, cashew nut, teak, etc. To follow this type of practices, there is need of institutional support from government through some policy adjustments. This provides good economic value and strengthen the livelihood of the marginalised people such as tribal community (Purushotham 2005).

Conservation and sustainability are both interrelated concepts and essential factors for any community in the society. When it comes to the matter of scheduled tribes it is in the context of forest resources. In protection of basic resources of tribal

livelihood, an essential factor to protect their resources government decided scheduled tribes bill in January 2005 to protect forest rights. The bill was drafted and tabled in the parliament in month January. Many debates had come across from intellectuals and academicians and drafting committee members. There is debate and disagreement between panel members, environmentalist, wildlife conservatives, social activists, and other concerned group of people. After all conversations the bill has gone under revision. Most objections in the bill are 2.5 hectors of land which is proposed to give the tribal family having forest land before 25 October 1980. This created fear in most of people that there may be fresh encroachments which result in loss of forest. This leads misuse of land with interference of timber mafia, by taking an advantage of vulnerability and innocence of tribal community. From pre-colonial to post-colonial period governments are denying the right of forest to tribal people, excluded them from the particular region and exploited the forest spaces with the commercial gains. Governments as well as societies must feel responsibility in favor of tribes and against atrocities on them. All the people collectively fight for the acceptance of scheduled tribe bill in the parliament which helps to protect the rights of tribes and strengthening the livelihood of the tribal community (Munshi 2005).

The category which falls below the poverty line is considered as the backward communities. The scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, both are seen as backward because they lack in various aspects. After Indian constitution provided reservations, these communities have developed somehow in education and living standards. But caste is the major differentiation which plays an important role in any organisation. Majority families in tribal community are below poverty line. The educational standards are not at all in a comparative stage with other communities mainly due to their economic status. Land reforms are regulated to give lands to the landless, but they are not initiated properly. The lands which they got are given as a mortgage to buy the agro-technical equipment's as because they are completely dependent on the traders. If the farmers cannot re-pay the loan amount, the land is taken away from them. This made some of the tribes as agricultural labours in their own land. Various commissions are framed to provide employment opportunities. Indebtedness is also increased. The laws are functioning ineffective as the resource distribution is not going fairly. There should be a training or orientation facilities for them to understand and avail the policies

correctly. Attention should also be paid to improve the tools, technology and health and education (Jain 1981).

Evolution of tribes as a social transformation is through a society running through kinship with the other communities. The history of tribes can be varied from the colonial era, still they have their own language, culture, beliefs, and social status. Universal literacy and industrialisation helped most of the tribes to develop and include in the mainstream society. The civilisation to social formation can be seen through the government initiatives. Most of the tribal population was present in north-east states. The ethnic differentiation is still exists among themselves. The socio-cultural and socio-political movements helped them to rise in the economy. The conceptual framework of constitution policies also helped them to explore their problems positively. The tribal community is affected mostly by non-tribes in each aspect and the main one is land. Due to their low literacy, and indebtedness their lands got alienated. The tribes of north-east mostly have migration tradition. Land reforms explored the intermediaries between the state and the individuals. But, it also exploited them as they depend on the traders to cultivate land by using the agro-technological products. The sixth schedule was framed with some provisions, in which laws are made for having land, occupation, and also for using forest land for cultivation. Caste and class made the tribal community differ from other communities. So, several policies and commissions are formed to integrate the tribes with other communities in the society. Education is the main factor which helps the individual to develop. But, due to less resources the tribal children remain backward. After the constitutional reservations in political, educational and employment opportunities, tribes got education which helped them economically. The poverty alleviation programmes are also created (Roy Burman 1989).

Indian constitution provides reservations to scheduled tribes for their upliftment in economic aspects and also to integrate themselves in the mainstream society. After many recommendations, Tribes have got the protective discrimination in three categories: first, parliament/state legislature seats are reserved for these groups; second, reservations for the government and semi-government opportunities; and third, reservations in the educational institutions especially in higher institutions to avail their educational and social advancements. Even though, schedule tribes are lagging behind the scheduled castes in many aspects. In most of the higher educational institutions like universities, the quota for SCs are better compared to STs which is because the

qualifying candidates may not be available for the reason of their socio-economic and educational background or the institutions may not want purposefully to full the quota. The entry into various courses of STs in higher institutions are less within the reservation policy and also the share of various courses offered to the STs also differs from SCs. The position of tribes in academic or teaching posts is less in colleges and universities. In politics, also the SCs comparative level is high. The STs were not able to create themselves space in the national or regional level. Both categories are relevant to each other but the assessment are completely different from each other. Even, at the regional level for availing the resources STs have remained backward. But, government cannot ignore the aspects for their development in the society. The schedule tribes fall short in both collective and other diverse group services because of their living phenomena, geographical mobility, size and rate of literacy. But, now even the population has increased more compared to 1990s but the reservation is same as the old. This significance is also affecting tribes most as they became backward in getting the technological phases, knowledge, information, and employment opportunities. The regional communities can also affect STs in availing the policies in approved manner. Reservations are helping them to integrate in the society but somehow they are isolating or segregating from dominant communities. The tribes are getting affected from the heterogeneity in terms of division of labour, occupation, skills, class, caste, life style, and many more. The small-scale relation within the community is differing from size of tribal community. Now a days, tribes are exposed to the market but they are getting exploited easily because of their innocence and illiteracy. Discrimination is also becoming high for tribal community as they are getting more integrated in the society. They are facing the discernment in every level of social life, also to the opportunity they have. Some of the tribes have become better in comparing within the tribes by availing the opportunities compared to some of the scheduled castes. The structural features should distinguished more deeply to be understood which can help the tribes to avail more educational and employment opportunities and also to integrate themselves within the modern society (Xaxa 2001).

Most of the civilians consider the term 'tribe' as backward community which is included in the Indian constitution as schedule tribe. Each tribal community is different from one another in various aspects such as mode of production, habits, isolation and acculturation among other communities, level of development, beliefs and social

customs, etc. They are developed themselves as self-sufficient community through their own language, political implications, economically, and socially. Resource distributions among tribal households were become insufficient and even their trade expansion is minimal. The tribal population of north-east region is known for diversity and their economic problems were quite different. The tribes were situated basically on hill-top areas and they have very little indigenous economic development through their mode of production and consumption patterns which are different from non-tribal areas. The monetary terms of development is dominated by industrialists due to their private ownership of production. The major defect facing by tribal community is land alienation. Tribal lands are getting grabbed both by the government and capitalists. Government takes their lands for the sake of the developments such as roads, irrigation, electricity, etc., whereas the capitalists gives loans to tribes and as they cannot repay the loans, then their land is taken off. Development should be taken in the direction of economic as well as political, educational and cultural aspects. The tribal economic development should be raised in the real terms of per-capita income (Goswami 1984).

Changing agrarian patterns are the reason which causes distress to farmers and also the changes of practices of agriculture made them agony. Agriculture became an unrewarding activity and lack of unity among the farmers made the sector even more in high distress. But the farmers become incompetent to pressurise the government to fulfill their requirements in agricultural sector as it is only dependence for their livelihood. Crop failure, changing cropping patterns, impact of liberalisation policies, which leads to rise in the input cost of production, indebtedness, negligence of government in public infrastructure and lack of research and extension programmes, are the causes behind distress among rural households. Due to impact of globalisation and modernisation, family and village structure in rural areas is declining faster which is leading to rise in the concept of individualisation. This phenomenon can be explained in two paradoxical situations. First, if farmers can fight with government for their basic entitlements and safeguards, then the farmer's conditions would be better as the development policies takes place in agricultural sector. Secondly, situation is through democracy that what we have studied in our textbooks, by questioning the authorities democratically to resolve the problem. Situation of agricultural sector after independence can be defined in three phases. First phase is when congress party came with pro-peasant policies such as abolition of intermediaries, decline of land revenue

system, establishment of irrigation facilities, and larger share in political power for farming community at state level. The government also formed policies to make India free from high dependence on foreign countries by producing surplus food grains and enable agricultural sector to supply raw materials for industrial sector. Second phase was during green revolution, which came with new agricultural strategies to increase food grain productivity. But, the small and marginal farmers are affected by using new methods of technology with fertilisers and pesticides increased their input costs but the comparison of output became less which made them financially and economically weak. In third phase because of liberalisation policies, agricultural system miserably failed and showed declining trend. Liberalisation policies only benefited the developed countries as they were successfully using their World Trade Organisation (WTO) terms and importing so much of food grains. Though, in developing countries such policies affected farmers directly, which became the main reason for distress among them (Suri 2006).

The whole literature review dealt with the issues effecting tribal community such as land alienation, indebtedness, living conditions, changing cropping patterns, crop failure, impact of globalisation and liberalisation policies, effects of policy implications in terms of economy, land rights, and many other aspects. But the major gap in the literature review was found as there very few studies researched on the tribal living conditions particular to Telangana state. The study was majorly focused on how role of political economy linked with the living conditions of STs by analysing various factors from the selected sample respondents of Telangana state.

3. Research Questions

Based on the existing review of literature, study was concentrated on various issues related to scheduled tribes in India as a whole. Moreover, it was analysed tribal livelihood in the political economy perspective. Based on the available literature, the study has formulated the following research questions out of identified limitations.

1. What is political economy and explore its inter-linkages between tribal economy?
2. What is the role of government policies in the development of scheduled tribes in India?
3. What are the changes in livelihood patterns of scheduled tribes over the decades?

4. How will political economy help in changing livelihood patterns of scheduled tribes?

4. Research Problem

The factors contributing to the political economy of tribes are too many and too little attention is paid. Hence, such factors are being accumulated over the period. Most of the studies are based on the land alienation problems of tribes in United Andhra Pradesh but no study on particular to the state of Telangana in perspective of how capitalistic nature effecting the tribes not only in the context of land but also in many other ways. In this contest, the core issues I am going to explore in the study are the factors behind the political economy which are effecting tribal livelihood patterns in different districts of Telangana state.

5. Objectives

The elucidation of background of study, the broader objective is to know the working status of political system at ground level in terms of enhancing the livelihood conditions of schedule tribes.

1. To explore the concept of political economy and its interlinkages between tribal economy.
2. To analyse the role of government policies in the development process of scheduled tribes.
3. To study the changes in the livelihood patterns of scheduled tribes over the decades.
4. To understand the process of political economy in relation to tribal livelihood patterns in the study area.

6. Methodology

Both primary and secondary data was used in this study. The Secondary data was composed from various books, articles and journals. Primary data was generated from selected field area by conducting in-depth interviews within the selected districts. For the sample of data collection three districts are selected on the basis of tribal population in Telangana state. A total of six mandals and 12 villages are selected by using

purposive sampling method based on the highest number of tribal population. A total of 451 sample household respondents are selected by simple random sampling method to assess the causes and effects among tribes and their analysis on the development progress of their community with structured questionnaire and also by some sort of group-discussions among the villagers.

The study was not limited to a particular tribe, so included almost all the tribes such as Gonds, Kolams, Lambadas, Andhs, and Pradhans who are residing in the selected sample villages within the sample mandals of sample districts. According to Census 2011, scheduled tribe population consists of around 9.3 per cent in Telangana state compared to the total state population. In the selected sample three districts comprise around 18.1 per cent of tribal population to the total tribal population of Telangana state.

7. Chapterisation

The first chapter *Introduction* deals with the concepts of political economy and tribal economy and what is their role in enhancing the livelihood conditions of the tribal communities as a whole. Political economy came into existence and in which sub-concepts such as capitalism, socialism and communism are explained. Tribes in India are considered as a backward community who lives far from the mainstream society. Political economy is the study of policies and its impact on economic relations in a society. From pre-colonial period, tribes face exploitation in many forms. Later, British administration introduced policies among tribes. After independence, government of India continued to frame various policies to uplift the tribal community. Slowly, tribes started adopting mainstream methods of living but this does not help them to adjust in the caste structure that exist in society, because tribes have their unique identity in many ways such as language, culture and traditions. Introduction of globalisation and modernisation policies opened up the economy worldwide but these policies affected tribes and made their livelihood much worse. These concepts are explained in-detail with existing review of literature along with research questions, research problem, objectives, and methodology.

The second chapter *Political Economy of Scheduled Tribes* explains about the concept of political economy and how the political system implemented different policies on tribal community in India exploring its impact on various aspects such as

economic, political and cultural. Political economy has been understood as the relationship between individual and society, and the dispersal of political and economic power for development policies. More specifically, it is the study of how public policies are created and implemented in different socio-economic societies based on their economic theories or methods. The structure of political economy changes its nature based on socio-economic changes which are linked with national, regional and local activities in the society. In India, tribes live near to forest by using forest land and its resources available in forest. In pre-colonial period, British administration framed policies and made restrictions on using forest land by implementing Forest Rights Act. This made tribal livelihood worse and they started to migrate to other areas. After independence, Indian government continued these acts with making some recommendations for the usage of tribes. Slowly, tribes started adopting modern structure of living standards by choosing settled cultivation from shifting cultivation. Existence of non-tribes in tribal community was started which exploited them in many ways. Other concepts such as land alienation, education, globalisation, poverty and its effects on economic reforms are also discussed.

The third chapter *Tribal Development and Policy Issues* captures the impact of government policies on scheduled tribes and about which welfare indicators are used while framing the policies related to scheduled tribes. Tribal development can happen only through implementing the policies which helps tribes to develop their socio-economic aspects. In pre-colonial period, British mostly framed policies which isolated and exploited tribes. Many commissions were framed after independence to uplift the tribal community. Tribal population was divided into four major communities and development approaches are introduced in different approaches such as political, administrative, religious, anthropological, and voluntary agencies approaches. Focus was made on tribal transition. Moreover, it discusses about constitutional provisions of scheduled tribes and analyses all five-year plans to scale the development process and transition of scheduled tribes over the period of time.

The fourth chapter *Changing Livelihood Patterns of Scheduled Tribes* discusses about the changing living conditions of scheduled tribes in India and Telangana in terms of education, health and land distribution through focusing on the problem of land alienation and poverty. The various livelihood factors such as education, health, land alienation, and poverty are discussed by using existing secondary data on scheduled

tribes. Education is an important aspect which helps for advancement of both economic and social status of marginalised communities in the society. The policy aspects of tribal health and medicine in globalisation implicitly analyses different policy issues. The tribal economy is based on agriculture and shifting cultivation is the initial form of agriculture which continues to be primarily practiced by tribes. Moreover, due to land alienation most number of scheduled tribes had remained as landless labourers. Even in tribal areas, most of the tribes situated in outside border of scheduled areas so due to this reason they did not received any benefits of land-laws for the period of time. Encroachment of land from tribes to non-tribes, government also procured tribal lands for public and private purposes. Land alienation was highly effected on the tribal livelihood and their opportunities in passive manner. Livelihood approach mainly focused on how people organise their lives effectively and focuses more on opportunities.

The fifth chapter *Political Economy and Living Conditions of STs: Analysis of Field Data from Selected Districts* deals with the ground level analysis on present living conditions of scheduled tribes. It mainly concentrates on how the concept of political economy helps scheduled tribes to overcome the problems of living which includes socio-economic, agricultural, land, health and financial factors. This chapter has discussed on the present socio-economic conditions of the scheduled tribes of three districts of Telangana. In the primary research analysis it was found that, livelihood conditions of the scheduled tribes have changed drastically as compared with their past living conditions and existing literature review on the Telangana scheduled tribes. In most of the literature discussed that majority of the tribal communities in India are depending on the forest areas. But in the field study it was found that around 90 per cent of scheduled tribes are depending on the agricultural and allied activities. Only seven per cent of the tribal population in the three districts are depending on the forest resources for domestic purpose. There are no signs of the shifting agricultural methods seen in the field study all the scheduled tribes are shifted to settled agriculture and registered their land under revenue act and receiving the financial benefits of the state and central governments. But in the area of awareness on the schemes and policies of the scheduled tribe's livelihood, around 77 per cent of scheduled tribes do not have any awareness on the schemes and policies framed for their welfare as government officials did not organised any awareness programmes on those schemes. Whatever the schemes

framed for the scheduled tribes it is not reaching them but the schemes which are framed for the all the citizens are reaching them. Common schemes are effectively implemented in the tribal areas as compared with the schemes which are framed for the development of the scheduled tribe communities in the state. State government of Telangana recognised all the scheduled tribe areas into self-governing villages. It is also observed that, in all the sample villages in the three districts are governed by the scheduled tribe people only. People in all the villages are very much satisfied with the working status of the gram sabha in their villages. This Chapter has discussed various issues such as, education, health, livelihood opportunities, government role in tribal development, credit sources of the scheduled tribes, land holding situations, cropping patterns, socio-economic conditions of the scheduled tribes and role of political economy in enhancing the livelihood conditions of the tribal communities in the villages.

The sixth chapter *Conclusion* summarises the entire work carried out under the topic taken for research and highlights the major findings of the study. It also includes various recommendations regarding the implementation of public policies among scheduled tribes at village level based on the findings of the study.

The next chapter *Political Economy of Scheduled Tribes* deals with the concept of political economy. Moreover, it tried to interrelate the concept of political economy with the tribal livelihood. The chapter also discusses about the various aspects of tribal livelihood opportunities based on land and forest.

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Chapter- 2

Political Economy of Scheduled Tribes

Scheduled tribes are considered as the isolated group when compared with the other social groups. In India, tribes are differentiated with their culture, language and livelihood patterns. Since decades, they are facing various kinds of problems which are related to their livelihood and culture. In the present times, tribes are adopting the culture of external society. External society is defined as the society residing outside of the forest acquiring all the benefits of constitution. Tribes also started living in the rural areas by adopting livelihood patterns of other social groups residing in the society. Society is witnessing various movements and agitation of tribes on their exploitation and rights. It was observed that, due to their low socio-economic and educational background they are not addressing their problems effectively in-front of the political administration. They have failed to address various problems such as land alienation, deforestation, industrialisation, and isolation. In this juncture, the present chapter discusses about the political economy and scheduled tribes. Moreover, it also addresses various issues of scheduled tribes which are basic reason for their backwardness and isolation.

1. Political Economy of Development

Political economy has been understood as the relationship between individual and society, and the dispersal of political and economic power for development policies. More specifically, it is the study of how public policies are created and implemented in different socio-economic societies based on their economic theories or methods. Political economy is a branch of social science which studies inter-relationship between political and economic aspects. The relation which start from economic to political via social classes is called as a theory of political economy. The structure of the society is very much important to understand the roots of political economy and branches which includes several other factors. Study of the political economy is divided into three branches which are social analysis, political analysis and economic analysis. Due to various exploited practices, tribes were facing different type of problems which forced them into the high darkness in their life such as indebtedness, land alienation, shifting cultivation, lack of education, migration, urbanisation, unemployment, agricultural

labourers, impact of urbanisation and industrialisation, deforestation, de-population, and regionalism.

The structure of political economy changes its nature based on socio-economic changes which are linked with national, regional and local activities in the society. The approaches of political economy will mainly depend on the structure of the society which varies from industrial sector to urban and rural fields (Marsden 1988). The major challenge of any society is finding an adequate explanation for limited success of an individual in the process of economic transformation. The central problem of any political economy concept is to find out adequate explanation in the process of Socio-economic transformation. The transformation would come up with the public investment. The concept of public investment can be explained as investment in agricultural sector, industrial sector, and investment on public infrastructure which are key elements of public investment for any economic growth. That defines the role of any state or government in development of their societies in the process of transformation (Dhar 1987). In India, the theory of political economy is fascinating and it is much diverse because of various forces such as domestic politics and economics. Indian politics have changed its shape and composition. These forces changed working status of the government and they are influencing the policy frameworks. The changes are more forcible, far more gradual and less exposed. This may have led to poor functioning of the governance and its policies (Palit 2011).

The political economic reforms also plays crucial role in the process of development of a society. The economic reforms in India can be defined as a packaged combination aimed for the macroeconomic stabilisation in the country in global scale to boost up the economic growth which is an ultimate tool behind the development of the country in a larger scale (Bhattacharya 1999). This is what exactly works as background for the concept of political economy. In this research work the study on political economy enlarging the livelihood conditions of the scheduled tribes in India. It cannot happen without the initiatives of the different levels of the government. The addressing capacity can only originates with the level of transformation. To address the various issues in the present political economy it requires large amount of awareness and socio-economic development. According to Ghosh (2010) the concept of political economy takes hunger as an example. In the arena of food security government is showing its negligence in framing the needful policy provisions. There are so many

cases with respect to nutrition of children, women and vulnerable groups in India that are very much close to malnutrition and starvation. There are various reasons behind above starvation and food crisis. The recent rise in the prices of food products are due to global crisis which effected the employment sector led to deteriorated condition of livelihood for millions of the people in the country. Based on the prevailing conditions food security was taken as an emergency window and stressed its demands at nationwide. The severe food crisis is because of state negligence of agricultural sector from past two decades. Government has witnessed larger sections of farmers committing suicides due to various factors and very minimal amount of time allotted to agricultural sector from government part. Inappropriate policy frame work, poor implementation and negligence have decreased the agricultural yield and productivity. It is due to total negligence of political administration in allocating the funds and framing the appropriate policy frameworks.

Role of political economy in agriculture is very crucial for development of the different social groups which are mainly depended on the agricultural sectors. Sharma (1995) explained the concept of political economy in terms of poverty and role of political economy in poverty. In the planned economic development, state has only concentrated on the organised sector workers, particularly taken care of government and semi-government and the elite groups in the society such as professionals, politicians, power brokers, and contractors, who are included in the development process. But, state was hardly cared about the poorer sections in the society. It is the trigger point and root cause of the poverty in the society. It is the role of political economy to treat all the sections of the society equally by providing sufficient amount of public resources. Unresponsive political leadership, socio-economic backwardness, nature of development policies, and various government exploitative practices in different sectors in the state are basic reasons for prevalence of poverty in the society (Das 1993). There are various factors behind the status of poverty in the economy which are lack of employment, negligence of the local governance, poor distribution of resources, ineffective leadership, lack of addressing capacity of poorer sections, growth performance of the state, and lack of poverty alleviation programmes in the state which are the basic factors behind poverty levels in the state. Poverty alleviation programmes include sanctioning old age pension schemes to the elderly people in the low income groups and providing employment to the agricultural labourers in non-working season.

Educational subsidy schemes include providing scholarships to the low income groups such as scheduled tribes. Nutritional programmes to the children and women who are in need, land reforms to the landless farmers, constructing houses for the homeless, providing healthy drinking water facility also can improve the livelihood conditions of low incomes groups such as scheduled tribes (Verma and Sinha and Narain 1987). This kind of initiatives can only happen with extensive awareness programmes and effective addressing capacity of the low income groups. Political economy plays very crucial role in the advancement of the society. India is a secular country, treats every citizen equally by considering their religion, culture, sex, and race. According to Tyabji (1994) the concept of political economy is in a secularism light. The Indian politics is dealing with the changing mind set of people by adopting contemporary identity of the other sections of people who has a multi-language and multi-ethnic society because the concept of secularism is the component of the Indian political economy. In this transforming process of secular India, there are various challenges which need to be addressed effectively such as poverty eradication with the help of industrial growth by generating various income sources. At societal level, there is a need of various policy interventions even for its preservation and effective administration and it can happen effectively, at ground level with political intervention. Local governance should work effectively in the process of implementation. To make local governance work effectively there is the need of certain changes in the political level such as decentralising the politics in India. It can effectively mobilise the power which enable community level political representation.

In India, most of the scheduled tribes are residing in the villages nearer to the forest area. Panchayat plays crucial role in their livelihood. In present time, most of the scheduled tribe villages are ruling their own villages. State government is given the provision of self-ruling to scheduled tribe villages to make them more inclusive in the mainstream society. Role of political economy at panchayat level is making much more changes. Democratic decentralisation is an effective tool to improve the public infrastructure at village level. Democratic decentralisation can help effectively in solving the issues at village level. Government has given the responsibility to local gram panchayats to solve the essential problems in the village such as village roads, drinking water, identifying beneficiaries for the various government schemes and poverty alleviation programmes. It can help the local villagers to monitor their local

politicians and their working status in terms of village development. Decentralising the governance is an effective tool of Indian political system for the accountability and effective implementation of government development programmes (Besley and Rohini and Vijayendra 2007). Uneven growth process also is affecting the scheduled tribes in India. India has taken various initiatives in the private sector. For example in the process of economic reforms, India encouraged the concept of privatisation which is highly focused on the non-agricultural sector. The main aim of the reforms is to enhance the economic growth rate. In the process of development they totally neglected the poor and agricultural sector which directly affected the scheduled tribes in India (Corbridge 2009). The process of privatisation in India is a well-known fact. Most of the forest areas are converted into industrial spaces, highest number of scheduled tribes who residing in the forest are displaced forcibly and not given any employment provision in the industrial spaces which the forest has occupied (Mohanty 2005).

There is a role for political economy in land development in India. To develop any infrastructure in the economy the state requires certain amount of land for development. In this juncture how the Indian political system is dealing with the land development is a major issue. In the process of developments, government has experienced many highs and lows. Basically it is focusing on the process of development. It is definitely raising the importance of non-agricultural land. Without proper land development government cannot initiate the infrastructural development. Without proper infrastructural development they cannot generate any employment opportunities and livelihood options for the people (Sathe 2011). Development of any part of non-agricultural land would increase the price of that land. There are various political factors that are involved in the development of the particular land in Indian political system. Most of the land is in the hands of elite group so it cannot be used for the government infrastructure because they cannot force elite group as they would not sell it for low prices which government offers for them. So, state is finally depending on the agricultural land forcing the farmers to give up their land for the sake of government infrastructure (Gonsalves 2010). It is a well-known fact that cultivation is an unrewarding activity. Government is not give any significant importance to the agricultural sector in the state. Country is witnessing agrarian distress because of the changing nature and agricultural and democratic politics in India. Failure in the status of political economy in the state is reflecting in the form of farmers' suicides and low

agricultural production. There are various inter-dependence factors in agriculture which government is failed to provide to the farmers such as better transportation, irrigation and market facilities (Suri 2006).

Government witnessed widespread agitations of the farmers across the country by showing their dissatisfactory levels on the package provided by the government their land which was taken for the purpose of development. It does not mean the farmers who have sold their land are not interested in selling. They are expecting right price for their land. The main challenge in front of the government is to provide right price for their land. The politics in India is highly interrelated with the land development. As per existing literature 40 per cent of the farmers in India are not interested to engage in agricultural practices due to various reasons. They want to sell their land in a peaceful manner at right price. The government should understand the emotional bonding of the farmer with his land (Thorner and Kerblay and Smith 1966). Political economy in India should understand the relationship between land and farmer. The farmers who are selling their land would think about their future generations before selling their lands. It is to understand that, the farmers who are cultivating commercial crops are not capitalist at any term. They will cultivate according to their requirements and resources availability. It is the fact that land is the important source of employment and livelihood for the farming community. There are two ways of reactions government can get from the farming community in the arena of selling of their land. One is in most developed state farmers who are ready to sell their land for the development and at the same time they also go for agitations for what they have to get. It is called their integration with economic system and increasing their bargaining capacity. On the other hand, in some backward states farmers are not willing to sell their land. They are more reluctant to sell their farm lands. Because of low bargaining power and political system also end up with less compensation based on their mobility. They cannot address the issue effectively as happened in the developed states. They can involve in the negotiation process for the better compensation for land but not effectively as compared with other developed states (Sathe 2007). Even in the given compensation also government includes many parameters. The compensation on the land can be decided based on the various factors such as land soil fertility, location of the land, status of development activities that took place in the land, nature of the land and buyer. Under the present

law Supreme Court is having the right to acquire any part of the land for the public purpose (Mehta 2010).

2. Status of Scheduled Tribes in India

Despite various developmental policies initiated for their upliftment, tribes in India are considered the most backward community. While governments in India have introduced impressive policies for the upliftment of tribal people since independence, these policies have resulted in little effect. This is most evident when we compare tribes with other social groups in terms of literacy, per capita income, access to health care system, livelihood, and so on. Most of the tribes live in and around the forest areas where their livelihood depends on collection of forest products and shifting cultivation. In some cases, they are also agricultural daily workers. The process of globalisation during early 1990s has further affected these tribes through displacement and migration due to developmental initiatives in resource rich tribal regions/areas.

Xaxa (1999) said that in India religion, language, region, and tribes have been seen as a social relations in a larger society and also they can be seen as a homogenous community consists of common governance, language and culture. But in tribal society, there is no transformation of new castes were seen. During British hegemony, there are very few tribes which followed Hindu sanskritisation and have tried to transform from their original caste to mainstream castes. After independence, government introduced different policies particularly for tribes. But basically tribes are seen as a separate entity because in general terms, it was assumed as tribe and caste represent two different forms of social organisations. Caste can be seen by division of labour, hierarchy, religion, and etc. but tribes are characterised beyond the caste barriers. So, tribes have been described as a backward Hindus (Ghurye 1963).

Roy Burman (1972) characterised tribes into different forms such as (i) tribes those integrated in Hindu society, (ii) those who positively adapted to Hindu society, (iii) those who negatively adapted, and (iv) tribes those who are indifferent to Hindu. Vidyarthi and Rai (1977) categorised tribes as (i) those living in forest areas, (ii) living in rural areas, (iii) semi-aculturated, and (iv) acculturated or assimilated to different culture. According to Elwin (1944), tribes are classified into different sections such as (i) purest tribal groups, (ii) groups those in contact with plain areas but still remaining in their approach of living, (iii) groups adopting lower stages of Hindu society, and (iv)

group of tribes who adopted Hindu society or structure fully and living in contemporary style.

Slowly, tribes started to adopt Hindu society caste structure and it is seen as tribal society is being involved into general society. Transformation into castes are comprehended through different methods which have been distinctly conceptualised. Majority of tribes adopted technological progress in Hindu society and the major role which helped in transformation is the organisation of production process. Till then, tribes are seen as non-competitive because they form their own non-competitive or protective system (Kosambi 1975).

Sanskritisation is the other method which helped tribes to adopt Hindu society. This method helped government to provide socio-political framework for tribes to develop and merge into regional caste system (Sinha 1962). Sanskritisation is seen as a process where the communities lower their social ladder and follow the other dominant caste of a region they want to adopt. But in larger section of society, no higher caste was ready to lower their social ladder to allow tribes or other lower castes to move up in the caste hierarchy.

Transformation of tribes was also happened from caste to peasant society. Bose (1971) considered tribal people as (i) hunters, fishers and gatherers, (ii) shifting cultivators, (iii) settled agricultures using plough and cattle, (iv) craft workers, agricultural labourers, wandering cattle-keepers, and (v) plantation and industrial workers. Some of these aspects are not different from non-tribes. Shanin (1973) stated farmers as who cultivate with minimal production for both commercial and domestic purposes using simple technological equipment's with their own family members working as labourers in the field. The characteristic of tribe as a community is related through the limitations such as linguistic, cultural and political aspects, but the boundaries set certain limits in the aspects of political and socio-economic relations to the tribes. Transformation of tribes have both negative and positive features; negative such as low in literacy, civilisation, industrialisation, specialisation, etc., whereas positive such as socio-political formation with modern societies, kinship bonds and co-operation for common goals in the society (Godelier 1977). But, transformation of tribes into mainstream society has its own problems which kept most of the tribes still in backwardness.

3. Tribal Livelihood Opportunities

Scheduled tribes in India had a unique identity and culture. Most of the scheduled tribes live in agency areas and some of them migrated to plain areas of the society to access common resources of the economy. Living patterns of scheduled tribes are unique and different as compared with other social clusters in India. Most of the scheduled tribes in India follow the cultures of their ancestors through generations. Their dressing style, housing structure, beliefs, languages, culture, and traditions are unique in nature.

The tribal population in India are classified into four divisions namely: firstly, tribal communities resides in the forest for their livelihood. Secondly, semi-tribal communities are more or less settled in the rural areas and adopted agriculture and other allied activities as occupation. Third type of tribes are migrated to urban areas engaged in civilised occupation. Finally, vocational tribes, adopted traits and cultures of rest of the population in the society. Programmes such as health, education, employment, technical knowledge in various working areas about modern machinery, transport and communication helps to enhance the livelihood opportunities among tribal communities in India (Hooja 2004).

The livelihood of rural community should not be viewed in terms of conventional, urban-industrial and middle class framework. Every person should be provided with some employment and allow him to buy some basic things for living. The idea of adopting the livelihood opportunities is to enhance poverty eradication. The main reason behind the concept of rural is deterioration of forest resources. Majority of the rural population is highly depended on their surrounding natural resources. Livelihood opportunities among scheduled tribes would be closely related to the environmental sustainability. The term sustainable livelihood is indicating the level of environmental sustainability. Forest is the livelihood security asset for the scheduled tribes in India.

The various livelihood activities that tribal people conduct typically includes agricultural cultivation wage labour (farm and non-farm labour), forest collection/hunting, fishing, animal husbandry, liquor brewing and selling, job/service, and businesses. The outputs of these activities are typically in the form of food grains, food items (fish, meat, milk, vegetables, fruits, meals etc.), fuel wood, wood for building house and cash earned by performing wage labour or selling various goods. The outputs that are in the form of food grains and food items (often) directly fulfil the food need of the household. While the need for other non-food items like clothing, soap,

footwear, medicine, and edible oil get fulfilled by using cash income. Thus, if the outputs are sufficient enough then they lead to fulfilment of household needs. On the other hand, insufficient outputs result into nonfulfillment of needs (Prayas 2005).

The concept of livelihood opportunities is an attempt to go beyond theoretical definitions. The focused points of livelihood always deals with certain aspects such as poverty eradication and low income. These kind of aspect is found to be very narrow because they focused only on certain line of points. There is a need of broad understanding of the theory. Livelihood approach mainly focused on how people organise their lives effectively and focuses more on opportunities. In the case of scheduled tribes they are traditionally famous for shifting cultivation by adopting the diversification of livelihood as a coping strategy. The strategies include intensification of existing income activities, migration, informal credit networks, adjusting the consumption patterns and adopting settled agricultural methods. Compared with the past situation their education levels were increased. It is important that diversification of livelihood patterns only ensure given standard of living and it does not help in improving the existing standard of living. There is a need to apply different strategies for sustainable socio-economic living to overcome the barriers of life (Tripathy 2018).

Land is a major source of livelihood for scheduled tribe population in India. Land was collectively owned by privileged community in the village and governed by the community usually led by village chief. Landlessness is a very low conspicuous factor especially among the scheduled tribe population. In the north-eastern regions, families without having own land are considered as less prominent among scheduled tribe households than other social groups, especially in scheduled tribe populated states. For them land is basic source for agriculture and especially for the purpose of shifting agricultural practices. Scheduled tribe household mostly use small and medium landholdings for the cultivation. The economy of scheduled tribes revolves around the agricultural economy for the subsistence. The tribal community means of livelihood has been moved towards modern market facilities through various employment opportunities which helps in the rise of their economy. There is no uniform land tenure system in most of the north-eastern regions (Marchang 2017).

Livelihood includes availabilities of basic necessities of living which covers both tangible and intangible assets. There are various livelihood opportunities available for scheduled tribes in India according to their culture and living patterns. Forest

resources played crucial role in tribal livelihood to sustain their cultivation in hilly areas which is also called shifting cultivation.

Shifting cultivation was an important source of livelihood of various tribes. But for taxing purpose, the British discouraged shifting cultivation and forced tribals to become settled agriculturist and do farm work on lands which were made clear after massive deforestation. If we examine literature on shifting cultivation, two types of literature are available. Most of the British writers have perceived shifting cultivation negatively. The Indian Famine Commission of 1881 has detailed 31 species of trees whose produce was consumed as food by the tribes of Satpura Hills in different seasons including fruits, flowers, buds, young shoots, seeds, etc. both in raw and cooked form (Chaudhary 2018).

India is a mug of vast natural resources including non-timber forest products (NTFPs). They are medicinal and aromatic plants, leaves, fruits, seeds, resins, bamboos, and canes etc. These are providing the half of the income to the scheduled tribes in India. Despite of significant economic growth rate in India poverty levels have remained the same. This NTFP products are proving vast livelihood opportunities to the scheduled tribes. Forest is providing the diverse products for living in rural communities. 100 million people are living and depending on the forest and its products. Studies in Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, and Bihar showed that more than 80 per cent of the population residing in the forest are depending on the NTFP products. Till recent times, NTFP was neglected and its potential benefits were underestimated. Since ninetieth century after introducing the scientific forest policy only timber was considered as the most potential and gave major economic importance. All other forest products are categorised as minor forest products (MFP). In recent times NTFP gained massive importance in the livelihood opportunities of scheduled tribes in India.

India's forests are endowed with vast natural resources, including non-timber forest products, such as a large variety of medicinal and aromatic plants (MAPs), leaves, fruits, seeds, resins, gum, bamboos, and canes. More than 3000 plant species produce economically useful NTFPs in India. NTFPs provide diverse employment and economic opportunities to support rural livelihoods and protect the environment. Small-scale forest-based enterprises, many of which rely on NTFPs, provide up to half the income of about 25 per cent of India's rural labour force. Nearly half of the country's forest revenue and 70 per cent of export forest revenue comes from NTFP export potential of NTFPs is growing as the scope of globalisation increases and recognition of the health benefits of herbs becomes more widespread (Rasul and Madhav and Ram 2008).

Here, the discussion begins at broader scale about NTFP. However, by looking at the management of natural resources and a shift from timber to non-timber forest products it changed the paradigm from centralised to decentralised management and policy changes. Forest management includes the practices such as slash and burn agriculture, grazing, fires and sacred groves to maintain the availability of diverse resources in the forest. Forest management includes role of local institutions, property rights, the nature of power relations between the state government and local institutions help to enhance livelihood opportunities among the scheduled tribes. The good relations would help in resource management and training towards better livelihood opportunities. In the area of market communities it faces various issues such as equity, fairness and bio piracy that affect the income of the people. India introduced Biodiversity Act in 2002 and Forest Rights Act was implemented in 2006 for the protection of forest product and to authenticate them. NTFP was the work of peter et al 1989 and these scholars brought NTFP into lime light and played a role in achieving various livelihood opportunities for rural communities. But it is a fact that harvesting the NTFP in long-run result in the depletion of NTFP resources without proper management and monitoring works (Krishnakumar and Jefferson and Anitha 2012).

During pre-colonial period, British administration did not show any interest on the forest resources. By mid-19th century itself they recognised the importance of forest resources and started implementing acts and laws to preserve the available resources (Saldanha 1996). In 1856, Lord Dalhousie implemented a strict forest policy as the forest area was getting reduced by using most of the timber for constructing railways. Because during the early years of railways construction or expansion, there was no proper supervision exercised to look into the matter of forest resources usage. So, great parts of forest areas were destroyed. To compensate the loss of forest resources, they started implementing strict laws. Later, even government of India has also decided to follow those steps to protect the forests from destruction (Smythies 1925).

During pre-colonial period, various policies were framed to protect forest resources. The first attempt was made through the introduction of Forest Act- 1865, in which it was made clear that state has power to declare any land covered with trees as forest and without any prior information people cannot use forest products. But this act

was implemented only to the government controlled forests, no law was made to cover private forests (Kulkarni 1987). After that in 1878, with some new recommendations, new forest act was introduced. In this act, forests were divided into three parts; reserved, protected and village forests. Slowly, government started control on forests and imposed strict rules by prohibiting the entry of trespassing to forests even for pasturing the cattle. In 1894, the forest policy resolution was introduced which became the first forest policy visualised the state's interest to take control on forests over the people's interest. British administration restricted the local communities to use of forest resources which made tribal livelihood even more worse. The main interest was to seize the rights of tribes for using forest resources by involving the authorities to limit and regulate (Bhargava 2002). In 1927, the forest act made in 1878 was replaced and gave full powers to forest officials who are in direct contact with the local tribal communities. The official's forcible behaviour and abuse of power made many tribes to migrate to other areas. The Forest Act- 1927 was amended to put major control on shifting cultivation, as it is considered as biggest reason of forest depletion. This made tribes to lose their basic economic livelihood opportunities and also to change their occupation (Sengupta 1988).

During pre-colonial period, due to the introduction of different forest right acts the usage of forest resources was transferred from tribes to government. Before the implications of policies on forests, tribes have seen forest as common resource but later it became state property. In 1935, government of India formed an act which made the transfer of forest rights from union to state list. So, even after independence the authority of state in controlling the forests was continued.

After independence, the forest policy was formulated in 1952 and the main agenda was to look into the matters of revenue generating from the forests. Even, private forests also came under government now. Grazing in forests was allowed with certain amount of fee. A commission under the chairmanship of U. N. Dhebar was set up by the then President of India, to scrutinise the forest policy and its influence on tribal communities. The commission highlighted the importance of forests in providing tribes with food, fish, wood for construction and even income from different medicinal plants and oil. So, it was suggested to reconsider the policy recommendations and allow tribes to cultivate forest lands. Later in 1976 National Commission on Agriculture (NCA), recommended to reduce the people's rights toward the usage of forest

resources. The tribes were seen as destructors of forest as they are using the natural resources for free and contributing less in maintaining the forests. It recommended to bring new uniform laws and also to divide forests into protected, productive and social forests. Based on the recommendation of NCA 1976, forest draft bill in 1980 was made. In this, the major control was kept on central government. Even, state governments were prohibited to declare any forest as reserve or unreserved or allotting any forest land for any purpose without taking prior permission from central government. Later this bill was passed and became an act. During 1980, government of India suggested to re-consider the forest policies under the chairmanship of Dr. B. K. Roy Burman and this committee submitted its report in 1982. The committee was more focused on tribal economy related to forests and forest resource products. Also, suggested to benefit tribes through forestry conversation programmes by recognising their skills. Later in 1985, forest department was transferred from Ministry of Agriculture to Ministry of Environment and Forests (MoEF) which drafted national forest policy resolutions which was accepted by parliament in December 1988 (Tripathi 2016).

Forest Right Act, 1988 was framed with the main objective to ensure the protection of both environment and maintenance of ecological balance for all forms of life such as human, animal and plant. Permission for shifting cultivation practice in forest area was allowed for three years and also trespassing of cattle in forests with penalties was made very severe. State government was allowed to constitute village forests except reserve forest areas. Concept of joint-forest management was introduced. But later, social and human right activists started a movement considering the rights of tribal communities over local natural resources by initiating a move to secure constitutional recognition. Bhuria Committee recommendations also helped these movements and forced government to amend fifth schedule, and formed Panchayat Extension to Schedule Areas (PESA) in 1996. PESA brought a major difference to forest governance by introducing Gram Sabha at central and state level and helped to provide a future laws for tribal development. In 2002, MoEF passed a circular stating tribes as a direct encroachers residing in the forest areas and asked them to evict from their living areas. This was seen as a major negligence from the government towards tribal community development. Later, forest act in 2006 was articulated and considered as a landmark law in evolving government involvement towards tribal community. The resolution of this act is to recognise the rights of forest-dwelling communities and to

encourage the tribes by making them as an important agents for conservation and management of both forest and wild life. This bill helped to differentiate both the tribes and non-tribes who depend on forest land and its natural resources and to make difference between the two on the basis of both sustenance and commercial purpose (*ibid.*).

The pre-colonial and post-colonial forest laws considered tribes as destructors of forests and wild life. The control of forests were taken away from tribes and made their economic opportunities worse. In the name of deforestation and degradation, many tribal communities were displaced from their living areas in the forests. Many recommendations and acts were framed but, this does not help tribes to develop in the society.

It is a well-known aspect that tribes are completely dependent on forest for their livelihood as still most of the tribes are living near to forest areas for both agriculture and for collection of forest products. Tribes see forest as not only in a perspective of economy but they are also linked to forest in many aspects such as cultural, traditional, social, psychological, and religious. Tribes are getting food by using forests for cultivation and by also collecting the natural resources such as MFP. The varieties of MFP includes fruits, leaves, herbal roots, gum, dyes, bamboo, oil seeds, honey, etc. Committee on Forests and Tribal in India in 1982, stated that about tribes living in forest areas as

they are not only forest dwellers but also for centuries they have evolved a way of life which, on the one hand, is woven around forest ecology and forest resources, on the other hand, ensures that the forest is protected against the degradation by man and nature (Cited by Tripathi 2016 from GoI 1982).

More than 50 per cent of tribes of total population are residing in forest areas. Tribes are using forest resources for their living subsistence and at the same time, they are protecting forests from other individuals and societies. From colonial period to till date, many protests were happened when the governments tried to take away forest lands for any other conversions in the name of development. Forest land was occupied by the government to construct major and minor irrigational projects, national parks and sanctuaries (Chaithanaya 2012).

4. Marginalisation of Scheduled Tribes

Scheduled tribe in India is recognised as marginalised communities based on their living conditions, culture and traditions. It is a well-known fact that tribes are considered as forest dwellers. Since decades they are depending on the forest and allied resources. They have very minimum connection with the non-forest communities. After independence, they started living in the non-forest areas. Due to their past livelihood conditions and lack of awareness on the society made them marginalised. The relation between scheduled tribes and land is an inseparable bonding. Since, decades tribes are depending on the land resources for their livelihood. India witnessed various land rights for scheduled tribes to protect their livelihood opportunities. There are various laws established for the protection of tribal livelihood. After transforming into the modern society, tribes started to face the problem of land alienation, as land is the only resource tribes own. Many policies were framed and came into existence to protect tribal lands but none of these helped them. From the last two decades scheduled tribes witnessed various reforms and structural changes in their political economy. This section discusses about the changing patterns, tribal land holding patterns and livelihood in the political economy perspective.

Tribes faced the problem of land alienation even from the medieval period and it became harsher in colonial time. At that time, authorities decided to settlement operation for them to bring out the legislations for the tribal forest rights in India. Chotanagpur Tenancy Act 1908, Santal Pargana Tenancy Act 1949, Land Acquisition Act 1894, Scheduled Area Regulation Act 1969 are some of the legislations introduced for the purpose of protection of tribal rights (Sharan 2005). In 1839, British administration legislated a regulation about separating agency areas from other areas and later, Agency Tract Interest law had been passed. In 1917, Land Transfer Act was formed to protect the tribal lands. In 1935, government of India enacted an act giving more powers to the governor in the scheduled areas governance. Later, many state governments framed Scheduled Areas Land Transfer Regulation, which effectively covered the issues of any transfer of land in tribal areas (Reddy 1988). After independence, Indian government has chosen the path for development of economy. The government framed five-year plans towards the process of development in various aspects. The concept of development has targeted the economic growth of the nation. Like construction of dams, projects, factories, and mining. In the process of

development millions of scheduled tribes have been displaced from their forest areas. Tribal regions are the one of the most affected regions due to the development displacement. Due to over industrialisation 13.3 lakhs of the tribal people have been displaced (Mohapatra 1991). In every stage after independence, scheduled tribes are facing various challenges on land, livelihood and protection of their rights.

Deforestation and encroachment of forest area started a self-security movement among the tribal community. Both land and livelihood are the inter-related elements in any individual in the society not only scheduled tribes. But, coming to the tribal community land plays 90 per cent role in their livelihood process. Land is one of the major employment opportunities for the tribal communities in the country which provide livelihood opportunities for their next generations (Chambers and Conway 1992). In an agrarian economy, problem of land alienation predominantly took place. One of the main reasons is that the tribal lands were being occupied by large landowners. As the time changes, the problem of land alienation is also increased and the tribes who lost their lands became tenants and agricultural labourers. It affected their occupational dissemination and their living standards had become low in comparison of minimum livelihood facilities such as food, shelter, clothing, etc. (Reddy 1989).

Scheduled tribes in India are categorised based on their occupation and economic pursuits such as agricultural farmers, forest dwellers, shifting cultivators, daily wage labourers, and handicrafts. But majority of the tribal communities are depending on forest-based resources and agriculture. In both forest and agriculture, land plays crucial role. It is fact that nearly one-third of the scheduled tribes do not have any awareness or government not organised any awareness programmes to make them unaware on their land rights but the lack awareness is major reason behind the exploitation practices happened against them from various external forces. In most of the cases tribal lands are not registered officially at revenue office. It shows the level of discrimination in the scheduled tribe areas (Basha 2017). Scheduled tribes India experienced various kinds of exploitative practices in the corner of land and their livelihood. Tribal community has chosen the path of agitations to protect their land rights. Various external forces involved in the exploitation process such as, local moneylenders, non-tribal communities and government policies on the development by using their land. Since decades they are fighting with all the external forces including political forces (Oskarsson 2018). The non-tribes, those who migrate to tribal areas

provided money with interest rate, food grains and clothes to tribes. Slowly, non-tribes started implementing various methods of moneylending process and occupied their lands. Mainly non-tribes like moneylenders, merchants, traders, forest and other contractors from plain areas, non-tribal farmer migrants, and village level officers are those who grabbed the tribal lands (Rao and Priya and John 2006). Moneylending is the first and foremost route to occupy tribal lands. Non-tribes lent money to tribes by keeping their lands as collateral and due to poor poverty levels, tribes were unable to repay their debts. So, non-tribes started grabbing tribal lands (Reddy 1988). In many areas, non-tribal men started marrying tribal women and purchased or transferred their lands in the name of dowry. Also, some of the non-tribes acquired false schedule tribe certificates and started relation bonds with tribes and purchased their lands. After independence, tribes have lost their lands through survey and settlement process. Land deprivation has occurred due to lack of proper survey practices (Rao and Priya and John 2006). The other reason for land alienation of tribes has happened for not having the pattas to their agriculture lands. The land ownership has to be recognised by government authorities under the name of land owner and the same has to be registered in village registers. Most of the tribes cultivate their lands without registering their lands and some of them also pay revenue to administration. Because of this reason some of the village level officials grabbed tribal lands under their names (Haimendorf 1979).

The consequences behind this kinds of exploitation practices such as displacement is because of powerlessness of the weaker sections of the society. They are not getting any sort of benefits from their sacrifices. In most of the cases, responsible bodies have promised various kinds of benefits to scheduled tribes such as employment and permanent homes in displaced areas, providing same amount of land what they lost in the process of development. All the above mentioned promises are not fulfilled and resources have vanished due to weak bargaining power of the scheduled tribes in the political economy (Pandey 1996). Acquiring the land from the scheduled tribes forcibly is not just taking their livelihood opportunities. Tribes derives their cultural identity, strengthen their community from the natural resources which they possess. The unique identity they have acquired is because of their cultural and traditional way of living. Land plays an important role in tribal livelihood (Kamal 2017). In the case of scheduled tribes, it is the case of centuries old cultural practices. In many instances, government is showing its domination on forest areas by its nature of exploitation. Land alienation

among scheduled tribes are happening two ways which are narrow and broad. In narrow sense the issue of land alienation happens at individual land holdings and if the same land alienation happens to loss of common property of society then it can call it as broader way. It is well-known fact that directly or indirectly majority of the scheduled tribes are depending on the forest and its resources. But the laws, rules and regulations of the government are harassing the scheduled tribes in many ways and making them live far away from forest resources and vanished their customary rights and privileges of using the forest resources. Every time government is trying to dominate the tribal communities by enforcing new laws and regulations to get control over the scheduled tribes with their authority (Simon 2016). Tribes lost their lands from government itself in the name of development projects such as major and minor irrigation projects, mining, mineral based industries, hydroelectric projects, power generating units, and construction of dams (Saxena 2006). Landlessness became a major aspect in changing the livelihood pattern of tribal communities. Major change has seen tribes becoming agricultural labourers. Slowly, migration from rural to urban areas emerged as an important livelihood resource. Also, tribes have started cultivating more commercial crops due to low farm land and high indebtedness. Also, resettlement and rehabilitation policies are not helping tribes to develop their livelihood patterns (Murali and Janardhan 1992).

The globalisation policies introduced by the government of India affected tribal communities severely. Due to various globalisation policies tribal properties are at very dangerous stage. Industrial policies affected the livelihood conditions of forest dwellers severely. Due to their weak and power less conditions tribal communities failed to stop the market forces to their properties. Due to their weak bargaining power they slowly accepted the private forces in their territories (Angel 1991). Globalisation policies affected the social, economic, political, and cultural changes in most of the tribal communities. The process of globalisation totally neglected the inclusive growth rate of the economy, mainly concentrated on the gross domestic product. The objective of the globalisation has literally hampered the livelihood of the millions of the scheduled tribes by displacing them in the process of development and ignored their rehabilitation. This kind of neo liberal moves of the government not only pushed the weaker sections into depression it also raised level of poverty rate in the country (Nair and Vishnu 2018). In the case of the scheduled tribes globalisation is very controversial one,

because the main objective of the globalisation is to allow the economically backward countries and its citizens to raise their standards of living but in real terms due to free international market they hampered the progress of the domestic countries, benefited majority of the multinational companies in the state. At the same time vanished the livelihood opportunities of the millions of the scheduled tribes in the country (Ezhilarasu 2014).

There are various factors behind this tribal backwardness. Lack of education is the major reason behind the poor bargaining power in political economy of scheduled tribes. In India, educating the scheduled tribes is a biggest challenge. Because most of the scheduled tribes are located at remote, interior or inaccessible areas of the country. Tribal communities in India have different languages more than 270 languages have been recognised as tribal languages (Sujatha 2002). Education is an important source that every tribe should avail to develop their present conditions. As per the given information, education plays crucial role in enhancing their livelihood conditions and its helps to play active role in the political economy to address their problem. It is a known fact that, due to their remote way of living and having different languages to each section of tribal community is the major reason behind tribal backwardness. Majority of the citizens in India speak their national language as common language to address all the grievances. But, in the case of scheduled tribes it is different, they are not getting an opportunity to address their issues because of lack exposure and education.

The literacy rate of the scheduled tribes in India was 8.54 per cent in 1961 it was enhanced to 63.1 per cent in 2011. Tribal communities are recognised as most backward/ marginalised communities in India. Education definitely enhances their potential level of living in the future. It works as very important factor in the process of inclusive growth. It would improve their socio-economic conditions, expand the opportunities, helps in overcoming political barriers (Maharatna 2005). The government of India, in the process of development incorporated some provisions in the tribal sub plan. It is the main strategy of fifth five-year plan of the government. They are given priority to the elementary education to the scheduled tribes and coded as important. Because it is crucial input for the tribal development in the society. Recommendations of National Education Policy (NEP), 1986 towards the tribal education is the second most important step taken by the government of India. Under

those recommendations government opened primary schools in every tribal villages and taken steps to make them comfortable in the regional languages by appointing a local tribal teacher in each primary school to overcome the language barriers at the primary school level only. Established ashram schools and residential schools for scheduled tribe students at state level. It became unique of the NEP-1986 in building diversified societies by uplifting the scheduled tribes (Sujatha 2002).

After implementing so many educational programmes for scheduled tribes in India. The dropout rate of the scheduled tribe students at primary level of education is at alarming stage. One of the reasons pointed out by Sahu (2014) is that non-tribal teacher was appointed in most of the primary schools in tribal areas. Due to that students faced various language barriers during the education that causes the increase in the dropout rate of the tribal students. There are many factors which are negatively affecting the tribal education. They are location of the village, in most of the cases tribal villages are located at unaccusable locations nearer to forest areas without any proper transportation, livelihood opportunities and living conditions. Secondly, most of the parents are uneducated and they do not understand the importance of education or if they understand also their low income levels are not allowing them to afford for their children's education. Thirdly, unavailability of the tribal teacher is there in most of the primary schools. In most of the remote areas teachers are not attending the schools. There is a high rate of teacher absenteeism in majority of the school. Finally, there is lack of proper monitoring in the school. There is very poor functioning of tribal welfare department and school management, both the departments are neglecting the ongoing activities in the school and facilities available in the school.

When it comes to higher education of scheduled tribes in India, government is providing various kinds of benefits to attract more number of students in the higher education. By providing separate reservation for the scheduled tribe students and providing various kinds of financial assistance to the students who are pursuing higher education. Scheduled tribes are availing seven per cent reservation in the higher educational institutions. The students who are getting the admission in the reservation quota have to qualify all the requirement for availing the admission in the interest subject, there is no relaxation in fulfilling the requirement and eligibility criteria. There will be different cut off for the scheduled tribe students as compared with the other social groups (Brahmanandam and BosuBabu 2016).

There are some recommendation given by Sahu (2014) in his study on tribal education. There should be a proper awareness programmes conducted at village level to bring up the enrolment ratio and minimise the dropout rate of the students. Local government should provide proper training and counselling to the tribal parents on importance of education. It is the responsibility of the government to provide the relevant study material to the tribal students in their local language. Government should appoint more number of the tribal teachers and qualified teachers in the tribal schools. It should provide some financial help to the students perusing education from the beginning itself. There is a need of increase in the number of residential schools in each district and extend the education in the residential school up to post graduate level. School management should ensure social security to the students. There should be proper and effective monitoring in functioning of the school management. All the recommendations would help in raising the enrolment levels of the tribal students in most of the schools.

Poverty is one of the core element which is pushing the tribal community into dark light. As per the available literature on scheduled tribes, inappropriate policies of the state and central governments are main reasons behind poverty levels among scheduled tribes. According to livelihood structure and village locations of the scheduled tribes government has to frame the policies according to geographical and livelihood condition of the communities. But, in reality government is framing common policies for all the scheduled tribes in India. Due to this kind of policy framework scheduled tribes were not availing the benefits of the government. It is the major reason behind prevalence of poverty in tribal communities.

Poverty can be defined as scarcity of means of livelihood. In economic terms, unequal distribution of public resources to all the sections of the people. People who are unable to afford basic things for their subsistence level indicate the poverty level of the family. Level of poverty among scheduled tribes is more as compared to other social groups in the society. Main reasons behind scheduled tribes poverty conditions are, illiteracy, past living conditions of the tribal community such as isolated living, lack of societal relationship, backwardness in the farming, due to low literacy rates most of the tribal families are addicted to alcohol whatever the income they are earning in their working hours spending more amount on the alcohol consumption. Due to lack of awareness on government activities high birth rate was witnessed in the tribal

communities. Due to more number of children in one family cost of living is increasing. Those families are under malnutrition due to insufficient means of livelihood (Parmar 2014). It is a known fact that, since decades scheduled tribes are victims of isolation and marginalisation. On this note only, constitution of India initiated several policy measures in the area of tribal development. Development of scheduled tribes in the route of their self-governance is the main objective of the government policies. Along with the state and central government initiatives in the area of tribal development, civil societies also contributed their part for the scheduled tribe livelihood. 12th five-year plan has mainly focused on the tribal livelihood opportunities and their socio-economic development. Eradication of the poverty from all social groups is the main objective of the planning commission. There are two ways where government concentrated on the tribal development. Double step growth of the scheduled tribes is one of the main objective of the government policies. On one hand, it is concentrating on the provisions and safeguard the rights of the tribes, in other hand it is concentrating on the livelihood opportunities of the community (Pal 2015). Under nutrition is the main symptom of the poverty. According to various studies indigenous people are more affected with the problem of malnutrition. The larger part of the existing literature is blaming the social structure of the society which was the main reason for increased poverty levels in the scheduled tribe population. The Hindu Varna which is the main factor behind social backwardness of the scheduled tribes. In majority of the areas scheduled tribes are isolated because of the existing of Varna system in the society. Excluded, discriminated and isolated the portion of population on basis of caste, religion and ethnicity. Whatever the exclusion and discriminatory practices facing the scheduled tribes in the society is because of Hindu social order. Hindu caste system has divided the people into different groups and practicing various discriminatory practices in the society. This kind of multiple exclusionary practices pushed most of the tribal communities into the depression which was major reason for the highest poverty rate in the scheduled tribes in India (Dubey 2009). Over the period of time, tribes are excluded because of their geographical livelihood conditions. Since decades, tribes are depended on the forest and forest based resources for their livelihood and not attached with the open society. They do not know the discriminatory and exploitative practices prevailed in the society. Their innocence is the major reason behind their livelihood conditions. All other social groups have taken the tribal innocence as an advantage and exploited them in various ways. Poverty levels in the tribal community is not a new thing but as compared to the

past they are coping up the societal conditions and upgrading their livelihood conditions (Das *et al.* 2011).

Scheduled tribes of India, are experiencing various kinds of societal discriminations and due to their living conditions they are isolated and excluded from all the above points are discrimination at ground level. But, when it comes to total political economy tribes are highly exploited by political systems. From the beginning, land reforms are not successful, whatever the common policies initiated for the tribal livelihood, did not reach majority of the tribal population. But in 1990, to achieve the macro-economic stability in the country government of India introduced the economic reforms. As part of reforms government encouraged larger amount of global private enterprises into the Indian market to generate employment. To establish those global enterprises in India, government started land pooling activity. Selected forest lands for the establishment of global enterprises. As per the records 90 per cent of the scheduled tribe population in India directly or indirectly depended on the forest area and resources. Due to this kind of political decisions millions of the scheduled tribes are displaced and lost their employment opportunities, basic means of living, thrown into below poverty line. Most of the tribes who have sacrificed their ancestor's land have not received any compensation from the government bodies. Political economy of India, exploited the scheduled tribes by forceful encroachment of the scheduled tribe livelihood opportunities and basic means of subsistence (Raj 2004).

In the process of economic stabilisation, tribal communities are the one who are affected severely not only in India but all over the world. Nature is the primary source of their livelihood and it was deforested heavily during the development process. In spite of various developmental policies and safeguards the livelihood of scheduled tribes have been deteriorating. Majority of tribes who are under chronic poverty are the victims of the development activities. In the process of development they lost all the sources of their livelihood such as employment, livelihood opportunities, agricultural land, and basic means of livelihood. They are not even provided with any employment opportunities despite of their sacrifice. Majority of the tribal communities have migrated to the urban areas without any knowledge and skills (Ratnakar 2017). 50 million scheduled tribes are displaced due to development projects in India. This shows the situation of scheduled tribes and factors behind their poverty levels in the state. In the process of Narmada valley development project total two lakh people are displaced

and 25 million people's livelihood is affected. Since last 50 years 3,300 dams were constructed in the process of construction and land pooling 50 per cent of the scheduled tribe families are affected as compared with the other social groups. Due to uranium corporation limited in India, due to mining of the uranium in the tribal belt area over the hills of Jadugoda at Ghatsilla sub-division, Jamshedpur. Due to the heavy radiation in the mining process, the health conditions of the tribal families had deteriorated. On this issue, organisation called Jharkhand Organisation against Radiation working for the protection of the people in the green areas raised a complaint against the uranium corporation. After testing the water in the polluted areas it was found that 70 per cent of the water samples have metals and mercury. The case was filed in the Supreme Court on the pollution which issue stated that 50 per cent of the waste is going into the underground and another 50 per cent of the waste was going into the nearby ponds and water sources of the scheduled tribe communities. But finally, government said that there is no death cases due to uranium pollution and the ponds which are polluted due to the uranium waste are not under any cattle or children feeding areas (Abdullah 2018).

With all the evidences of the pollution, system itself failed to provide justice to the tribal communities in India. It is because of poor bargaining capacity and tribal communities are recognised as weaker sections of the society. Impact of globalisation was so strong on the tribal population because these communities do not have any strong voice against the exploitative practices which are happening against them. The process of globalisation was only marginalising the scheduled tribe community. It is also attacking the origins of the tribal livelihood very severely. Tribal community was highly affected because of their geographical area of living. Majority of the scheduled tribes in India are residing in forest areas which have high amount of minerals, water and genetic diversity.

At the same time majority of the global corporations are in need of abundant natural resources for their corporations. Forest areas are the only option for them to establish their corporation for the purpose of mining and expansion of business requirements. The new trade and investment agreements in India during the economic resources are given permission to the extraction of natural resources which are inaccessible in the previous agreements. The forest depended scheduled tribe communities were forced to vacate their homeland and forcibly migrated them to other

areas without any minimum compensation. Because all the forest was covered under government regulations (Ezhilarasu 2014).

The government of India took the decisions on the developmental strategies and international trade agreements and investment agreement without consulting the native people of the country. Because it is their resources that the government is claiming in the developmental strategies and for the global companies which are given permission to establish their corporation in India mainly in forest areas. In the fifth and sixth schedules of the Indian constitution especially given provisions for the protection of millions of the tribal communities who are living in the forest areas. Constitution provided several legal safeguards and government introduced several policies regarding the utilisation of the forest resources by scheduled tribes communities in India. But after the introduction of the globalisation policies government itself exploited the scheduled tribe communities in the country by taking their livelihood opportunities forcefully without consulting them before taking decisions in the development process. Due to their negligence and dominance, majority of the tribal communities lost their livelihood sources, employment opportunities, basic means of subsistence, and sustainability (*ibid.*).

5. Summing Up

In India, scheduled tribes are the weaker sections as compared with the other social groups. Since historical times, majority of the scheduled tribes are depending on the forest and forest based resources. They have their own culture, language and traditions. Majority of the scheduled tribe communities are depending on forest resources by doing hunting and gathering various kind of things. This is the main reason that they are called as forest dwellers. In the beginning most of the scheduled tribe communities were depending on the shifting cultivation for their livelihood. After several decades they started settled cultivation. Started living with the people in nearby forest. Slowly they are adopting the culture of non-forest society. In the process of adoption government also recognised the scheduled tribes and provided some safeguards in the constitution. As tribes are from forest based culture they are very poor in acquiring livelihood opportunities. Due to their innocence levels and illiteracy many external factors such as non-tribal and local money lenders started exploiting the scheduled tribes and have taken the benefits of the government which are given to the scheduled tribes. In the

history tribal livelihood, faced several exploitations, exclusion and isolation. Whatever the government policies and programmes designed for the tribal livelihood, they are not reaching the scheduled tribes because of mediators who are hampering their benefits.

It is the responsibility of the state to effectively implement the designed policies and programmes for tribal livelihood. It is not happening because of weak bargaining power of the scheduled tribes in the external political economy. This chapter has discussed on the role of political economy in enhancing the tribal livelihood. Because in every part of tribal life state is only providing better livelihood options and opportunities. Political economy has been understood as the relationship between individual and society, and the dispersal of political and economic power for development policies. More specifically, it is the study of how public policies are created and implemented in different socio-economic societies based on their economic theories or methods. The structure of political economy changes its nature based on socio-economic changes which are linked with national, regional and local activities in the society. The approaches of political economy mainly depend on the structure of the society which varies from industrial sector to urban and rural fields. It is the responsibility of the government in strengthening the scheduled tribes in the external society. In this view, the chapter discussed on the various livelihood opportunities of the scheduled tribes and schemes and policies of the government in the areas of tribal education, health and livelihood opportunities.

Livelihood approach mainly focused on how people organise their lives effectively and focuses more on opportunities. In the case of scheduled tribes they are traditionally famous for shifting cultivation by adopting the diversification of livelihood as a coping strategy. The strategies include intensification of existing income activities, migration, informal credit networks, adjusting the consumption patterns, and adopting settled agricultural methods. Moreover, it is also discussed on various problems of scheduled tribes such as land alienation, poverty and effects of economic reforms on the tribal communities.

The next chapter *Tribal Development and Policy Issues* discusses about the various policies introduced by the government and its impact on scheduled tribes and about the constitutional provisions of scheduled tribes and analyses all five-year plans

to scale the development process and transition of scheduled tribes over the period of time.

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Chapter- 3

Tribal Development and Policy Issues

In India, scheduled tribes are seen as the backward community because of their primitive livelihood conditions. Since colonial period tribes are isolated based on their culture, traditions and livelihood patterns. In the colonial period of India, British were interested in isolation and exploitation of tribes as they live near to forest remote areas. However for the purpose of development, most of the tribal communities are affected with displacement and migration. After independence constitutional measures are framed to develop the living conditions of tribes but still they remained as backward community. Scheduled tribes experienced various kinds of exploitative practices due to lack of awareness and weak bargaining power. So, from historical point of view, tribes have been subjected to various forms of exploitation and isolation. In the contemporary India tribes have been facing high level of social injustice in distribution of common resources. Government initiated various developmental policies and programmes for scheduled tribes in India. But at implementation level the benefits of those policies have not reached the tribal community due to the negligence of government officials in bringing up the awareness of development policies in scheduled tribe areas. Land alienation and displacement also weakened the livelihood opportunities and their conditions due to negligence in providing the rehabilitation facilities. In this regard the present chapter focused on tribal development, constitutional safeguards of scheduled tribes in protection of their rights and about development programmes and policies introduced by the government in five-year plan periods in the area of tribal development.

1. History of Tribal Policies in India

In India, tribes are considered as poorest sections of the society as they are socially, economically and politically deprived sections. However, there are various developmental policies initiated by the government but most of the tribal population do not even know the meaning of social justice and societal exposure. Since decades they are getting exploited due to lack of societal exposure and innocence. Various developmental policies, modernisation and poverty elimination measures failed to change the poorest sections of the society.

1.1. Tribal Policies in Pre-Independence

In British rule, they had introduced various policies in the context of isolation, assimilation and integration. British government adopted policy of isolation and the main intention was to isolate tribes and left them freely for exploitation of zamindaris, private money lenders and local chiefs. This policy curbed the old practices of tribes in the forest like shifting cultivation and hunting and other forest related employment opportunities. However under this policy, they were used as slaves by merchants. Due to the regulations of British government, tribes have suffered heavily at implementation level which resulted in exploitation and encroachment of tribal land and they lost their command on forest resources (Rao and Ramu 2014). To keep all the tribal communities from areas outside the jurisdiction of administration, British government enacted the Scheduled Districts Act of 1874. The main principle of the act was to isolate the tribes and non-interference into the tribal affairs (Mathur 1976). In 1865, forest act was enacted to provide free space to forest dwellers in the forest. Later on, another act was enacted in the name as Absolute Proprietary Rights of the State, this act was designed for state control over forest resources. It has resulted in the loss of rights and command on natural resources, after this act tribal communities in the forest revolted and did not cooperate with the forest department after, various tribal struggles in 1927 forest Act enacted and recognised the privileges of tribes and their attachment towards forest resources (Mahapatra 1994).

Policy of isolation and segregation effected the tribal areas in grass root level. British administration thought that policy of isolation and segregation help tribal community from external societal threats. It helps them against the aggregation and exploitation, but in reality they found these atrocities have been increased in the tribal areas (Dube 1972). Some of the anthropologists who advocated for tribal reserve in 1939 suggested for an establishment of National Park Theory. They suggested this theory within the frame work of policy isolation. The basic idea behind this isolation policy was to preserve tribes from external exploitation and to avoid interference of advanced communities in tribal areas to preserve their culture and traditions which was guaranteed in the Scheduled District Act (1875) provided for special tribal administration. According to the government of India act 1919, tribal areas are entirely divided into two parts wholly excluded areas and areas of modified exclusion (Bhanage 1993).

On the day of independence itself decision was taken as in Indian constitution all the tribal communities should be in a separate schedule. Those includes excluded and partially excluded communities included in both the fifth and sixth schedule of Indian constitution. In Indian constitution, the areas resided by tribes are included in paragraph six of part C in fifth schedule. States except Assam, Tripura, Meghalaya, and Mizoram became part of fifth schedule and remaining states under sixth schedule of Indian Constitution. Article 244(2) and 275(1) were specifically meant for sixth schedule which in later period of time reformed as scheduled districts (Louis 2008).

1.2. Tribal Policies during Post-Independence

British policy isolated tribes but also implemented policies to integrate tribes into mainstream society. Various programmes were initiated to bring socio-economic change in tribal areas. First Prime Minister of India, Nehru introduced various tribal development policies. Most effective policy is policy of Panchsheel. The main characteristics of Panchsheel are:

1. Strive for the development of the tribal areas without effecting their traditions and cultural beliefs.
2. For the development and quality administration in tribal areas, policy suggested to train and build up team within tribal areas to achieve the prescribed goals.
3. Integrate them in work places by respecting their social and cultural institutions without over administering the tribal areas.
4. Whatever the provisions they are getting from government of India, like right of land and forest should be respected.
5. Result should not be judged by statistics or amount of money spent. It should be measured with the quality of human character involved in integrating them (Rath 2006).

Forest policy was framed in 1952, which helped to form several forest development committees in all the states to prevent the commercialisation of forest natural resources in India. In 1982 under the chairmanship of B. K. Roy Burman, Forest and Tribals in India committee was framed. He is an Indian anthropologist who said that there is an undivided relationship between tribal community and forest economy as tribes completely depend on forests. Committee reported that tribes in India are not

only the forest dwellers but also evolved their life in a systematic manner (Mukherji 2005). Their living standards are completely depend on forest ecology and how the natural resources are protected against degradation by both man and nature. Committee recommended that as forest and tribes have very strong relationship, so there is a need for establishment of forest management system within the tribal communities through various developmental programmes for the conservation of forest and to reorganisation of traditional skills of the tribal communities (Dash 2002).

2. Tribal Development Strategy in India

Tribal Development means upliftment of tribal communities in various stages of socio-economic and cultural aspects. It implies systematic socio-economic development of tribal communities by considering their present situation in the society. There is a need of integrated area development and other programmed policies should frame according to the present economic situation of tribes. The policies should ensure progress and eliminate various forms of exploitation and provide sustainable path towards equality and social justice. It will definitely bring positive change in the quality of life (Chaudhary 1990).

Programmes such as health, education, employment, technical knowledge in various working areas about modern machinery, transport and communication help to uplift most of the tribal communities in India. Moreover, the issue of tribal development in India is linked with backwardness of tribal communities. Factors such as poverty, issue of integrating with the rest of the population are posing strong difficulties towards tribal development. Due to policies in British rule and other forms of exploitation practices, tribes remained as backward community (Ghurye 1959). After independence government of India initiated various developmental programmes to uplift them from backwardness. The tribal population in India are classified into four divisions namely: firstly, tribal communities who resides in the forest for their livelihood. Secondly, semi tribal communities those are more or less settled in the rural areas and adopted agriculture and other allied activities as occupation. Third type of tribes are those who migrated to urban areas and engaged in civilised occupation. Finally, vocational tribes are those who adopted traits and cultures of rest of the population in the society (Hooja 2004).

Framers of the constitution, adopted two-pronged strategy of tribal development by considering century's old injustice happened against different tribal communities. The strategy focused as: primarily, protection of tribal communities from exploitation and secondly, help them in the process of their economic development. By considering above strategic option from the beginning onwards government initiated various developmental strategies, plans, policies, and programmes (Meena and Rajivlochan 1997).

There are various approaches introduced for the tribal development they are: political approach, administrative approach, religious approach, voluntary agencies approach, and anthropological approach. Political approach that discusses about the colonial era. British government created, excluded and partly excluded and gave separate political representation to tribes. After independence, Indian government has given many safeguards for tribal development by considering them as weaker sections of the society. Administrative approach closely related to the political approach. Government has vast administrative branch for tribal welfare. At state level, governor is authorised to take decisions about tribal welfare activities but on behalf of him chief minister of the state and tribal minister take the decisions regarding implementation of welfare schemes of the tribal communities. As an administrative side, state has a separate independent tribal welfare ministry (Panda 2006).

Various religious missionaries such as Christian missionaries, Ramakrishna mission, Arya Samaj and other religious missionaries are working for the welfare of the tribal communities. Christian missionary is very active in organising and implementing the tribal welfare programmes at village level. Missionaries are trying to understand the traditions and cultural priorities of the tribal communities. Social workers, social welfare organisation, non-governmental organisations, social movement agencies, and social reformers voluntarily works for the welfare of various tribal communities under humanitarian grounds. Voluntary organisation idealism and works will connect with the understanding of the tribal values and problems. Most of the anthropologist believes that tribal development can be achieved through integrating them with rest of the population. After independence many anthropologists came with several papers and addressed regarding welfare programmes. Many universities in the country have undertaken the research on different tribal communities in India (Banothu 2016).

3. Tribal Transition

In India there is a myth that tribal societies are with rigid social structure and they will not change on their own. But in the present times the myth is changing. The endogenetic and exogenetic forces make tremendous changes in the tribal communities. There is a need to identify the causes of change in the tribal society. Very large scope of research is available in the tribal development. Moreover, if we find the reliable information about positive change towards tribal development, it will change the structure of tribal communities in India (Ekka 1995).

Many changes have taken place in tribal communities and tribal regions due to political modernisation and government development programmes. Most of the tribal concentration areas are linked with the urban industrial area. The 28th report of the commissioner of scheduled tribes says that tribal communities are losing their land for commercial purposes. They forcefully squeezed out of their lands and left alone on their own and their lands are used for the establishment of new development projects which became a reason for migration of tribes to other areas. This type of exploitation practices and deprivation is continuing on tribal communities despite the several laws enacted to protect the interest of them. Even in some cases, measures taken for the welfare of them are used against them. Report says that alienation of tribal land is still continuing in many tribal concentrated areas despite of strong safeguard measures taken by constitution of India (Dogra 1990).

Non-tribal people taking the advantage of illiteracy of tribes and forcing them to evict their land that resulted as one of the reasons behind land alienation among tribal communities. Land is a very important resource for regular living. It is the most important productive resource for forest tribes. It plays a crucial role in their socio-cultural and religious practices. In many cases tribes have given up their land not only for the public purposes but also due to forcible eviction, fraudulent transfers, mortgages, leases, and encroachments (Jhon 2005).

Backwardness and poverty are basic factors that live in the tribal areas. Grabbing at fragments of employment and development are thrown at them. They spend most of the time trekking for hill land agriculture. Spending days on walking miles to reach market areas. If anything happens to them, it is very difficult to get medical help on time. Most of the days they are slogging to feed contractors, moneylenders and

politicians and no body care about the living situation of tribal areas and their development. Most of these greedy people use the labour and land resources of tribal people as their right (Das 1998).

Natural calamities like floods, droughts and famines also result in the displacement of tribal lands and forced migration to other areas. All the tribal development projects introduced in the agency areas is to develop those areas but not for the development of tribal people. Emancipation of tribal people is failing continuously. Whatever the policies and development programmes initiated for the tribal development are creating illusion of changing the lives of tribal people positively. But in reality, nobody is getting benefited with development programmes introduced by the government and growing conflict and contradictions in the tribal areas (Bhowmik 1988).

Adivasi rights are hampered in the form of forced land grabbing as land is a basic source of living. The agricultural practices of tribal communities linked with their customs and traditions. Slash and burn cultivation practiced by tribal people is not ecologically sound but still it is practiced by the hill tribe as shifting agriculture. This type of practice is not only for the livelihood it is integrally connected with the cultural, social, rituals, and psychological aspects of the tribes. Slowly they are changing to normal cultivation and started using technological inputs in the production process (Doshi 1972).

The problem of indebtedness is pushing tribes to death trap or even extreme conditions. Poverty is forcing them to take debt from money lenders. Even for the cultivation of small bits of the land, they are taking loans at high interest rate. Due to low crop production output they are unable to pay the loan amount on time and the interest rate was becoming high and high. This pushing them into the problem of indebtedness. The system of bonded labour and slavery are prohibited by government, but in some cases they have still prevailed because of the debt trap. Psychologically most of the people residing in tribal areas are not leading happy life because of socio-economic backwardness. They do not have any permanent jobs or employment opportunities. Their main source of livelihood is seasonal work. Sometimes they also get disappointed due to failure of monsoon season and lack of common resources leaving them in starvation (Rajamanickam 2007).

4. Constitutional Safeguards for Tribes

Indian constitution provided uniform rule for the whole country but also formulated special provisions for certain regions within the country. The main reason to provide special provisions is to safeguard the rights of customs, culture, economic and political interest of primitive citizens living in these areas. Hill tribes of north-eastern states such as Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Nagaland, Mizoram, Meghalaya and Tripura, and the state of Jammu and Kashmir along with the regions come under Scheduled Areas are included.

Scheduled Areas incorporated tribal populated areas residing in the country other than north-east region. These areas are located in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Orissa, and Rajasthan. Along with these areas, some of the other regions within the country are administered by special provisions. In addition to this, some of the states in the country have been demanding to be permitted in Special Category States (SCS) as those states do not have any special provisions mentioned in the constitution. So, if the government place them in the SCS category, they will get special assistance like increase in the grant-in-aid funds compared to loans by the government as the loans had to be repaid whereas the grant-in-aid given by government has not to be repaid. States like Orissa, Bihar and Uttaranchal demanded the central government to include them in SCS.

Sixth schedule of Indian constitution created self-ruling districts within the state of Assam to protect tribal independence by guarding both cultural and economic securities of hill tribes. Because they have a history of governing themselves in a very different perspective when compared to other parts of India. British administration indirectly ruled the hill areas of Assam while the other regions of India are ruled by regular colonial administration with an exception of princely states. But the British government never interfered in traditional customs of tribes and various issues like land, forest, disputes among communities, etc. are solved by the group of tribal chiefs in their areas itself with some customary laws framed among them. In 1919 act, government of India declared them as backward areas and in 1935, the government included them into excluded and partially excluded areas (Mathew 2004).

British India government was placed hill regions of Assam in excluded category due to the convenience of their policy coordination. Because the British administration found difficult to allocate funds on tribal regions as the return revenue is very less from tribal communities. So, they left hill area tribal communities to rule themselves in a traditional way which does not cost anything to British administration. Also the tribes live in hill areas have been opposed the entry of an outsider for ruling in their areas. Any interference of other communities or outsiders was led to high opposition and aggression in the hill areas. So to solve this problem, the British enrooted a strategy to bring all the areas of north-east along with the hills of Burma by forming a separate colony ruled under governor. This idea was kept as a secret and known as the Coupland Plan, named after-Reginald Coupland, later Indian National Congress (INC) rejected this idea. So to maintain the distinctness of this region, these areas brought under the special provisions for their governance.

North-East Frontier (Assam), Tribal and Excluded Area Sub-Committee of the Advisory Committee of the Constituent Assembly of India recommended some requirements to be included in the provisions. The sub-committee was called as Bordoloi sub-committee which is named after its chairman Gopinath Bordoloi, who is a member of the constituent assembly, and the then Prime Minister of Assam. The main recommendation of this sub-committee was to establish autonomous districts council and regional council in the tribal areas residing within the state of Assam. In 26 January 1950, constitution of India commenced the idea of autonomous district councils in hilly areas of Assam except Naga Hills, as they are affecting with separate violence in their areas and most backward boundary areas. After reorganising north-east India, district councils were also reorganised and in 1984, sixth schedule was extended to Tripura.

4.1. Special Provisions

In the constitution, Article 244 provides special provisions for specific areas called “Scheduled Areas” in all states except Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, and Mizoram; even these states are located within the country but the government considered only aspect of backwardness of these area population. According to the law of Parliament, to declare any area as “Scheduled Area” was given only to the president of India (fifth schedule) and in 1950 the president used this power and made Scheduled Areas Order.

These are the areas which were more populated by various tribal communities which are identified as 'Scheduled Tribes' in the country other than in areas of Assam, Meghalaya and Tripura. To administrate the organisations in these areas special provisions are specified in the fifth schedule.

4.2. Tribal Areas

In the constitution of India, sixth schedule consists about the tribal communities residing in the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, and Mizoram which are dealing separately for the provisions to administrate. The administration and management of scheduled areas and tribal areas are included in part X of the Indian constitution.

Special provisions were framed in Indian constitution to administrate specific areas which are called as scheduled areas based on the backwardness of populace of these particular areas. Parliament law gave the power to president of India for identifying and declaring a certain area as scheduled area and in 1950 president made Scheduled Areas Order by undertaking the power provided to him. So, the tribal regions situated in the states of Assam, Meghalaya and Mizoram are dealing separately for the special provisions which are initiated in sixth schedule of Indian constitution.

4.3. System of Administration

The Constitution of India of fifth schedule was dealing with administration and took management control of both scheduled areas and scheduled tribes in all states except Assam, Meghalaya and Tripura. The main features of the organisation policy provided in this schedule are as follows:

- i) Decision-making authority of the Union should be extended to provide guidelines to the respective states for administrating and managing the scheduled areas.
- ii) Governors who are appointed in those particular scheduled areas have to submit reports on the subject of administration process in their areas to president once a year or if when president requires the report within a year. Establishment of Tribes Advisory Councils were initiated for giving suggestions on the matter of welfare development of scheduled tribe communities.
- iii) Decision of governor is final to authorise or to direct any particular law or act implemented by both parliament and state legislature regarding scheduled areas and

also subject to exemptions or modifications. The Governor is also credited to create some guidelines and rules to exclude or control the transference of land by, or among other members of the scheduled tribes.

- iv) These constitutional provisions involving in the administration of both scheduled areas and tribes can be changed by parliament or by state legislation.
- v) The Indian constitution would be responsible for the appointment of a commission which submits a report on the administration process of scheduled areas and scheduled tribe's welfare particular to those areas.
- vi) The president of India had such power to appoint commission at any period of time, but the tenure of appointed commission ends at 10 years from the date of commencement of that commission which is mandatory (GoI 1950).

In 1960, by the given powers of president of India, a commission under the chairmanship of Shri Dhebar was appointed and in 1961, the commission submitted its report to the president. The tribal areas are to be controlled as autonomous districts. But these autonomous districts should be under the control of Assam government and also provision is made for establishing district councils and regional councils to work out certain set of legislative and judicial functions. These councils are considered as demonstrative bodies to the government and also had the power of law-making in specific fields such as managing forests except reserve forests, property issues, marriage, social customs, and even government also able to advise these councils power (Prasad 1988).

Constitution of India provided special provisions to protect the welfare along with the cultural distinctiveness of tribes residing in all parts of India other than the hill areas of north-east region. These particular areas are called as scheduled areas and the provisions provided to them are preserved in fifth schedule of Indian constitution. Only parliament has the powers to change these areas without modifying the constitution amendments.

In Article 244 of Indian constitution sixth schedule consists the special provisions provided to the hill areas of north regional scheduled tribes in protecting their welfare along with the cultural uniqueness. The most important aspect in sixth schedule is to create autonomous district councils. But only some of the north-east

states of tribal communities have autonomous district councils whereas states like Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and major part of Mizoram do not have these councils. Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Nagaland, and North Cachar district of Assam consists the Inner Lines Regulation (Mathew 2004).

5. Tribal Development

The constitution places a heavy responsibility for taking care of the welfare, protection, development and empowerment of tribes on the government, both centre as well as state. In independent India, all social groups are assured of protection who have suffered from centuries of discrimination and neglect. It is precisely because the mainstream that they are striving to join brands and labels their origin as unclean, untouchable (in the case of SCs) or uncivilised, dirty, and savage (in the case of STs). The tribal community should not be considered only as receiver but as a contributor in the development and decision-making process. Precisely tribes should not be a passive participant in the development venture, although they have not involved to the desired extent in formulation programme, planning, execution, monitoring or even in their evaluation. Tribes were not allowed to participate in the decision making process and made them to depend on government for their upliftment in the society. Self-management would help the tribes out of the clutches of bureaucracy and judiciary, as they could then frame and interpret their own laws according to their traditions (Ray 1972). However, providing assistance in each and every aspect does not help tribes in long run. So, attempts should be made to develop them in their own way by improving their skills and availing the schemes through government agencies and NGOs. After assessing tribal development process in India, it can be said that certain factors are responsible which collectively resisted to turn the dream of the empowerment of tribes into a reality (Mukherjee 2012).

Firstly, there are certain hindrances which have obstructed the way of tribal development. In India, the most glaring mistake has been in the tribal development planning which aimed at clubbing all the tribes together as a homogeneous cultural group irrespective of their level of development. In actual term, the tribes are at a different spectrum of human and cultural evolution and are engaged in livelihood practice through hunting to gather food, having livestock and using them for grazing in pastures, shifting cultivation, and marginal agricultural production based on irrigation

facilities. So it would be a faulty planning if all the tribes are treated as equal in the race for development. Moreover, establishing temporary policies and the disorganised efforts, bureaucratisation and less coordination between them, and short of new visions and ideas delayed the development process. The planning and formulation of a programme or policy was made but the actual implementation of such policy became difficult. Due to this improper implementation process, many tribal communities remained in a static state of condition. Many policies are uniform in nature so, tribes are not only the community who able to receive the benefits of such schemes. This is also become one of the factor affecting tribal community to get exploited from other community groups. So for the development of tribes, special policies should be framed by considering their geographical pattern (Singh 1988).

Secondly, the issue of tribal development has been politicised badly. The vested interests had walked away with the cake which was qualitatively allotted for the backward classes. In the globalisation policy, the main factor which has more importance is market but not the community. Due to this factor, much concentration was made on availing the natural resources. This decision-making process led tribes to face more vulnerability from both political notions and industrial interests. As the Indian economy got opened to world economy and to get the view of global corporate companies, Indian government saw natural resources as huge benefit in monetary terms and started commercialisation of resources to make more profits. As a result of such political and economic ideology, the state as a social organisation loses its role.

Thirdly, the rise of tribal leaders who are engaged in meeting their parochial end in the name of tribal counterpart is another threat in the path of their development. Nevertheless, a certain level of political participation evidently relieves frustration and develops a democratic principle which keeps the adivasi's in perpetual hope that someday they would be equal with others. Such ideological hangover disarms them from action for realising their dream. They depend entirely on their representatives. The adivasi's believe that their leaders know their interests better than they themselves do or others could. They make these and other demands in the name of adivasi's, but in practice their concern for the ordinary adivasi is only secondary. The political leaders are not only socially and economically better off, but also better educated and more exposed to the outside world. In norms and etiquette, they are being gradually detached from their tribal brethren and their participation in secular institutions like education,

market economy, and political parties which brings them closer to the larger society. It could be hypothesised then that as the greater the extensive and intensive involvement in these institutions, the greater is the possibility of tribes being involved in the mainstream of the society.

Fourthly, the non-tribes are aware of the fact that tribes are poor souls and have either effective means of asserting their rights or even communicating their own problems. They cannot access information and communication channels by virtue of which they might air their grievances. Moreover, tribes are lacking the confidence to assert their rights and on matters unambiguously political, and lack of confidence in asserting themselves which resulted in becoming cynical, or at best, indifferent towards developmental programmes. Thus because of such apathy and indifference, the spirit of tribal development gets diffused. When the interests of smaller and larger units clash, the common tendency is to overlook the smaller one. The tribal interest has clashed many times with broader objectives and thus had to be compromised for the sake of national interest.

Fifth, the new tribal generation started believing that they have been pushed into the trap of several problems such as poverty, indebtedness, low level of education, illness resulting high mortality rate, malnutrition, less employment opportunities, cultural destruction, and land alienation resulting displacement and dispossession. Due to the neglect of government, tribes lost their own lands because state was also seen land as a commercialisation product. Tribal resistance movements are considered as law and order problem and intimidated the movements by allowing police firing to kill people. Naxalites started taking benefit from such situations by influencing tribal people to join in them. Some of them are committing crimes and taking protection in forest areas and started giving false promises to tribes against the government (*ibid.*).

6. Five-Year Plan Periods

After independence, various development programmes were initiated for the upliftment of tribal community. Confidence of the people, understanding and respect to the elders in the community were given importance in preparing the tribal development programmes. However, tribal development programme was comprehensive in its coverage of the tribal areas. The task in these areas is more difficult as they comprise hilly and forest regions, sparsely populated with poor communications and little

institutional infrastructure (Mahapatra 1994). In India, increasing efforts were made to provide large scale services for the improvement of living standards of the tribes with increasing financial investments during the five-year plan periods. It is intended to implement these programmes with popular support to promote the well-being of tribal community in all parts of the country under the movement of National Integration. A brief review of tribal development programmes implemented in India during the five-year plans period is presented here under.

6.1. First Five-Year Plan Period (1951–1956)

After independence government of India highly focused on the agricultural sector because in India majority of the population depended on the agricultural and allied activities. It is well-known fact that scheduled tribes in India are one of the most backward communities in the country. Majority of the tribes lives in forest remote areas and hill areas. Due to lack of external exposure and colonial land exploitation policies, unique language and lack of awareness on societal activities are the major factors behind tribal backwardness after independence. In this regard first five year plan focused on the basic things of tribal livelihood such as training tribal people in various skilled employment programmes and agricultural activities. Community development programme supplemented tribal upliftment schemes in 1954 by including 43 special multipurpose tribal development projects. Within a short period, when this programme was revived in 1956, revealed that it may not be possible to take up and sustain such an intensive programme for the entire tribal region. Hence, smaller areas of coverage known as tribal development block were evolved. Tribal development blocks are formed in highest tribal concentration areas (Joseph 2008). The norms for tribal development block were kept in the tribal area of 150–200 sq. miles and 25,000 population. Programmes were under taken for meeting the special needs of these tribal blocks. Rs. 25 crores were allotted for the development of scheduled tribes and Rs. 3.5 crores to the criminal tribes in the first five-year plan. It is recognised that the tribal problems can be solved only by the trained personnel and through a close study of their needs. In view of this, tribal institutes were setup in eight states during the period of first five-year plan. In Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, training institutes for field workers were established. Some voluntary organisations also worked in tribal areas and 10 All-India Organisations were given grant by central government and state government have aided nearly 200 local institutions. The government planned to create craft works for

tribes and to provide vocational training facilities. The subsidiary industries such as basket making, bee keeping, sericulture, spinning and weaving etc., were also developed. National extension services and community development has been made compulsory in tribal areas. 40 multi-purpose pilot projects were executed in the most backward tribal areas. All aspects of tribals along with the shifting cultivation, agriculture and health education were looked after by community welfare centres (*ibid.*).

6.2. Second Five-Year Plan Period (1956–1961)

An amount of Rs. 47 crores were allotted for the development programmes of tribes in the second five-year plan period as compared to Rs. 25 crores in the first five-year plan. Large scale development programmes were taken up in the second plan period and greater attention was paid to the improvement of agriculture, health and medical facilities, supply of drinking water, and development of education and training facilities. The development programmes taken-up in tribal areas were implemented without disturbing their traditional arts and culture. In tribal areas efforts were made to form teams with their own community people to involve in both administration and development process.

Developmental schemes were implemented on these lines and they gave importance to mitigate poverty, promote better living, better health without disturbing stability of social and cultural values of the tribal areas. The developmental programmes faced several practical difficulties as there was no co-ordination between leadership and institutions. Maintaining effective means of communication between them was always difficult. To solve this problem, a special commission was setup in 1960 and the commission submitted its report drawing attention to the following aspects.

1. The special protective machinery could not protect the tribals from exploitation by outsiders, moneylenders and forest contractors.
2. The requirements of tribal welfare officers, technical specialists and field level workers have not been adequately assessed. This is the main setback in the implementation of welfare schemes.

3. The problems in tribal areas were not studied scientifically. The impact of industrialisation on their social and economic aspects are not observed carefully.
4. Voluntary organisations were not encouraged to play a significant role in the tribal development activities.

However, it is important to note that several development programmes in tribal areas undertaken during the second plan period such as land settlement, land reclamation, distribution of seeds and setting up of demonstration farms and improvement of communication were the effective programmes implemented for the economic uplift of tribals. Stipends and scholarships were provided to students for the development of their education. New schools like Ashram schools and training schools were established in the tribal areas.

6.3. Third Five-Year Plan Period (1961–1969)

The experience gained in the second five-year plan paved the way for designing of programmes in the third five-year plan. Economic upliftment programmes for tribals were given priority and steps were taken for the economic rehabilitation of persons engaged in shifting cultivation. Several multi-purpose corporation cooperative companies were formed to increase the availability of credit for tribal farmers and artisans. Different programmes were undertaken in tribal areas for land reclamation, land improvement, soil conservation, minor irrigation, supply of improved seeds, implements and bullocks, development of cattle, fisheries, poultry, sheep breeding, and training centres for artisans. In the form of developmental aspects, roads were undertaken in the remote villages, culverts and bridges were built besides taking up road repairs and also communication and network in remote areas. Priority was given to public health programme by taking up preventive measures for diseases common in each area besides the establishment of maternity, child welfare centres and drinking water systems in different areas.

The community development programme was modified to suit tribal conditions and implemented with additional resources. The scheme was extended not only to the scheduled areas but also to those blocks where the tribal population constitutes two thirds of the population. All 300 tribal developmental blocks were covered in the third plans. Important development programmes implemented with careful planning, training

and orientation of personnel, and co-ordination of activities, in respect of tribal rights on land and forest. With the active association of traditional tribal orientation, these schemes were implemented as centrally sponsored schemes. Some other programmes executed are cooperatives, forest co-operation, marketing cum-consumer co-operatives and scholarships (Palku 2017).

6.4. Fourth Five-Year Plan Period (1969–1974)

The strategy of development for tribal welfare took necessary steps at various stages in different parts of the country. Special attention was paid for the development of more backward tribal regions. Steps were taken for raising their economic conditions and protecting them from exploitation. In the field level, the necessary protection was provided to tribes in aspects such as land alienation, indebtedness, regulating the role of private money lenders, and controlling measures on rate of interest. Legislative measures of protection were taken to raise the productivity level of tribes. Necessary development activities were implemented to raise the economic standards of tribal communities and to improve their earnings. Some of these measures were the formation of cooperative societies to look after the various needs of tribes like consumption, production, marketing and supply, replacement of forest contractors, and setting up of new units for processing and marketing of agriculture and forest produce.

Every state was to choose what type of organisation is essential for its tribal population. The interests of the tribes in the policy of replacing the contractors by labour cooperatives and their forest economy were given due recognition. Some important schemes like land allotment, funding subsidies for the purchase of agricultural inputs and seeds for the purpose of agriculture and enhancing the livestock, soil fertility, and irrigational facilities were implemented. Financial assistance was given to cottage industries for trade, market facilities, and setting up training centres for technological advancement. A special developmental programme based on the lines of SFDA/MFAL schemes was launched as a part of central sector programme. The government of India approved six projects in the fourth plan which are located in Srikakulam (Andhra Pradesh), Dantewada and Konta (Madhya Pradesh), Koraput and Ganjam (Orissa) and Singbhum (Bihar) with a total cost of Rs. 9 crores. In the higher education field, provision of post-metric scholarships was continued with allocating funds of Rs. 11

crores for scheduled tribes and adding to this, about Rs. 33 crores were set-apart for this scheme as expenditure.

6.5. Fifth Five-Year Plan Period (1974–1978)

In the fifth five-year plan operational improvements were affected in SFDA and MFAL projects. Under the programme, each project was limited to one district and expanded to establish 160 projects in all. These projects saved the farmers and agricultural labourers who do not have more than two hectares of land. The SFDA and MFAL projects were combined in the fifth plan along with crop husbandry for small and marginal farmers. The projects were located in common lands and areas under major irrigation projects. For the drought prone areas provision of Rs. 200 crores were made in the central plan for small and marginal farmers in 160 special projects. The central government proposed that these funds should be used for certain basic purposes such as land development, soil conservation, controlling shifting cultivation process, etc. Special tribal development projects were a part of a general development plan with a substantial provision for improving economy of the tribes.

A separate sub-plan within the state plan was intended for areas predominantly inhabited by tribes and ensured an adequate share of plan resources. The co-operative institutions were reconstructed for implementing these special projects. At the village level there was a single point for the provision of credit, marketing of agricultural goods, distribution of inputs, and marketing of minor forest products, and distribution of consumption goods. Consumption credit was linked with the sale of minor forest products by the tribal communities. Debt relief courts for scaling down of tribal debt were setup. Land records were updated and land illegally transferred to non-tribals was restored.

In the fifth plan, total Rs. 744 crores was spent for the development of tribal people. Also special central assistance for the scheduled tribes have been provided. This fund supplemented the flow of funds from the normal development programme in the states. The government had established 13 pre-examination training centres to train the candidates appearing in state civil services and nine centres for all India services and other central services. The economic schemes such as the horticulture, fisheries, animal husbandry and agriculture, and cottage industries were getting funds in the way of grants and subsidies.

6.6. Sixth Five-Year Plan Period (1980–1985)

The development policy of scheduled tribes in the sixth five-year plan was four fold i.e., (a) the development of service from bottom to upward instead of from top to downward, (b) development of skill for occupation, (c) introducing latest technology based on local minerals for the utilisation of local skills, and (d) integration of services at delivery point to the beneficiary, with a service of self-reliance. Education centres, health centres, adult education centres etc. were integrated with these programmes. The important community service facilities like water supply, street lighting and community centres were located in these areas. Anganwadis are modified as Balwadis of pre-school education for the age group of 3–6 years were located in scheduled tribe areas. The sixth five-year plan approached mainly for the socio-economic development of scheduled tribes by creating highest number of funds transferring from special constituent plans and through special central assistance. The objective of the plan was to see that more than half of the population should be saved from poverty. Socio-economic development programmes for the scheduled tribes during the sixth five-year plan have shown improvement. 115 lakh children of STs were awarded stipends and scholarships besides the other educational incentives like free supply of uniform, stationary, books, etc., and 113 lakh children of these categorised were benefited. Nine lakh scheduled tribe students were awarded post metric scholarships and 3,000 hostels and 9,000 Ashram schools are established. Much importance was given to economic schemes.

6.7. Seventh Five-Year Plan Period (1985–1990)

The welfare and development of backward sections and within them special priority was given to the scheduled tribes. To create awareness to their problems among tribes was the major task of seventh five-year plan, and strengthened the anti-exploitation measures that were undertaken along with socio-economic development programmes. Power, irrigation, mining and related projects were executed in tribal areas to change the conditions of tribes. In the seventh five-year plan, 30 lakh tribal families in tribal sub-plan were assisted and human resources development and structural development measures were taken-up under the preview of tribal sub-plan. In the field of tenants, credit system, bonded labour, credit relief, forestry, excise, trade, etc., legislative measures were implemented. The market network, Public Distribution System (PDS)

and the eco-system were established for the development of backward classes. State governments to examine the matter of shifting cultivation in-depth had developed an approach towards tackling this urgent problem of environmental deprivation. Tribes given right on the lands they were cultivating. In the absence of forest villages stated as revenue villages disabled the tribes from receiving benefits. The cost of re-habitation of displaced persons, particularly tribes, formed an integral part of investment costs of projects such as industries and mining.

For the socio-economic upliftment of tribal people an independent academic and research organisation was established and devaluation studies were conducted on the impact of various development projects. Women organisations like Mahila Samities in tribal areas were identified for the execution of economic programmes for tribal women. Kouya Shiksha Parishad was established at Chindware by then Madhya Pradesh government, for the education and training of tribals. Such centres were established in other states also. Active participation and active involvement of non-governmental voluntary organisations in tribal areas was allowed for taking up developmental programmes for primitive tribal groups in these areas. The voluntary organisations with local source of funds are encouraged and also there is a need for cooperation among government agencies and non-governmental agencies (Chetia 2015).

Two National Level Institutions: (1) National Scheduled Tribe Finance and Development Corporation and (2) Tribal Co-operative Marketing Development Federation were set up in 1987 under the control of State Tribal Development Co-operative Corporation. In the states, Scheduled Tribe Development Corporations continued to provide financial assistance to tribes. 52.76 lakh scheduled tribe families were provided financial support under various programmes including Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP).

6.8. Eighth Five-Year Plan Period (1992–1997)

The objective of eighth five-year plan period is to bring up equal status to the scheduled tribes as compared with other social groups in the society. To fill the existing gap between scheduled tribes and other social communities, government initiated various development programmes in this plan period. Government identified the areas based on level of exploitation and exclusion of scheduled tribes and given priority to those areas

primarily. Several initiatives were taken to eradicate untouchability, suppression, exclusion, money lender exploitation, land alienation, and poverty. Expanding various livelihood opportunities to the scheduled tribe communities by providing access to forest produce and giving assistance in the agricultural production. In the phase of education to bring awareness and knowledge in the scheduled tribe communities, government initiated various educational development programmes. In the process of implementation, government revised the National Education Policy (NEP) on education in 1992. Focused more on the scheduled tribe education by establishing various infrastructural facilities such as construction of ashram schools and scheduled tribe education institutions. The main attention was given on the expansion of educational facilities in the scheduled tribe areas. In the eighth five-year plan, government targeted to construct 353 ashram schools in the scheduled tribe areas.

In the field of health infrastructure, government took several initiatives. Under the National Health Policy (NHP) 1993, recognised various tribal areas and expanded health infrastructure and facilities in those areas. Mostly concentrated in expanding the health services in hill areas, backward areas and remote areas of the scheduled tribe population. Not only on health, various income and employment generation programmes have been implemented in scheduled tribe areas for the enhancement of their livelihood opportunities. Implemented various poverty alleviation programmes under the scheme of IRDP.

6.9. Ninth Five-Year Plan Period (1997–2002)

Ninth five-year plan was mostly focused on the aspects of socio-economic development and livelihood opportunities of scheduled tribes. In the process of development, government framed various approaches to enhance the livelihood opportunities of socially backward communities in the economy. It is the responsibility of government to create friendly environment and to exercise their policies freely for affective implementation. The major objective of the plan is to bring up the self-confidence level and dignity of scheduled tribes in the mainstream society.

Government initiated an inclusive approach towards all-round development of backward sections of the society. It is the commitment of the government to vanish all the disparities and exclusionary practices on scheduled tribe community with the help of several awareness programmes on equal opportunities and equal standard of living

in the society. To strengthen the livelihood conditions, government formulated various safeguards to protect the interest and rights of scheduled tribes in the society. In the ninth five-year plan, importance was given to scheduled tribe educational status. Because education is the only tool to eliminate social and economic disparities prevailed in the society. Through education scheduled tribes can enhance their livelihood opportunities and strengthen their bargain power in the political economy. In this plan period main focus was made on providing educational opportunities to the scheduled tribe children and women as they get excluded very easily on the basis of gender. There are several instances that women as second priority in most of the families in all social groups. In this excluded society educating women is the more power weapon, women acquire to break the restricted walls of self-respect and strength. In this note, the ninth five-year plan was highly focused on child and women education.

Taken several initiatives to bring up the literacy rate of scheduled tribes. Formulated time-bound programme to immediate identification and focus on the social disadvantaged groups and their educational standards. Government initiated literacy mission to spread the awareness on education and its importance in scheduled tribes for their social and economic empowerment. Plan focused on the expansion of educational infrastructural facilities such as building of residential schools for both children and women in the tribal areas to enhance the enrollment ratio of tribal community. In the ninth five-year plan, government focused on the distribution of land to landless scheduled tribes.

Government planned to provide the piece of land to backward sections of the society which helps to enhance their livelihood opportunities through the political system. Because majority of the scheduled tribe population in India depended on agricultural sector for their livelihood. In this point, government encouraged the scheduled tribes by giving piece of land for cultivation purpose. To enhance the livelihood opportunities and much needed boost in their livelihood process, the existing support systems of TRIFED and other support systems of the scheduled tribes merged and formed as apex body at national level to support the scheduled tribe communities by providing irrigational facilities and financial support to the tribal communities to enhance their economic power in the society. The Tribal Development Corporations (TDC) acts as support system to the apex body in the development process.

6.10. Tenth Five-Year Plan (2002–2007)

Tenth five-year plan was highly focused on overall performance of the economy including all the factors which contribute to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Per capita income (PCI) of the economy. As we know scheduled tribes in India are the most vulnerable community as compared with other social groups as their socio-economic conditions are very low. Tribal community is vulnerable because of factors such as landlessness, lack of education, land alienation, weak bargaining power, poor economic standards, negligence in their rehabilitation facilities, and lack of awareness on schemes are reasons behind tribal backwardness in the economy. To overcome all the above problems, tenth five-year plan formulated a comprehensive national policy for enhancing livelihood opportunities and empowering scheduled tribes in the political economy.

Growth rate of the economy is not the only objective of tenth five-year plan. The plan also focused more on the overall tribal development by taking certain aspects as major agenda in the development process. It is a well-known fact that there are some aspects in the tribal communities which require special attention within the process of tribal development. Since decades several provisions are enacted to develop the scheduled tribe in India but most of the provisions failed at the ground level. Due to that reason, the livelihood conditions of scheduled tribes are not changing as fast as that of livelihood conditions of other social communities in the society. In several instances government failed to bring awareness on policies and provisions formulated to scheduled tribe development but most of them have failed at implementation level. In the tenth five-year plan major focus was made on certain aspects which helps in empowering the tribal community. They are education, health, basic means of livelihood such as safe drinking water, proper sanitation facilities, and also focussed on both livelihood and economic opportunities of the scheduled tribes. In tenth five-year plan government decided on the large target in the area of tribal development by concentrating on their livelihood patterns and factors which are affecting their livelihood opportunities. Promoted various programmes for promotion of educational schemes and invested more financial resources in construction of hostels and residential schools for the tribal girls and boys. Initiated separate scheme for the development of educational infrastructural facilities in the tribal areas under the scheme which was launched in 1989–90 financial year. The main objective of the scheme is to promote

literacy among the scheduled tribe communities by providing residential facilities including school education. This scheme helps most of the scheduled tribe students who live in the remote areas such as forest and hill areas. The scheme was more focused on the rural scheduled tribe students, especially the students who do not have access to minimal quality of education in their areas. This scheme will help the scheduled tribe students in primary, secondary, college, and university level education with residential as well as financial assistance during their course period. National Scheduled Tribe Financial Corporation (NSTFC) introduced a special scheme for the development of scheduled tribe women in all the aspects such as education and employment to get equal opportunities. With the help of Adivasi Mahila Sashaktikarana Yojana (AMSY) provided financial assistance to the tribal women who are interested to pursue education and employment.

6.11. Eleventh Five-Year Plan (2007–2012)

Eleventh five-year plan focused on inclusive growth of the economy. India witnessed various kinds of discriminatory practices on the weaker sections of the society due to their livelihood conditions and innocence. In India, since decades tribal community was depending on the forest and forest based resources for their livelihood. They have very minimal contact with the external society and no knowledge on their livelihood conditions. After independence most of the tribal groups started living with the nearby villages of forest. They do not understand the common language and their cultural and traditional practices are different from other social groups, due to this reason most of the non-tribal groups are exploiting scheduled tribes in various ways. Government of India initiated several developmental policies and programmes in various fields such as education, health and employment but situation of scheduled tribes are not changing as expected due to various external reasons. The eleventh five-year plan, focused on the barriers of tribal development such as exclusion, exploitation, marginalisation, and backward barriers of scheduled tribes in the economy.

On the objective of inclusive growth, eleventh five-year plan initiated various supporting measures to protect the rights of scheduled tribes in India. The plan period concentrated on three tyre development strategy which includes; social empowerment. The concept of social empowerment can only achieved through enhancing awareness levels of tribal community and it can only possible with providing quality education to

the scheduled tribes in India. In the process of social empowerment, government initiated various programmes such as providing financial assistance to scheduled tribes in work areas, providing coaching and hostel facilities to tribal students and implementing various awareness programmes on social equality. Secondly, the plan was focused on the economic empowerment. In the process of economic empowerment, government focused on providing employment opportunities to the scheduled tribes. Economic empowerment can only be achieved with the earning of sufficient level of income. In this regard, plan was focused on the income generating activities such as providing training to the educational youth in tribal villages and providing training to the women in the tribal areas as nurse in medical field which further helps to provide medical services in their areas. Self-employment schemes were also initiated by the government to provide livelihood opportunities to the scheduled tribe communities. Government initiated separate development and survival protection programme especially for the livelihood of Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) in the remote areas of forest. Thirdly, encouraged more research and development in the scheduled tribe areas to identify the ground level problems which helps in formulating desirable policies and provisions for tribal communities in the country.

6.12. Twelfth Five-Year Plan (2012–2017)

The twelfth five-year plan focused mainly on the strengthening of administrative process in the implementation of social welfare policies of the backward communities. Because many studies pointed out that due to weak implementation of the scheduled tribe policies at ground level, their livelihood conditions are not changing at expected level. In recent studies also it was proved that in most of the places scheduled tribes are not aware of the policies and provisions issued by the state and central government for betterment of their livelihood. In this regard, the present plan period highly focused on strengthening the administration for the socio-economic development of scheduled tribes in the country. In this process of strengthening, government appointed officials and provided them with sufficient training in particular field. Government also issued several incentives for the administrative officials on their services in the scheduled tribe areas in prescribed period of time, because at the time of implementation of certain policies, there should be close monitoring by the government officials. Monitoring is the essential component in implementation of the policies and provisions. In majority of the cases, due to improper implementation, all the tribal communities are not

receiving eligible benefits from the government agencies. In this plan period, government also concentrated on addressing channels of scheduled tribe communities on their problems which they are facing during their livelihood process. The issues like land alienation or land acquisition cases can be addressed by Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (PESA) and it is also the government responsibility to resettle and providing with rehabilitation facilities to the scheduled tribes who are affected with land displacement during the development process.

Government started several employment training schemes to strengthen the economic power of tribal community. In the process of development, government started scheme of providing vocational training to the scheduled tribes to upgrade their skills and knowledge in various traditional and modern vocations based on their educational levels, so they can cop up with present market conditions and competition. In this plan period tribal affairs started scheme on grant-in-aid to various voluntary organisation working for the welfare of scheduled tribe areas and to provide them good quality of health care facilities by enhancing health infrastructural facilities such as providing 10 or more bedded hospitals and dispensaries. Later on, government is to conduct review programme on their working condition in the field of health services in the tribal areas. In this plan period, government started the entrepreneurship programme for the educated youth in the tribal areas as a stand-up programme. Government encouraged wide range of research in the field of tribal livelihood to promote their traditional culture and festivals which bring up the unique identity of scheduled tribes in the external society. Empowering the tribal communities through this kind of initiatives is the process of inclusive growth of the economy (GoI 2011).

7. Summing Up

In India, tribals are considered as the poorest section of the society. Tribals are socially, economically and politically deprived sections. However, there are various developmental policies that were initiated. But most of the tribal population do not know the meaning of social justice and societal exposure. During the colonial period of India, the British were interested in isolation and exploitation of tribes. However, with regard to development, most of the tribal communities are affected with displacement and migration.

British policy not only isolated the tribes but also implemented policies to integrate them into mainstream society. Various programmes were initiated to bring socio-economic change in the tribal areas. Tribal Development means the upliftment of tribal communities in various stages of socio-economic and cultural aspects. It implies systematic socio-economic development of tribal communities by considering their present situation in the society. In India there is a myth that tribal societies are with rigid social structure and they will not change on their own. But in the present times, the myth is changing. The endogenetic and exogenetic forces bring tremendous changes in the tribal communities. There is a need to identify the causes of change in the tribal society. Very large scope of research is available in the area of tribal development. Various development programmes were initiated for the upliftment of tribal community. Confidence of the people understanding and respect to the elders in the community were given importance in preparing the tribal development programmes. However, the tribal development programme was comprehensive in its coverage of the tribal areas.

The next chapter *Changing Livelihood Patterns of Scheduled Tribes* discusses about the changes in the living conditions of scheduled tribes at all India level and state level in terms of education, health and land distribution focusing on the problem of land alienation and poverty. The various livelihood factors such as education, health, land alienation, and poverty are discussed by using existing secondary data on scheduled tribes.

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Chapter- 4

Changing Livelihood Patters of Scheduled Tribes

Scheduled tribes in India had a unique identity and culture. Most of the scheduled tribes in India live in agency areas and some of them migrated to the plain areas of the society to access common resources of the economy. Living patterns of the scheduled tribes are unique and different as compared with other social groups in India. Most of the scheduled tribes in India follow the cultures of their ancestors through generations. Their dressing style, housing structure, beliefs, languages, culture, and traditions are unique in nature. However now a days most of the scheduled tribes are availing common resources of the society. Since decades living patterns of the scheduled tribes have been changing with the pace of development. They are giving competition to the working population in all the fields and at the same time they are facing many humiliations, deprivation, isolation, and exploitation. They are showing their decent in the form of various agitations. This chapter discusses about the changing living patterns of scheduled tribes in India and Telangana in terms of education, health and land distribution by focusing on the problem of land alienation and poverty.

Education is the essential element of human development. In the field of education, scheduled tribes are lagging behind so much. However, over the decades they are showing positive trend in the school education and higher education. Government initiated many developmental programmes to encourage scheduled tribes to attain quality education. Let us discuss about the status of education among scheduled tribes as a whole.

1. Educational Status of Scheduled Tribes

Scheduled tribes in India depend on forest based resources for their livelihood conditions. Forest areas include hill area and sea areas of the country with unique livelihood condition, culture and traditions as compared with the other social groups in the society (Preet 1994). Scheduled tribes in India are static and have unique identity as compared with the other social groups. The development pace can be defined differently. Scheduled tribes are considered as socially and economically backward communities as compared with the other social groups. It is because of their past livelihood conditions and not because of their

culture and identity as tribal livelihood conditions. And the other social group livelihood conditions are different. Government is initiating various livelihood development programmes especially for the scheduled tribes in India to develop their bargaining power and to adopt prevailing livelihood conditions (Nithya 2014). Education is an important factor behind upgrading the economic and social status of scheduled tribes in the country. It is very essential for both SCs and STs. Constitution has given a provision in the form of Article 15(4) to all the backward communities. With the help of this kind of provisions, government is initiating various kinds of development activities and helping the tribal community in different ways. This provision enables the scheduled tribes to bag the opportunities in technical, engineering and medical colleges in the educational sector. In the Article 16(4) the word marginalised communities used to represent various backward social groups such as scheduled caste, scheduled tribes and other backward classes in the society.

According to the Constitution of India, any social group including scheduled tribes can protect their culture, tradition and language with the help of the Article 29(1). This article has given this provision to all the social groups in India. According to Article 350A every citizen of the Indian can have education in their mother tongue, in their village. State has provided adequate facilities and permission that every single individual can have education in their mother tongue at primary level of education. President of India have powers to issue any provision in safeguarding the provisions issued on their interest which would be highly applicable to scheduled tribes in India, because most of the tribal communities in India have different local languages. Verma (1996) while addressing the various issues behind the backwardness of the marginalised communities pointed out that government is ignoring the major factors such as enhancing the skills and capabilities of the communities. Without addressing the skills and capabilities of the people, government cannot achieve the objective for empowerment of the marginalised communities. It can be achieved only through equal opportunities, guaranteed political freedom and equal economic opportunities among the marginalised communities.

According to census 2011 and educational statistics the reported total literacy rates of scheduled tribes in 2011 was 59 per cent and remaining categories literacy rate reported

as 73 per cent. The drop-out rate of scheduled tribes in 2013–14 was 62.4 per cent and remaining categories reported as 47.4 per cent. Above statistics clearly shows the status of scheduled tribes in education as compared with the other social groups from 1961–2011.

Table- 4.1: Literacy Rate of Scheduled Tribes by Gender and Urban- Rural Distribution

Scheduled Tribes									
Year	Rural			Urban			Total		
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total
1961	2.90	13.37	8.16	13.45	37.09	22.41	3.16	13.83	8.53
1971	4.36	16.92	10.68	19.64	37.09	28.84	4.85	17.63	11.30
1981	6.81	22.94	14.92	27.32	47.60	37.93	8.04	24.52	16.35
1991	16.02	38.45	27.38	45.66	66.56	56.60	18.19	40.65	29.60
2001	32.44	57.39	45.02	59.87	77.77	69.09	34.76	59.17	47.10
2011	46.90	66.80	56.90	70.30	83.20	76.80	49.35	68.53	58.96
Percentage Increase in 2011 over 2001	44.57	16.40	26.39	17.42	6.98	11.16	41.97	15.82	25.18

Source: Census of India- 2011, Office of Registrar General, India.

In the comparison of rural and urban literacy rate, rural literacy is very low. In the urban areas, people find a greater number of opportunities to work and study. But in case of rural India, literacy rate is very low due to various reasons such as social discrimination, community isolation, high level of exploitation, lack of awareness on educational and infrastructural facilities are main reasons behind the low literacy rate in the rural scheduled tribe areas.

The table- 4.1 clearly showed the statistics of scheduled tribe's literacy rate. From 1961–81, there is minimal improvement in the literacy rate and between 1981–91 there is tremendous improvement in scheduled tribes' literacy rate due to several policy implications and awareness programmes initiated by the government. From 1991–2011 rate of literacy is higher as compared with the time period of 1961–81. It shows the positive trend in scheduled tribe literacy rates in India over the period of time. Ghosh (2007) said

as there are number of factors which are pushing the tribal literacy in backward trends. It can be seen very clearly in the table- 4.1. In most of the tribal areas, there is no library facility and literature environment. All the areas are filled with alcoholism and irresponsible behavior in the field of education. At primary level, dropout rate of the tribal students was very high as compared with the other social groups. Dropout rate of the girl students are very high as compared with the male students. Their occupational levels, economic background, social backwardness, lack of awareness, and lack of infrastructural facilities in the school are becoming the major reasons behind tribal dropout rate in the schools and total tribal livelihood was based on the land and forest. Due to land alienation and deforestation, majority of the tribes lost their livelihood opportunities and migrated to other areas. Due to their poor economic background, most of the tribal family children are accompanying their parents in the work field and earning some income to overcome the subsistence level in the family (Pradhan 2011).

Table- 4.2: Percentage Enrollment of ST Students to All Categories

Year	Primary	Upper Primary	Secondary
1995–1996	8.8	6.1	4.9
1996–1997	9.2	6.3	4.9
1998–1999	9.6	6.7	5.1
1999–2000	9.4	6.9	5.0
2000–2001	9.7	7.2	5.4
2002–2003	9.7	6.9	5.4
2003–2004	9.8	7.5	5.6
2004–2005	10.5	8.1	5.6
2005–2006	10.6	8.5	5.7
2006–2007	10.8	8.5	6.1
2007–2008	10.8	8.2	6.3
2009–2010	11.2	8.6	6.3
2010–2011	11.0	8.7	6.4

Source: MHRD, 2010–11.

Enrollment ratio of Scheduled tribe students in primary, upper primary and secondary levels are explained in table- 4.2 from 1995–2011 after liberalisation policies. These results show the impact of the 1991 economic reforms on scheduled tribes directly.

Table- 4.2, clearly shows the growth of literacy rate after 1991. There is clear impact of economic reforms in scheduled tribe education. In the table- 4.2, the analysis was after the introduction of economic reforms. There is a clear-cut improvement in the enrollment of scheduled tribe students in different categories. After 1991 economic reforms, government focused on underprivileged sections' development, to reduce the poverty rate in the economy. The above analysis clearly shows the success rate of the government in enrolment ratio. But as compared with the other social groups, scheduled tribe students' enrollment ratio is comparatively very low. In spite of various developments programmes and government initiatives in the field of education. Scheduled tribes are still lagging behind when compared with the other social groups. Under such circumstances government and policy makers should put best efforts to improve their educational status.

88.46 per cent of the scheduled tribe communities are covered after the implementation of Sarva Shika Abhiyan (SSA) in the state. After the implementation of SSA, the percentage of school dropout has decreased among the scheduled tribe children. It is also because of the influence of their mother tongue which have been mandated in the primary school level for better understanding and to reduce the dropout rate of the children. In spite of implementing various programmes such as mid-day meals, night school and adult education centers, the situation is unchanged. Including the above programmes, government should appoint one tribal teacher to explain the concepts in understandable manner which can bring more confidence in the scheduled tribe students and that would increase the enrollment rate in the schools to minimise the problem of dropout rate in the scheduled tribe community. Government should increase school infrastructure by opening more number of Ashram schools in the tribal areas and by giving relaxation in government rules and regulate to accommodate more number of tribal children in the school. The premier institutions like Indian Institute of Technology (IIT) and Indian Institute of Management (IIM) should be available to scheduled tribe students. If they fail to access the education in those institutions, there should not be any discriminatory treatment at such

institutes, even if they have joined, by considering all the livelihood conditions of scheduled tribes. More priority should be given to the tribal children in the policy frameworks and developmental programmes (Nithya 2014). Janasala programmes which is a collaborative programmes of both India and United States of America (USA) to educate marginalised children in India. The main objective of the programme is to educate the girl children in India. Under this programme three million children are getting educational opportunities and it is covering 33 per cent of the scheduled tribe children in the country (Gautam 2003).

Table- 4.3: Dropout Rates of Scheduled Tribe Students (in percentage)

Class	Boys		Girls		Total		
	ST	All	ST	All	ST	All	Gap
Classes I–V	37.2	28.7	33.9	25.1	35.6	27	8.6
Classes I–VIII	54.7	40.3	55.4	41	55	40.6	14.4
Classes I–X	70.6	50.4	71.3	47.9	70.9	49.3	21.6

Source: Statistics of School Education, 2010–11

After the discussion of enrollment rate of scheduled tribes there is a need to find out the gap in school level dropouts of the scheduled tribe students. From the table- 4.3 we can observe that higher level dropouts in the long run as compared with short run of schooling. There is a very minimal dropout rate in the class I–V standards, whereas dropout rate was increased in the upper primary level and secondary level of education because of various reasons listed in the previous literature in the beginning of the chapter. In the process of the inclusive growth government of India initiated various development programmes in the field of education. In the constitution of India, scheduled tribes are provided with special reservation in education and employment sector. The special provisions do help the scheduled tribes while pursuing their education in higher educational institutions and to get employment in all the government employment sectors in the country (Sahoo 2009). The special provisions in the area of language in the primary schools does not impacted much on literacy levels because of local language domination in the tribal

areas. Government implemented this scheme to integrate tribes with external society. It cannot be possible without learning common language. It is found that 22 per cent of the scheduled tribe habitations with their unique language is with the populace of less than hundred and it is more than 40 per cent in hundred people (Panda 2011; Sujatha 2008). Scheduled tribes in India are not getting any benefits from government of India due to their livelihood. Majority of the scheduled tribes are living in forest areas which are having very less access due to lack of infrastructure such as roads and connectivity. Most of the tribal villages are in remote areas of the forest. It is very difficult to trace the tribal families in the forest without proper connectivity. Because of this reason whatever the tribal livelihood development programmes and financial assistance programmes, they are not reaching them (Verma 1996).

Table- 4.4: Tribal Population and Literacy Rate in Telangana

S. No.	District	Total ST Population	No. of Literates			Literacy Rate		
			Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
1	Adilabad	4,95,794	1,30,838	89,084	2,19,922	61.44	41.37	51.35
2	Nizamabad	1,92,941	47,085	28,752	75,837	57.97	34.25	45.92
3	Karimnagar	1,06,745	28,820	20,090	48,910	60.85	42.19	51.49
4	Medak	1,68,985	40,976	22,146	63,122	56.92	32.04	44.73
5	Hyderabad	48,937	16,659	12,641	29,300	76.09	62.08	69.34
6	Rangareddy	2,18,757	62,588	41,495	1,04,083	65.73	45.87	56.05
7	Mahbubnagar	3,64,269	83,464	45,555	1,29,019	53.71	30.44	42.29
8	Nalgonda	3,94,279	1,04,938	59,065	1,64,003	59.96	35.56	48.08
9	Warangal	5,30,656	1,36,361	90,593	2,26,954	57.81	38.96	48.45
10	Khammam	7,65,565	2,00,493	1,50,974	3,51,467	59.75	43.67	51.59
Total		32,86,928	8,52,222	5,60,395	14,12,617	59.49	39.44	49.51

Source: Punnaiah, A. 2018. "Issues and Challenges of Tribal Education: A Study of Telangana State." *International Education and Research Journal* 4, no. 1 (January): 49–51.

According to 2011 census, scheduled tribe population constitutes 9.1 per cent to the total population of Telangana. Out of all the districts, Khammam is the highest scheduled tribe populated district in Telangana. Literacy rate of the scheduled tribe constitutes around 49.51 per cent (table- 4.4) which is lower than the total literacy rate of state that constitutes around 66.5 per cent. Several welfare programmes are initiated for the development of scheduled tribes in the state. Through various levels of counselling and guidance, the attitude of tribal student parent's perception towards education was improved. Concept of tribal teacher in every tribal school has increased the enrollment rate of the students in most of the tribal villages. Moreover, schemes like fellowships and scholarships in higher education to the tribal students increased the scheduled tribe enrollment in higher educational institutions (Punnaiah 2018).

If we observe from the table- 4.4, it is clearly showing that Hyderabad consisted very minimal scheduled tribe population as compared with other districts in Telangana state. But, in the area of literacy rate Hyderabad ranked top place with 69.34 per cent due to low level of discrimination and exploitation and high and quality educational infrastructure as compared with other districts in the Telangana state. Most of the highest populated districts like Khammam and Adilabad had registered half of the literacy rate in total scheduled tribe population.

The table 4.5 clearly shows the educational infrastructure in the Telangana state. According to the 2011 census, Telangana state is functioning 269 Ashram schools for students around 76,686 and 203 residential hostels for the 45,918 scheduled tribe students in Telangana state. Telangana state is a newly emerged state in India. It is in the pace of development in all the sectors in order to promote qualitative education. State government initiated various types of innovative programmes such as Telangana Gurukulam, Pre-matric scholarships, Post-matric scholarships, and Ambedkar Overseas Vidya Nidhi. Coaching to various competitive exams to scheduled tribe students to secure admission in the various higher educational institutions. To strengthen all formulated policies and schemes infrastructural facilities plays very crucial role. It was observed that after formation of the Telangana State, economy witnessed positive changes in the educational infrastructure (*ibid.*).

Table- 4.5: District wise Hostels and Ashram schools for Schedule Tribes

S. No.	District	Hostels				Ashram Schools			
			No. of Students				No. of Students		
		No.	Males	Females	Total	No.	Males	Females	Total
1	Adilabad	7	-	1,253	1,253	116	17,642	20,069	37,711
2	Nizamabad	11	288	1,085	1,373	3	-	640	640
3	Karimnagar	11	340	763	1,103	14	852	826	1,678
4	Medak	15	466	1,385	1,851	04	147	311	458
5	Hyderabad	07	129	588	717	-	-	-	-
6	Rangareddy	12	688	1,955	2,643	04	996	361	1,357
7	Mahbubnagar	21	2,112	4,469	6,581	16	1,724	1,736	3,460
8	Nalgonda	39	3,026	8,829	11,855	11	2,145	810	2,955
9	Warangal	35	2,519	4,774	7,293	39	5,902	3,657	9,559
10	Khammam	45	5,503	3,189	8,692	76	11,849	14,891	26,740
Total		203	15,071	28,290	43,361	283	41,257	43,301	84,558

Source: Punnaiah, A. 2018. "Issues and Challenges of Tribal Education: A Study of Telangana State." *International Education and Research Journal* 4, no. 1 (January): 49–51.

2. Status of Health among Scheduled Tribes

Health is one of the social indicators which helps human to develop. Health vulnerability is fatal that affect the tribal lives. In general sense, 'health' is the key to the functional and metabolic competence of a living organism. Thus, Health Science Council of Japan and others have suggested adding 4th dimension spirituality in WHO's definition of health and modified into "health is a dynamic state of complete physical, mental, spiritual, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity" (WHO 1998). However, WHO definition of health is subject to controversy due to its lack of operational values, indistinctness in developing health strategies, and problem with the word 'complete' (Callahan 1973). Therefore, health is redefined as "the ability of individuals or communities to adapt and self-manage when facing physical, mental, psychological and social changes within the environment" (Huber *et al.* 2011). Even,

Bellieni and Bunocore (2009) put forth their idea of health by redefining as the correlation between health and personal satisfaction. Meanwhile, the indigenous tribes are constantly contacted with and live with the environment, i.e. jal, jungle and jameen (water, forest and land) that create a complete sense of living for STs.

The perception of health and illness in a tribal community plays a vital role. The very existence of tribal policy given in various documents and constitution speak in favour of the indigenous tribal community. But is it really come true to uplift or strengthens the community? We live in the era of globalisation where we find a digital tribal policy in order to protect, safeguard and secure tribal and adivasis's, their land, and forest. The indigenous tribal is always in discussion and debate with a political entity in the ambit of education, employment and political representation. The policy aspects of tribal health and medicine in globalisation implicitly analyses different policy issues. Firstly, issues related to tribal health and medicine where medico-religious rituals are practiced and maintained which has to be ungraded and strengthen it by education. Secondly, there are different factors which are responsible to withhold the ethno medicine and traditional healing practice like economic, social networking, unifying the family and others. Thirdly, critical appraisal to state-sponsored medical care with respect to tribal health and development in the form of structural adjustment. But this kind of health structure is totally influenced by the globalisation and dominant force of mainstream knowledge. Furthermore, there is a lot of initiative for the part of digital India to initiate inter-ministerial and departmental services on their own to provide services with regards to public healthcare, education and judicial explanation for the tribal community. Now the government of India and all states have initiated to implement the Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) model of public healthcare.

Due to negligence and ineffective coverage of the national health and nutritional programmes most of the tribal communities are suffering severely in the field of emergency medical services such as maternal and child health care. In most of the literature and data review survey found that, there is a very less infrastructure facilities such as Sub-Centres, Community Health Centres (CHCs), Public Health Centres (PHCs) available in the scheduled tribe areas as compared with the population proportion. The health infrastructure

in the tribal areas are developed under three-tier system. The infrastructure development can be decided on the following population statistics:

Table- 4.6: Tiers of Health Care Infrastructure and the Applicable Population Norms

Centre	Population Norms	
	Plain Area	Hilly/Tribal/Difficult Area
Sub-Centre	5000	3000
Primary Health Centre	30,000	20,000
Community Health Centre	1,20,200	80,000

Source: Census, 2011.

Sub-centre work as primary source of treatment in tribal areas. In any emergencies such as maternal, child care or primary level of health emergency. This sub-centre work as link between tribal village and primary health care center. Whatever the emergency case first that will register under the sub-centre and then the information would reach to the primary health center. Each sub-centre is required to be maintained by at least one Auxiliary Nurse Midwife (ANM) and one male health worker to address the health emergency issues.

In sub-center, no medical officer will be available. It is the primary health center where a medical officer available for the treatment. Medical officer will treat the medical emergencies at PHC level. Under each PHC there would be one medical officer and 14 nursing staff with six beds.

After PHC tribal communities were immediately referred to the CHC for better treatment facilities. As per the norms of government, each community health center should have four doctors with different specialisations. They are; surgeon, physician for all common diseases, gynecologist to treat maternal cases and pediatrician for the child health care. It has to be equipped with at least 30 beds for patients and X-ray room, labor room and required laboratory facilities for emergency time.

In India, whatever the information related to health and family welfare, NFHS will provide the information. NFHS was managed and funded by the Ministry of Health and

Family Welfare (MH&FW). It provides all the related information on child planning and maternity, quality of health facilities, child mortality, and health services.

Table- 4.7: Key Health Indicators as per NFHS-3 (2005–06)

	SC	ST	Total
Infant Mortality	66.4	62.1	57.0
Neo-natal Mortality	46.3	39.9	39.0
Pre-natal Mortality	55.0	40.6	48.5
Child Mortality	23.2	35.8	18.4
Under five Mortality	88.1	95.7	74.3
ANC Check-up	74.2	70.5	77.1
Percentage Institutional Deliveries	32.9	17.7	38.7
Childhood vaccination (full immunisation)	39.7	31.3	43.5

Source: National Family Health Survey (NFHS), 2005–06

Basic health infrastructure is very essential for better livelihood conditions of scheduled tribes in India. Constitution of India provided various special provisions for the better livelihood opportunities of the marginalised communities such as scheduled tribes and scheduled castes. The table- 4.7 is showing the status of various health indicators of the scheduled tribes and scheduled castes. In majority of the indicators scheduled tribes are lagging behind as compared with the scheduled caste community. It is because of lack of infrastructural facilities and health facilities in the scheduled tribe areas as compared with the other social groups. The situation would be even better with effective implementation of the health policies and programmes in the scheduled tribe areas. Majority of the scheduled tribe communities are economically weak due to their lower subsistence level and they cannot afford any nutritious food. Majority of the scheduled tribe families do not have any awareness on the proper vaccination and health precautions.

As we know that scheduled tribes in India are having very less literacy rate as compared with the other social groups. Because of their poor educational levels they do not understand the policies and provisions of the government. As their past livelihood conditions are from forest, they do not have any awareness on the vaccination and other precautionary measures of the child care. The table- 4.8 is showing the status of

immunization and vaccination of the scheduled tribe children as compared with the other social groups in India.

Table- 4.8: Percentage of ST and All Category children aged 12–23 months who received Full Immunisation/ No Vaccination

Source	Full Immunisation		No Vaccination	
	ST	ALL	ST	ALL
NFHS-3 (2005–06)	31.3	43.5	11.5	5.1
DLHS-3 (2007–08)	45.5	53.5	9.4	4.6
CES- 2009	49.8	61.0	9.9	7.6
RSOC- (2013–14)	55.7	65.3	7.4	6.6
NFHS-4 (2015–16)	55.8	62.0	9.2	6.0

Source: National Family Health Survey (NFHS)-3, 2005–06, MH&FW
District Level Household & Facility Survey (DLHS) 2007–08, MH&FW
Coverage Evaluation Survey (CES), 2009, MH&FW
Rapid Survey on Children (RSOC), 2013–14, MWCD

According to the table- 4.9, in the total population of 29, 39,027 the required sub-centers are 979 whereas in-position– sub-centers are 698 and 281 sub-centers are shortfall. In the case of PHCs, with the total number of required number is 146 and 93 are in-position and 53 are shortfall. While in case of CHCs, total number of required number is 36 and 23 are in-position and 13 are shortfall.

Table- 4.9: Status of Health Infrastructure (SCs, PHCs and CHCs) in Telangana

Population	Sub-Centres			PHCs			CHCs		
	R	P	S	R	P	S	R	P	S
2939027	979	698	281	146	93	53	36	23	13

Source: Rural Health Statistics, 2017, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare.
R: Required; P: In Position; S: Shortfall

Here in table- 4.10, the total sanctioned number of doctors are 211 and 196 number are in-position with the vacancy of 15 whereas 93 are required in PHCs. In the case of nursing staff, total sanctioned number in both PHCs and CHCs are 257 and 191 are in-position with the vacancy of 66 and also the shortfall of nursing staff is 63 in number.

While in the case of health workers /ANM particularly to female, the total sanctioned are 1,158 and the same are in-position without any shortfall or vacancy and the required number is 791.

Table- 4.10: Status of Health Officer in the State

	Required ¹	Sanctioned	In Position	Vacant	Shortfall
	[R]	[S]	[P]	[S-P]	[R-P]
Doctors	93	211	196	15	**
Nursing Staff	254	257	191	66	63
Health Worker (Female)/ ANM	791	1158	1158	0	**

Source: Rural Health Statistics, 2017, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare

1- One per primary health centre

** Surplus.

The CHCs provide specialised medical care through provisions of surgeons, obstetricians and gynecologists, physicians, and pediatricians. It is found that there is shortfall of surgeons in tribal areas of maximum states- particularly to mention Telangana, Andhra Pradesh and others. The shortfall in the positions of the radiographers at CHCs in the tribal areas is maximum. The shortfall of nursing staff at PHCs and CHCs in tribal areas has been lesser in years, but still there is a long way to go (Shyjan and Simon 2017).

3. Land Alienation among Scheduled Tribes

Majority of the scheduled tribes in India depends on land and land based occupation. Agriculture is the major profession of scheduled tribe community in India. As their history shows majority of scheduled tribes are depended on shifting cultivation in the earlier days of agriculture. Moreover due to land alienation, majority of the tribal communities lost their land and livelihood opportunities and remained as landless labourers. Increase in the number of landless labourers in scheduled tribe community is indicating the disturbing trend of land alienation. Due to their forest livelihood conditions, majority of scheduled tribes are not aware of the land management system for a long time because of their inaccessibility over external resources. Scheduled tribes in India developed their own cultivation process and traditions. The land ownership among the scheduled tribes are

differentiated in many ways such as community land and individual holdings. From the colonial period of time, scheduled tribes faced the problem of land alienation. Some of the princely states of British government do not have uniform land revenue system. The livelihood conditions of scheduled tribe are very horrible in the colonial era. The tribal communities who depended on land for their livelihood lived with the mercy of local landlords and revenue officers (Chambers and Gordon 1991).

Majority of the scheduled tribe communities are residing in the forest remote areas without proper development and away from the scheduled areas. Because of their isolated living conditions, they did not benefit from the government schemes and policies (Mjumdar 1944). As majority of the scheduled tribes in the history depended on the forest resources for their livelihood by involving in the activities like hunting and gathering. Most of the scheduled tribes collect food, fuel and fodder from the forest for their livelihood. For the scheduled tribes in India forest is like a god to them. But many governments treated forest as a commodity (Murali 1992). It is a well-known fact that tribes who live in the forest uses forest land for the purpose of agricultural production. Majority of the scheduled tribes in India do not have any legal documents on their land holdings. By taking this as an advantage, non-tribal people manipulated tribal land holdings by bribing the revenue officer. This is one of the major factors behind land alienation at ground level. Moreover, in many cases local moneylenders attracted scheduled tribes by taking their economic conditions as advantage by providing loans at higher rate of interest. Due to lack of irrigational and poor agricultural inputs in the cultivation process, their output cannot repay the loan they have taken from the local moneylender. Due to their weak payment power, majority of tribes replaced their land mortgage to local money lender (*ibid.*).

The forest agreement 1855 placed several restrictions on forest land. In the process of land alienation, they subsequently framed several acts to restrict scheduled tribes accessing forest land which are 1878, 1898, 1927, and 1935 acts. These are framed to restrict the tribal communities from the forest resources. With the implementation of this acts, scheduled tribes are gradually denied the access to forest resources (Basha 2017). In India scheduled tribes are classified on their occupational patterns and livelihood conditions such as pastoral, craft makers, agricultural farmers, scavengers, shifting

cultivators, and labourers. It is very clear that land is the most essential asset in the process of living in scheduled areas. Due to their lack of awareness and illiteracy, scheduled tribes are unable to access their provisions and livelihood opportunities which are provided by the government for their development. It is also one of the reasons behind poor land records of scheduled tribes in India.

This was the underground reality behind exploitation of scheduled tribes. Many sociologists explained the concept of land alienation as sociological phenomenon (*ibid.*). Since land alienation plays major role in the negative effect of tribal livelihood, this concept argues more on the issue of tribal rights. Because land alienation is a major denial of tribal rights by government agencies by taking their lands for the purpose of development projects. Land alienation is one of the most important factors which affected the socio-economic conditions of scheduled tribes in India (Balagopal 2007). Land alienation has highly affected the tribal livelihood and their opportunities in a passive manner. Land alienation is the process of encroaching the land forcibly by opposite force (Chauduri 1982). Land alienation has different structures and features. It works differently according to the place, society and community. Land alienation can be specifically described to understand the problem of tribal community in a specific manner (*ibid.*). In the past, majority of scheduled tribe communities had the fair size of land holding with the primitive agricultural methods of the cultivation. Rise in population increased the pressure on land particularly from non-tribes. They forced the tribes to leave their land and this forcible land grabbing issue became major problem in the scheduled areas because of two related reasons; primarily high dependency on land for their livelihood purpose and secondly, high negligence of government officials in the tribal livelihood programmes and assistance (Balagopal 2007). High level of government negligence is witnessed in the scheduled tribe areas. In majority of the cases tribal identity is divided, it is one of the major reasons behind land alienation in scheduled areas. In some places tribal communities are divided into village wise, some places divided in area wise and administratively, which led to large amount of land alienation in most of the tribal areas with numerous pending cases (Patel 1992).

Non-tribal community occupied the land holding of tribal communities which they are cultivating since ancestral time. Since generations, those lands are in cultivation process. Non-tribals using the loopholes in Land transfer act are encroaching the tribal lands. With the help of schedule IX in the constitution non-tribes are transferring the tribal lands by marrying tribal women (Rupavath 2014). After marriage tribal women loses all the rights on her land. Non-tribal communities did not allow the tribal women in land dealing cases after the marriage. Under section 3(1) in Land Transfer Act, land cannot be transferred to the children of the tribal women married to non-tribal men (Choudhury and Sumita 1982).

A special provision should be provided to protect the tribal land. That provision should not allow any poor scheduled tribe to sell his land. In most of the cases tribes are availing loan facility in the name of agricultural inputs and after the production process if that tribe is unable to repay the debt amount then the local moneylender will replace the tribal land with his debt amount (Rao 2014). In most of the cases, tribal lands are not registered officially in the revenue department. This also is one of the major reasons behind the problem of land alienation. In majority of cases, scheduled tribes are not recognised as official owner of their land due to unavailability of land documents in the records. The second form of land alienation was in the form of benami transfers. Another form of land alienation takes place because of mortgage and leasing. Some tribals lease the land to replace their land for debt taken from moneylenders. Money lender would take the land under debt replacement and tribe work in his own land as landless labourer (Reddy 1989). To the land which do not have proper land documents, non-tribes are using their powers and getting registered those lands in their name by bribing the local government officers (Murkute 1990).

To understand the effects of land alienation in scheduled tribe families, one should understand the socio-economic conditions of scheduled tribes which is very important to define the concept of land alienation. Society witnessed many movements and agitations of scheduled tribes to protect their rights and livelihood opportunities. With the strong resistance from scheduled tribe community, Supreme Court of India has taken decision in forming separate provisions for scheduled tribe community in the constitution to protect

their rights. The fifth schedule and sixth schedule are formed to protect the rights of scheduled tribe community from external forces (Elwin 1943).

Land holding situation of scheduled tribes in India can be clearly explained through census 2011. In the given table- 4.11 explanation is given about the agrarian structure of scheduled tribes. Most of the ST population belongs to landless, marginal and small farmers as compared to other social groups. There are various reasons behind the backward situation of scheduled tribes in India. The reasons are explained systematically in the previous literature review. Situation of scheduled tribes remained worsened mainly because of their innocence and lack of awareness on the provisions and land right given to them by the government and the negligence of the government official in the agency areas.

Table- 4.11: Percentage distribution of households by size category of land holdings for each household social groups

Category of holdings (land size class in ha)	Household Social Group				
	ST	SC	OBC	Others	All (Including n.r.)
Landless (≤ 0.002)	9.41	7.18	6.98	7.40	7.41
Marginal (0.002–1.000)	68.83	85.70	75.25	70.22	75.42
Small (1.000–2.000)	14.64	4.77	10.43	11.31	10.00
Semi-medium (2.00–4.00)	5.74	1.84	5.12	7.18	5.01
Medium (4.000–10.000)	1.36	0.48	1.99	3.34	1.93
Large (>10.000)	0.03	0.03	0.23	0.55	0.24
All sizes	100	100	100	100	100

Source: NSS Report; Household Ownership and Operational Holdings in India

Ha: hectare, n.r.: not reported.

In the case of tribal laws and acts, most of the tribal acts are same after independence to year 2006. After the economic reforms, majority of the industries are established in forest areas and nearby forest areas. Establishing various industries to nearby forest area has become major source of revenue to the government. The things like extraction of timber and other related sources restricted the access to scheduled tribe communities. Policies are designed in such a way that total regulations are under control of the government. There is no access to scheduled tribe communities residing in the forest

area (Merinews 2012). As forest is the major source of tribal livelihood opportunities, this regulations have denied access to major resources of the forest. As we know tribes in the forest uses various resources for their livelihood like timber, they use for construction of their huts and houses. Majority of their livelihood depends on hunting and gathering. Due to latest tribal policies, they are unable to access their resources as access was denied to most of the places in forest. There are many cases of deforestation by cutting huge trees by private enterprises in the forest area (Gupta 2011). The policies which are framed against the scheduled tribes have given access to limited resources such as collection of grass and dead wood for the purpose of fuel. Government has given it as a concession to the scheduled tribes in the forest areas. After the implementation of 2006 act, some of the scheduled tribes have been restored by government with effect of their agitations and movements for their rights (Guha 1983). 58 per cent of the scheduled tribes in India are under chronic poverty. Statistics showed that majority of the scheduled tribes who are under poverty belongs to Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, UP, Bihar, Orissa, and West Bengal states of India. The major reasons behind this chronic poverty is land alienation. Due to massive land alienation, millions of the scheduled tribes migrated to urban areas without proper livelihood opportunities. Tribes who depended on agriculture lost their land in the process of indebtedness. Land alienation and indebtedness are major reasons behind the poverty levels among scheduled tribes in India (Rao and Farrington 2007). Indebtedness can be defined as the outcome of the deficit income of the family based on the requirements and compulsions. Most of the scheduled tribe families do not have any knowledge on the concepts of loan and income. Due to low level of education, they cannot calculate the amount of both rate of interest and loan together. By taking their low bargaining power and lack of awareness, most of the tribal communities were pushed into the corners of indebtedness by local moneylenders. Majority of the scheduled tribe communities are the victims of indebtedness which cornered them in the livelihood process (Ghurye 1943).

Due to various developmental projects such as construction of dams, parks and industrial mining projects, government has taken the tribal land. The commercialisation of tribal lands in the process of development projects is the major reason behind tribal backward ness (Rao 2014). The lands of scheduled tribes are encroached by local money lenders and non-tribal communities by taking the advantage of unavailability of land

records. They registered that tribal lands on their name. Due to this process of exploitation majority of the tribes have remained as land less laborers (Sharma 2002). Various kinds of exploitative practices of external forces like local money lenders, non-tribal communities and government project are the major reasons behind tribal land alienation in the society (Jyothi 2016). The process of land alienation in the scheduled areas are not an accidental one. Since decades scheduled tribes are facing the problem of land alienation in various forms. But there are few evidences available in the areas of tribal land alienation. There, millions of the scheduled tribes are affected because of land alienation and displacement. All the external forces have taken the advantage of tribal illiteracy and lack of awareness and occupied the lands of scheduled tribes without any evidences. To understand the causes of land alienation of scheduled tribes, firstly there should a clear cut understanding of the social structure in the society (Basha 2017).

In case of Telangana, most of the districts such as Khammam, Warangal and Adilabad constituted highest level of tribal population. There are several land related agitations taking place in the past. Recently, most of tribal lands were taken for the purpose of construction of Polavaram project to provide water to the newly formed state of Andhra Pradesh. Till now most of the tribes did not get compensation for lands taken from them. Census 2011, clearly shows the situation of scheduled tribes in united Andhra Pradesh as compared with the other social groups in the state. In the given table- 4.12, explains about the status of land holdings of scheduled tribes as compared with the other social groups. Situation of scheduled tribes are below as compared to the other social groups in the state.

Table- 4.12: Social Group Wise Number of Land Holdings in 2005–06 and 2010–11 (in lakh hector)

Social Group	2005–06	2010–11
SC	14.22	14.57
ST	9.2	10.59
Others	96.95	106.59
Total	120.44	131.75

Source: Report on census of land holdings 2010–11,
Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Telangana, Hyderabad.

Telangana is in the midst of a deep and acute agrarian crisis, which has only worsened during the last 20 years of neoliberal economic reforms. Exploitation and domination over the tribal livelihood is the practice of rural elites. It was witnessed in Hyderabad where most of the capitalist grabbed land from the scheduled tribes from Hyderabad outskirts and used them for the purpose of the development of industries and projects (Inniah 1997). Negligence of the government in agricultural sector and lack of policy measures which forced most of the farmers to depend on the private bore well for water sources. Lack of irrigational facilities and infrastructure led farmers to sell their land in Telangana (Kannabiran *et al.* 2010). Land alienation in Telangana has happened in different forms such as by manipulation of land records, encroachment, by leasing or mortgaging, marital alliance or by fake land transfers. The exploitation of non-tribal communities on tribal communities is the basic factor behind land alienation in rural areas. Non-tribal communities exploited tribal communities in different ways they occupied tribes in various forms such as lease, by taking under tenancy, marrying tribal women, by giving loans, manipulating the land documents and using their social status (Rupavath 2013).

The problem of land alienation in the scheduled tribe community prevailed in rural areas due to long-term exploitation of non-tribal communities by transferring their land illegally by taking the chance of their poor bargaining power in the exiting social order. A number of existing laws did not allow the transfer of land from tribes to non-tribes, all transfers are expelled unless allowed by a proper government authority (Huhua 2009). Land alienation of land not only deprived the tribal community but also it affected their livelihood opportunities and employment. Most of the tribal alienation happened due to their improper land records. Non-tribals have taken the advantage of improper land records and choose various illegal ways to transfer tribal lands to their names. Non-tribals selected the unsatisfactory land records and transferred those land in fraudulent ways. Several high level committees were formed to protect the scheduled tribes from credit exploitation. Several ways were suggested to government officials to inspect the tribal lands and their cropping condition and sanction the credit according to their requirement to protect them from local moneylenders (Rupavath 2014).

Due to these many precautions and provisions, most of the tribal communities are exploited in the hands of non-tribal communities. Non-tribes have chosen various ways to grab the land holdings of scheduled tribes illegally and government also is involved in tribal land alienation in the name of development process (Mehta 2000). In most of the cases tribes cannot even afford the minimum expenses of the medical treatment to their family members due to their poor economic power. Due to the process of land alienation tribe lost their entire livelihood opportunities. Majority of them cannot even afford the basic means of living as they are pushed under chronic poverty. The condition of scheduled tribes turned like this because of various factors. Some of the factors are simplified here: poverty of the tribe, simplicity and honesty due to lack of awareness on the societal things, lack of knowledge on their rights and lack of financial assistance from the government are some of the major reasons for tribal backwardness and land alienation among scheduled tribes in India (Biswas 2016).

The Constitution has made several provisions to safeguard the rights of Scheduled Tribes in India. However, the implementation of the same has not been of the desired level in solving the problem. Poor implementation of the Constitutional Safeguards is one of the significant factors of dissatisfaction among the scheduled tribes. In this note the next section of the chapter discusses on the poverty levels of the scheduled tribes India in detail.

4. Status of Poverty among Scheduled Tribes

The poor can be defined as the section of the society who cannot have access to the basic means of livelihood. Poverty can also be explained as economic conditions of people which do not allow them to access the basic things for living such as food, shelter, clothes, and health care, which is called as chronic poverty (Haimendorf 1982). According United Nations (UN) poverty can be defined as the denial of society to an individual to accessing the basic things like denial of choices and opportunities for basic thing which is called as denial of human dignity. It is defined as a person who do not have access to participate in the activities in the society due to lack of capacity to earn money for his/ her feed and cannot have access to the facilities such as school and health care, house and clothes and also not having the land to enhance the livelihood opportunities (McMichael 1996). According to World Bank, poverty is a denial in well-being and comprises of many basic

things in the process of livelihood. It requires income levels to live with dignity. Poverty creates gap in education, health and employment opportunities. It leads to malnutrition and weakens the bargaining power (Nair 2006). Economic condition of every individual is scaling meter of his/her livelihood conditions. Economic status mainly depends on the employment and income which they earn on their working hours. The income levels are essential indicator to scale socio-economic living of a family. Family with high income levels have access to quality health care and high standard of living (Mullah and Nabila and Mohammad 2007). Occupation of an individual represents the economic wellbeing of particular person on his/ her earnings. In many cases social scientists and economists consider income and employment as major indicators to scale economic well-being of a person. In most of the research surveys to scale the economic conditions of the respondents, surveyors frame the questions based on their employment and income levels which helps in analysing the economic status of the particular person (Christelis *et al.* 2006). It is a well-known fact that sufficient level of income in employment process enables a person in accessing all the necessities of life without compromising on the basic means of livelihood. As per the records house hold income source is based on the pattern of their employment. Majority of the household income is based on service, agriculture and business sectors in the society (Mullah and Nabila and Mohammad 2007).

Agriculture is one of the major sources of income for scheduled tribes in India. It is the main reason that land alienation changed their livelihood patterns miserably. It is found that in north-east states of India, most of the tribal communities depends on shifting cultivation in hill areas. There are most backward tribal communities in northeast states, Arunachal Pradesh and boundaries of Nagaland as they are still living with the barter system as exchange method for their livelihood and basic means of subsistence. Tribes in those area participate in the market areas on weekly basis on large number to sell their products in barter system. In the case of shifting cultivators, they work as daily wage labourers in the non-seasonal time (Behera and Roy 1997). In the northeast states tribal communities who engaged in the process of shifting cultivation follow jhum method in their process of cultivation. In this jhum model of cultivation, tribes receive minimal amount of crop as output which is not even sufficient to investment in the next production cycle. Very minimal amount of output will earn in the process of production which is not

even sufficient for the subsistence level of tribal family. They will not get minimum surplus from jhum cultivation process in the northeast areas (Bhapuji 1992). Arthur Lewis has explained the situation of marginalised sections in the society. He found that majority of the people who work as daily wage laborers and hundreds of casual workers in the country working to earn minimal amount of wages to meet their subsistence level of livelihood. As per records majority of the daily wage laborers are marginalised community people who work for few coins (Singh 1988). In India, majority of the tribal communities follow simple methods and traditional technology in their process of livelihood. Highest number of tribal communities follow simple livelihood opportunities such as hunting, gathering and agriculture. Most of them involve the primitive methods in the process of cultivation. They do not choose to go for any technological advancement in the production process due to their poor economic status. It is proved that with this kind of agricultural methods there would be no profits and surplus. This is the main reason behind scheduled tribe income does not contribute anything to per capita income of the country (Lakshmaiah 1984). Due to this kind of primitive and traditional methods of cultivation, the income which they earn out of this profession does not support any saving provision in the tribal family. As agriculture is one of the primitive source of livelihood for scheduled tribes, it is becoming one of the major reasons behind their poverty level and backwardness (Goswami 1984). Because of using primitive methods in the process of production they are ending up with low level of output which is not even sufficient for their subsistence. Their crop output was not sufficient for commercialisation. Due to lack of knowledge in the agricultural production, majority of them are not aware of the new inventions and technological advancements in the production process. They do not have any knowledge in the field of trade and market which plays a crucial role in agricultural sector and market economy. Due to lack of awareness in using modern agricultural techniques and marketing conditions, majority of the scheduled tribes livelihood is in greater risk of poverty (Sharma 1984).

Most of the tribes live under below poverty line and have remained under debt in the hands of local moneylenders and zamindaris. In order to repay the debt, they often mortgage or sell their land to moneylenders. Livestock is an important asset in the agricultural field which helps many individuals from financial burden (Simon 2016). Animals are also the main source of power for ploughing, land clearing and transportation

in many regions. Apart from any religious associations, livestock and cattle, in particular, have special significance in the tribal economy. In all areas but exceptionally dry areas, they are not kept primarily for the production of meat or milk, but as essential components of the subsistence production systems on arable land (Singh 1993).

As per the existing literature, scheduled tribes in India are very backward as compared with the other social communities in the society. It is proved that income levels of the scheduled tribes are very low due to their weak production values. To get sufficient output in the production process timely credit sources are very important. In the case of scheduled tribe communities, they are not getting any timely credit from official sources. To start the production process they need credit sources for purchasing seeds, fertilisers and pesticides. As many research studies explained that there is a need to provide timely credit sources to scheduled tribes in India for their better livelihood opportunities (Saxena 1992). It is witnessed that scheduled tribes in India are not availing the credit sources from government institutions. Because most of the government institutions are providing loans to farmers who have land documents. In the case of scheduled tribes, majority of tribal communities in India are depending on the communal lands and forest based land. They do not have proper land documentation. In this point, various government financial schemes are not getting any eligibility for getting timely credit sources from formal institutions (Das 1993). Because of their low economic conditions and lack of documentation to their agricultural land scheduled tribes in India are not getting any financial assistance. In this case at emergency time, tribes are availing credit sources from local moneylenders at high rate of interest. Since decades this local moneylenders are exploiting scheduled tribes by providing loans at high rate of interest by taking the advantage of their emergency situations. Because for them, there is no alternative credit sources to meet their agricultural requirements. In this point majority of the scheduled tribe communities are accessing the credit sources from private money lenders and due to their weak repayment capacity they are trapped in the chronic poverty levels (Sinha 1990).

The table- 4.13 explains the poverty levels of the scheduled tribes based on the various committee reports such as Lakdawala Committee and Tendulkar Committee. As per the above statistics scheduled tribe people living below the poverty line in 2011–12

were 45.3 per cent in the rural areas and 24.1 per cent in the urban areas as compared to 25.7 per cent persons in rural areas and 13.7 per cent persons in urban areas below poverty line for all population.

Table- 4.13: Percentage of population below poverty line calculated by Lakdawala Committee and Tendulkar Committee for the year 2004–05

Committee	Rural	Urban	Total
Lakdawala Committee	28.3	25.7	27.5
Tendulkar Committee	41.8	27.5	37.2

Source: Report of the Expert Group to Review the Methodology for Estimation of Poverty, 2009, Planning Commission.

In United Andhra Pradesh, the percentage of scheduled tribe population below poverty line is decreased in rural areas from 40.2 per cent in 2009–10 to 24.1 per cent in 2011–12 and it also decreased even in urban areas from 21.2 per cent in 2009–10 to 12.1 per cent in 2011–12.

The table- 4.14, explains the poverty levels among scheduled caste and scheduled tribes. The statistics shows that poverty among scheduled tribes has decreased from 61.9 per cent in 2004–05 to 47.1 per cent in 2009–10 in rural areas and in urban areas. However, decline in percentage of poverty is seen among scheduled caste and also at the total level.

Table- 4.14: Poverty among SC and ST - Rural / Urban India (in percentage)

Year	SC		ST		Total	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
1983–84	58.1	56.5	63.8	54.2	45.6	42.2
1993–94	48.1	49.9	52.2	42.4	37.1	33.7
1999–2000	36.2	38.6	45.9	34.8	27.1	23.7
2004–05 (Revised Est.)	52.7	40.0	61.9	35.0	41.8	25.7
2009–10	43.5	33.0	47.1	28.8	33.8	20.9
2011–12	31.5	21.7	45.3	24.1	25.4	13.7

Source: Planning Commission

Table- 4.15 explains about the poverty levels of the scheduled tribes in India as compared with other social groups. Land holdings are divided in to four categories such as landless, marginal, small, semi-medium, medium and large holding. As per the records very few tribal population occupied large land holdings as compared with other social groups such as non-tribal community. Majority of the scheduled tribes community people are landless labourers as compared to non-tribes. In the area of poverty, scheduled tribe community is the most affected community as compared with other social groups in the given statistics. As compared with the categories, non-tribal communities are the least affected group because of their social and economic background. But in the case of scheduled tribes in India, they are seen as vulnerable community due to exploitation of the external forces in the society.

Table- 4.15: Poverty Rate by Land-holdings in Rural Areas, 2011–12 (in percentage)

Size of Land holdings	Tribes	Non-tribes
Landless	52.4	30.9
Marginal	47.2	24.8
Small	42.5	18.8
Semi-medium	40.8	13.1
Medium	26.1	11.0
Large	8.8	5.1

Source: NSSO, Government of India.

The table- 4.15 shows that in non-tribal community, 30.9 per cent of the population was under the poverty as compared with scheduled tribes with 52.4 per cent. This shows that majority of scheduled landless tribes are working as daily wage labourers for minimal wage to meet the requirement of their subsistence level. But in the statistics it is observed that between the various land holding categories in the non-tribal area it shows vast difference in the percentage of poverty levels. But in the case of scheduled tribe statistics, the percentage of poverty levels are high and as per the statistics first four category groups are in chronic poverty levels as compared with other social groups. This shows that tribes who have land are also living under chronic poverty due to various factors such as

unavailability of credit sources, primitive methods of cultivation and do not have knowledge on the inventions and developmental advancements in agricultural sector.

5. Summing Up

Since decades, living conditions of the scheduled tribes has been changing with the change in the development. The chapter discussed on the human capabilities and the human freedom. Because to overcome various problems of the livelihood, scheduled tribes should get awareness on the policies and provisions which designed for the purpose of their livelihood and development. Economic facilities, social freedom and transparency in financial assistance can change the livelihood patterns of the scheduled tribes in India.

The policy aspects of tribal health and medicine in globalisation implicitly analyses different policy issues. Firstly, issues related to tribal health and medicine where medico-religious rituals are practiced and maintained which has to be upgraded and strengthen it by education. Secondly, there are different factors which are responsible to withhold the ethno-medicine and traditional healing practice like economic, social networking, unifying the family, and others. Thirdly, critical appraisal to state-sponsored medical care with respect to tribal health and development in the form of structural adjustment. But this kind of health structure totally got influenced by the globalisation and dominant force of mainstream knowledge. When the scheduled tribe community is facing the challenges in aspects such as education and health in strongest manner, social structure within the society is exploiting them by showing religious and caste dominations. Grabbing the land of the scheduled tribes by others, by showing their social powers such as caste and religion is illegal. Due to various isolated and exploited practices, most of the tribal population is living below the poverty line without accessing the common public resources and not availing the basic right of living. Still, they are fighting for their basic right to live in the society.

The next chapter *Political Economy and Living Conditions of STs: Analysis of Field Data from Selected Districts* is the field based chapter focused on livelihood conditions of scheduled tribes in relation with the coping strategies of present political system at village level and utilisation of policies and schemes initiated by the government for their welfare.

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Chapter- 5

Political Economy and Living Conditions of STs: Analysis of Field Data from Selected Districts

Tribes are considered as underprivileged and vulnerable community facing severe economic exclusion for many years. Tribal community was neglected for long centuries. After independence government introduced various developmental policies to bring them into mainstream life. Every time while framing policy towards tribal development it stance a challenge to policy makers, administrators and social workers. Living conditions of most of the tribes are backward when related to financial status of other social groups and similarly in economic aspects such as earnings and income. Political economy mainly discusses about distribution of policies and its impact in the economic sector of a society and how that distribution process controlled the development of that society with the policies that allowed on them. Introduction of globalisation policies opened Indian economy to the world economy but this lead to the deterioration of tribal community in various aspects. In this juncture, the present chapter was carried out on the basis of living conditions of scheduled tribes along with the political coordination and economic development schemes, introduced by the government to uplift their growth towards mainstream society.

This chapter is divided into two sections. Section- i presents the profile of selected sample area of the respondents and Section- ii deals with the present livelihood conditions of scheduled tribes and how they are coping up with political system at village level and utilising the policies and schemes initiated by both state and central governments introduced for their welfare and livelihood opportunities.

The selection of sample mandals and villages were selected in Adilabad area. After the formation of Telangana state, Adilabad district is divided into four districts, which are Adilabad, Nirmal, Komarambheem Asifabad, and Mancherial. Mancherial district is having very low population of scheduled tribes compared to other three districts. So, only three districts are selected. In each district, two mandals were selected and in each mandal, two villages were selected by using purposive sampling method on the basis of highest population of scheduled tribes. The sample of household respondents was selected by simple random sampling method.

Section- i:

This section discusses about the profile of state, districts, mandals, and villages of the selected sample respondents.

1. Telangana State

Telangana is the 29th state of India which is formed on 2 June 2014, separated from Andhra Pradesh state by the UPA government after decades of movement for a separate state. In 2016, state had divided 10 districts into 33 districts in total. Hyderabad is the capital of Telangana and also for Andhra Pradesh for around ten years as it contains more industries belonging to service sector. The state has its area around 1.12 lakh sq. kms and according to the 2011 census, total population is 3.51 crores within that total ST population in the state is 31.78 lakhs. It is bordered by Karnataka towards the west, Maharashtra and Chhattisgarh towards the north and Andhra Pradesh towards the south and east. Hyderabad, Warangal, Khammam, Karimnagar, Nalgonda, and Nizamabad are considered as major cities in the state.

Telangana is a part of Hyderabad state which was ruled by Nizams and on 1 November 1956, it was merged with Andhra state to form Andhra Pradesh as a part of linguistic recognition of states. Telangana is rich in minerals with coal mines at Singareni Collieries. Rice is the major food crop and other crops like Maize, Cotton, Tobacco, Sugarcane, and Mango are also cultivated. Agriculture shares chief source of income for state economy. Godavari and Krishna are the major rivers flowing in the state and has Nagarjuna Sagar Dam under Krishna River and Godavari based irrigation projects such as Kaleshwaram were done to provide irrigation. There are also small rivers like Tungabhadra, Dindi, Manjeera, Kinnerasani, Pranahitha, Penganga, and Taiperu.

In Telangana, around 76 per cent of the populace speak Telugu, around 12 per cent speak Urdu and around other 12 per cent speak other languages. The state culture involves a combination of both Telugu and Persian traditions adopted from Mughals and Nizams. Telangana state celebrates all the main festivals and state festivals like Bathukamma and Bonalu (in Hyderabad) with a huge manner. Also, Yedupayala Jatara in Medak district and Sammakka Saramma Jatara in Warangal district are celebrated in a huge manner.

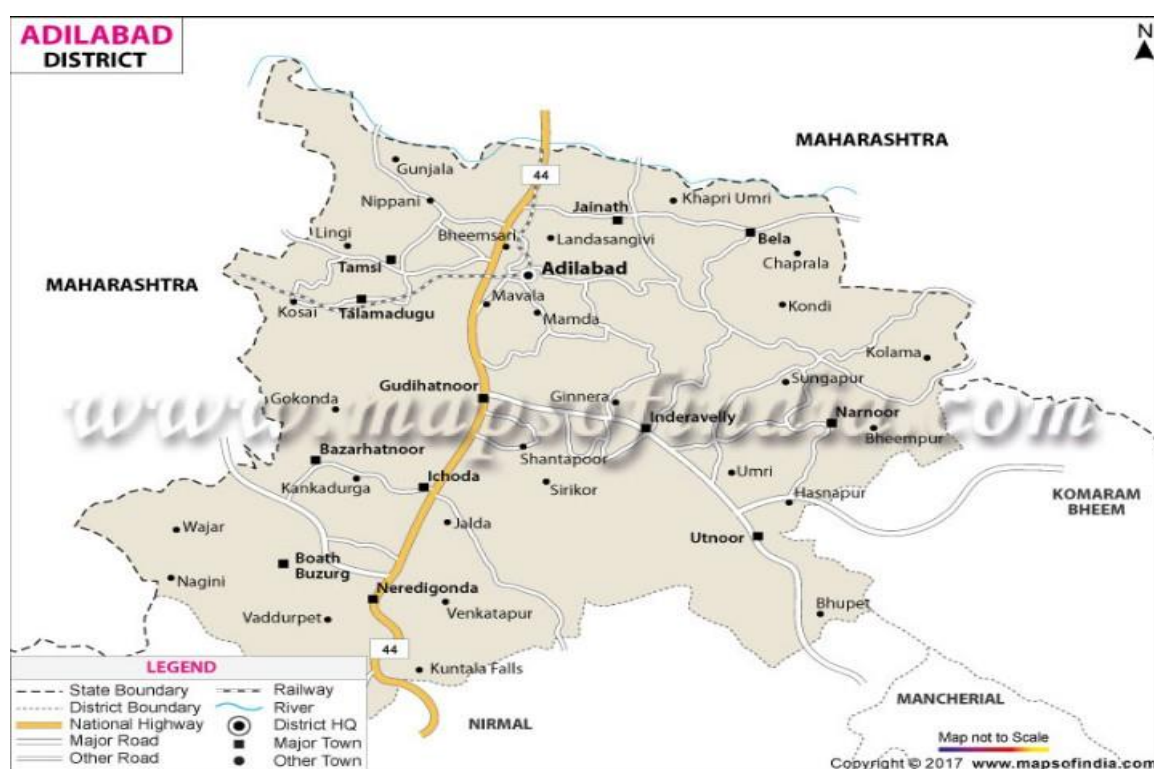
2. Districts

This section consists of the profile of three districts, i.e., Adilabad, Nirmal and Komarambheem Asifabad which were selected for the sample respondents.

2.1. Profile of Adilabad District

Adilabad district derived its name after the Bijapur ruler, Ali Adil Shah. Adilabad had its headquarters in the town itself. The district was divided into several constituent parts which are ruled by different rulers such as Mauryas, Satavahanas, Vakatakas, Chalukyas of Badami, Rashtrakututs, Chalukyas of Kalyani, Mughals, Bhosle Rajes of Nagpur, and Asaf Jahis, besides the Gond Rajas of Sirpur and Chanda, so this is the main reason for not considering this district as homogenous unit.

Map- 5.1: Geographical Map of Adilabad District



Source: Maps of India, 2017.

Initially this district was situated as a sub-district named as Sirpur-Tandur formed in 1872 A.D. along with Edlabad (now Adilabad), Rajura and Sirpur as its constituent talukas. The sub-district was elevated to an independent district in 1905 and had its headquarters at Adilabad. After the formation of Telangana state, again Adilabad district was restructured into four districts and they are Adilabad, Nirmal, Mancherial,

and Komarambheem Asifabad districts. Adilabad district comprises 508 villages within 467 gram panchayats. District total population is around 70,8972 living within the area of 4,153 sq.kms and the area covered under forest is around 1706.89 sq. kms. Total schedule tribe population in the district is around 22,4622 and the literacy rate is around 63.46 per cent.

The district economy is generated from agriculture itself as 80 per cent of district population are engaged in agriculture and its allied activities. So, the government was concentrated more on soil health management and crop diversification to increase growth rate in agriculture by implementing various development schemes.

2.2. Profile of Nirmal District

After the formation of Telangana State, Nirmal was divided as a separate district from Adilabad. The district is situated in northern Telangana with the borders of Maharashtra state along with the districts of Komarambheem Asifabad, Adilabad, Mancherial, Jagtial, and Nizamabad. The district consists of two revenue divisions, i.e., Nirmal and Bhainsa. The district has 19 mandals and 428 villages within three municipalities. The total district population is around 71,000 located in the area of around 3,845 sq. kms. District headquarters are located at Nirmal town. The literacy rate of the district is around 58 per cent.

Nirmal district derived its name from the king called Nimma Rayudu, as he played a very important role in developing the region. The district connects many linkage of roadways as it had National Highway (NH) – 44 which overlaps the district with other areas. It has two major Road Transport Corporation (RTC) depots where one is at Nirmal and other is at Bhainsa. Godavari River flows in the district forming the border throughout the south side and made the district to reserve some of the most fertile land consists in Telangana state. As the river flows in the district there are many small and medium irrigation projects constructed by the government and also there are some chain tanks were built around the town. Kadam dam located across Kadam River, a tributary of Godavari River providing irrigation to the fields around 25,000 hectares. Cotton, paddy and pulses are the primary crops which are cultivated in the district.

Nirmal district was very rich in maintaining historical and cultural traditions and is greatly persuaded towards art. Numerous art forms were able to promote in the

district such as Bindu Yakshaganam, Bagavatham, Pandavulu, Yellamma Katha, Sharada Kathalu, Kolatam, and Jada Koppulu. Among all of these, Nirmal toys which are made of wood have gained popularity among national and international level. On the banks of river Godavari, a temple called Sri Gnana Saraswathi temple was situated in Basar which is very famous for Akshara Sweekaram- a programme organised as an introduction of children into learning. In Basara, Indian Institute of Information Technology (IIIT) was established which helping many tribal students to reach up to the higher level of education. Many number of tourist spots in the district are attracted by visitors such as Kuntala, Pochera and Gayatri waterfalls, Kadem Minor Irrigation project with boating facility and forts like Nirmal Fort and Quilla Outta fort.

Map- 5.2: Geographical Map of Nirmal District



Source: Maps of India, 2017.

2.3. Profile of Komarambheem Asifabad District

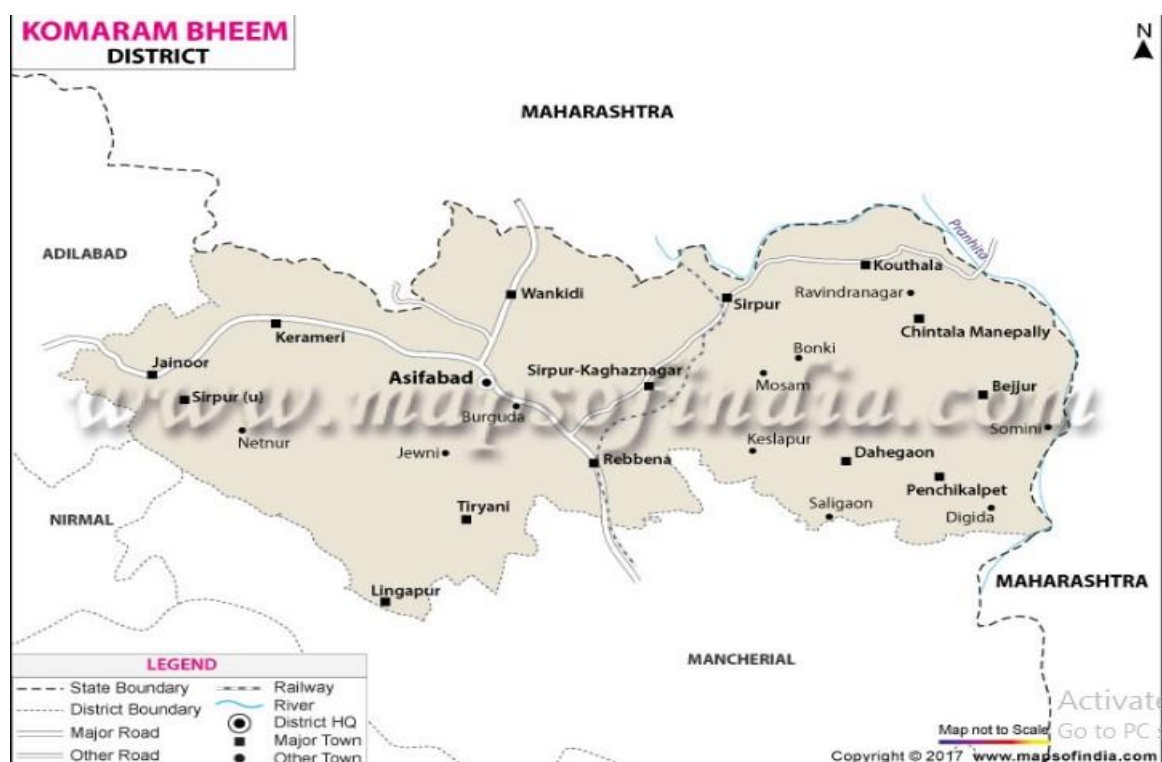
Komarambheem Asifabad district is separated from the Adilabad district. It is surrounded by Adilabad, Mancherial and Nirmal districts and the borders of Maharashtra state.

Komarambheem Asifabad district consists of 15 mandals along with two revenue divisions, one is at Asifabad and other is at Kaghaznagar. District headquarters are situated at Asifabad which is primarily called as a tribal town. District consists of 335 gram panchayats and 434 villages. Total population of the district is around 51,5812 within the area of around 4,878 sq. kms. This district connects south and north parts of India through a railway line connection with a railway station named Sirpur-Kaghaznagar and had only one RTC depot located at the district premises itself.

The district primary crops include cotton, rice and pulses. Singareni Collieries, Sirpur Paper Mills, many spinning and ginning mills form the industrial profile of the district.

Historically, the district had a glorious past, Komarambheem played an important part in the scheme of things of its erstwhile rulers. Remains of pre-historic period assembles in and around this district as many tribal resistance movements were happened which attach the archaeological prominence to this place. The major tourist attractions in this district are Komarambheem project, Mitta waterfalls, Kerameri ghat road, Jodeghat tribal museum, Gangapur Cave, and Movvad village.

Map- 5.3: Geographical Map of Komarambheem Asifabad District



Source: Maps of India, 2017.

3. Sample Representation

The sample of respondents, mandal and village wise along with district are furnished in the table- 5.1

Table- 5.1: Sample Representation

S. No.	District	Mandal	Village	No. of Sample Respondents
1	Nirmal	Kubeer	Dodarna	42
			Sirpalle	32
		Sarangapur	Potia	34
			Jam	35
2	Adilabad	Utnoor	Danthanpalle	36
			Hasnapur	41
		Indervelly	Dasnapur	43
			Ginnera	36
3	Komarambheem Asifabad	Tiryani	Mangi	35
			Pangidimadra	37
		Jainoor	Gudamamda	32
			Ushegaon	48
Total	3	6	12	451

Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

3.1. Kubeer Mandal and Villages

Kubeer is a mandal located in Adilabad district of Telangana state, India. Kubeer mandal headquarters is Kubeer town. Bhainsa, Nirmal, Umarkhed, and Bodhan are the nearby cities to Kubeer.

Kubeer consist of 45 villages and 20 panchayats. Bakot is the smallest village and Kubeer is the biggest village. Hingoli, Washim, Medak, Bidar, and Chandrapur are the nearby important tourist destinations to see.

Total population of Kubeer mandal is 38,602 living in 7,775 houses, spread across total 45 villages and 20 panchayats. Males are 19,206 and females are 19,396. According to 2011 census, the total ST population of Kubeer mandal is around 11,352.

3.1.1. Dodarna Village

Dodarna is a village in Kubeer mandal in Adilabad district of Telangana state, India. It is located 87 km towards west from district headquarters, Adilabad and 10 km from Kubeer. Dodarna postal head office is at Bhainsa.

Kubeer (10 km), Belgaon (6 km), Ranjani (8 km), Pardi (b) (9 km), and Chondi (10 km) are the nearby villages to Dodarna. Dodarna is surrounded by Himayatnagar mandal towards west, Bhainsa mandal towards south, Kuntala mandal towards east, and Bhokar mandal towards west. Bhainsa, Umarkhed, Nirmal, and Bodhan are the nearby cities to Dodarna.

Dodarna local language is Telugu. Dodarna village total population is 2915 and number of houses are 618. Female population is 48.4 per cent. Village literacy rate is 39.5 per cent and the female literacy rate is 12.1 per cent. According to 2011 census, the total ST population of Dodarna village is around 2,652.

3.1.2. Sirpalle Village

Sirpalle is a village in Kubeer mandal in Adilabad district of Telangana state, India. It is located 90 km towards west from district headquarters, Adilabad and 8 km from Kubeer. Sirpalle postal head office is at Bhainsa.

Kubeer (8 km), Ranjani (6 km), Belgaon (7 km), Palsi (8 km), and Chondi (8 km) are the nearby villages to Sirpalle. Sirpalle is surrounded by Himayatnagar mandal towards north, Bhainsa mandal towards south, Kuntala mandal towards east, and Bhokar mandal towards west. Bhainsa, Umarkhed, Nirmal, and Bodhan are the nearby cities to Sirpalle.

Sirpalle local language is Telugu. Sirpalle village total population is 1880 and number of houses are 381. Female population is 50.8 per cent. Village literacy rate is 36.9 per cent and the female literacy rate is 13.2 per cent. According to 2011 census, the total ST population of Sirpalle village is around 1,656.

3.2. Sarangapur Mandal and Villages

Sarangapur is a mandal in Adilabad district of Telangana state, India. Sarangapur mandal headquarters are in Sarangapur town. Nirmal city, Bhainsa city, Nizamabad city, and Adilabad city are the nearby cities to Sarangapur.

Sarangapur consist of 52 villages and 18 panchayats. Pendaldhari is the smallest village and Jam is the biggest village. It is in the 299m elevation (altitude). Medak, Hingoli, Chandrapur, Sirpur, and Washim are the nearby important tourist destinations to see. Here, the local language is Telugu and also people speak Urdu. Total population of Sarangapur mandal is 41,664 living in 9,240 houses, spread across total 52 villages and 18 panchayats. Males are 20,098 and females are 21,566. According to 2011 census, the total ST population of Sarangapur mandal is around 9,021.

3.2.1. Potia Village

Potia is a village in Sarangapur mandal in Adilabad district of Telangana state, India. It is located 68 km towards south from district headquarters Adilabad and 15 km from Sarangapur.

Jewly (5 km), Kowtla (b) (7 km), Nigini (8 km), Marlapalle (9 km), and Sarangapur (15 km) are the nearby villages to Potia. Potia is surrounded by Kuntala mandal towards south, Boath mandal towards east, Dilawarpur mandal towards south, Neradigonda mandal towards east. Nirmal, Bhainsa, Adilabad, and Umarkhed are the nearby cities to Potia. Potia local language is Telugu. Potia village total population is 2,210 and number of houses are 470. Female population is 49.4 per cent. Village literacy rate is 41.5 per cent and the female literacy rate is 15.1 per cent. According to 2011 census, the total ST population of Potia village is around 1,999.

3.2.2. Jam Village

Jam is a village in Sarangapur mandal in Adilabad district of Telangana state, India. It is located 70 km towards south from district headquarters Adilabad and 3 km from Sarangapur. Jam postal head office is Chincholi (B).

Dhani (4 km), Vanjar (6 km), Tandra (6 km), Beervelli (6 km), and Gopalpet (7 km) are the nearby villages to Jam. Jam is surrounded by Dilawarpur mandal towards south, Nirmal mandal towards south, Boath mandal towards north, and Kuntala mandal towards west. Nirmal, Bhainsa, Adilabad, and Koratla are the nearby cities to Jam. Jam local language is Telugu. Jam village total population is 6,426 and number of houses are 1284. Female population is 58.2 per cent. Village literacy rate is 52.4 per cent and the female literacy rate is 28.4 per cent. According to 2011 census, the total ST population of Jam village is around 1,130.

3.3. Utnoor Mandal and Villages

Utnoor is a mandal in Adilabad district of Telangana state, India. Utnoor mandal headquarters is Utnoor town. Utnoor is belongs to Adilabad revenue division. Adilabad city, Nirmal city, Koratla city, and Jagtial city are the nearby cities to Utnoor.

Utnoor consist of 125 villages and 17 panchayats. Wadgalpur (Buzurg) is the smallest village and Utnur is the biggest village. It is in the 248m elevation (altitude). Chandrapur, Sirpur, Tadoba (Tadoba Andheri Tiger Reserve), Sevagram, and Medak are the nearby important tourist destinations to see.

Telugu is the local language here. Also people speaks Urdu. Total population of Utnoor mandal is 53,578 living in 10,397 houses, spread across total 125 villages and 17 panchayats. Males are 27,474 and females are 26,104. According to 2011 census, the total ST population of Utnoor mandal is around 32,988.

3.3.1. Danthanpalle Village

Danthanpalle is a village in Utnoor mandal in Adilabad district of Telangana state, India. It is located 55 km towards south from district headquarters, Adilabad and 10 km from Utnoor. Danthanpalle postal head office is at Utnoor.

Utnoor (10 km), Birsai pet (6 km), Utnoor (8 km), Ushegaon (9 km), Hasnapur (10 km) are the nearby villages to Danthanpalle. It is in the 248m elevation (altitude). Danthanpalle is surrounded by Sirpur (U) mandal towards east, Jainoor mandal towards east, Narnoor mandal towards north, and Indervelly mandal towards west. Adilabad, Nirmal, Koratla, and Jagtial are the nearby cities to Danthanpalle.

Danthanpalle local language is Telugu. Danthanpalle village total population is 4674 and number of houses are 1,152. Female population is 50.6 per cent. Village literacy rate is 40.1 per cent and the female literacy rate is 16.6 per cent. According to 2011 census, the total ST population of Danthanpalle village is around 2,955 which is around 63.2 per cent within the total population.

3.3.2. Hasnapur Village

Hasnapur is a village in Utnoor mandal in Adilabad district of Telangana state, India. It is located 47 km towards south from district headquarters, Adilabad and 7 km from Utnoor. Hasnapur postal head office is at Utnoor.

Lakkaram (4 km), Gunjala (6 km), Nagapur (6 km), and Utnoor (7 km) are the nearby villages to Hasnapur. Hasnapur is surrounded by Jainoor mandal towards east, Narnoor mandal towards north, Sirpur (U) mandal towards east, and Indervelly mandal towards west. Adilabad, Nirmal, Rajura, and Koratla are the nearby cities to Hasnapur.

Hasnapur local language is Telugu. Hasnapur village total population is 4,553 and number of houses are 975. Female population is 47.6 per cent. Village literacy rate is 55.5 per cent and the Female literacy rate is 21.1 per cent. According to 2011 census, the total ST population of Hasnapur village is around 2,817.

3.4. Indervelly Mandal and Villages

Indervelly is a mandal in Adilabad district of Telangana state, India. Indervelly mandal headquarters is Indervelly town. Indervelly is belongs to Adilabad revenue division. Adilabad city, Nirmal city, Pandharkaoda city, and Wani city are the nearby cities to Indervelly.

Indervelly consist of 117 villages and 16 panchayats. Mamidiguda is the smallest village and Indervelly is the biggest village. It is in the 248m elevation (altitude). Chandrapur, Sirpur, Tadoba (Tadoba Andheri Tiger Reserve), Sevagram, and Hingoli are the nearby important tourist destinations to see.

Telugu is the local language here and also people speaks Urdu. Total population of Indervelly mandal is 38,642 living in 7,360 houses, spread across total 117 villages and 16 panchayats. Males are 19,045 and females are 19,597. According to 2011 census, the total ST population of Indervelly mandal is around 18,238.

3.4.1. Dasnapur Village

Dasnapur is a village in Indervelly mandal in Adilabad district of Telangana state, India. It is located 30 km towards south from district headquarters, Adilabad and 3 km from Indervelly. Dasnapur postal head office is at Indervelly.

Walganda Heerapur (2 km), Waipet (4 km), Wadagaon (5 km), Rampur B (6 km), and Muthnur (7 km) are the nearby villages to Dasnapur. Dasnapur is surrounded by Gudihatnur mandal towards the west, Ichoda mandal towards the west, Utnoor mandal towards the east, and Bazarhatnoor mandal towards the west. Adilabad, Nirmal, Pandharkaoda, and Koratla are the nearby cities to Dasnapur.

Dasnapur local language is Telugu. Dasnapur village total population is 2,834 and number of houses are 557. Female population is 50.9 per cent. Village literacy rate is 47.1 per cent and the female literacy rate is 18.9 per cent. According to 2011 census, the total ST population of Dasnapur village is around 2,702.

3.4.2. Ginnersa Village

Ginnersa is a village in Indervelly mandal in Adilabad district of Telangana state, India. It is located 22 km towards south from district headquarters, Adilabad. 6 km from Indervelly. Ginnersa postal head office is at Indervelly.

Dhannura (b) (2 km), Indervelly (6 km), Khandala (7 km), Tosham (7 km), and Pippaldhari (9 km) are the nearby villages to Ginnersa. Ginnersa is surrounded by Gudihatnur mandal towards west, Adilabad mandal towards north, Utnoor mandal towards east, and Ichoda mandal towards west. Adilabad, Pandharkaoda, Nirmal, Wani are the nearby cities to Ginnersa.

Ginnersa local language is Telugu. Ginnersa village total population is 2,415 and number of houses are 475. Female population is 49.4 per cent. Village literacy rate is 50.5 per cent and the female literacy rate is 19.2 per cent. According to 2011 census, the total ST population of Ginnersa village is around 2,160.

3.5. Tiryani Mandal and Villages

Tiryani is a mandal in Adilabad district of Telangana state, India. Tiryani mandal headquarters is Tiryani town. Bellampalle city, Kagaznagar city, Mandamarri city, Mancherla city are the nearby cities to Tiryani.

Tiryani consist of 146 villages and 13 panchayats. Tiryani mandal consists two constituencies. Chopidi is the smallest village and Tiryani is the biggest village. It is in the 210m elevation (altitude). Sirpur, Chandrapur, Tadoba (Tadoba Andheri Tiger Reserve), Warangal (Orugallu), Medaram are the nearby important tourist destinations to see.

Telugu is the local language here and also people speaks Urdu. Total population of Tiryani mandal is 22,804 living in 5,129 houses, spread across total 146 villages and 13 panchayats. Males are 11,597 and females are 11,207. According to 2011 census, the total ST population of Tiryani mandal is around 17,845.

3.5.1. Mangi Village

Mangi is a village in Tiryani mandal in Adilabad district of Telangana state, India. It is located 101 km towards the east from district headquarters, Adilabad and 15 km from Tiryani. Mangi postal head office is at Chirrakunta.

Tallapet (10 km), Nagasamudram (12 km), Rampur (12 km), Chintalguda (12 km), and Rompalle (12 km) are the nearby villages to Mangi. Mangi is surrounded by Dandepally mandal towards the south, Jannaram mandal towards the west, Dharmapuri mandal towards the south, and Sarangapur mandal towards the west. Bellampalle, Mandamarri, Kagaznagar, and Mancheri are the nearby cities to Mangi. Mangi local language is Telugu. Mangi village total population is 2,813 and number of houses are 651. Female population is 49.6 per cent. Village literacy rate is 36.4 per cent and the female literacy rate is 14 per cent. According to 2011 census, the total ST population of Mangi village is around 2,770.

3.5.2. Pangidimadra Village

Pangidimadra is a village in Tiryani mandal in Adilabad district of Telangana state, India. It is located 97 km towards the east from district headquarters, Adilabad and 11 km from Tiryani. Pangidimadra postal head office is at Chirrakunta.

Ginnedari (8 km), Godelpalle (10 km), Devaiguda (10 km), Tiryani (11 km), and Mowad (13 km) are the nearby villages to Pangidimadra. Pangidimadra is surrounded by Asifabad mandal towards the north, Rebbena mandal towards the east, Kerameri mandal towards the north, and Jannaram mandal towards the west. Kagaznagar, Bellampalle, Mandamarri, and Mancheri are the nearby cities to Pangidimadra. Pangidimadra local language is Telugu. Pangidimadra village total population is 2,105 and number of houses are 481. Female population is 50.5 per cent. Village literacy rate is 42.9 per cent and the female literacy rate is 17.2 per cent. According to 2011 census, the total ST population of Pangidimadra village is around 1,917.

3.6. Jainoor Mandal and Villages

Jainoor is a mandal in Adilabad district of Telangana state, India. Jainoor mandal headquarters are in Jainoor town. Adilabad city, Kagaznagar city, Rajura city, and Jagtial city are the nearby cities to Jainoor.

Jainoor consist of 66 villages and 12 panchayats. Dubbaguda is the smallest Village and Jainoor is the biggest village. It is in the 227m elevation (altitude). Sirpur, Chandrapur, Tadoba (Tadoba Andheri Tiger Reserve), Sevagram, and Medak are the nearby important tourist destinations to see.

Telugu is the local language here and also people speaks Urdu. Total population of Jainoor mandal is 23,487 living in 4,312 houses, spread across total 66 villages and 12 panchayats. Males are 11,964 and females are 11,523. According to 2011 census, the total ST population of Jainoor mandal is around 18,730.

3.6.1. Gudamamda Village

Gudamamda is a village in Jainoor mandal in Adilabad district of Telangana state, India. It is located 58 km towards the east from district headquarters, Adilabad and 8 km from Jainoor. Gudamamda postal head office is at Jainoor.

Malangi (5 km), Daboli (5 km), Nagolkonda (7 km), Devapur (8 km), and Kerameri (8 km) are the nearby villages to Gudamamda. It is in the 227m elevation (altitude).

Gudamamda is surrounded by Kerameri mandal towards east, Sirpur (U) mandal towards south, Narnoor mandal towards west, and Utnoor mandal towards west. Adilabad, Rajura, Kagaznagar, and Chandrapur are the nearby cities to Gudamamda. Gudamamda comprises five sub-villages under its panchayat.

Gudamamda local language is Telugu. Gudamamda village total population is 2,847 and number of houses are 579. Female population is 50.8 per cent. Village literacy rate is 47.4 per cent and the female literacy rate is 19.8 per cent. According to 2011 census, the total ST population of Gudamamda village is around 2,039 which is around 71.6 per cent of the total population.

3.6.2. Ushegaon Village

Ushegaon is a village in Jainoor mandal in Adilabad district of Telangana state, India. It is located 53 km towards the east from district headquarters, Adilabad and 9 km from Jainoor. Ushegaon postal head office is at Jainoor.

Jainoor (6 km), Hasnapur (7 km), Lakkaram (8 km), Danthanpalle (9 km), and Daboli (9 km) are the nearby villages to Ushegaon. Ushegaon is surrounded by Utnoor

mandal towards the west, Sirpur (U) mandal towards the east, Narnoor mandal towards the north, and Kerameri mandal towards the east. Adilabad, Rajura, Nirmal, and Kagaznagar are the nearby cities to Ushegaon.

Ushegaon local language is Telugu. Ushegaon village total population is 2,649 and number of houses are 518. Female population is 49.0 per cent. Village literacy rate is 49.7 per cent and the female literacy rate is 18.8 per cent. According to 2011 census, the total ST population of Ushegaon village is around 1,908.

Section- ii:

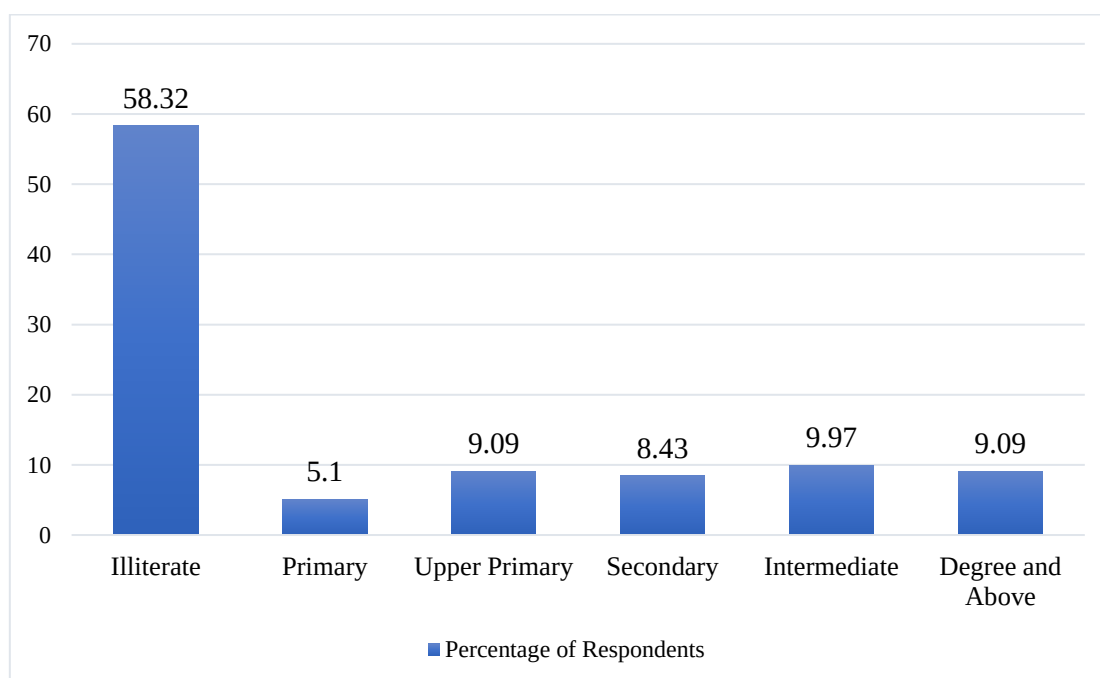
It is well-known fact that all the development activities initiated for tribal development resulted negatively in the socio-economic conditions of scheduled tribes. They are facing various challenges in their larger area like exploitation and exclusion which resulted in different kinds of resistance from scheduled tribes (Brahmanandam and BosuBabu 2016). This section deals with the present livelihood conditions of scheduled tribes and how they are coping up with political system at village level and how they are utilising the policies and schemes initiated by state and central governments for their welfare and livelihood opportunities. They are choosing different ways to address their problem in larger area and about challenges they are facing while addressing them.

4. Educational Qualification of Respondents

In the process of capitalistic development and accumulation highest number of tribes are being excluded. In Indian economy most of the tribes are self-employed as their livelihood is based on agriculture and its allied activities. They survive at the marginal subsistence with different political negotiations and electoral struggles in their every point which is the basic thing they face in the present capitalistic society. It requires quality education to address their problems effectively in a formal way (Bardhan 2009). It is a known reality that tribes constitute highest percentage of illiteracy as compared with the other social groups in India. Because of their low levels of understanding skills and weak addressing capability in the external political arena, it stands as the major drawback of tribal livelihood. Around 77 per cent of scheduled tribe families are not aware about most of the things which are happening in the village. If they face any issue in the village, they only trust to approach the gram panchayat members due to lack of their literacy levels. The basic idea of political economy discusses about the distribution of both political and economic authority in a society and inspection of the working

status of development policies which endured on them (Bardhan 1998). To understand the above concept of political economy, every tribe should have basic understanding of their problems and directions of addressing them requires minimum education. Here, in the figure- 5.1 discusses about the educational levels of the sample respondents.

Figure- 5.1: Educational Qualification (in percentage)



Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

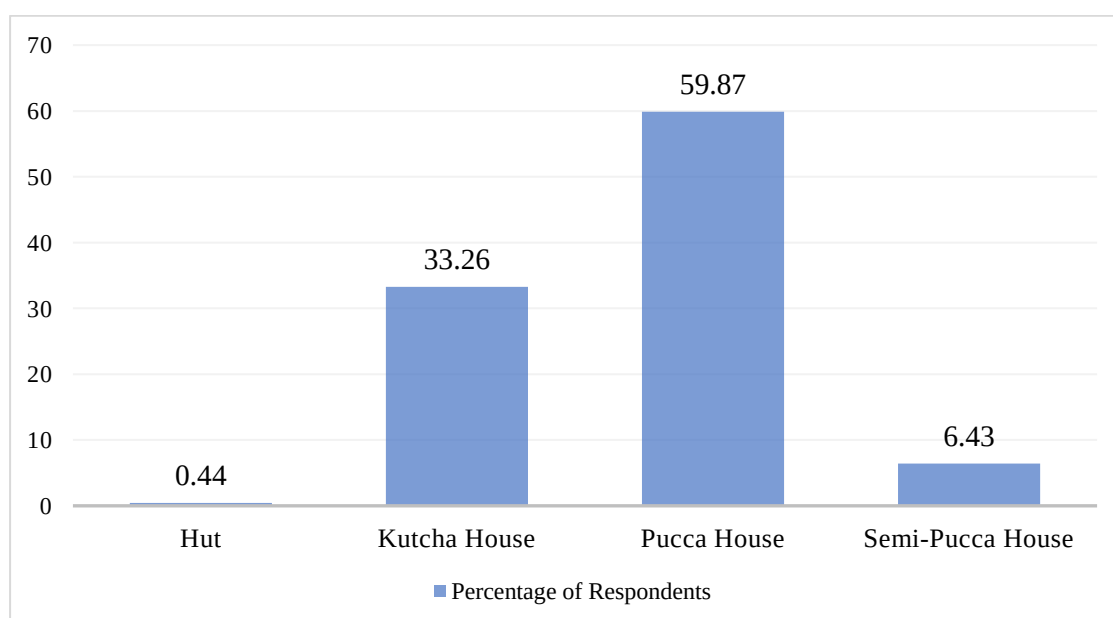
As discussed earlier, tribes in the Indian economy attributed lowest level of education as compared with other social group. In the figure- 5.1, it is clearly showing that 58.32 per cent of the tribes are illiterates. It means that more than half of the percentage of respondents are not aware of the current policies and their importance. According to Jhon (2005) non-tribals have taken advantage of tribal illiteracy and forced them to evict their land this was the one of the major reasons behind the scheduled tribes land alienation. In most of the cases tribes gave up their land not only for the government purpose but also there are cases of forcible land acquisition. The same we can observe from the figure- 5.1, it is only 9.09 per cent of the respondents have completed degree and above. It is observed that, in every village there are some youth who have completed minimal level of education and taking the responsibility of the village and addressing the problems at their levels. But, it was observed that major administrator of the village does not have basic knowledge about the current schemes and development programmes. Tribes in the village are blindly believing the local administrator for their problems. It is the youth in that village, working effectively in

terms of understanding the purpose of the welfare programmes and bringing the awareness among the villagers. It was observed that around 5 per cent of respondents who have completed primary education, do not have knowledge of the upper primary and intermediate education. Local government has miserably failed in creating awareness about the educational opportunities and ways towards quality livelihood.

5. Housing Characteristics of the Sample Respondents

There are different factors which have helped to analyse the livelihood conditions of every individual in the society. They are food, shelter, education, and health. For any individual, shelter plays major role in their livelihood process. State government of Telangana introduced free home scheme to the poor people of the state. The home of an individual defines his/her livelihood conditions. In the case of scheduled tribes, they are at a different spectrum of human and cultural evolution. They engaged in different kinds of livelihood practices such as hunting, gathering, shifting cultivation and mostly marginal farming. They are getting very minimal income from their employment. It is observed at the field in most of the villages. 99.7 per cent of the respondents had own houses and only 0.3 per cent of the people are homeless.

Figure- 5.2: Type of House (in percentage)



Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

In the figure- 5.2, it was shown that highest number of respondents have pucca houses that means. 98.60 per cent of the scheduled tribes in sample villages are doing agricultural and allied activities. It is also observed that 32.26 per cent of the

respondents are having kutcha houses which means walls are built up with bricks without cement and roof is built up with wood material with some mud bricks. If rain comes water would leak into the house. In the field it was observed that people who have minimal acres of land without any efficient output are not able to build their houses. For this kind of people, government of Telangana initiated the free house for homeless. They have already applied for the house. But the sanction process is getting late due to non-documentation of the land which was used for the purpose of building house. No government official is responding properly in their case. It is also observed minimal number of respondents are living in hut type of house. 0.44 per cent it is due to landlessness and poor living conditions. They only depended on the daily work which was not even sufficient for their subsistence purpose. This is the housing pattern of the scheduled tribes in the sample villages.

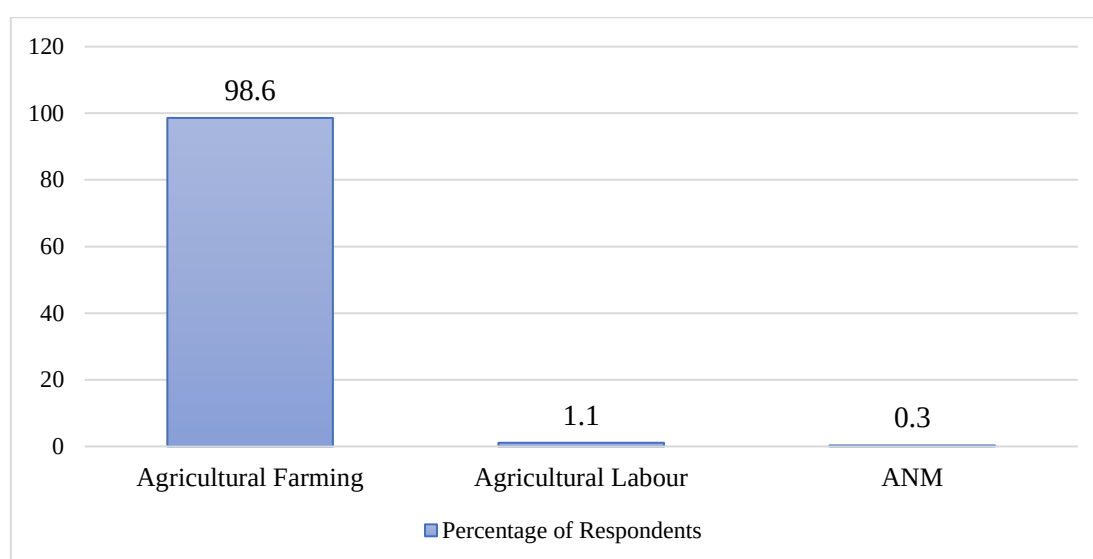
6. Source of Livelihood

Scheduled tribes in India depends mostly on forest and forest based agriculture as shifting cultivation. In present times, tribes slowly stopped shifting cultivation and started doing cultivation in one place in village area setup (Bose 1981).

In present times, it is observed that in almost all the villages, tribal community are depended on agriculture only. Now they are getting benefits from the government for doing agriculture. Various schemes are implemented by both state as well as central government helping them financially in the process of production. They are facing various problems in their profession due to lack of infrastructural and basic amenities such as irrigational facilities. Now a days farmers are using technological advancements in the production process but some of the villages does not have any facility which reduces strain in the production process. Even if the farmers are able to get those from other villages, they are charging a bit high price.

According to Das (1998) scheduled tribes to reach their field have to travel longer distance. If anything happens in the field like snake bites, and any medical emergency it is very difficult to get medical help immediately due to lack of transportation and medical facility nearby as they live far from the mainstream society. Due to lack of their addressing capability and knowledge on various aspects, nobody cares about the living conditions of tribes. Government introduced several schemes to uplift their living conditions, but those schemes are failed at implementation level.

Figure- 5.3: Main Source of Livelihood (in percentage)



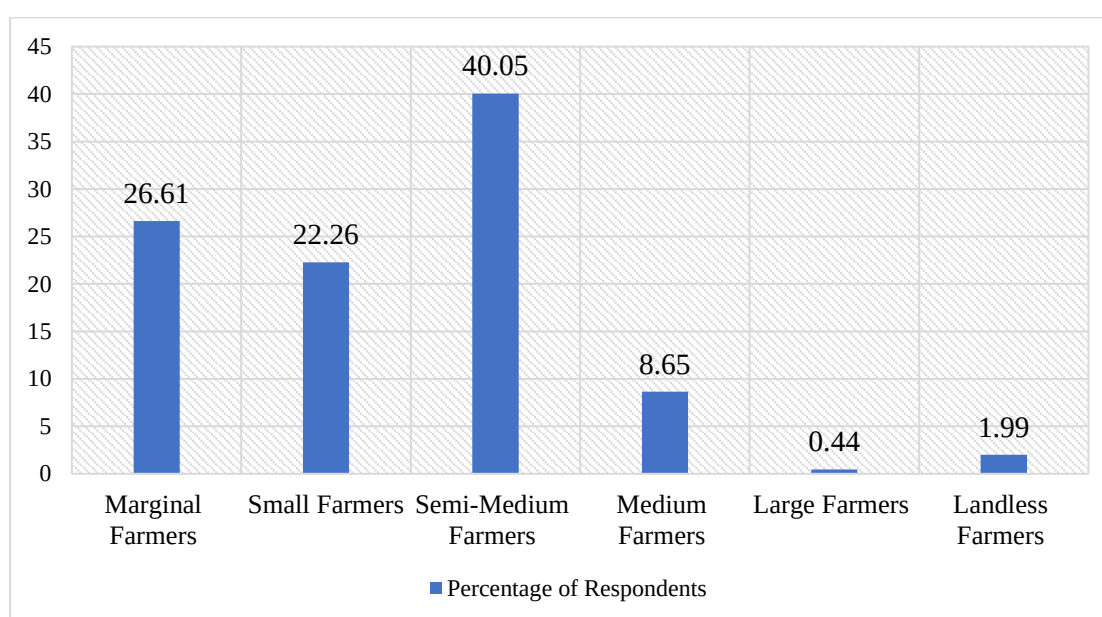
Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

In the figure- 5.3, it is observed that 98.6 per cent of scheduled tribes are depended on agriculture itself. It is because of benefits they are getting from central and state governments. Now a days agricultural sector witnessed good amount of rains which has led to positive output in the production process, motivated the tribes to shift agricultural production. It is also observed that in most of the villages, tribes are cultivating forest lands with the complete land registration getting financial support from the government. In one of the field village, whole village was depended on the forest land which was not registered officially and there is zero financial assistance from government. Still they are cultivating different crops by availing loan from private moneylenders with high rate of interest. This is the kind of interest they are showing towards the agriculture in the field villages.

7. Land Holding Pattern of Respondents

Land is the basic source of livelihood for scheduled tribes in India. In the past most of the tribal communities are depended on forest land. Cultivating the forest land is the major reason behind shifting cultivation of scheduled tribes in India. Since decades scheduled tribes are facing the problem of land alienation due to various reasons. Due to various exploitative practices most of the tribes are remained as landless labourers. After independence, government introduced various policies to uplift the tribal economy, at the same time grabbed their lands in the name of development (Preet 1994).

Figure- 5.4: Land Holding Patterns of Respondents (in percentage)



Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

According to Xaxa (2005) the major reasons behind tribal backwardness is landlessness and indebtedness. Because, in most of the areas forest are deforested due to establishment of industries and other private enterprises. In the figure- 5.4 clearly showing the land holding patterns of scheduled tribes. Situation of the scheduled tribes are different as compared with the past studies. In the field study, it was observed that tribes who are cultivating forest land had allotted their cultivated land under their names with pattas, except in one village the allotment of forest land under their names was delayed and it was still delayed due to covid-19 situations. Except in that, all the tribal farmers have got allotted their forest land for doing agriculture. In the figure- 5.4 showing that 40.05 per cent farmers are semi-medium which nearly half of the sample respondents is covered under this category. Remaining part was covered with marginal and small farmers respectively. Very lowest percentage of scheduled tribes are having the medium and large holdings of land. It is also observed that still there are people without land doing labour work in others fields. It is also noticed that, around 60 percent of the land registrations and forest land allotments were happened recently. There is a reason behind the increase in recent land registration as because the financial schemes which are initiated by the state and central governments only applicable to farmers who have lands but not to the landless farmers. This is the major reasons behind tribal's active behaviour towards land registrations part. Kunhaman (1985) tribes have changed their agricultural practices shifting agriculture to stable agriculture after the market

economy increased. They also started investing on the agricultural land and getting documentation immediately with the government.

8. Cropping Patterns of the Respondents

Scheduled tribes in India have unique culture and livelihood practices. Since beginning majority of them depended on the forest and forest based products for their livelihood. Eventually, they have adopted the culture of market. They started with shifting agriculture in the forest for their own subsistence later on they have started cultivating for the purpose of better livelihood and adopted market conditions.

Tribal community has oral identity not written in any scriptures or written identity. The past revenue system, zamindari system and exploitative practices bounded them with low level of living. Government initiated various developmental activities to protect the interest of the scheduled tribes in India (Heredia 2000). The transformation of scheduled tribes have started slowly with the help of government initiatives only. In present times they claiming effectively their schemes and policies. They are competing with market forces and adopting effective livelihood conditions. Growing different kinds of commercial crops and food crops according to the market demand. As compared with past several decades tribal communities changed its shape and patterns of livelihood. The table- 5.2, clearly shows the cropping patterns of scheduled tribes.

Table- 5.2: Cropping Pattern of the Respondents (in percentage)

Crop- 1	Percentage	Crop- 2	Percentage	Crop- 3	Percentage
Cotton	95.35	Soya	13.97	Red Gram	0.88
Soya	1.99	Corn	0.88	Chilli	0.23
Corn	1.11	Red Gram	20.18	Green Gram	0.67
Red Gram	0.44	Green Gram	0.66	Tomato	0.88
Non-Cultivators	1.11	Non-Cultivators	64.31	Non-Cultivators	97.34
Total	100	Total	100	Total	100

Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

Covid-19 also not effected the agricultural practices of scheduled tribes in any sample villages. During Lockdown also they are started their cultivation process with the help of state government. In the field it was observed that in only monsoon season around 72 per cent of the tribal communities are doing cultivation in other months they are doing as agricultural labourers and daily wage labourers. It is observed that some

of the tribes are cultivating more than one crop and two crops in their field in the same season. One crop is for commercial purpose and others are for the domestic purpose. They are fulfilling the both the needs. Before the cropping season state government instructed them to cultivate those crop which have good demand in the market and local agricultural officers instructed them in the selection of the crop. They will not receive any financial help from the government if they cultivate other crops by disobeying market demand and government instructions. All the tribal communities followed the instructions of government and cultivated same crop as per the government instructions.

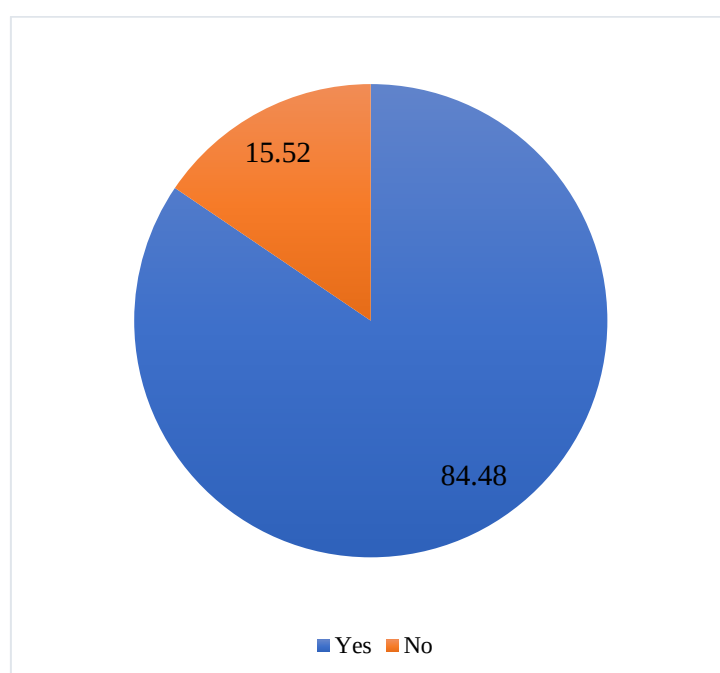
In the table- 5.2 shown that 95.35 per cent of the respondents have cultivated cotton as first crop. This shows most of the scheduled tribes are interested to cultivate crops for commercial purpose. As around 83 per cent of the agricultural lands not had proper irrigation facilities, so they had chosen cotton as their crop which requires less amount of water and labour sources. 33.69 per cent of farmers cultivated two crops. Very few tribal families cultivated three crops in their fields. It is also observed that 79.38 per cent of the respondents are cultivating their crops for commercial purpose and 19.74 per cent of the respondents are cultivating both commercial as well as domestic purpose.

9. Availability of Transportation Facilities

It is well-known fact that most of the scheduled tribe villages are located at forest belt without proper amenities. The tribal culture is entirely different as compared with the other communities. It is observed that during covid-19 lockdown, they are not allowed even government officials to their village, they denied their help directly.

In one of the villages, all the tribal lands are located near to forest area. To reach their agricultural lands they have to walk for hours. If anything happens in the agricultural land like snake bite or medical emergency there is no transportation facility available to take the required person to hospital. In two villages they do not have minimum transportation facility to sell their crops in nearest mandal. In field study it was observed that for one of the village, there is no four wheeler transportation available. We have to go on two wheeler or by walk. Some of the villagers are cautioned that the area is under Naxalite surveillance. It is the main reason behind the non-construction of road to that village. For any medical emergency the villagers are depended on the local treatment as primary or first aid.

Figure- 5.5: Availability of Transportation Facilities (in percentage)



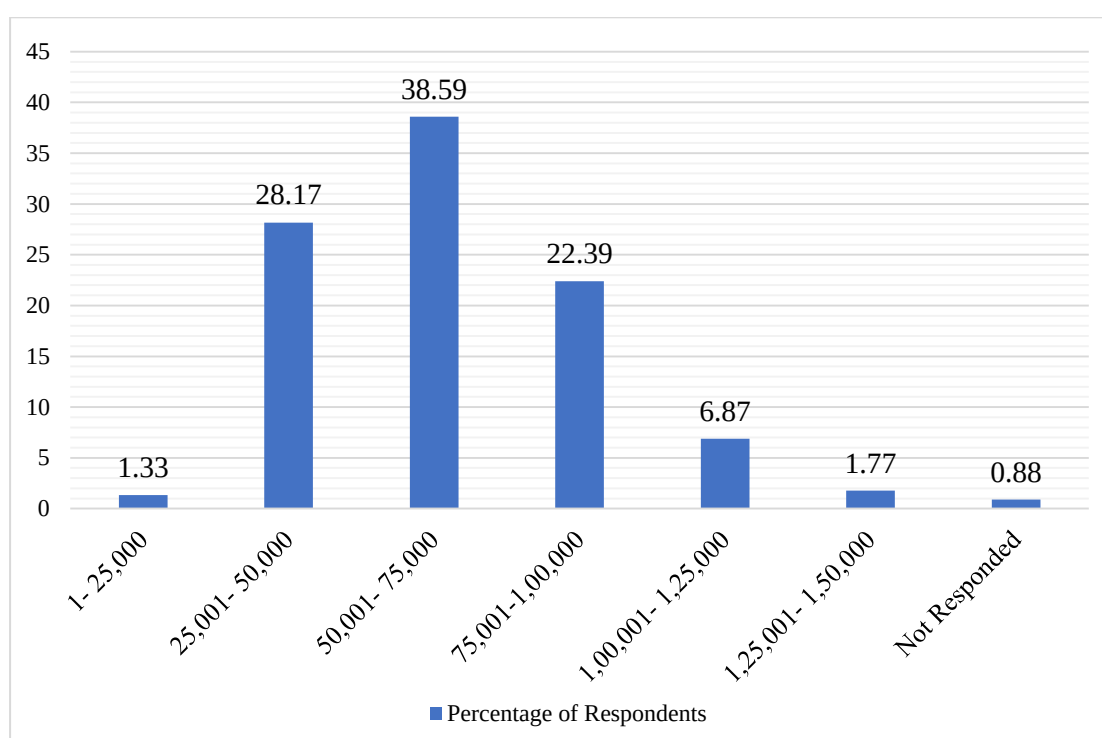
Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

In the figure- 5.5 clearly shows the transportation facility of the sample respondents. But in most of the places transportation facilities are available from villages. It is 84.48 per cent of the respondents villages are having the transportation facilities and remaining places do not have transportation and not even network facility. For an emergency, they cannot even call to emergency number. To get their mobile network they have to travel minimum four km from their village then only they would be able to call for an emergency. There are several cases of deaths witnessed due to non-availability of transportation facility.

10. Annual Income of the Respondents

Scheduled tribes in India has unique professional ethics. Since decades they are acted as forest dwellers and their income levels are depended on the resource available in the forest. The minimal amount of income which they get from forest products are used for their subsistence. Later period of time, they started cultivating the land. Their involvement in agricultural production is started long back. Firstly, they started with shifting cultivation in the forest area. In recent times, they changed their livelihood patterns as well as occupational patterns. They started settled agriculture getting formal identity by adopting the culture and traditions of the mainstream society which brought tremendous changes in their livelihood patterns.

Figure- 5.6: Annual Income (in percentage)



Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

The livelihood conditions of the scheduled tribes are very poor due to various factors such as indebtedness, land alienation, shifting cultivation, urbanisation, industrialisation, deforestation, exclusion, and regionalism are the main factors behind tribe's poor livelihood conditions and low income levels (Preet 1994). Scheduled tribes were neglected due to various reasons. The occupational patterns of the tribes are different as compared with social groups. The difference can be noticed in the process of cropping patterns, traditional skills. They are also different in culture and language (Reddy 2000).

In the figure- 5.6 showing the annual income of the scheduled tribes. As around 40 per cent of the scheduled tribes are occupied with semi-medium land holdings it was reflected in their annual income. In the figure- 5.6 it is shown that 38.59 per cent of the tribes are earning up to 75,000 per year. Only 6.87 per cent of the scheduled tribes are earning 1,00,000–1,25,000. There are several factors behind this poor income levels. In the field study it was observed that in two villages, nearly one-third of the tribal lands are nearer to the forest area without any transportation.

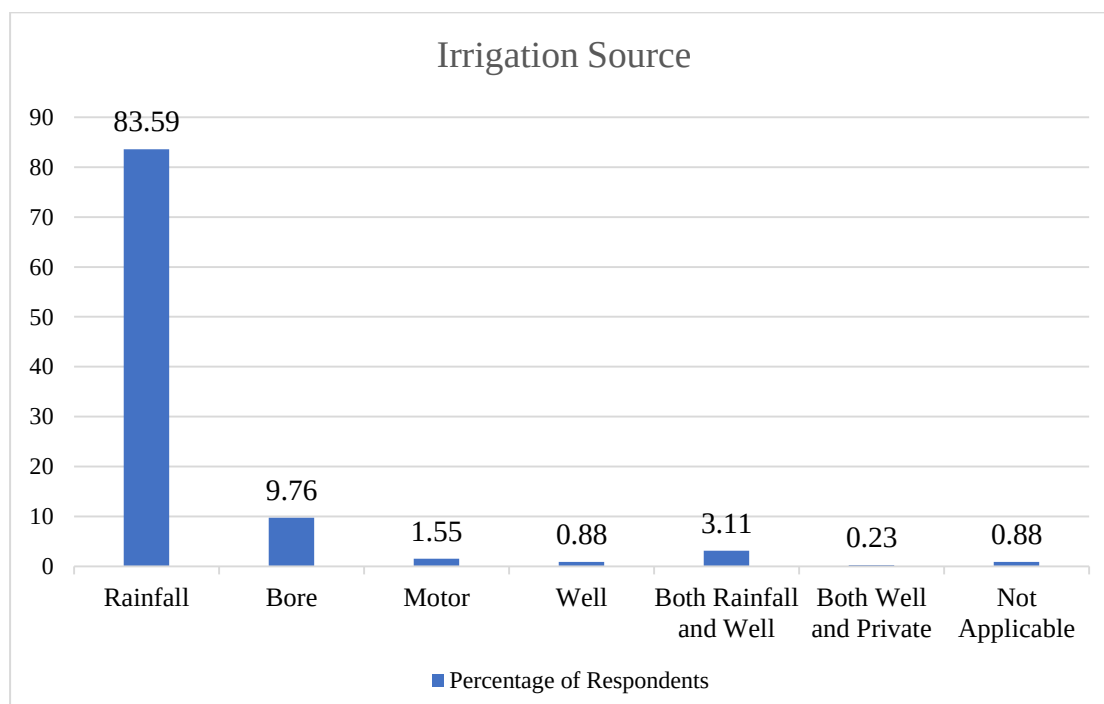
Due to their low levels of income they are taking all the agricultural input from local money lenders as debt and exchanging their crop as a debt repayment process.

The middle man is giving the lowest price for their crop as compared with the minimum support price and settling the scheduled tribes with a poor returns. Which is one of the main reasons behind lowest income levels. In other way, the tribes who are selling their crop in the agricultural markets also they are not receiving minimum support price. By showing the reasons like poor quality product they are deducting the price of the crop and settling them with lowest returns. In the some other areas due to lack transportation, lowest output, small landholdings, and due to lack of market knowledge they are getting low levels of returns for their crops.

11. Status of Irrigational Facilities

Source of irrigation is the essential part in the process of agriculture. Without proper water sources it is very difficult for cultivating a crop. In the process of shifting cultivation also scheduled tribes are depended on the natural resources to fulfil the irrigational requirements. Since decades they are depending on the monsoon rainfall as an irrigational source.

Figure- 5.7: Irrigation Source (in percentage)

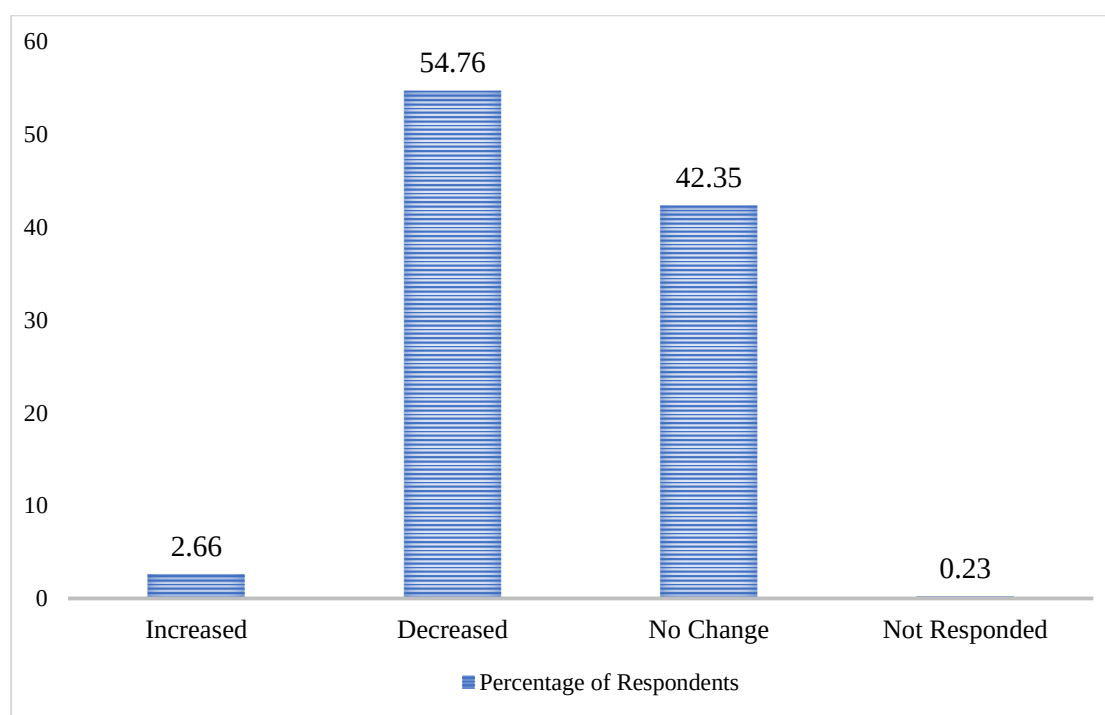


Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

In the figure- 5.7 showing the status of irrigational facilities available in the scheduled tribe villages. It was observed that almost one-third of the scheduled tribes are depending on the monsoon rainfall to fulfil the irrigational requirements. Due to

their low income capacity and bargaining capacity they are still depending on the monsoon season. It was observed that in some of the villages there is a crop failure due to heavy rains. The village agricultural officer visited the effected crop area and declared very minimal amount of compensation for the damaged crop. In some of the areas tribes are doing hill land farming the portion of the land itself not suitable for the agricultural purpose this is also the one reason behind the crop failure. It was observed that 83.59 per cent of the population is depending on the monsoon rainfall to cultivate their fields. Only minimal number of people are having other irrigational sources. It is also observed that there is a scheme called bore well energisation scheme in some of the villages. Gram panchayat members have identified the eligible farmers for the bore well energisation scheme which is a free scheme implemented mainly for the agricultural scheduled tribes. The scheme which plays crucial role in increasing the agricultural output of the scheduled tribes in the rural areas. Since no single farmer was benefited with this scheme. But the respondents expressed their positive response towards government officials who handling the project. In the figure- 5.8 we can observe the changing patterns of the agricultural outputs over the last 15 years in the tribal villages.

Figure- 5.8: Changes in Crop Production for last 15 years (in percentage)



Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

In the figure- 5.8 showing that downfall of the agricultural production in the last 15 years, there are various reasons underlined behind low levels of production output. Most of the agricultural land does not have proper irrigational facilities as shown in the figure- 5.7 and there are other factors such as using high quantity of fertilisers and pesticides decreased the fertility of the soil, low quality of agricultural inputs, high rates of credit interests, low agricultural knowledge and lack of market knowledge is the major reasons behind the decline in the production output. Very few farmers showed increase in their output level because of proper irrigational sources and large portion of land holdings. Remaining famers are confined to small and medium portion of the land holdings is also reason behind the decrease in the production output. There are case in small and medium holdings also some of the tribes are cultivating commercial crops as well as food crops. They are cultivating the food crops to fulfil the domestic requirements. Some time they are decreasing the commercial crops cultivated areas because to cultivate more food crops. Due to cultivation of more food crops without proper irrigational sources tribes are ending up with negative returns in the production process.

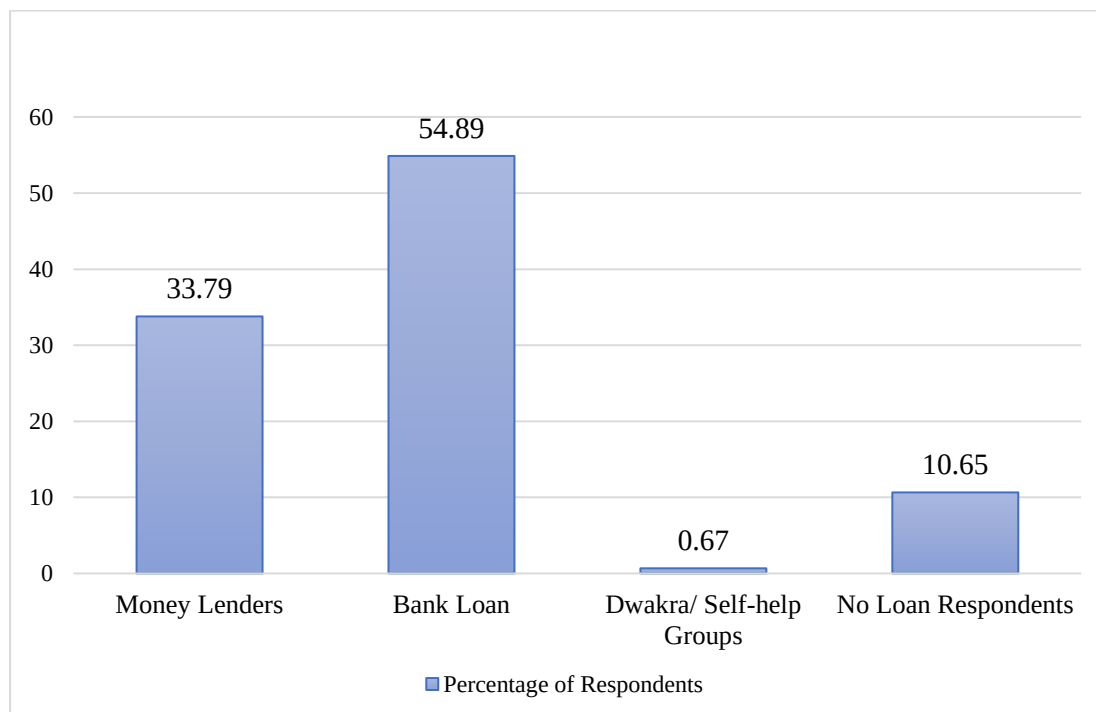
12. Credit Particulars of Respondents

Indebtedness is the major pillar behind tribal backwardness from decades. The historical background and lack of awareness on societal factors such as exploitation and exclusion are the background reasons behind tribal indebtedness. Lack of bargaining capacity, illiteracy, social exclusion and poor financial background are the effective factors behind tribal backwardness.

Some of the tribals became labourers in their own agricultural field due to indebtedness. Lack of repayment capability of debt they have taken from local money lenders for the purpose of cultivation is the major reason. Due to lack of education they purchase low quality of seeds and fertilisers in the cultivation. It resulted in crop failure or lower output. They cannot get sufficient revenue out of their production process, which resulted in debt trap. It is one of the way of exploitation of local moneylenders (Kunhaman 1985). In the field study also nearly one-third of tribes have taken loans for the purpose of agriculture but due to low level of output they are unable to pay the loan on time. This becoming the reason for their stress. Very minimal percentage of people have taken loans for non-agricultural purpose such as for marriage, education, health,

etc. The indebtedness situation of scheduled tribes in the sample villages was shown in the figure- 5.9 completely.

Figure- 5.9: Credit Particulars of the Respondents (in percentage)

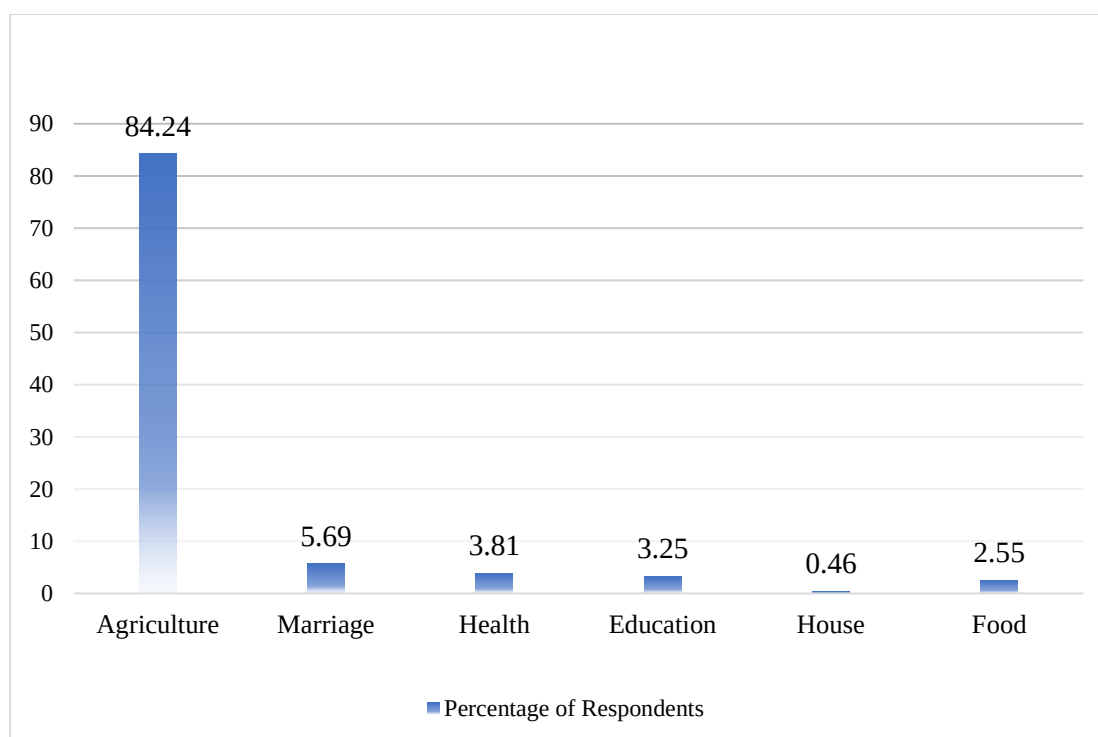


Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

In the figure- 5.9 showing the credit particulars of the respondents. Nearly 85 per cent of the tribes are having bank loans and debt from money lenders. There are various reasons behind this situation. In the state of Telangana government assured instalment wise loan waiver scheme. Due to that most of the farmers are getting very lowest amount of loan for their agricultural production. The amount they are taking for the purpose of agriculture is not sufficient in the cultivation. To meet the immediate requirement they are going for other sources of credit such as local money lenders. This is the main reason behind their status of credit particulars. In one of the village they are not getting any loan from the government and not eligible for any financial scheme introduced by the government. The reason behind this situation is that they all are depending on the unregistered or non-documented forest land. More than 80 per cent of the tribal population in that village are depending on the local money lenders at highest rate of interest. In other villages they are getting some financial help from the government and remaining amount they are arranging from other credit sources. Only around 10 percent respondents did not took any loans. Figure- 5.10 explains about the

reasons behinds tribal indebtedness. The study focused on the purpose of the credit which pushes tribes to debt trap leading them into distress.

Figure- 5.10: Purpose of taking Credit (in percentage)

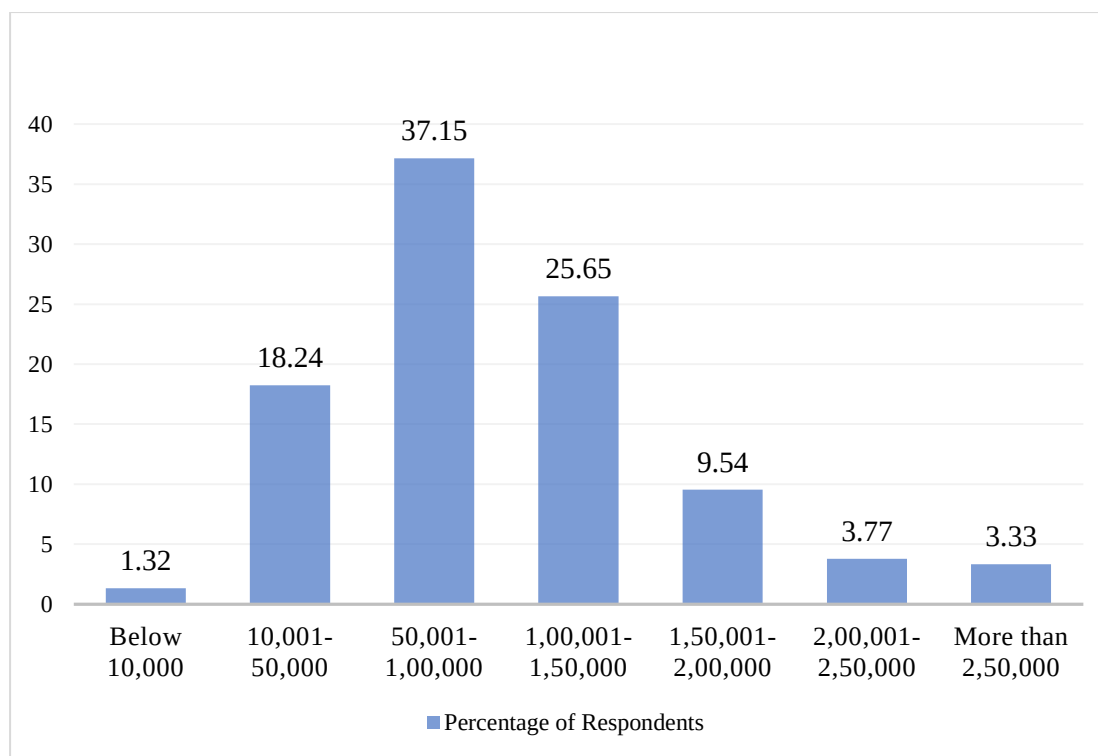


Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

In the figure- 5.10 showing that 84.24 per cent of the tribes are taken credit for the purpose of agriculture. As discussed on the earlier, there are various factors behind tribal indebtedness. Now it was proved that, highest number of scheduled tribes are taking loan for agricultural inputs. It is noticed that, whatever the financial scheme introduced by the state and central government for the purpose of agriculture are not deposited in the farmers accounts in time. They are depositing the amount at the end of the production process. To fulfil the immediate financial requirements, farmers are taking loan from the different sources and at the end they are losing the repaying capacity due to low production. Tribes in India are facing several issues in the process of livelihood. There are various external threats which are dragging scheduled tribes in miserable conditions. The policies which are drafted for the welfare of the community is not fulfilling the actual needs and remained as piece of paper in the documents (Srivastava 2008). Purpose of the credit can be explained with the help of amount they have taken from the different sources. It was observed that, half of the scheduled tribes are taking loans beyond their financial limit. This is the major reason behind the tribal

suicides. In the figure -5.11 explains about the amount of credit they are taken in percentage.

Figure- 5.11: Amount of Credit (in percentage)



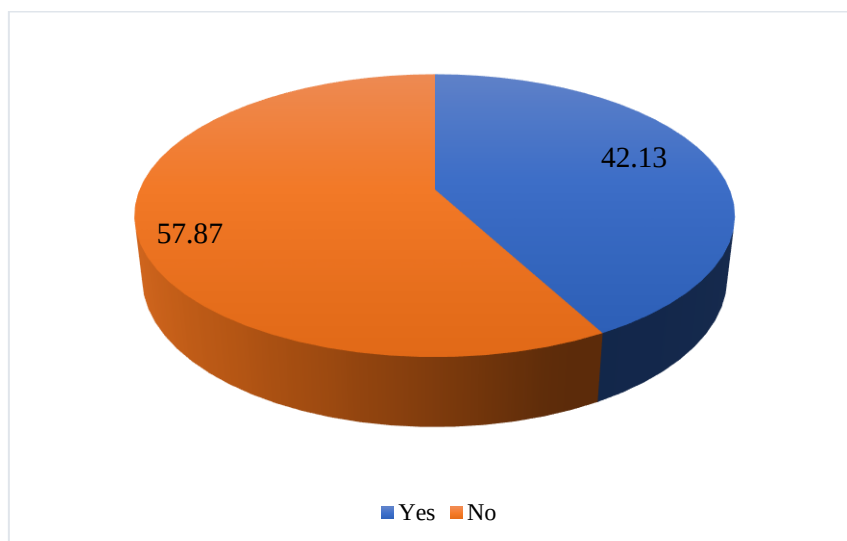
Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

In the figure- 5.11 showing that 37.15 per cent of respondents are taken loan between 50,000-1,00,000. Around 60 per cent of the small and semi-medium farmers are taking loan in the cultivation process. Some of the respondents have taken loan for the purpose of food and social ceremonies such as marriage and religious functions within the family. But, around 83 per cent of the respondents have taken for the purpose of the agriculture. The reasons behind weakening the repayment capacity is, highest percent interest rate they are paying for taken credit. The village tribes are taking the loans at 50 per cent interest rate. For example if they need 50,000 for the present production process after completing the crop period they have to pay 75,000. That means they are paying 25,000 rupees as rate of interest for given credit. Taking the loans at high rate of interest also is a major reason behind weakening the repayment capacity of tribes in the society.

There are cases witnessed on exploitation of non-tribal people in the tribal areas. Non-tribals occupied the lands of tribals by marrying tribal women. And, in most of the cases local money lenders are belongs to non-tribal groups who offer loans to tribal

groups at highest rate of interest, later period they occupied most of the tribal lands by taking the advantage of weak repayment capacity of scheduled tribes (Halavath 2014). In the analysis it was observed that, existence of non-tribals in the tribal village. In the figure- 5.12 it was presented clearly.

Figure- 5.12: Existence of Non-tribes in Village (in percentage)

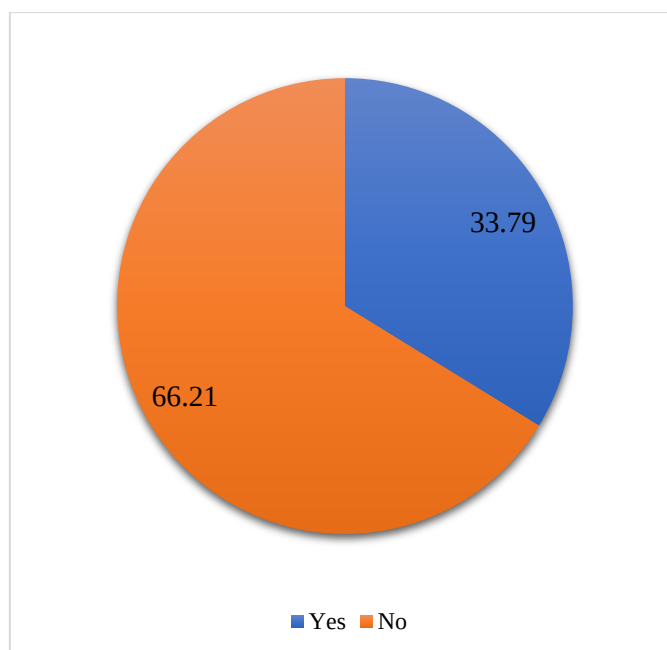


Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

Here, the figure- 5.12 showing the existence of non-tribal population in the tribal villages. It is 42.13 per cent of the villages are having the non-tribal people. Nearly one-third of the villages are occupied with only tribal population. In the other villages there are very less non-tribal families residing in the village. Majority of the families are tribal families and local administration is also in the hands of scheduled tribes only. But it was observed that in around 90 per cent of tribes are going nearby villages to take the credit from the non-tribal community. Study also focused on the status of non-tribal involvement in providing loan to the scheduled tribes in different purposes. In the figure- 5.13 clearly explained the role of non-tribes in providing credit facilities to the tribals in nearby villages. In the figure- 5.13 showing the participation of non-tribals in providing credit facilities in the tribal areas. 33.79 per cent of the scheduled tribes in the villages have taken loans form the non-tribal at highest rate of interest. They are charging 25 per cent to 50 per cent per annum as rate of interest to give loans. For example, if they offer 1,00,000 as loan to the tribes they take 1,50,000 in return including rate of interest. Same incidence was noticed in the one of the field village where local money lenders are charging 50 per cent of rate of interest for given

loan. Due to low level of output from the production, they are unable to repay the credit amount in time. As the interest rate is high, farmers are trapped into indebtedness.

Figure- 5.13: Borrowed Money from Non-tribes in last 5 years (in percentage)



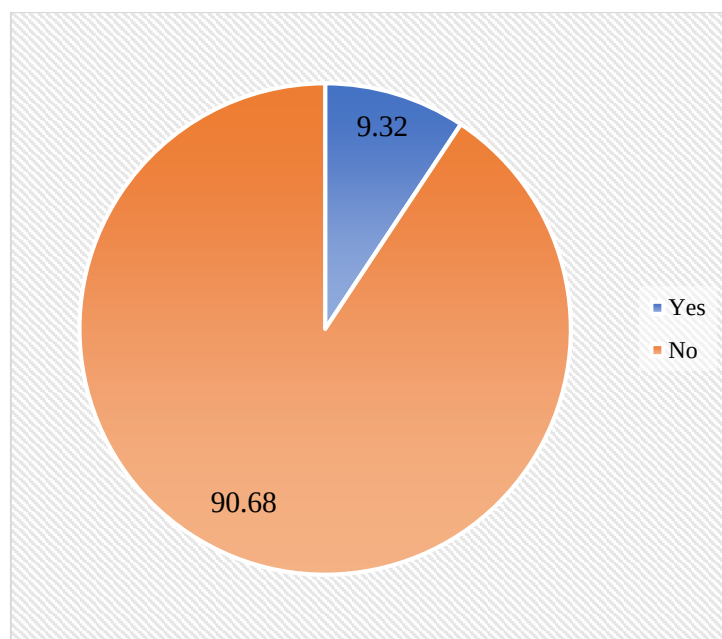
Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

Due to lack of proper irrigational facilities and knowledge the tribes are experiencing low returns in the process of agricultural production. There are various factors which are weakening the repayment capacity of scheduled tribes in most of the villages. In some villages they are reaching local moneylenders due to lack of land documents. Banks will offer any loans to the landless farmers. Farmer should produce the land document in the bank to avail the crop loan. Scheduled tribes who are depended on the forest land for the purpose of crop cultivation without proper land documentation are the victims of the indebtedness in the tribal areas. There cases like marriage, food and educational purposes also tribes are reaching local money lenders for loans. The livelihood situation of scheduled tribes is changing because of their poor socio-economic background and lack of bargaining power in the society. I think because of the above factors only 9.32 per cent of the respondents have lost their farm land which was shown in the figure- 5.14. The figure- 5.14 showing the per cent of tribal respondents who have lost their land for different factors.

According to Halavath (2014) cultivated lands of scheduled tribes are illegally occupied by the government and non-governmental corporations by considering their lands as forest lands, national parks and sanctuaries. Non-tribal community grabbed

their lands by marrying tribal women and some of the tribes lost their lands by not having proper land records.

Figure- 5.14: Loss of Farm Land (in percentage)



Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

The situation of tribes in their village was similar to what it was explained in the existing literature of land alienation concept. But as compared with past the situation of tribal land alienation was declined and nearly one-third of tribes got their cultivating lands registered officially.

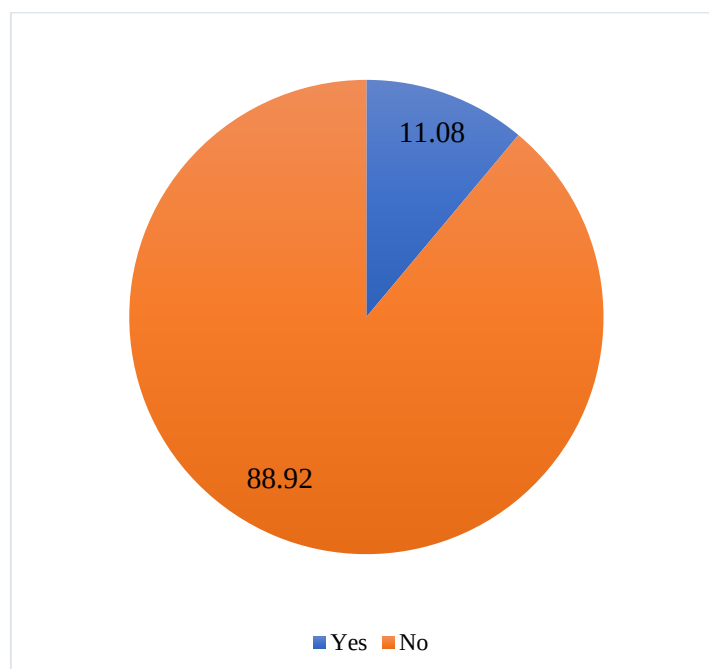
13. Role of Government in Tribal Livelihood

Since independence, Government of India initiated various tribal development programmes from land reforms to present time. In every level, tribes are not benefiting totally. Land reforms are biggest failure due to unusable lands are distributed to the landless people. Later period of time in different plan periods Government of India initiated several programmes some are reached the scheduled tribes some are not. Factors such as poverty, exclusion, exploitation and other factors are dragged the tribal development in backward. There are various policies drafted such protection of tribals from exploitation, helping them to cope up with present economic conditions etc. (Hooja 2004). With the help of various government policies, social workers, social welfare organisations, non-governmental organisations, social movement agencies tried to enhance the tribal livelihood by providing them better livelihood opportunities

(Panda 2006). There are many changes that have been taken place in the box of tribal development. Which are addressed by several government policies and schemes.

In recent times, both state and central governments initiated various livelihood development programmes for scheduled tribes. Government introduced various skill development programmes, self-employment programmes and agricultural support programmes which are reaching the large portion of the scheduled tribes in Telangana. It was witnessed that in almost all the tribal villages they are getting financial benefits and livelihood benefits from the government. They are utilising the various schemes such as health, education, food and occupational benefits. As discussed in the earlier, tribal have changed their cultivation process from shifting cultivation to settled agricultural practices. In the same level, government also is slowly understanding the needs of the scheduled tribes. Village agricultural officers are regularly visiting the agricultural fields with the help of the local village administration. But, it is noticed that they are visiting the villages and communicating with village level administration. But they are not giving any training to the farmers in the field level. In the figure- 5.15 clearly discussed about the role of agricultural officers in agricultural training.

Figure- 5.15: Receive any Training for Agriculture (in percentage)



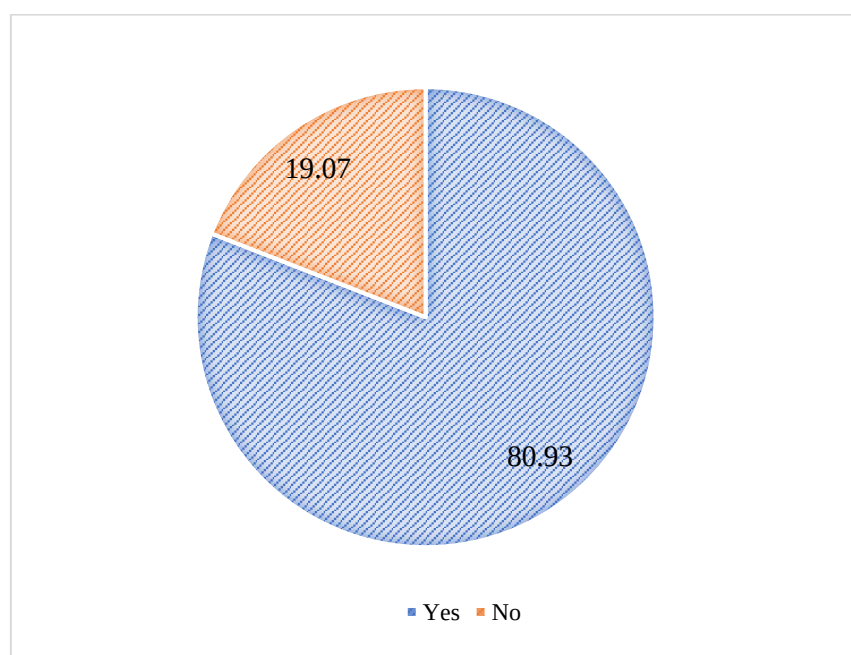
Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

In the figure- 5.15, showing the working status of the agricultural officers at village level in giving training to the farmers. 88.92 per cent of the respondents said

that they have not received any special training for the cultivation process. They are doing cultivation with their own knowledge and experience. It is noticed that, whoever the agricultural officers, visiting the village, and only discuss with the village level administration. Very rarely they visit the agricultural farm land. They do not discuss with the people about the problems they are facing during cultivation period. From total number of respondents only 11.08 per cent of the respondents have received agricultural training.

When it comes to availing the government scheme almost all the scheduled tribes are receiving agricultural financial benefits from the state government. Rythu bandhu scheme which was introduced by government of Telangana is reaching every farmer who have land. In the figure- 5.16 clearly explains about the status of government schemes in the sample villages.

Figure- 5.16: Benefited from any Government Schemes (in percentage)



Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

In the figure- 5.16, showing the percentage of respondents benefited with the government schemes. 80.93 per cent of the people are directly receiving the benefits from government in every crop season. They are also getting food grains regularly through public distribution system. In covid-19 lockdown times also they have received regular food grains with increased quantity. They have received financial help from both central as well as state governments. Central government gave Rs. 500/- and state government released Rs. 1500/- during the covid-19 lockdown period. From last five

years every scheduled tribes who are having the registered agricultural land is receiving the financial help from government as per acres he is having for the purpose of agricultural inputs. But government is not providing any financial help to the agricultural labourers and tenant farmers.

In the figure- 5.16 it is also showing 19.07 per cent of the respondents are not receiving any financial help from the government whereas 80 per cent of whole villagers are able to receive financial help from the government during covid-19 as well as for the cultivating crops. The reason behind this is, 80 per cent of the villagers are cultivating the unregistered forest land, their names are not enrolled in the beneficiaries of the scheme due to lack of documentation. Land survey officers also visited their farm land but not responded properly. The people who are bribed land survey officer have got their land registration documents vice versa.

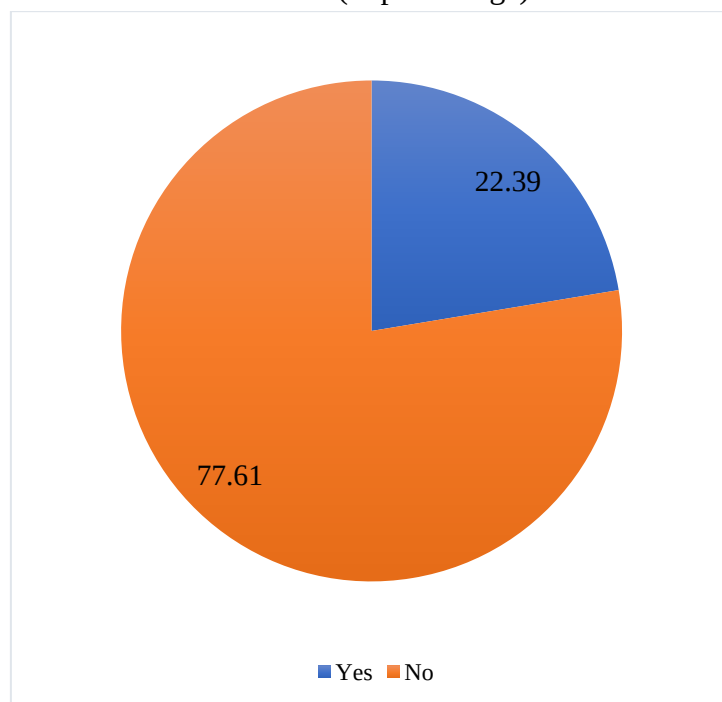
Most of the scheduled tribes are illiterates, they cannot read and write. They cannot understand the importance of the specific policy or programme initiated by the government. At ground level it is the responsibility of the government officials to organise awareness programmes on government initiated schemes and policies. It was observed that in majority of the villages no government official organised any awareness programmes. Even village level administration is also not aware about the schemes and policies introduced for the welfare of the scheduled tribes. In the figure- 5.17 clearly shows the role of government officials in creating awareness about the schemes and policies introduced by the government for the scheduled tribe welfare.

In the figure- 5.17 showing the working status of government officials in the village. Majority of respondents expressed that there is no participation of the government officials in organising awareness programmes at village level. 77.61 per cent of the respondents said that no programmes were organised on the policies and schemes introduced by the government. 22.39 per cent of the respondents said that there are some educational officers and revenue officers who visit their village to conduct some meetings with villagers and enquires about the status of livelihood.

From the above analysis it was observed that, the common policies or schemes which are introduced for all the citizens are implemented successfully at ground level. For Example, Rythu Bandhu scheme implemented for the all the people in the state and it was reaching the people effectively not only scheduled tribes to the other social

groups as well. Same with the public distribution system which was reaching the larger section of the people. But the policies or schemes which are designed for the development of the tribal livelihood are not implemented properly at ground level. The schemes are not even reaching the 50 per cent of the scheduled tribe's population in the society.

Figure- 5.17: Government Officials organise Awareness Programmes on those Schemes (in percentage)



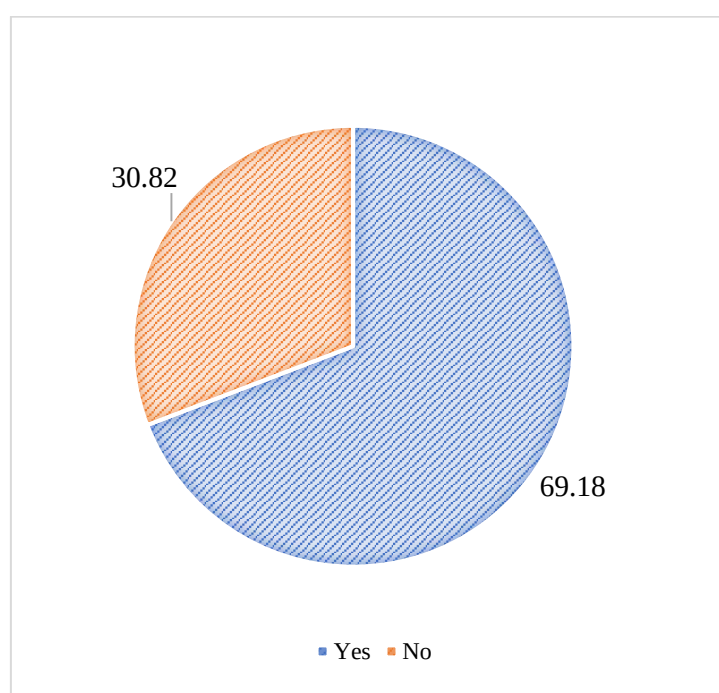
Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

92.02 per cent of the respondents do not have any awareness on the schemes and policies introduced for the scheduled tribe livelihood. It shows the poor levels of working status of the government officials in bringing up the awareness. Lack of awareness is the main reason behind the poor implementation of the tribal policies and schemes at ground level benefits are not reaching to the deserved one. More than half of the scheduled tribe population was registered under only one livelihood programme that is public distribution system, which distributes the food grains to the people of low income groups. That means majority of the scheduled tribes are residing under the slab of low income group in spite of several developmental initiatives of the government.

Due to lack of irrigational facilities scheduled tribes only cultivate one crop in the entire year, in remaining time they are depending on the daily wage works. By considering employment situation in the rural areas, government initiated employment

guarantee scheme for the farmers in the non-crop season, MGNREGA, 2005. The main aim of the act is to provide employment opportunities to the agricultural farmers in non-agricultural season. In the earlier discussion, it was shown that majority of the scheduled tribes are depending on the agricultural and allied activities for their livelihood. And, in most of the farm lands they do not have irrigational facilities, they are totally depending on the monsoon rains. So these factors have limited the farmers to single crop per year. In summer season, scheduled tribes do not have any agricultural works. In that period of time that option for them is daily wage labourers in construction works at urban areas this is the main reason behind tribal migration in the rural areas. To control the livelihood migration in rural areas government introduced MGNREGA at village level. Government itself provide some work to the villagers at village with the cooperation of village level administration. Every day they get they payment based on the hour of work they have done. In the figure- 5.18 explains about the working status of MGNREGA at village level.

Figure- 5.18: Worked under MGNREGA (in percentage)



Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

In the figure- 5.18 showing the working status of scheduled tribes in MGNREGA at village level. In all the villages, around 69.18 per cent of respondents are using this employment opportunity. Larger part of the women respondents are also utilising this employment opportunities. There is an eligibility for this employment

programme. People who are not getting any work in the non-agricultural season only will get the employment opportunities. There will be separate register for the people who are working under this employment programme. At the time of covid-19 lockdown, majority of the scheduled tribes are depended on this programme to fulfil their subsistence level. Government also increased number of working days from 100 to 150 days as there are no alternative for employment in rural areas due to covid-19 lockdown. The amount which they got through this employment programme, purchased several essential things for living. Without this programmes they cannot imagine their life. 95 per cent of the respondents expressed that without this employment programme their livelihood conditions was so miserable. Majority of respondents said that provide employment opportunities for scheduled tribes other than MGNREGA.

14. Status of Health Facilities

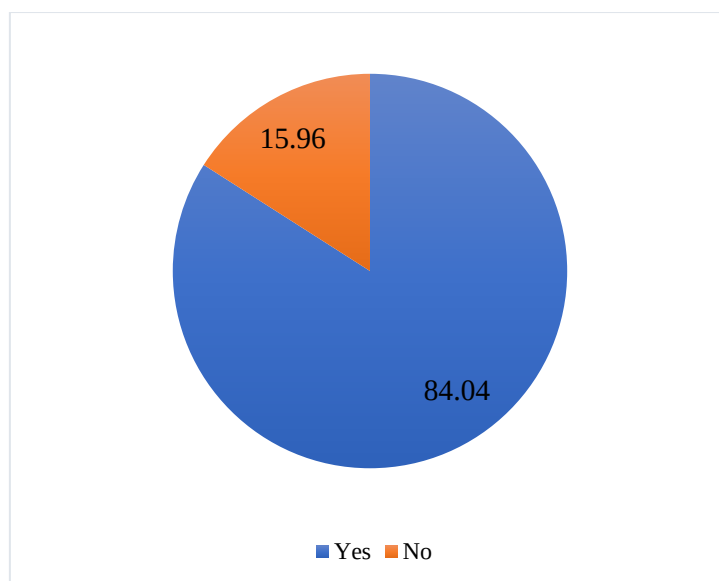
Health is the primary thing that every individual should get proper health care for better livelihood. It is the responsibility of the government to ensure proper nutritional food supply to all the sections of the people. It is government responsibility to bring social inclusion in the society. There is a need of successful programmes on health and nutritional levels at village level that ensures food security among all the people. Proper nutritional food help to have effective health conditions in the society (Ghosh 2010). Health is an essential aspect for all the welfare activities in the economy.

According to National Family Health Survey (NFHS), 79 per cent of the children aged between 5–35 months are effected with the anaemia. 46 per cent children below three years are under weight. There are various factors behind this crisis situation. Negligence of the agricultural sector is major factor behind this crisis (*ibid.*). It was observed that, almost in all the villages there are no proper health care facilities. In emergency, they have to travel long distance to reach the medical facilities. Weekly once the nurse will visit the village. In case of minimal health issues if you call local nurse they will come and treat the effected individual. Emergency medical kit was available with the Asha worker in the village. In the figure- 5.19 shows the working status of ANM in the tribal villages.

In the figure- 5.19, showing the working status of Auxiliary nurse mid-wife (ANM) in the sample villages. Most of the villages, ANM was available only for the health emergency because each nurse is taking care of more than two villages. So, it

becoming difficult to attend all the villages in a daily manner whereas in two of the sample villages, nurse would visit the village once a week.

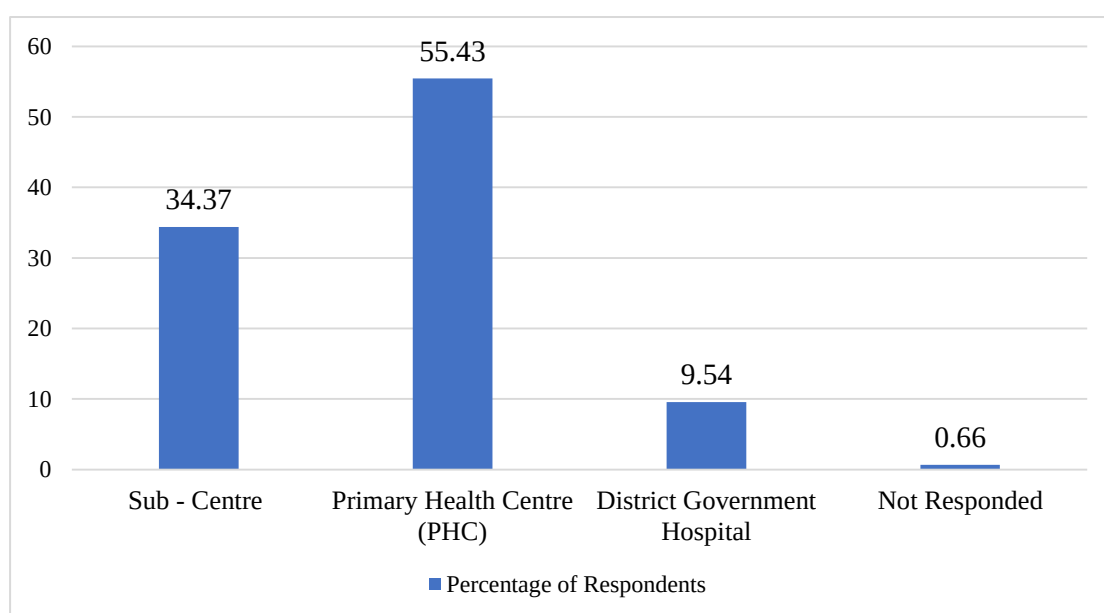
Figure- 5.19: ANM working in the Village (in percentage)



Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

Almost majority of the village nurses are available at emergency only few village nurses are not available. They are depending on private clinics for emergency. For the purpose of emergency, majority of villages are reaching the mandal level Primary Health Centre (PHC). In the figure- 5.20 explains about the health facilities available for the scheduled tribes in emergency situations.

Figure- 5.20: Place for Health Emergency (in percentage)

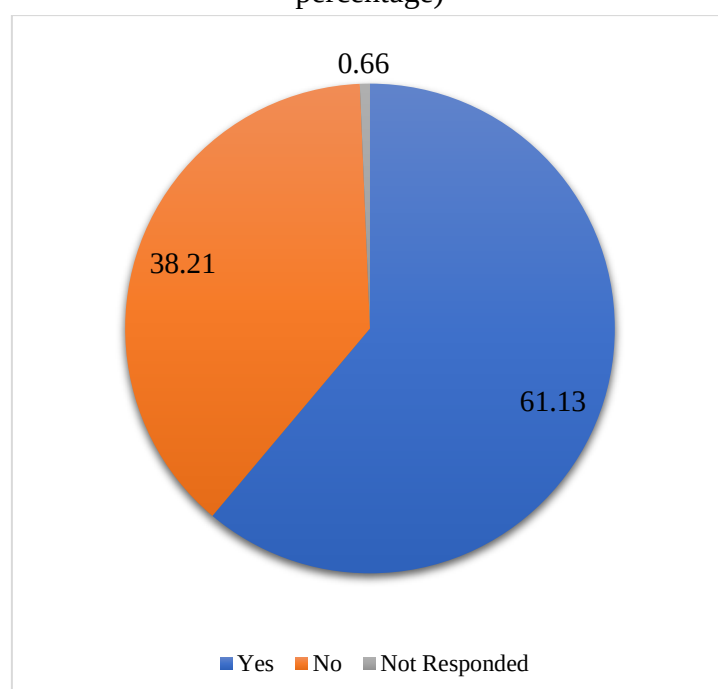


Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

In sub-centre only one ANM will be available to see the emergency cases. There are very minimal amount of medical facilities available. Only basic treatment will be done in all sub-centres. In the case of PHC as compared with sub-centre there will be more medical cases treated. In the primary health there will be one medical officer available all the time and under him/her 14 para medical staff will be available with six to eight beds. These are the reasons behind majority of the scheduled tribes chooses PHC in the cases of emergency. In the figure- 5.20 showing that 55.43 per cent of the respondents are availing the facilities of PHC, 34.37 per cent respondents are availing the sub-centre for minor emergency issues. For major emergency issues they are reaching the District Government Hospital.

As scheduled tribes mostly depended on the government aided medical facilities this study was focused on the awareness of scheduled tribes on the sub-centre and PHC. The main aim was to bring out whether the tribes are aware about the difference between both the medical facilities. Because as discussed in the earlier most of the scheduled tribes are having minimal knowledge on the facilities available for their welfare. The figure- 5.21 explains about the tribal's awareness on the both Sub-Centre and PHC.

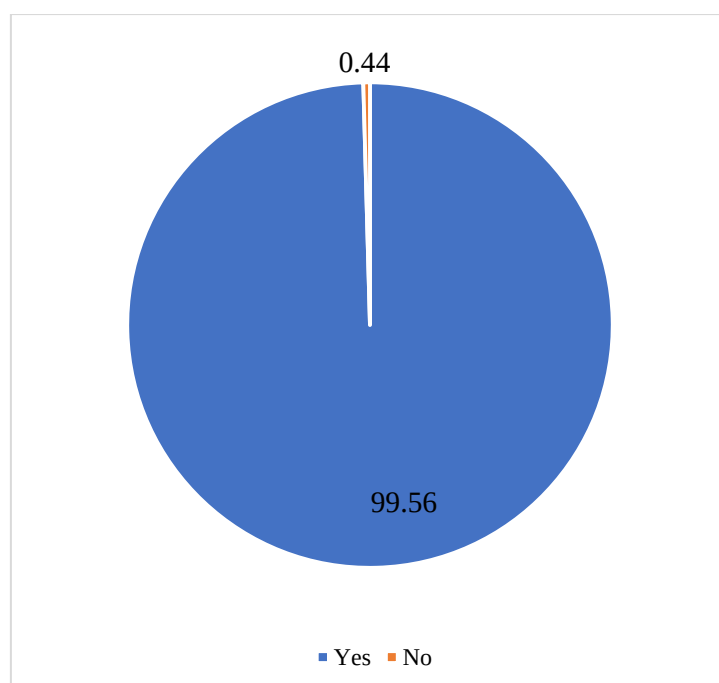
Figure- 5.21: Awareness on Sub-Centre and PHC in providing Facilities (in percentage)



Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

In the figure- 5.21 showing the awareness levels of the scheduled tribes on their available health facilities. It was noticed that, majority of the scheduled tribes are not satisfied with the health facilities provided to them. They are facing the high level of negligence in treatment time. The response of the doctors and nurses are not proper while treating the patient. But they are feeling, PHC is the best option for them in emergency times as compared with sub-centre with minimal level of medical facilities. In some of the villages they have to travel around 20 km to reach the PHC in emergency. So when they cannot reach that distance on time, they only choosing the sub-centre for emergency purposes. From there, they will inform to the PHC for the ambulance to pick up the medical emergency individual. In some of the villages there is no proper transportation to reach the PHC, they are completely depended on the village level treatment. There are cases of snake bite in some villages. In most of the villages tribes would stop travelling because of wild animal attacks. After six p.m., there is a problem with wild animals like wild pigs. There are cases of severe accidents because of the wild animal attacks. The figure- 5.22 shows the status of wild animal attacks in the villages.

Figure- 5.22: Wild Animal Attacks (in percentage)



Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

It is observed that, in the night times there are more wild animal attacks in the crop area as well as in the villages. There are more accident cases due to wild pig

attacks. In the figure- 5.22 observed that 99.56 per cent almost all the villages are suffering with wild animal attacks especially wild pigs. 90 per cent of the villages are effected with wild pigs which destroys their crops and attacks on them. There are cases of deaths in the animal attacks. All the villages after six p.m., they are taking several precautions to escape from that attacks. It is more dangerous to the people who sleeps at night at the crop areas. There will be no immediate help available for them. Recently at Utnoor- X road in the Adilabad district they witnessed huge blast on the motorcycle. Two people were dead in that accident on the spot. On the motorcycle, they were carrying the chemical bomb to prevent the attacks of the wild pigs in their fields. Various formal complaints were given to the local authorities but no one is giving solution to the wild animal attacks in the majority of the villages in the selected districts.

15. Status of Educational Facilities

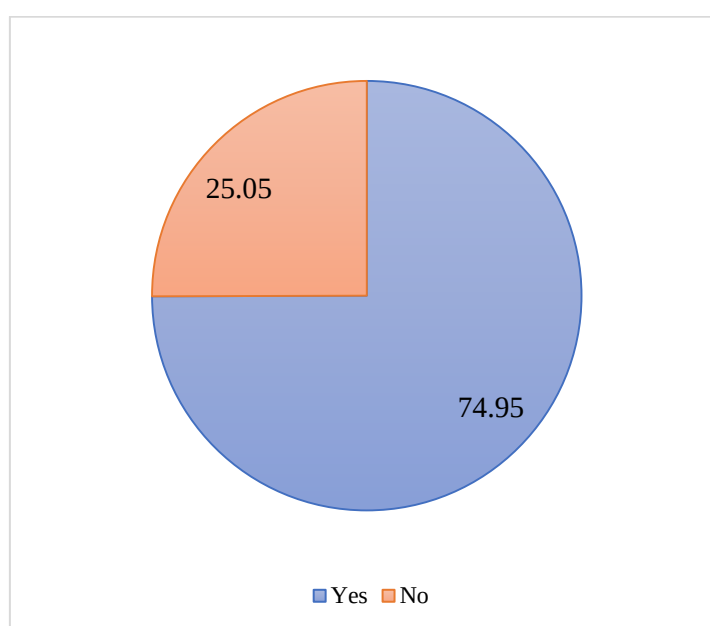
Education is an essential factor and plays crucial role in upliftment of tribal livelihood which enables bargaining capacity, enhances the understanding level, skills and knowledge. Whatever the policies and development programmes initiated by the state and central government by centre pointing the scheduled tribes are not benefiting the scheduled at any point. In reality nobody is getting benefited with programmes and policies initiated by the government (Bhowmik 1988). The education among the scheduled tribes can address all the above factors effectively with the grievance procedure. It can be possible only by deep understanding of the cause and options available for the betterment of livelihood.

Education is considered as crucial opportunity for progression of social and economic status of marginalised communities in the society. Now state is providing adequate facilities for the education of the children who belong to marginalised communities. It is the only way to secure the provisions and safeguards of scheduled tribes in India. Education enhances the capabilities of human beings which addresses the problems in their community effectively. Freedom of choice can only acquire through education which guarantees the political freedom and social opportunities (Verma 1996). According to the census 2011, educational statistics of the scheduled tribes. 59 per cent of the scheduled tribe population are literates. School dropout rate of scheduled tribes are 62.4 per cent. There are various reasons behind this low levels of education. They are social discrimination, community isolation, exploitation, lack of

awareness on the educational opportunities and infrastructural facilities in the state (Pradhan 2011).

All the sample villages are having the primary schools without proper infrastructural facilities and quality education. In some of the villages school buildings are in so miserable situation, without proper cleanliness and sanitisation. Respondents in the village expressed that they are interested to educate their children. They have not complained anything about the school infrastructure and facilities available in the school. In the figure- 5.23 explains about the availability of tribal teacher in the village.

Figure- 5.23: Availability of Tribal Teacher in the Primary School (in percentage)



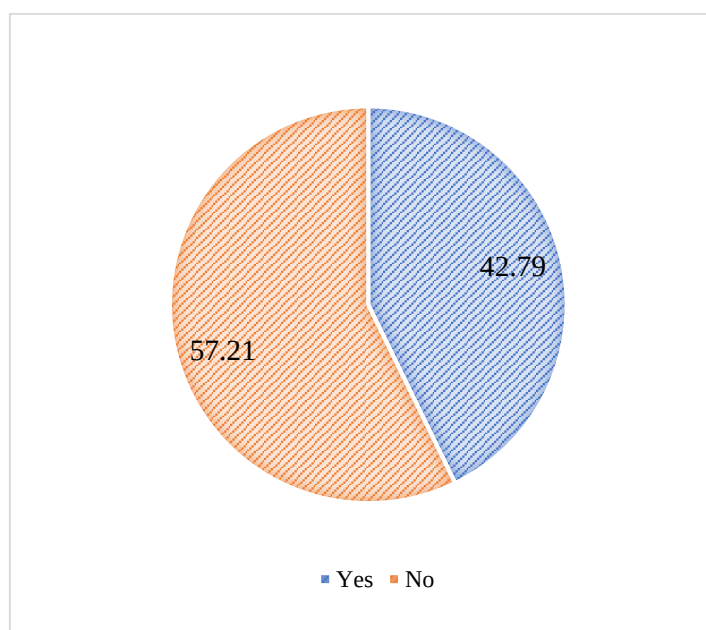
Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

Scheduled tribes in India has unique language and culture. It is the basic reason behind requirement of tribal teacher in every tribal school. Tribal children would not understand the common language in some remote areas. Without understanding the textbook language they cannot understand the topic and end up with dropout student. This is the main reason behind increase in the school level dropout rate of the scheduled tribe students in India. The role of tribal teacher in the school is very effective. Without the help of the tribal teacher the students cannot understand the language and compete with the fellow students. In the field it is observed that, 74.95 per cent of the villages are having tribal teacher in their schools. In some of the schools they have given the notification for the tribal in the school the appointment process is going on. Basically in most of the cases, the post of the tribal teacher will be given to the person belongs to

same village if he/she fulfil the eligibility criteria of the tribal teacher. The concept of the tribal teacher in every tribal school increased the enrolment of the students in almost all the tribal villages (Punnaiah 2018).

The main objective behind this appointment procedure is to enhance the enrolment percentage of the students with the motivation of the tribal teacher in the village. Teacher should be available to the students in the village, only it creates education friendly environment in the village which attracts more students in the village. 52.55 per cent of the villages are having the tribal teacher in their village itself. In the remaining areas teachers are coming from nearest towns. Educational awareness programmes will enhance the enrolment rate of the scheduled tribes students in the at village level. It is the responsibility of the village level administration in organising the education related awareness programmes in the figure- 5.24 clearly shows about the status of educational awareness programmes in the sample village.

Figure- 5.24: Educational awareness programmes organised in village (in percentage)



Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

In the figure- 5.24 showing that more than half of the villages are not organising any educational programmes in the villages. Ghosh (2007) Scheduled tribes are going backward in the education sector. The dropout rate at primary school level is very high as compared with other levels of education. As discussed there are various reasons behind it. But, at village level gram sabha are very lagging behind in organising educational awareness programmes in the villages. It is stated that 74.95 per cent of the

schools are having tribal teachers and more than half of the villages are having tribal teacher in their village. But village level administration has failed to organise those programmes. It was observed that most of the scheduled tribes in the village leave in the morning hours and reach the home in the late evening hours. Whatever the time left for them would be used for the cooking and doing household things. Their livelihood status is not allowing them to concentrate in their child education and education related programmes.

16. Forest and Tribal Livelihood

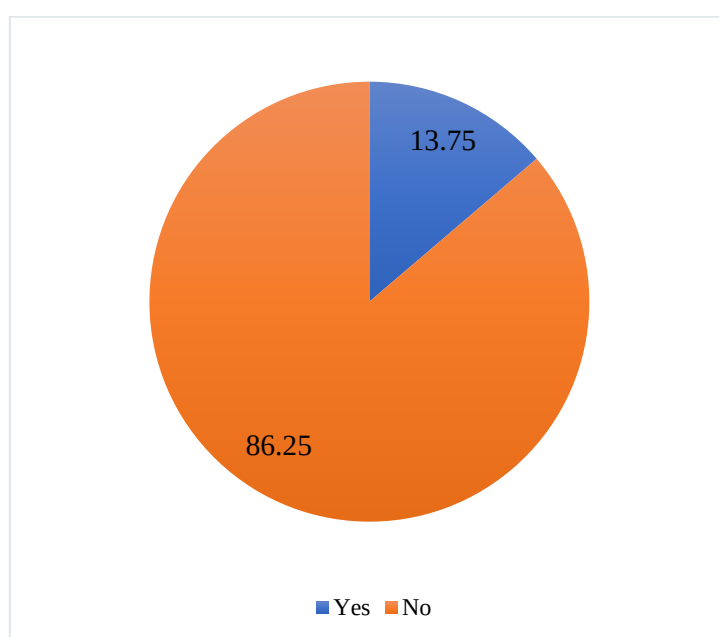
Since decades, forest is providing enormous livelihood options to the scheduled tribes in India. Benerjee (2007), since the colonial era tribals are living in the forest area and using the forest resources without any documentation. Forest are the life line of the scheduled tribes in India. Hunting, gathering are the major characteristics of the scheduled tribes that have originated from the forest living. There are various factors which are separated scheduled tribes and forest, they are urbanisation, industrialisation, cultural changes, and occupational changes.

Tribe's uses most of the forest products such as medical plants, aromatic plants, seeds, fruits, leaves and gum which comes under the non-timber products. They are depending on the forest collections for their subsistence (Gubbi and MacMillan 2008). There are some tribal groups in the village participating in the forest collections for the basic needs, not for the professional purposes. Various laws and policies are introduced by the government for betterment of the scheduled tribes that are not implemented properly. Shangpliang (2012) stated that Indian government in the year 2006 passed scheduled tribes and traditional dwellers acts to provide the benefits and access to the minor forest produced to the scheduled tribes in India. But, in reality non-of the respondents are aware about this Act. At village no body is bringing the awareness on the collection of forest products. There is a lot of ambiguity among the scheduled tribes in the area of minor forest products. Scheduled tribes are allowed to collect 120 types of medical plants and 96 types of species which are having high demand in Ayurveda industry (Ramesh *et al.* 2007). They are not utilising any of the provisions and safeguards which was issued by the central government in the area collection of forest products. Government of India introduced all the policies and acts to minimise the poverty levels of the scheduled tribes at ground level. Despite of several initiation

NTFP was unable to help the poor people due to lack of awareness on the provisions and safeguards introduced for the better livelihood.

In the field study also, very minimal number of scheduled tribes depending on the forest products. Majority of them are using forest land for agricultural purposes and remaining are doing agriculture in non-forest lands. But, it is a fact that majority of tribes are shifted to agricultural production not depending majorly on the forest based products. In the figure- 5.25 shows the status of scheduled tribes engaging in the collection of forest products.

Figure- 5.25: Engage in Forest Collection (in percentage)



Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

In the figure- 5.25 showing the interest of the scheduled tribes on collection of forest product for their livelihood purpose. As compared with the past living conditions scheduled tribes are much different from the present livelihood conditions. They changed their occupational, cultural and livelihood patterns. In the past majority of the scheduled tribes are depended on forest based products as by collecting and selling them in their local market. Because they lived near the forest without any forest official's restrictions, so it became easy to collect the forest based products. Now they adopted occupational patterns of the external society. They constructed their own political identities. In the figure- 5.25 showing that, 86.25 per cent of the scheduled tribe families are not depending on the forest based products, even they are residing very closer to the forest area.

Table- 5.25.1: Engage in Forest Collection (mandal wise)

S. No.	Mandal Name	Engage in Forest Collection		Total
		Yes	No	
1	Kubeer	42	32	74
2	Sarangapur	0	69	69
3	Utnoor	0	77	77
4	Indervelly	0	79	79
5	Jainoor	2	78	80
6	Tiryani	18	54	72
Total		62	389	451

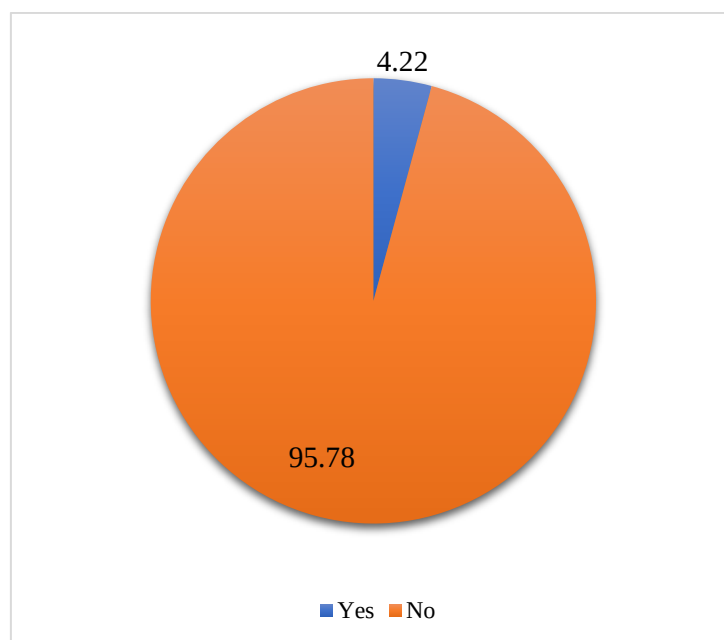
Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

In the table- 5.25.1 showing the statistics of status of scheduled tribe participation in forest collection. As per the ground level field investigation, it was found that almost all the scheduled tribes in sample mandals are showing interest towards agriculture rather than forest collection. There are various reasons behind this, now a days they are facing various legal issues in collection of forest produce. They are not allowing to take some of the non-timber products. Forest officers are taking their forest collections without paying any money. They are threatening that they were not allowed to take such kind of things from the forest. Due to lack of institutional support they are stopped showing the interest towards forest collection. Only some of the people from two mandals are engaging in forest collection occasionally for domestic purpose only. If they want sell their forest products they will sell to local villagers or local markets at their own price. They do not have any knowledge on the Girijan Cooperative Corporations (GCC). Due lack of forest collections all the GCC outlets were closed and not providing any services to the people. Some of the villagers were said that, if they get any institutional support from the authorities they can engage in the forest collections.

In the figure- 5.26 explains the awareness levels of the forest based products of the scheduled tribe population. There is very minimal awareness on the minor forest products. In the study it was found that 95.78 percent of the scheduled tribes do not have minimum awareness on the Minor forest products. They do not know where to sell them and they are not aware how much amount they have to their collected

products. There are various reasons behind drastic decline in the collection of forest products. Some of the respondents have said that whatever the products they are collecting from the forest are taken by the forest officers on demand. Secondly, they are not getting any reasonable price for the forest based product in the market. Thirdly, most of the scheduled tribes shifted to agricultural production so not showing any interest on the forest collection due to low returns of the income.

Figure- 5.26: Awareness on Minor Forest Products (MFP) (in percentage)

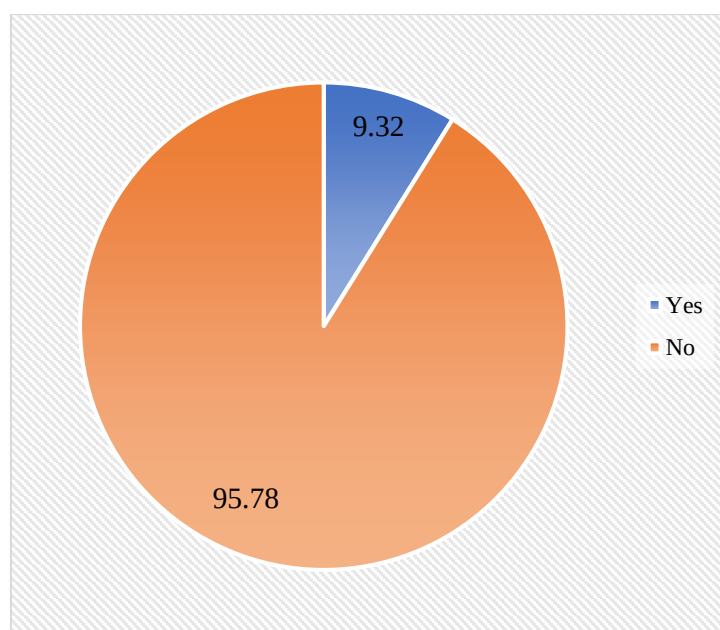


Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

Around 98 per cent of the scheduled tribes in the sample area do not have awareness on how to sell their products and legal access to their products. Guillen (2008) government will issue the certificate to the people those who are engaging in the forest collection. Certification will increase the value of products. There will be a three levels of certification: self-certification, second party certification and third party certification. All the above certification process is not known to single tribe in the sample villages. It is observed that, there is no encouragement from the state government to the scheduled tribes in the case of minor forest products. Government and local administration are encouraging the scheduled tribes towards agriculture. In the year 1956, government introduced production outlets for forest products such Girijan Co-operative Corporation (GCC) to sell the forest products at minimum support price. But, recently it was observed that all the GCC are closed long back due to poor

collection of forest products. 95.78 per cent of the tribal families in the sample villages said that they do not know about the GCC it was shown in the figure- 5.27.

Figure- 5.27: Awareness on Girijan Co-operative Corporation (GCC) (in percentage)



Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

Only minimal amount of the people are engaged in the forest based products. They are selling those products in the local market. Some are using them for the domestic purpose. It is noticed that by willingly scheduled tribe families are not participating in the collection of forest based. Because in the study it was found that 79.16 per cent of the people have awareness on the forest rights. But they do not have knowledge on what to collect and what not to collect. If they collect anything from the forest, local forest officers are collecting them by saying not allowed. If they argue with the official they are threatening them in different ways. They feel it is better to continue in agricultural production rather than the forest collection. In some of the villages they have taken the collective decision that not to participate in forest based collection due to several reasons. They are only collecting in rare times for the domestic purpose only.

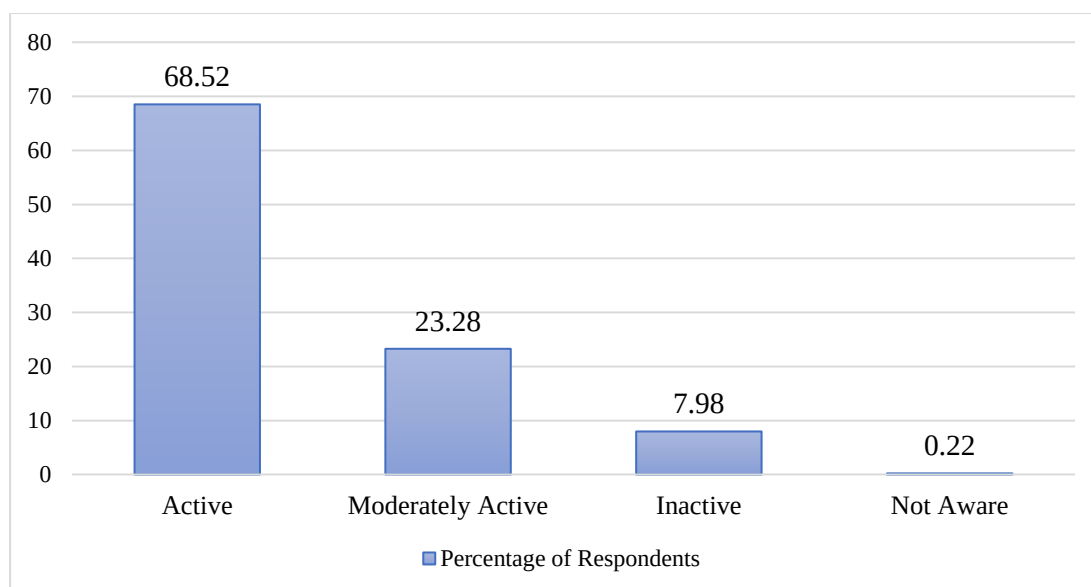
17. Role of Gram Sabha in Developing Village

Active functioning of the Gram Sabha at village level would definitely lead to high returns of quality livelihood of the scheduled tribes. Now a day's, state government declared that all the tribal agency areas are recognised as self-rule agencies. They have given separate political identity at village level. All the scheduled tribe residing areas are declared as separate panchayat. The village administration would be filled with the

scheduled tribes only not with other social groups which was initiated by the government of Telangana. This kinds of reforms in the tribal political structure would result in emancipation of tribal livelihood. The main factor behind this reforms is to protect scheduled tribes from non-tribal exploitation, to increase the bargaining power, enhance the employment opportunities, whatever the funds allotted to the scheduled tribe welfare would be used for their own villages and infrastructural development of the scheduled tribes.

Gram Sabha is formed as a supporting body to the panchayat raj which plays a vital role in the village development. In constitution of India, gram sabha was defined under article 243 (b). Anyone who is above the age of 18 years living in the village having a name in electoral role for panchayat can become a gram sabha member. In gram sabha meetings, all the problems in the village such as roads, water, electric city, ration, pension, etc. would be discussed and make need-based plans for village people. All panchayat decisions will be taken through gram sabha.

Figure- 5.28: Role of Gram Sabha in Developing Village (in percentage)



Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

In the figure- 5.28 shows the working status of gram sabha in scheduled tribe villages. It is observed that all the elected bodies in the scheduled tribe areas are local belonging to tribal community. But, most of the village administration do not have intensive knowledge on the policies and schemes initiated by state and central governments on the welfare of the scheduled tribes. They are not acquiring the financial sources from external bodies available to them. They are depending only on the funds

available in the gram panchayat. Due to lack in issues such as quality education, political experience and addressing capacity while dealing with issues with government officials and inferiority complex while dealing with the other social groups are the major problems of the gram sabha members in most of the villages. The figure- 5.28 shows that 68.52 per cent of the respondents shared that there is active functioning of the gram sabha in their villages.

Table- 5.28.1: Role of Gram Sabha in developing village (village wise)

S. No.	Village Name	Gram Sabha role in developing village				Total
		Active	Moderately Active	Inactive	Not Aware	
1	Sirpalle	1	31	0	0	32
2	Dodarna	42	0	0	0	42
3	Potia	32	1	0	1	34
4	Jam	35	0	0	0	35
5	Ginnera	36	0	0	0	36
6	Dasnapur	43	0	0	0	43
7	Danthanpalle	0	0	36	0	36
8	Hasnapur	20	21	0	0	41
9	Gudamamda	28	4	0	0	32
10	Ushegoan	24	24	0	0	48
11	Pangidimadra	37	0	0	0	37
12	Mangi	11	24	0	0	35
Total		309	105	36	1	451

Source: Compiled from the field data, 2020.

It is observed that at village gram sabha is working very effectively according to their knowledge and skills. People in the villages are obeying the words of gram sabha members without any objection. It is because the person who was there at village administration belongs to same social community. The trust factors on the gram sabha is enormously high. They are not responding to any government officer without the permission of the sarpanch of the village. If any government official wants to visit the village they are directly dealing with village administration later on they are taking the responses of the villagers with the permission of village level administration. If the village level administration denied, then there would be no cooperation from the

villagers at any instance. All the scheduled tribes in the sample villages are blindly following village level administration and gram sabha members also discussing every issue with villages taking their opinion and working on the issues. Only 7.98 per cent of the respondents have expressed that there is inactive status of gram sabha.

In the table- 5.28.1 discussed about the role of Gram Sabha at village level. It was observed the almost all the villages expressed that, the working status of Gram Sabha was very active. That means the concept of making tribal villages in the Panchayats. Majority of the people are satisfied that, their own people are governing them without any corruption and fair decision making. Only in one village people are said that, Gram Sabha in their village was inactive. Because village level administration was not conducting any awareness programmes or meetings with the village people. Since after the election process of the Gram Sabha members not even one single meeting was held in that village this is only the reason they have said that status was inactive. But remaining all the villages were very satisfied with the Gram Sabha.

18. Summing Up

Since Decades, the livelihood of tribal community is changing its face and structure. Tribal development stances a challenge to policy makers, administrators and social workers while framing the policies. Living conditions of most of the tribes are more backward when compared to financial status of social groups and even in economic aspects such as earnings and income. The present chapter discussed on the two sections one is based on the profile of the respondents and second section discussed about the livelihood conditions of the scheduled tribes in Telangana. The study was conducted in total three districts, six mandals and 12 villages which were selected on the basis of purposive sample method by taking the highest number of population and number of respondents are selected on the basis of simple random sampling method.

It was observed that, livelihood conditions of the scheduled tribes have changed drastically as compared in the existing literature review. In the literature it was found that, most of the tribal communities are depended on the forest products and forest based living. But, in the study it was found that very minimal amount of scheduled tribes are depending on the forest based products due to various factors such as lack of awareness on recent rules and regulations on the forest policies and acts introduced for the welfare of the scheduled tribes in India. In the field villages, it was observed that

most of the tribal communities are changed their agricultural patterns from shifting cultivation to settled agricultural practices. It is also observed that, the policies which are framed for the development of tribal livelihood are not implementing properly at ground level and most of the tribal communities are not aware about the policies and the programmes introduced for their livelihood development. But when it comes to general policies, which means, the policies introduced for the all the sections of the people are implementing properly at ground level. For example the schemes like Rythu Bandhu is implemented at ground level. All the scheduled tribe communities are benefiting with the scheme. But, the situation was different in the case of other policies and programmes which have to be implemented for the tribal livelihood. Government of Telangana gave self-ruling capacity to the most of the scheduled tribe villages. In all the villages, local governance is in the hands of scheduled tribe people. At their level, they are handling the issues affectively. The people in the villages are very much satisfied with working status of the scheduled tribe people who are at the level of gram sarpanch. But the most of the sarpanches in the village do not have proper knowledge on the schemes and policies introduced for the welfare of the tribal communities. This is the main reason that the most of the respondents do not have any awareness on the developmental programmes framed for their welfare.

The next chapter *Conclusion* summarises the entire work carried out under the topic taken for research and highlights the major findings of the study. It also includes various recommendations regarding the implementation of public policies among scheduled tribes at village level based on the findings of the study.

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Chapter- 6

Conclusion

Political economy is the study of inter-linkages between policies and economic output of a nation, which means how the introduced policies influenced the nation's economy. Political economy is divided into three branches which are social, political and economic analysis. It has to be understood through the process of class structure to economic influence of certain community. In India, the main economic source is through agrarian sector. Tribes are one of the major communities who completely depend on agriculture from long centuries. In India, tribes are considered as a backward community for even in this present century. Many of the tribal communities live away from the mainstream society. The political system of tribes was based on direct rule concept which framed by introducing and implementing various policies. During early stages of pre-colonial period, British administration has not concentrated much on the tribes and their economic livelihood aspects. Slowly, they brought change in the political system by implementing various policies through different acts which impacted mostly on tribal living conditions. Even after independence Indian government continued to implement laws on tribes which affected their economic livelihood.

In chapter one, introduction was given about the concepts such as political economy, tribal economy, relation and impact of political policies on tribal and their economy along with existing literature review. Political economy mainly deals with government and its law and institution related to the study of production and trade. It studies about the policies introduced in the economic world where the introductory economic theory and its method influence the development of different social and economic structures such as capitalism, socialism and communism and also explore how public policy has been formed and executed. The tribal population was considered as most underprivileged and disadvantaged community which faces severe socio-economic exclusion. In India, tribal community got neglected for long centuries until independence, after that they were considered into mainstream life through various government policies. Every time, tribal development stances a challenge to policy makers, administrators and

social workers. Living conditions of most of the tribes are more backward when compared to monetary and even economic aspects such as earnings and income.

Political economy is the study of both political and economic mainly running between the economy and the political sociology via the society and social classes. In India, political economy of reforms can be designed and introduced to benefit the transformation of working people's welfare and to develop their living standards and competing along with other section of people in the society. The pro-reforms discourse in India no longer revolves around the dream theme of a growth miracle. The main principle of globalisation lies in imposing the global level capital authority to call different economic groups to choose other countries or sectors of economy across the globe come together and start to directive the terms and levels of investment. Agrarian reforms initiated in the first few decades after independence however never aimed at sweeping away the vestiges of feudalism. Even though the ongoing economic reforms are yet to be fully extended to the agricultural sector, attempts to reverse and roll back as same as the earlier agrarian reforms which have already begun.

Political economy is a branch of social science which studies the interrelationship between political and economic aspects. To measure the relation between both the factors are not simple because they are not unidirectional, as to relate them only from political to economical. The reverse linkage was also very important. But it is very complex process. To know the reverse relation between both the factors, there is a need of understanding fundamentals of the relation between the societies including class structure. Especially into the Marxian ideology of class structure, which is also known as political sociology. The relation which start from economic to political via social classes is called as a theory of political economy. Both the factors in the branch of political economy were essential, either of two linkages is one sided game. But, both together will construct a theory of political economy. To understand the roots of the political economy, can only understood through class structure, whereas the concept will start from political to economic. The structure of the society is very much important to understand the roots of the political economy and branches which includes several other factors. Study of the political economy is divided into three branches which are social analysis, political analysis and economic analysis.

Tribal community faced the problem of exploitation even before the colonialism in India. Non-tribals and government started exploitation towards the tribals. Even, their basic human rights are also violated particularly health care, education, cultural life, food, shelter, and social security. In united Andhra Pradesh, the lands where the tribals lived and cultivated were illegally occupied by the government and considered their lands as forests, national parks and sanctuaries. Non-tribals occupied their lands by marrying tribal woman. In 1930s, Gonds in Adilabad district lost their lands to the Hindu and Muslim settlers from other districts. The PESA act 1996 has introduced for the development of tribal communities. But, the government failed to constitute tribal sub-plan in India. Violation on their language and cultural practices were also increasing.

After the colonial era, British government has rigorously fragmented the relation of tribes particularly with land and forest. Colonial capitalist and profit oriented economic and political forces uprooted the artisans and peasant tribes. Tribes in India always been exploited geologically, socially, economically and remained as a marginal group of sections in the society. Because of cultural backwardness of tribes, British government took this as advantage and segregated the tribes as tribes and non-tribes. Colonial administration never gave a space to a consistent policy towards the betterment of tribal communities. Tribes were considered as a category of caste along with the religion, language and region. The usage of word tribe was changed from colonial expansion because castes were regulated by hereditary division of labour, hierarchy and religious disabilities. During initial stages of policy framework, tribes are considered as a group of community living with homogeneous social order with separate socio-cultural and own ecological ambience. Later, they came under dominance of government and non-tribes through the implementation of modern planning policies. In India, land distribution followed social hierarchy in the society. The large land holdings belongs to upper caste community and the cultivators were belonged to middle caste community whereas agricultural labourers mostly belonged to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes community. As everyone consider land as an important social valued asset, the unequal distribution helped to strengthen the upper caste community people to develop more and given a chance to exploit scheduled tribes in various socio-economic spheres. The measures taken while allotting the

land to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes are also not sufficient in developing their livelihood patterns.

The political system of tribal India was based on the concept of direct rule. A crucial precondition of the formation of state in middle India was the extension of cultivation through the reclamation of land and by introduction of a new agricultural technology have the peasantry from plains. Imposing the significance of feudal superstructure on tribal community became the major reason for division of social strata in the society which is based on the distribution of both power and economic importance of land and also relating it to the traditional status. In the tribal regions, land system was included with two types of land tenures such as zamindari and ryotwari systems. Due to the agitations by several tribal communities, new agrarian concepts were incorporated in the new land laws. Unlike the peasant movements, the tribal movements developed a religious and political overtone. The failure of the first phase of movements had made the tribes look inward. They sought to restructure the entire social system; which became the beginning of revitalisation movements. The leadership of the movements emerged from the ranks of peasants and educated tribals were offered by those outsiders who had gained a footing among the tribes. Like other movements in Indian society, these are also got converted by the influence of colonialism which has to be understood by the conditions of local situation and problems including tribal communities. But, so far the influence of colonialism in movements was seen as a deep philosophical sense.

Language, religion and identity, each forms a special character to find and name a community. Even in the colonial period, tribal community was seen separate due to the variation in their demographic and living conditions, developmental factors, social formation and linguistic traits. From 16th century, the term tribe was considered for community who lives in primitive conditions of long-lasting forest areas. Indian constitution kept them in schedule tribes as they have their own language and lives quite different social life compared to the other regional community. The constitution provides them to use their own language even in education and also given special provisions by providing reservations in employment, political administrations and education to integrate themselves with other communities in the society. But tribal community is still backward

compared to others in the aspects of indebtedness and land, because most of the land alienation occurs in those areas because of some projects the government itself takes their land at very low price which leads them to become away from their land resources and sustainability. The tribal community is homogenous and the change was started in all directions and aspects.

The tribal community have only oral identity but not of anything written identity. The traditional sources reveals that the term 'adivasi' has originated from Bihar in 1930 and extended to other regions in 1940. The Gandhi called them even as 'vanyajati' and 'girijan'. Later, the Indian constitution classified them as scheduled tribes and brought them under the government control. The tribals were lived entirely different compared from the other communities through separate culture and language within their historical origins. The tribals were squeezed between the zamindaris and the state governments. Their revenue generation which is from the forest lands were under government and they become labourers to the zamindaris due to the debt taken from them. The tribal resistance movements took place for accompanying their rights. Later, the government created several policies to protect their rights by giving reservations to them in aspects such as education, employment and political administration. The self-realisation of their lives can only create the development in their economy.

The decentralised policies have not helped much the tribal communities to develop their income levels. The resource distribution among the communities have faced a lot of problems. The growth and economic efficiency was very less after the independence. So, most of the development was considered only by the agriculture but the lower communities faced problems of zamindari system. Government initiated green revolution but after using those methods for continuous years also affected the output. The agrarian structure took various stage but much more development is required in other aspects such as labour force, agricultural wages, marketed surplus, farm size, and productivity. The method of implementation of policies and reforms should be more effective. The wage-labour wage differentiation should not be neglected with reference to the gender. The local authorities should be responsible for the differentiations that occurs in the village level. The leftist and right wing parties are debating about problems of the reforms and policies, but the policy

framework is not initiating properly in rural areas. The land reforms may help the communities to develop their income levels. Language, religion and identity, each forms a special character to find and name a community. Even in the colonial period, tribal community was seen separate due to the variation in their demographic and living conditions, developmental factors, social formation and linguistic traits. From 16th century, the term tribe was considered for community who lives in primitive conditions of long-lasting forest areas. Indian constitution kept them in schedule tribes as they have their own language and live quite different social life compared to the other regional community. The constitution provides them to use their own language even in education and also given special provisions by providing reservations in employment, political administrations and education to integrate themselves with other communities in the society.

But tribal community is still backward compared to others in the aspects of indebtedness and land, because most of the land alienation occurs in those areas because of some projects the government itself takes their land at very low price which leads them to become away from their land resources and sustainability. The tribal community is homogenous and the change was started in all directions and aspects. The prevailing condition of agrarian distress is due to changing the patterns of agricultural practices. Agriculture became an unrewarding activity and lack of unity among the farmers made the sector in high distress. It is an inability of farmers to unite across the nations and to bring pressure on the government to fulfill their requirements in agricultural sector. Crop failure, changing cropping patterns and impact of liberalisation policies led to rise in the input cost of production, indebtedness, negligence of government in public infrastructure, and lack of research and extension programmes became the causes behind distress among the rural households. Due to impact of globalisation and modernisation policies, family structure in rural villages is declining at faster rate leading to rise in individualisation. This phenomenon can be explained in two paradoxical situations. First, farmer's conditions would be better when development takes place in agricultural sector and for that development, farmers has to fight their entitlements and safeguards by bringing pressure on government. Secondly, situation is through democracy by questioning the authorities democratically to resolve the problem. Situation of agricultural sector after independence can be defined in in three phases: first phase is when congress party came with pro-peasant

policies such as elimination of intermediaries, fall of land revenue system, providing irrigation facilities, and greater share in political power for farming community at state level. Also strategies were made to make India free from high dependence on foreign countries by producing surplus food grains and enable agricultural sector to supply raw materials for industrial sector. Second phase was during green revolution, which came with new agricultural strategies to increase food grain productivity. However, it did not help the small and marginal farmer's as the modern methods of cultivation and high utilisation of fertilisers and pesticides led to a rise in cost of inputs, which affected them financially and made them economically weak. In third phase because of liberalisation policies, agricultural system in developing countries like India, miserably failed and showed declining trend. Liberalisation policies only benefited the developed countries as they were successfully using their WTO terms and importing so much of food grains. However, in developing countries such activities directly affected farmers, which became the main reason for distress among them.

In second chapter focus was made on clearly explaining the concepts of political economy, status of scheduled tribes in India and their livelihood opportunities and the problems they are facing by the implication of various government policies. Political economy has been understood as the relationship between individual and society, and the dispersal of political and economic power for development policies. More specifically, it is the study of how public policies are created and implemented in different socio-economic societies based on their economic theories or methods. Political economy is a branch of social science which studies inter-relationship between political and economic aspects. The relation which start from economic to political via social classes is called as a theory of political economy. The structure of the society is very much important to understand the roots of political economy and branches which includes several other factors. The structure of political economy changes its nature based on socio-economic changes which are linked with national, regional and local activities in the society. The approaches of political economy would mainly depend on the structure of the society which varies from industrial sector to urban and rural fields. The major challenge of any society is finding an adequate explanation for limited success of an individual in the process of economic transformation. The central problem of any political economy concept is to find out adequate explanation

in the process of socio-economic transformation. The transformation would come up with the public investment. The concept of public investment can be explained as investment in agricultural sector, industrial sector, and investment on public infrastructure which are key elements of public investment for any economic growth. That defines the role any state or government in development of their societies in the process of transformation. In India, the theory of political economy is fascinating and it is much diverse because of various forces such as domestic politics and economics. Indian politics have changed its shape and composition. These forces changed working status of the government and they are influencing in the policy frameworks. The changes are more forcible, far more gradual and less exposed. This may lead to poor functioning of the governance and its policies.

The political economic reforms also plays crucial role in the process of development of a society. The economic reforms in India can be defined as it is packaged combination aimed for the macro-economic stabilisation in the country in global scale to boost up the economic growth which is an ultimate tool behind the development of the country in a larger scale. This is what exactly works as background for the concept of political economy. In this research work the study was on how political economy enlarging the livelihood conditions of scheduled tribes in India. It cannot happen without the initiatives of the different levels of the government. The addressing capacity can only originates with the level of transformation. To address the various issues in the present political economy it requires large amount of awareness and socio-economic development. Role of political economy in agriculture is very crucial for development of the different social groups which are mainly depended on the agricultural sectors.

Despite various developmental policies initiated for their upliftment, tribes in India are considered the most backward community. While governments in India have introduced impressive policies for the upliftment of tribal people since independence, these policies have resulted in little effect. This is most evident when we compare tribes with other social groups in terms of literacy, per capita income, access to health care system, livelihood, and so on. Most of the tribes live in and around the forest areas where their livelihood depends on collection of forest products and shifting cultivation. In some cases, they are also agricultural daily workers. The process of globalisation during early 1990s

has further affected these tribes through displacement and migration due to developmental initiatives in resource rich tribal regions.

The livelihood of rural community should not be viewed in terms of conventional, urban-industrial and middle class framework. Every person should provide with some employment and allow him to buy some basic things for living. The idea of adopting the livelihood opportunities is to enhance poverty eradication. The main reason behind the concept of rural is deterioration of forest resources. Majority of the rural population is highly depending on their surrounding natural resources. Livelihood opportunities among scheduled tribes would be closely related to the environmental sustainability. Land is a major source of livelihood for scheduled tribe population in India. Land was collectively owned by privileged community in the village and govern by the community usually led village chief. Landless is a very low conspicuous factor especially among the scheduled tribe population. In the north-eastern regions, families without having own land are considered as less prominent among scheduled tribe households than other social groups, especially in scheduled tribe populated states. For them land is basic source for agriculture and especially for the purpose of shifting agricultural practices. Scheduled tribe household mostly use small and medium landholdings for the cultivation. The economy of scheduled tribes revolves around the agricultural economy for the subsistence. The tribal community means of livelihood has been moved towards modern market facilities through various employment opportunities which helps in the rise of their economy. There is no uniform land tenure system in most of the north-eastern regions.

It is a well-known aspect that tribes are completely depend on forest for their livelihood as still most of the tribes are living near to forest areas such as for both agriculture and for collection of forest products. Tribes see forest as not only in a perspective of economy but they have also linked forest in many aspects such as culturally, traditionally, socially, psychologically, and religious. Tribes are getting food by using forests for cultivation and by also collecting the natural resources such as minor forest produce (MFP). The pre-colonial and post-colonial forest laws considered tribes as destructors of forests and wild life. The control of forests were taken away from tribes and made their economic opportunities worse. In the name of deforestation and degradation,

many tribal communities displaced from their living areas in forests. Many recommendations and acts were framed but, this did not help tribes to develop in the society. The globalisation policies introduced by the government of India affected tribal communities severely. Due to various globalisation policies tribal properties are at very dangerous stage. Industrial policies affected the livelihood conditions of forest dwellers severely. Due to their weak and power less conditions tribal communities have failed to stop the market forces to their properties. Due to their weak bargaining power they slowly accepted the private forces in their territories. In the case of the scheduled tribes globalisation is the very controversial. Because the main objective of the globalisation is to allow the economically backward countries and its citizens to raise their standards of living but in real terms due to free international market they hampered the progress of the domestic countries, benefited majority of the multinational companies in the state. At the same time, it vanished the livelihood opportunities of the millions of the scheduled tribes in the country. In the process of economic stabilisation, tribal communities are the one who are affected severely not only in India but all over the world. Nature is the primary source of their livelihood it was deforested heavily during the development process. In spite of various developmental policies and safeguards the livelihood of scheduled tribes has been deteriorating. Majority of tribes who are under chronic poverty are the victims of the development activities. In the process of development they lost all the sources of their livelihood such as employment, livelihood opportunities, agricultural land, and basic means of livelihood. They are not even provided with any employment opportunities despite of their sacrifice. Majority of the tribal communities have migrated to the urban areas without any knowledge and skills.

In chapter three, major focus was about policy issues implemented by the government to uplift the development of tribes. Tribals are socially, economically and politically deprived sections. Since, decades they are getting exploited due to lack of societal exposure and innocence. Various developmental policies, modernisation and poverty elimination measures failed to change the poorest sections of the society.

In British rule, they were introduced various policies in the context of isolation, assimilation and integration. British government adopted policy of isolation, main intention

was to isolating the tribes and to left them freely for exploitation of zamindaris, private money lenders and local chiefs. This policy curbed the old age practices of tribals in the forest, like shifting cultivation, hunting other forest related employment opportunities. However, under this policy, they were used as slaves by merchants, due to the regulations of the British government tribals have suffered heavily at implementation that resulted in exploitation and encroachment of tribal land, they lost their command on forest resources.

British policy isolated tribes but also they implemented policies to integrate tribes into mainstream society. Various programmes were initiated to bring socio-economic change in the tribal areas. First Prime Minister of India Nehru introduced various tribal development policies. Most effective policy is policy of Panchsheel. Forest policy was framed in 1952, which helped to form several forest development committees in all the states to prevent the commercialisation of forest natural resources in India. In 1982, Forest and Tribals in India committee under the chairmanship of B. K. Roy Burman and committee recommended that forest and tribals have very strong relationship. There is need of tribal communities and forest management system should be established through various developmental programmes for the conservation of forest and to reorganisation of traditional skills of the tribal communities.

Tribal Development means upliftment of tribal communities in various stages of socio- economic and cultural aspects. Programmes such as health, education, employment, technical knowledge in various working areas about modern machinery, transport, and communication would help to uplift most of the tribal communities in India. Moreover, the issue of tribal development in India is linked with backwardness of tribal communities. Factors such as poverty, issue of integrating with the rest of the population posing strong difficulties towards tribal development. Due to policies in British rule and various forms of exploitation practices remained tribals as backward community. After independence government of India initiating various developmental programmes to uplift them from backwardness. Farmers of the constitution, adopted the two pronged strategy of tribal development by considering century's old injustice happened against tribal communities. Those strategy are primarily, protection of tribal communities from exploitation and secondly, help them in the process their economic development. By considering above

strategic option from the beginning onwards government initiated various developmental strategies, plans, policies, and programmes.

Many changes have taken place in tribal communities and tribal regions due to political modernisation and government developmental programmes. Most of the tribal concentration areas are linked with the urban industrial area. 28th report of the commissioner of scheduled tribes says that tribal communities are losing their land for commercial purposes. They forcefully squeezed out of their lands and left alone on their own and their lands are used for the establishment of new development projects and became a reason for migration of tribes to other areas. This type of exploitation practices and deprivation is continuing on tribal communities despite the several laws enacted to protect the interest of them. Even in some cases measures taken for the welfare of them are used against them. Finally report says that, alienation of tribal land is still continuing in many tribal concentrated areas despite of strong safeguard measures taken by constitution of India. Non-tribal people taking the advantage of illiteracy of tribes and forcing them to evict their land that resulted in one of the reasons behind land alienation among tribal communities. Backwardness and poverty are the basic factors that live in the tribal areas. The problem of indebtedness pushing the tribals to death trap or extreme conditions. They don't have any permanent jobs or employment opportunities. Their main source of livelihood is seasonal work. Sometimes they also disappoint them due to failure of monsoon and lack of common resources leaving them in starvation or result in the displacement of the tribal lands and resulted in the forced migration to other areas.

In constitution, Article 244 provides special provisions for specific areas called "Scheduled Areas" in all states except Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, and Mizoram; only by considering the backwardness of these area population. To declare any area as "Scheduled Area" was given only to the president of India (fifth schedule) and in 1950 the president used this power. Sixth schedule of Indian constitution created self-ruling districts within the state of Assam to protect tribal independence by guarding both cultural and economic securities of hill tribes as because they have a history of governing themselves in a very different perspective when compared to other parts of India.

In India, increasing efforts were made to provide large scale services for the improvement of living standards of the tribals with increasing financial investments during the five-year plan periods. It is intended to implement these programmes with popular support to promote the well-being of the tribals in all parts of the country under the movement of National Integration. A brief review of tribal development programmes implemented in India during the five-year plans period were explained.

Various tribal developmental schemes were initiated by the government through five-year plans. In the first five-year plan national extension services and community development has been made compulsory in tribal areas. Regarding this, government executed 40 multi-purpose pilot projects in most of the backward tribal areas. An amount of Rs. 47 crores was allotted for the developmental programmes of scheduled tribes in the second five-year plan period as compared to Rs. 25 crores in the first five-year plan. In the third five-year plan, several multi-purpose corporation cooperative companies were formed to increase the availability of credit for tribal farmers and artisans. Some important schemes like land allotment, subsidies to buy agricultural products such as ploughs, bullocks and seeds, soil conversion to increase fertility, minor irrigation projects for water source and so on were implemented in the fourth five-year plan. In the fifth five-year plan, SFDA and MFAL projects were affected with operational improvements. Under the initiated programme each project was limited to only one district and later, it got expanded to launch 160 projects in all. These projects saved the farmers and agricultural labours who did not have more than two hectors of land. The sixth five-year plan approached mainly for the socio-economic development of scheduled tribes by creating highest number of funds transferring from special constituent plans and through special central assistance. During seventh plan, human resource and structural development measures were taken place and assisted 30 lakh tribal families under the preview of tribal sub-plan. The sub-plan policy was instigated by assisting 191 integrated tribal development projects and by the end of the plan, 268 pockets of tribal concentration (MADA) were formed. Also, 74 districts and 74 primitive tribal group projects were taken up within the tribal concentration pockets. Eighth five-year plan mainly tried to make more efforts to fulfil the developmental gap between scheduled tribes and other group of sections in the society, so that tribal communities can compete with mainstream larger society. In ninth five-year plan importance was given to

the educational sector in scheduled tribe areas and introduced time-bound programme to improve their educational status. NSTFDC was introduced in tenth five-year plan, which formed to help the scheduled tribe women beneficiaries which is named as ASMY to provide financial help. The eleventh five-year plan mainly focused on inclusive growth approach along with the inclusion of social justice in which the issues such as exclusion, exploitation, marginalisation, and governance among tribes and their regions. In twelfth five-year plan government initiated entrepreneurship programme to encourage tribal youth through start-up and stand-up programme.

Confidence of the people, understanding and respect to the elders in the community were given importance in and while preparing the tribal development programmes. However, the tribal development programme was comprehensive in its coverage of tribal areas. The task in these areas is more difficult as they comprise hilly and forest regions, sparsely populated with poor communications and little institutional infrastructure.

In fourth chapter major focus was on the concepts of basic livelihood such as education, health, poverty, and different forms of land alienation at all India and state level. Living patterns of the scheduled tribes are unique and different as compared with other social groups in India. Most of the scheduled tribes in India follow the cultures of their ancestors through generations. Their dressing style, housing structure, beliefs, languages, culture, and traditions are unique in nature. However now a days most of the scheduled tribes are availing common resources of the Society. Since decades living patterns of the scheduled tribes has been changing with the pace of development. They are giving competition to the working population in all the fields, at the same time they are facing many humiliations, deprivation, isolation, and exploitation. They are showing their decent in the form of various agitations.

Since they are materially and economically backward, education help them in improve the quality of living. Scheduled tribes in India are static and have unique identity as compared with the other social groups. When the development pace it can be defined differently. Scheduled tribes are considered as a socially and economically backward community as compared with the other social groups. It is because of their past livelihood conditions not because of their culture and identity. As tribal livelihood conditions and the

other social groups livelihood conditions are different. Government initiating various livelihood development programmes especially for the scheduled tribes India to develop their bargaining power and to adopt prevailing livelihood conditions. Education is an important factor behind upgrading the economic and social status of scheduled tribes in the country. It is very essential for SCs and STs. Constitution has given a provision in the form of Article 15(4) to all the backward communities. With the help of this kinds of provisions government initiating various kinds of the development activities and helping the tribal community in different ways. This provision enable the scheduled tribes to bang the opportunities in the technical, engineering and medical colleges in the educational sector. There are various issues behind the backwardness of the marginalised communities but the government is ignoring major factors such as enhancing the skills and capabilities of the communities. Without addressing the skills and capabilities of the people government cannot achieve the objective the empowerment of the marginalised communities. It can only achieve through equal opportunities, guaranteed political freedom and equal economic opportunities among the marginalised communities.

Education is the essential element of the human development. In the field of education, scheduled tribes are lagging behind so much. However, over the decades they are showing positive trend in the school education and higher education. Government initiated many developmental programmes to encourage scheduled tribes to attain quality education. Let's discuss status of education among scheduled tribes as a whole. According to census 2011 and educational statistics reported total literacy rates of scheduled tribes in 2011 was 59 per cent and remaining categories literacy rate reported as 73 per cent. In drop-out rate of scheduled tribes in 2013–14 was 62.4 per cent and remaining categories reported as 47.4 per cent. This statistics shows the status of scheduled tribes in India. There are number of factors which are pushing the tribal literacy in backward trends. In most of the tribal areas there is no library facilities and literature environment. All the areas are filled with alcoholism and irresponsible behavior in the field of education. At primary level, dropout rate of the tribal students was very as compared with the other social groups. Dropout rate of the girl students are very high as compared with the male students. Their occupational levels, economic background, social backwardness, lack awareness, and lack of infrastructural facilities in the school are the major reasons behind tribal dropout rate in

the schools and total tribal livelihood based was on the land and forest. Due to land alienation and deforestation, majority of the tribes lost their livelihood opportunities and migrated to other areas. Due to their poor economic background, most of the tribal family children are accompanying their parents in the work field earning some income to overcome the subsistence level in the family.

Concept of health and education are two sides of same coin. Most of the scheduled tribes in India are illiterates, they only depend on the agriculture and allied activities, forest based occupation and physical labour. Rural India witnesses many ways of exploitation, land exploitation and social discrimination which are considered as main reasons behind economic backwardness of the scheduled tribes. Highest percentage of tribal population works for the basic necessities such as food, shelter and cloths. They get only minimum wages for those purposes. Without proper health they can't earn minimum wages for their subsistence level of living. In this case health plays crucial role in living patterns of the scheduled tribes for their socio-economic upliftment. As, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar says education is key for socio-economic development for underprivileged it can only be achieved through maintaining proper health. So, in this juncture, this chapter clearly talks about the health condition of scheduled tribes through data analysis. Health is one of the social indicators which helps human to develop. Health vulnerability is fatal that affect the tribal lives. In general sense, 'health' is the key to the functional and metabolic competence of a living organism. Thus, Health Science Council of Japan and others have suggested adding fourth dimension spirituality in WHO's definition of health and modified into "health is a dynamic state of complete physical, mental, spiritual, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity".

The perception of health and illness in a tribal community plays a vital role. The very existence of tribal policy given in various documents and constitution speak in favour of the indigenous tribal community. But is it really come true to uplift or strengthen the community. We live in the era of globalisation where we find a digital tribal policy in order to protect, safeguard and secure tribals and adivasi's; their land, and forest. The indigenous tribal is always in discussion and debate with a political entity in the ambit of education, employment and political representation. The policy aspects of tribal health and medicine

in globalisation implicitly analyses different policy issues. Firstly, issues related to tribal health and medicine where medico-religious rituals are practiced and maintained which has to be upgraded and strengthen it by education. Secondly, there are different factors which are responsible to withhold the ethno-medicine and traditional healings practice like economic, social networking, unifying the family and others. Thirdly, critical appraisal to state-sponsored medical care with respect to tribal health and development in the form of structural adjustment. But this kind of health structure is totally influenced by the globalisation and dominant force of mainstream knowledge. Furthermore, there is a lot of initiative for the part of digital India to initiate inter-ministerial and departmental services on their own to provide services with regard to public healthcare, education and judicial explanation for the tribal community. Now the government of India and all states have initiated to implement the PPP model of public healthcare.

Land is the basic source of living for the scheduled tribes in India. As majority of the scheduled tribes in India depends on land and land based occupation. Agriculture is the major profession of the scheduled tribe community India. As their history shows majority of the scheduled tribes are depend on the shifting cultivation in the earlier days of the agriculture. Moreover, due the land alienation majority of the tribal communities lost their land and livelihood opportunities and remained as landless laborers. Increasing the number of landless laborers in the scheduled tribe community indicating the disturbing trend of land alienation. Due their forest livelihood conditions majority of the scheduled tribes are not aware about the land management system for a long time because of their inaccessibility over external resources. Scheduled tribes India developed their own cultivation process and traditions. The land ownership among the scheduled tribes are differentiated in many ways such as community land and individual holdings. In the colonial time, scheduled tribe were faced various kinds of land alienation. Some of the princely states of British government don't have uniform land revenue system. The livelihood conditions of the scheduled tribe are very horrible in the colonial era. The tribal communities who depended on the land for their livelihood lived with the mercy of local landlords and revenue officers. Majority of the scheduled tribe communities are resides in the forest areas and remote area without proper development and away from the scheduled areas. Because of their isolated living conditions they did not benefited from the

government schemes and policies. Majority of the scheduled tribes in India, do not have any legal documents on their land holdings. By taking this an advantage non-tribal people are manipulated the tribal land holdings by bribing the revenue officer. This one of the major factor behind land alienation at ground level. Moreover, in many cases local moneylenders attracted scheduled tribes by taking their economic conditions as advantage provided loans at higher rate of interest due to lack of irrigational and poor agricultural inputs in the cultivation process. Their output cannot repay the loan what they taken from the local moneylender. Due to their weak payment power majority of the tribes replaced their land mortgage to local money lender. Land holding situation of scheduled tribes and their agricultural status is explained clearly through data analysis.

Final section of the chapter discusses about the poverty among the scheduled tribes and factors leading to chronic poverty. Poverty can be defined as the section of the society cannot access to the basic means of livelihood. It can also be explained as economic conditions of the people don't allow them to access the basic things for living such as food, shelter, cloths and health care is called as chronic poverty. Economic condition of every individual is scaling meter of his/her livelihood conditions. Economic status mainly depends on the employment and income which they earn on their working hours. The income levels are essential indicator to scale socio-economic living of a family. Family with high income levels have access to quality health care and high standard of living. As per the records house hold income source is based on the pattern of their employment. Majority of the household income is based on service, agriculture and business sectors in the society. In India, majority of the tribal communities follow simple methods and traditional technology in their process of livelihood. Highest number of tribal communities follow simple livelihood opportunities such as hunting, gathering and agriculture. Most of them involve in the primitive methods in the process of cultivation. They do not go for any technological advancement the production process due to their poor economic status. It is proved that with this kind of agricultural methods there would no profits and surplus. This is the scheduled tribe income does not contribute anything to per capita income of the country. As agriculture is the one of the primitive source of livelihood for scheduled tribes is one of the major reasons behind their poverty level and backwardness. Due to lack of knowledge in the agricultural production, majority of them are not aware about the new

inventions and technological advancements in the production process. They do not have any knowledge in the field of trade and market which plays a crucial role in agricultural sector and market economy. Due to their lack of awareness in the modern agricultural techniques and marketing conditions, majority of the scheduled tribe livelihood is in greater risk of poverty. Most of the tribes live under below poverty line and are remained under debt in the hands of local moneylenders and zamindaris. In order to repay the debt, they often mortgage or sell their land to moneylenders. Another reason for poverty is indebtedness. Various factors lead to poverty among scheduled tribes and poverty levels among scheduled tribes are clearly explained through data analysis in this chapter.

Despite of introducing various developmental policies, still tribes are seen as backward community. The fifth chapter was focused on the present living conditions of scheduled tribes in Telangana state and made analysis from selected districts, i.e., Adilabad, Nirmal and Komarambheem Asifabad. This chapter was divided into two sections: one is about the profile of sample respondents and other is about the livelihood conditions and the basic knowledge and coping strategy of tribes with present political system such as utilising policies and schemes initiated by state and central governments.

The livelihood patterns can be analysed through different factors such as food, shelter, level of education, health, land holdings, etc. So even the characteristics of house can also be considered as an important aspect for any community. In case of tribes as they are engaged in different kinds of livelihood practices such as shifting cultivation, hunting, gathering, etc. Due to less wages their income levels are very low. But still, somehow 99.7 per cent respondents have own houses in which most of the houses are renovated as the construction of house was done by their ancestors. But, in this 32.36 per cent houses are kutcha houses means only walls are built with bricks and left them like that without pasting cement on them and the roof would be covered with mud bricks. State government initiated free house scheme for homeless and some of them have even applied, but the sanction process is being delayed due to non-documentation of land. Everything in life is depended on the source of livelihood. Tribes mostly depend on agriculture and forest and its resources. It is observed that 98.6 per cent sample population depend on agriculture itself. Only help they are getting for choosing this occupation is Rythu Bandhu scheme initiated

by state government, which is helping them financially. But in one of the villages, the complete population is cultivating in forest lands without any documentation on their names. So, this made them as ineligible to apply for the scheme and lost their financial support. They depend on moneylenders for getting loans to cultivate.

Land is the basic subsistence of livelihood to do agriculture. In past centuries tribes have depended on forest land as they did shifting cultivation. But now they started doing settled farming with a proper land documentations. It is found that 40.05 per cent farmers are having semi-medium land holdings to do agriculture. Very low percentage of farmers are having medium (8.65 per cent) and large (0.44 per cent) land holdings. Here, 1.99 per cent respondents are not even having any lands with occupation as agricultural labour in other fields. The major crop which the respondents are cultivating is cotton (93.35 per cent). Most of the farmers are cultivating three crops in a year cultivating soya as a second crop (13.97 per cent). State government instructed farmers to cultivate the crops which have demand and also if the farmers cultivate any other crops they are unable to get the financial assistance from government. Annual income of tribes is low as they depend only on agriculture and forest resource products. It is observed that only 38.59 per cent respondents are having around 50,001-75,000 annual income. Due to their low level of income most of them are depend on moneylenders for debt. Even the middle men are giving low price for their crops and the farmers who sell their crop in agricultural market are not getting their minimum support price correctly.

Tribe's lives are far from the main urban areas due to this most of the villages do not have proper transportation facilities. It is observed that 15.52 per cent respondent villages do not even have any transportation facilities. One of the villages does not have a proper mud road to fit even for four wheeler vehicle. All the villagers have to use two wheeler or should walk throughout the way to purchase any small thing for around three kilometers. Some of the villagers said that the area is under the surveillance of Naxalites, so government do not do any kind of development programmes. The irrigation facilities are also very low in the selected sample villages. It is found that 83.59 per cent sample are depending on rainfall itself for cultivating crops. Without proper irrigation facilities, it is very difficult to cultivate crops, so to avoid more water for cropping most of the farmers

are cultivating cotton crop as it requires less irrigation. It is observed that the crop production in the last 15 years was decreased (54.76 per cent) because of various reasons such as climatic changes, rainfall, soil fertility, low agricultural and market knowledge. The other reason for the decrease level in crop production is due to having small and marginal land holdings to cultivate. To compensate the loss for each and every year, most of the tribes are depending on debts. Indebtedness became as major reason for the tribal backwardness. It is observed that majority of tribes are depend on bank loans for debt which was around 54.89 per cent and 33.79 per cent are depend on moneylenders. Here, 84.24 per cent of respondents took loans for agriculture and 5.69 per cent took loan to compensate their child marriage expenses and around three per cent for health and education. State government is helping the farmers by initiating loan wavier scheme but it is implemented as installment wise. To compensate the timing of installment and to buy seeds, fertilisers for cultivating crops, the respondents are depending on credit sources. 37.15 per cent took credit of amount 50,001–1,00,000 and 25.65 per cent took amount of above one lakh to below 1.5 lakh. To repay the credit amount they have taken by various sources, most of them are depending on the crop output and even some of them are taking credit from other private sources to repay the already taken loans. The percentage of tribes depend or engage in forest collection is around 13.75 per cent. 86.25 per cent respondents are not depended on forest collection. Here, we observe that slowly tribes are also changing their occupational patterns and depending on only agricultural and its allied activities itself. The main reason for less dependency on forest resources is the awareness level among tribes. 95.78 per cent respondents do not even had awareness on MFP. The other reason is even if they engage in collection of forest products, the forest officers are taking the products forcefully from them and not paying back. So, there is no income generation for them from MFP. The tribes who engage in collecting forest products are selling them in village level local shops as they do not had awareness on GCC (95.78 per cent). Only 79.16 per cent respondents aware about forest rights but still they do not know what to collect and how to collect, due to the restriction of forest officials it became difficult for them to transport the products from forest to mandal or district areas. So, even if they go for collection most of them are collecting the products which they can use for domestic purpose itself.

Existence of non-tribes is also seen in the tribal villages. Around 42.13 per cent villages have non-tribes but if we compare every village separately, the percentage is very low. The non-tribes' main occupation is also agriculture along with business like general kirana shops in the village. The majority of families in the village belongs to tribal community and the local administration was also in the hands of tribes itself. The tribes and non-tribes work together in the fields. Non-tribes also help tribes by providing some loans in emergency cases. 33.79 per cent tribes borrowed money from non-tribes in the last five years. It is observed that 9.32 per cent respondents lost their farm lands due to various reasons. They lost their cultivating lands because as they are not having proper land documentation on their names.

Health is one of the main aspects that every individual should be able to get. Government should ensure to supply proper nutritious food to all sections of people. It is observed that in most of the villages there are no proper health care facilities available. Only 84.04 per cent respondents said ANM is working in their village. Each nurse is looking into two to three villages and in one of the field village, nurse was visiting the village only once in a week. In case of emergencies, they have to make a call to nurse and she attend the patient and treat him/her with a medical emergency kit. Most of the tribes prefer to go PHC (55.43 per cent) for emergency as they feel the facilities available in PHC are better compared to SCs. Wild animal attacks are seen more in the tribal villages, i.e., around 99.56 per cent. In such cases, some of the villages which does not even have proper transportation facilities has to travel around 20 kms to avail health facilities.

Education plays a crucial role in understanding the benefits of government policies which are introduced to uplift their living standards. It is found that the literacy rate among the tribes is very low. Many of the tribal population are illiterates, only 9.09 per cent of the respondents completed degree and above. In the village level, tribes are completely depending on local administrator or Sarpanch. The local youth who are studying in the colleges should organise educational awareness programmes which help the villagers to understand the importance of education. Without education, one cannot understand the government policy or scheme to participate or enroll in it. All the sample villages had primary schools in their village. But the condition of school in some villages are much

more worse still parents are willing to send their children to school without giving any complaints on the infrastructure facilities. The mother tongue of tribes is different from the state language, so government made it compulsory to have at least one tribal teacher in primary school. It is found that only 74.95 per cent of villages are having tribal teacher. The main objective to appoint a tribal teacher is to reduce the dropout ratio from schools by creating awareness among the villagers about benefits of education. Mostly the government appoints the tribal teacher who belongs to the local village itself, so it is observed that 52.55 per cent villages had tribal teacher in the village itself. In some villages, the appointment of teacher posts is still going on. Only 42.79 per cent are being able to succeed in organising educational awareness programmes by taking the help of gram sabha members. Still, dropout rates are more (comparatively girls) in primary level itself. The basic reason for this is their livelihood status. The village level administration has failed to convince the villagers to send their children to school even till primary level as in more than 50 per cent villages does not even organised any kind of educational awareness programmes.

Government framed and implemented many policies for uplifting the tribal community. Introduction of land reforms is the major policy initiated by the government during 1990s but it failed miserably to distribute the lands to landless community. Later, government of India focused on several different aspects through introducing five-year plans. Along with the government; NGOs, social workers, social welfare organisations, and social and human rights activist movements are helping tribes to get their rights properly. Central government initiated skill development programmes, self-development programmes and agricultural support programmes which most of the tribes are able to use for their livelihood development. Even in tribal areas, village level officers are visiting regularly to the villages and helping the farmers by giving suggestions on the soil fertility and the crop to cultivate accordingly. It is observed that around 11.08 per cent respondents received training for agriculture in different aspects such as usage of fertilisers and pesticides in field, drip irrigation scheme, quality of seeds, etc. 88.92 per cent of respondents said they acquired the present knowledge on agriculture through their parents and ancestors. Telangana state government providing the financial assistance to agricultural farmers by introducing Rythu Bandhu scheme which gives an amount of Rs.

5,000/- per acre twice in a year. 80.93 per cent respondents are getting benefited by availing these schemes. Even, during Covid-19 lockdown time, central government gave Rs. 500/- and state government provided Rs. 1,500/- along with supplying of extra ration. But, government is not providing any financial assistance to agricultural tenants and labourers. In one of the sample village, whole villagers did not get any financial help from government as they are cultivating in the unregistered forest lands. Land survey officers came and surveyed the lands but due to covid-19 the process to register their land was delayed. As the educational levels of tribes is low, the prime responsibility to create awareness on various government schemes was on government officers. It is found that 77.61 respondents said that no government officials have visited and organised such awareness programmes in their villages. Even village level administration is also not aware about some of the schemes which are introduced for their welfare development. For example, Rythu Bandhu scheme was introduced for all sections of farmers in the state and it is implemented very perfectly. But, administration failed to create awareness on the schemes framed and implemented on tribes in particular. Most of the tribes have registered under the only livelihood programme, i.e., PDS. The small and marginal land holding groups cultivate only one crop in a year and that too cotton crop as it requires less irrigation facilities. During non-agriculture season, all the villagers are enrolled and working under MGNREGA. This scheme has helped them to get work even in non-agricultural season and able to stop migration of tribes to other areas in searching for work. Here, 69.18 per cent respondents were working under MGNREGA and they have worked even in covid-19 period as government also increased the days of employment from 100 to 150.

Role of gram sabha plays a crucial role in developing the village as even state government declared tribal agency areas as self-rule agencies. The main agenda behind this reform is to protect scheduled tribes from getting exploited by non-tribes, to increase their bargaining power and to enhance the employment opportunities. The funds allocated to their welfare department would be used only for their own developmental aspects. It is observed that majority of respondents (68.52 per cent) felt that their village level administration is working quite actively in rising their problems with the officials and developing their village infrastructure. Only 7.98 per cent sample respondents felt that the administration is not working towards their upliftment because even in some of the villages

the elected bodies themselves do not have any knowledge about the schemes and welfare programmes. Lack of education, inferiority complex, lack of political experience, and lack of addressing capacity in dealing the issues with government officials are the major drawbacks of gram sabha members.

Findings of the Study

- Educational qualifications of the respondents is very poor. It was found that 58.32 per cent of the respondents are illiterates. Nearly one-third populace in the sample villages, they are not aware about their policies and programmes. In the Gram Sabha meetings, they only discuss on the local issues but not on the policies and development programmes initiated by the government. Due to their poor educational levels, they are unable to understand the importance of development programmes initiated for them. 50 per cent of present sarpanches in the villages are not able to write a letter to the higher official on their problems.
- It was found that in all the villages tribes have own houses. Almost all of them constructed their houses in sufficient manner. But still there are some families in the village residing under kutcha houses and wooden huts which was constructed with support of wood material and mud. 30 per cent of the respondents used the money they got from government in the agricultural process.
- Around 98.6 per cent of the scheduled tribes are depend on agriculture and its allied activities. In present period they are getting financial benefits from both, state and union governments, for the purpose of agricultural inputs. However, highest number of tribes have registered their own agricultural lands and some forest lands are yet to be allotted under the cultivator names. But, all the tribes are using their land for the purpose of both commercial as well as food crops.
- Land holding situation of the scheduled tribes in recent times was increased because of the government encouragement in the agricultural farming. It was found that highest number of scheduled tribes are having semi-medium range of land holding (40.05 per cent). Around nine per cent farmers having large and medium land holdings in which three per cent of medium land holdings belong to the administrator wing of the village.

Around 48 per cent tribes in the village are cultivating in the marginal and small holdings of the land.

- More than 95 per cent of scheduled tribes are cultivating the commercial crops as compared with the food crops. Because almost 83.59 per cent of the tribal land are depending only on rain water as irrigational source. Due to lack of irrigational sources, 95.35 per cent of respondents are cultivating cotton as major crop and in some part of the land they are cultivating food crops for domestic purpose.
- The study witnessed that, there is no transportation facility available to three tribal villages. So, they depend on middle man to sell their crop. Due to lack of transportation facility, transportation cost in those villages are very high. For this reason most of the tribes are choosing middle man and selling their crop at the price chosen by middle man himself. For any health emergency also they depend on the local village level treatment as they do not have access to better treatment facilities nearby. It was found one of the village- Mangi, is under the surveillance of Naxals group. Due to the footmarks of Naxalites, government authorities are initiating any development activities in the village.
- Majority of the scheduled tribes are under the category of marginal, small and semi – medium farmers. 88 per cent of the farmers come under these three groups. It was found that, 78 per cent of the scheduled tribes are earning below one lakh income annually. This shows the status of income levels of the scheduled tribe families in the rural areas. Despite of several financial initiations of the state and union governments, financial situation of most of the tribes have not changed in better way. They are not getting sufficient income for their livelihood.
- It was found that, 83.59 per cent of the tribes who are depending on agricultural production do not have any irrigational facilities in their crop area. All are depending on the rainfall as irrigational source in the cultivation process. Because of the above reason, majority of the scheduled tribes are confined to single crop in the monsoon season. Remaining all the time they work as daily wage labourers in construction sites and other agricultural fields.
- More than half of the scheduled tribe farmers expressed that, they lost their crops due to various reasons such as quality less seeds and agricultural inputs which they are

using during the crop cultivation is the major problem behind lowest output in the process of production. There are cases of highest rain fall and lowest fall in the monsoon season also one of the major reasons behind the decreased output in the production process.

- It was found that 97 per cent of the tribes are depending on various sources of credit. Around 84 per cent of tribes taken the loan for the purpose of agricultural inputs. They said that, they are not getting their financial benefits from the government at the beginning of the cultivation process. Government was not releasing funds at the time of cultivation. Due to the delay in financial assistance from the government, majority of the scheduled tribes are choosing various kind of credits to start their cultivation process.
- It was found that around 65 per cent of tribes took the credit more than their income levels at high interest rate. Later on expecting some financial help from the government. They are taking the credit for agricultural purpose. Very few tribal families (15 per cent) are taken loan for the purpose of social ceremonies, education and health. Majority of them expressed that they are investing more in the production process and the returns they were getting are very low.
- Around half of the tribal villages are having the highest population of scheduled tribes in their villages. Tribes are not facing any sort of discrimination from other social communities in the village. As majority of the population in all the villages are scheduled tribes only as compared with the other social groups this is also one of the reason behind no signs of exclusion in the village environment. It is also found that around 33.79 per cent of tribes took loan from non-tribal private money lenders from towns and other villages at high rate of interest. In the study it was found that 66.21 per cent of the tribes have taken loan from non-tribal moneylenders.
- It was found that 98 per cent of the tribes are depending on the agricultural sector for their livelihood purpose. But more than 90 per cent of the tribes have not received any formal training in the cultivation process. They are cultivating the crops with their own knowledge and experience which they have acquired from their ancestors since generations.

- The tribes who registered their land in the revenue department are getting financial assistance from the state and union governments. Tribes are able to get allotment of forest land they are cultivating under their names with the permission of forest department officials. In some villages tribes who are depending on the forest lands for the purpose of cultivation did not get the land because of the revenue department negligence. Unregistered lands are not eligible for any financial schemes of the government.
- Government officials are not playing an effective role in bringing awareness on the schemes and programmes which are initiated for the development of scheduled tribes in the tribal villages. It was observed that 92.02 per cent of the tribal respondents do not have basic awareness on the policies and schemes introduced by the state and central government for enhancement of their livelihood opportunities.
- As discussed, due to lack of irrigational facilities tribes are engaging in the cultivation process once in a year that too in monsoon season only. Remaining all the time they are engaging in the daily wage work. In non-seasonal time, majority of the tribes are working under MGNREGA for their livelihood. It was found that 69.18 per cent of the scheduled tribe communities are working under this government employment scheme.
- In the area of health, majority of the village ANMs are available for basic treatment in the emergency time. Only in two villages ANMs are attending the cases by staying outside the village. Around 55 per cent of tribes are reaching primary health centre in case of health emergency. Highest number of emergency cases in the villages are due to wild animal attacks. 99 per cent of the villages are affected severely with the forest animal attacks.
- All the villages are having primary schools without proper infrastructural facilities. In the analysis it was found that, 74.95 per cent of the villages are having the tribal teacher in their village. Only 57.21 per cent of the villages are organising the awareness programmes on the education and educational opportunities.
- As almost all the scheduled tribes are engaged in the agricultural activities for their livelihood, only limited portion of people are still engaged in forest collection. The people who are engaging in the forest collection are doing that job for the domestic purpose but not for the commercial purpose. In the study it was found that 13.75 per cent of the tribes are engaged in the collection of forest products.

- It was also found that, majority of the scheduled tribes had partial awareness on their rights but around 95 per cent of respondents does not have proper knowledge on minor forest products they can collect in the forest areas. Some of the tribes expressed that forest officials are restricting them in the process of forest collection.
- Gram Panchayats and Gram Sabha's are functioning effectively in solving the village level problems. In all the villages tribes are governing themselves in the villages with the cooperation of the villagers. But majority of the Gram Sabha members did not have basic knowledge on the policies and schemes of the scheduled tribes which are designed for betterment of their livelihood opportunities. 68.02 per cent of the respondents have expressed that the functioning of Gram Sabha are active and only 7.98 per cent of the respondents are expressed that they are inactive in solving the problems.

Recommendations of the Study

- Government should concentrate on educating the scheduled tribe communities. By organising the awareness programmes on education and should explain the essence of education in availing the benefits of governments for their better livelihood opportunities and to strengthen their bargain power to address their problems effectively in the Indian political system.
- Government and civil society working for the welfare of tribal development and their means of subsistence. Should concentrate on building the houses for the people who are residing in wooden and kutcha house. Because proper shelter is basic means of livelihood for every individual.
- State and Central governments should frame agricultural financial schemes by understanding the tribal land holding situations and their cultivating process. Common policies are not helping all the tribal groups equally. There is a need of regional wise tribal policies for the scheduled tribes in India.
- Government should provide agricultural land to landless scheduled tribes, as majority of the scheduled tribes are already engaged in agricultural profession. Livelihood conditions of the landless tribes are so miserable as compared with the other tribes who

have minimum amount of land holdings. Providing land to land less is the process of generating employment in the scheduled tribe communities.

- As majority of the tribal lands do not have proper irrigational facilities. Highest number of the tribal communities are experiencing lowest returns in the process of production due lack of irrigational sources. If government is able to provide irrigational facilities to the scheduled tribe community they can engage in the cultivation process during the whole year, so that they need not be confined to only monsoon season for agricultural activities. Government should provide proper irrigational facilities in the tribal farming land which helps in increased output and enhances the livelihood opportunities of scheduled tribes in the country.
- It is the responsibility of the government to protect the scheduled tribes from all the anti- social elements such as Naxalites and should initiate the developmental works in the Naxalite affected area by developing roads and infrastructural facilities. It enhances the livelihood standards of the tribal community as they would get access to the health and market facilities.
- Government should take the responsibility of quality agricultural inputs in the tribal villages with the help of village level administration. By taking the advantage of tribal illiteracy, weak bargaining power and lack of awareness, non- tribals are exploiting the scheduled tribes. Government should take precautionary measure to control tribal exploitation. Punish the culprits who are proved in case of the tribal exploitation.
- Government should provide proper training to the scheduled tribes in the cultivation process. With the proper training they can enhance their production output in the agricultural process because majority of the farmers are getting lowest amount of the output due to over usage of the pesticides and fertilisers in the cultivation process.
- It is the responsibility of the government to organise awareness programmes and monitoring the status of awareness programmes organising in the each village. There should be a programme of accountability to each government officer in organising awareness programmes. Because in most of the villages, officers are discussing only on the local issues in the village but not on the development programmes.

- As majority of the tribal communities are depending on government employment schemes in non-seasonal time. Government should increase the payment of the work done by the workers who are working under MGNREGA.
- Government should increase the health infrastructure in each tribal village. In emergency times, most of the tribal villages are witnessing the deaths of the fellow villages due to lack of health facilities available in the village. Government should increase the staff on population proportion and should provide quality treatment in the tribal villages.
- Government should concentrate on the educational infrastructure of the village. Because majority of the schools do not have proper study tables and electricity. It is the responsibility of government to provide tribal teacher in tribal village. And should endure and monitor the quality of education in the primary schools in tribal villages.
- Civil Societies, Non-governmental organisations and government officers should organise training session to all village level administration members such as Sarpanch and secretaries on the schemes and policies of the schedule tribe livelihood. Because village level administration plays crucial role in bringing awareness in the village as they are available to the villages in all the time.

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Political Economy of Tribal Livelihood: A Study in Telangana State

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The purpose of this interview schedule is to study *Political Economy of Tribal Livelihood: A Study in Telangana State*. The questionnaire is designed to collect data which will be used purely for the academic (Doctoral Research) purpose. The responses will be aggregated and reported as a summary statistics only. This interview is anonymous and strictly confidential. The only purpose is to know your views based on your experience.

Profile of the Respondents

1. Name of the Respondent _____
2. Age _____
3. Gender _____
4. Name of the Village _____
5. Name of the Mandal _____
6. Name of the Panchayat _____
7. Name of the District _____
8. Tribe _____
9. Religion _____
10. Occupation _____
11. Annual Income _____
12. Family Details _____

Sl. No.	Name	Age	Sex	Education	Occupation	Income per year	Remarks
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							

6							
7							
8							

13. What is your educational qualification? _____

14. Do you have house? ()

a. Yes

b. No

15. If yes, is it? ()

a. Own

b. Rental

16. What is the type of your house? ()

a. Hut

b. Kutcha House

c. Pucca House

d. Semi-Pucca House

17. How long you been living in this village? _____

18. Do you or your family member migrate to other area? ()

a. Yes

b. No

19. If yes, name of the village/town? _____

20. Why did you migrate from that village/town? _____

21. Do you have ration card? ()

a. Yes

b. No

22. If yes, which type of card do you have? _____

23. What household asset do you own/have including consumer durables?

Sl. No.	Description	Do you possess now (Yes, No)	Sl. No.	Description	Do you possess now (Yes, No)
1	Smokeless Chullah		7	Plough	
2	Gas		8	Bullock Cart	
3	Electric Fan		9	Two wheeler	
4	Radio		10	Tractor	
5	TV		11	Car	
6	Bicycle		12	Other (specify)	

24. What is the main source of your livelihood? _____

25. Do you possess land? ()

a. Yes

b. No

26. If yes, which type of land do you have? ()
a. Own b. Tenant
27. How many acres do you possess? _____
28. Have you ever given land to tenant farmers? ()
a. Yes b. No
29. If yes, why did you give the land to tenants? _____
30. Have you ever been a tenant farmer? ()
a. Yes b. No
31. If yes, how many acres and why did you take?

32. How long have you been cultivating? _____
33. Where do you get money to invest on cultivation? _____
34. What type of crops do you prefer to farm?

35. Why do you choose those crops for cultivation? _____
36. From where do you get seeds for cultivation? _____
37. Why do you produce these agricultural products? ()
a. Domestic purpose b. Commercial Purpose
c. Both domestic and commercial d. Repayment of debt
38. If for commercial purpose, where do you sale? _____
39. At what distance the market is available? _____
40. Whether transport facilities are available to take these agricultural products? ()
a. Yes b. No
41. Do you face any problem to sale in the market? ()
a. Yes b. No
42. If yes, details

43. Do you need to bribe any officer for selling in the market? ()
a. Yes b. No

44. If Yes, who?

45. What is the annual income from that sale? _____

46. What is the main water source for cultivation?

47. Do you use fertilisers/pesticides for the production of your agricultural crops? ()

a. Yes

b. No

48. If yes, how do you determine the quantity of fertiliser/pesticide, use in agricultural field?

49. Is this area drought/flood affected? ()

a. Yes

b. No

50. If yes, what type of crisis have you faced?

51. What were the changes in the crop production for last 15 years in your field? ()

a. Increased

b. Decreased

c. Not changed

d. Not Responded

52. What could be the reasons for the above change?

53. Do you have livestock? ()

a. Yes

b. No

54. If yes, details:

Sl. No.	Description	Do you possess now (Yes, No)	If yes, Number	Sold in last year (Yes, No)	Value of Sale (Rs.)	Reason for Sale (specify)
1.	Bullocks					
2.	Cow					
3.	Buffalo					
4.	Sheep/Goat					
5.	Poultry/Birds					
6.	Other (specify)					

55. How much did you earn from livestock (per annum)?

56. For which purpose you will spend the money you get?

57. Have you ever borrowed money? ()

a. Yes

b. No

58. If yes, from which source did you take the loan? _____

59. What is the purpose? _____

60. What is the amount of loan (Rs.) that you have taken? _____

61. How did you make repayment? _____

62. How did you obtain knowledge and experience about agricultural activities?

63. Do you receive any training for agricultural production? ()

a. Yes

b. No

64. Have you got benefited from government schemes? ()

a. Yes

b. No

65. If yes, what are those schemes?

66. How you benefited with that schemes?

67. Did government officials organise awareness programs on those Schemes? ()

a. Yes

b. No

68. If yes, what kind of awareness programs?

69. Are you aware of social welfare programs, projects and policies run by the government?

()

a. Yes

b. No

70. If yes, how?

71. Have you enrolled in any government programs for livelihood? ()
a. Yes b. No
72. If yes, what are those livelihood programs?

73. Do you do any other work rather than farming? ()
a. Yes b. No
74. If yes, what type of work?

75. How much do you earn from that work?

76. Do you send your children for work? ()
a. Yes b. No
77. If Yes, reasons

78. What type of work your children are engaged?

79. Are there non-tribals in your village? ()
a. Yes b. No
80. If yes, what would be their major profession/occupation?

81. Do you go for work under non-tribals? ()
a. Yes b. No
82. If yes, what kind of work you do there?

83. In the last five years, have you borrowed money from non-tribals? ()
a. Yes b. No
84. If yes, what was the purpose?

85. Have you ever lost land? ()
a. Yes b. No

86. If yes, how and why?

87. Do you work under MGNREGA, 2005? ()

a. Yes

b. No

88. What type of work do you choose in non-agricultural Season?

89. How often you get sick in a year? _____

90. Where do you get the general medicine? _____

91. Does any Auxiliary Nurse-Midwife (ANM) working in your village? ()

a. Yes

b. No

92. If yes, how many? _____

93. Whether they enquire the health conditions of each household separately? ()

a. Yes

b. No

94. Where you will go for any health emergency?

95. What are the main differences in Sub-center and PHC particular to facilities provided?

96. Do you have separate toilet in your house? ()

a. Yes

b. No

97. Whether any animal attacks are happened in your village? ()

a. Yes

b. No

98. If yes, mention those animals

99. Do you have primary school in your village ()

a. Yes

b. No

100. Is there any tribal teacher available in that school? ()

a. Yes

b. No

101. Does any teacher stays in your village? ()

a. Yes

b. No

102. Do your children get a Mid-Day meal in the school? ()

a. Yes

b. No

103. If no, reasons?

104. What are the benefits your children getting during education?

105. Is there any educational awareness programs are organised in your village? ()

a. Yes

b. No

106. If yes, what and how are they benefited?

107. If no, mention the reasons?

108. Do you know about MSP (Minimum Support Price)? ()

a. Yes

b. No

109. Is government providing MSP for the products you are selling? ()

a. Yes

b. No

110. What is the MSP for the product you are selling?

111. Do you know about government initiated employment schemes? ()

a. Yes

b. No

112. If yes, mention some?

113. Do you engage in collection of forest products? ()

a. Yes

b. No

114. If yes, in what form?

115. Do you know about MFP (Minor Forest Product) and number of items included in it? ()

a. Yes

b. No

116. If yes, mention some item names:

117. Do you face any difficulty in collection of forest products? ()

a. Yes

b. No

118. If yes, details

119. Do you know GCC? ()

a. Yes

b. No

120. If yes, where it is?

121. If no, where do you sell that products?

122. What is your annual income from this activity?

123. Do you aware about forest rights act? ()

a. Yes

b. No

124. If yes, how do you know?

125. Have you used forest land for agricultural purposes? ()

a. Yes

b. No

126. Do you have ownership right on cultivated land? ()

a. Yes

b. No

127. If yes, how much land was allotted (in acres)

128. If no, what are the difficulties you face?

129. Do you know about TSP and its schemes? ()
- a. Yes b. No
130. Have you taken any benefit of such schemes? ()
- a. Yes b. No
131. If yes, give details
-
132. Do you face any problem to access to such schemes? ()
- a. Yes b. No
133. If yes, describe
-
134. Any impact on your economic livelihood after availing such schemes? ()
- a. Yes b. No
135. If yes, describe
-
136. Whom did you contact for benefit of TSP scheme?
-
137. Did you meet any officer to avail benefit of scheme? ()
- a. Yes b. No
138. If yes, details
-
139. Impact of TSP Schemes?
-
140. Do you feel, you are benefited by Tribal Sub-Plan? ()
- a. Yes b. No
141. If no, details
-
142. Role of Gram Panchayat in developing village? ()
- a. Active b. Moderately Active
- c. Inactive d. Not Aware

143. Reasons,

144. Do you know PESA? ()

a. Yes

b. No

145. Does any conflicts occurred between tribes and non-tribes in recent years? ()

a. Yes

b. No

146. If yes, mention

147. Does any officer visit your village? ()

a. Yes

b. No

148. If yes, who?

149. Whether they suggest anything about livelihood? ()

a. Yes

b. No

150. If yes, details

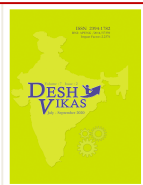
151. Do that suggestions helps you in any manner? ()

a. Yes

b. No

152. If yes, details

Annexure- I



Tribal Livelihood in the Context of their Displacement in India

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ABSTRACT

Despite various developmental policies initiated for their upliftment, tribes in India are considered the most backward community. While governments in India have introduced effective strategies for the upliftment of tribal people since independence, these policies have little effect. This is most evident when we compare tribes with other social groups in literacy, per capita income, access to the health care system, livelihood, etc. Most of the tribes live in and around the forest areas where their livelihood depends on collecting forest products and shifting cultivation. In some cases, they are also daily agricultural workers. The process of globalization during the early 1990s has further affected these tribes through displacement and migration due to developmental initiatives in resource-rich tribal regions/areas. In this background, the current paper attempts to understand how tribal traditional livelihood practices affect due to a large scale of displacement in India.

Key words: Tribal livelihood, displacement, forest, NTFP.

Introduction

The concept of livelihood opportunities is an attempt to go beyond theoretical definitions. The focussed points of livelihood always deal with certain aspects such as poverty eradication and low income. These kinds of elements were very narrow because they focus only on a particular line of points. There is a

need for a broad understanding of the theory. Livelihood approach mainly focussed on how people organize their lives productively and focus more on opportunities. In the case of scheduled tribes, they are traditionally famous for shifting cultivation by adopting livelihood diversification as a coping strategy. The strategies include intensifying existing income activities, migration, informal credit networks, adjusting the consumption patterns, and utilizing settled agricultural methods. Compared with the past situation, their education levels were increasing. It is essential that the diversification of livelihood patterns will only ensure and help them improve the existing standard of living. There is a need to apply different strategies for sustainable socio-economic living to overcome the barriers of life (Tripathy 2018). This applies to the scheduled tribes in India. Most of the research studies concerning displacement in India have identified that scheduled tribe communities are the most affected people than any other social group. It is also attributed to the reasons for their large scale of displacement that due to the availability of abundant natural resources in the tribal regions.

The land is a significant source of livelihood for the scheduled tribe population in India. The property was collectively owned by the village's privileged community and governed by the community, usually led by the village chief. Landlessness is less prominent, especially among the scheduled tribe population. In the north-eastern regions, households without lands were considered less noticeable among scheduled tribe households than among all social groups, especially in scheduled tribe populated states. For them, the land is the primary source for agriculture and especially for the purpose of shifting agricultural practices. Scheduled tribe household mostly uses small and medium landholdings for the cultivation. The economy of scheduled tribes revolves around the farm economy for the subsistence. The means of scheduled tribe livelihood has converged towards diversified modern market-oriented employment and prosperity. There is no uniform land tenure system in most of the north-eastern regions (Marchang 2017). Even the scheduled areas in the rest of the north-east are also suffered from this problem. Livelihood includes availabilities of necessities of living, both tangible and intangible assets. There are various livelihood opportunities available for scheduled tribes in India according to their culture and living patterns. Forest resources played a crucial role in tribal livelihood to sustain their cultivation in hilly areas, called shifting cultivation.

India is a mug of vast natural resources, including non-timber forest products (NTFPs). They include medicinal and aromatic plants, leaves, fruits, seeds, resins, bamboos, and canes. These provide half of the income to the scheduled tribes in India. Despite the significant economic growth rate in India, poverty levels remain the same. These NTFP products are proving to be substantial livelihood opportunities to the scheduled tribes. Forest has provided various products for living in rural communities. In all, 100 million people are living, and depending on the forest and its products. Studies on Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, and Bihar showed that more than 80 percent of the population residing in the forest depends on the NTFP products. Till recent times, NTFP was neglected, and its potential benefits were underestimated. Since the 19th century, after introducing the scientific forest policy, timber was considered the possible product and given major economic importance. All other forest products are categorized as minor forest products (MNFs). In recent times, NTFPs gained massive influence in the livelihood opportunities of scheduled tribes in India.

However, looking at the management of natural resources and a shift from timber to non-timber forest products changed the paradigm from centralized to decentralized control. The practices such as slash and burn agriculture, grazing, fires, and sacred groves to maintain diverse resources in the forest keep the tribes much connected to their livelihood. Forest management, including the role of local institutions, property rights, and the nature of power relations between the state government and regional institutions, help enhance livelihood opportunities among the scheduled tribes. India introduced Biodiversity Act in 2002 and the Forest Rights Act in 2006 for the protection of forest products and to authenticate them. It is a fact, harvesting the NTFP, in the long run, will result in the depletion of NTFP resources without proper management and monitoring works (Krishnakumar et al. 2012).

Land Alienation and Displacement as major Threat to the Tribal Livelihood

Historically, the forest has been a commodity for tribes. In the post-colonial period, forest protection rights have been taken up. This led tribes to lose their agriculture land and their other daily life forest products like food, fuel, and fodder (Murali 1992). In 1855, the first restriction on the forest had been implemented to reduce forest use by tribes. It was also substantially in 1878, 1898, 1927, and 1935; subsequent acts were made to minimize their command

over the forest. While tribes gradually lose their access to land, commercial exploitation was highly increased (Basha 2017). Tribes developed their land management way as they remained outside for a long time as there is no accessibility. Land ownership is articulated in three categories (i) community land, (ii) land belonging to clans, and (iii) individual holdings. The British system of land revenues occupies some of their areas, and some of them are parts of Indian princely states. These states had no uniform land tenure system. Thus, due to the absence of a conventional land settlement system or up-to-date record of land rights, the tribals are at the mercy of the petty revenue officers, forest departments, and the landlords (Chambers and Conway 1991).

The tribal economy is primarily agro-based, and they have an emotional attachment towards land. But, tribal land is being alienated from the non-tribes in many other ways. Consequently, a large number of tribal cultivators have been rendered landless laborers. A decrease in the number of cultivators and an increase in landless laborers' numbers indicate the disturbing trend of land alienation. Shifting cultivation as the earliest form of agriculture continues to be predominantly practiced by the tribals. Even though it has its advantages and disadvantages, it has become a way of life (Balagopal 2007). This practice of traditional cultivation has been disturbed due to several government policies after the 1990s in India. The government has initiated development policies like dams, schools, hospitals, powerhouses, industrial, mining, and irrigation projects, which need land. There is a pressure for tribes to vacate their lands for the commercial orientation. This started the problem of land alienation among tribes. As they are uneducated, they cannot take advantage of the legal remedies provided (Rao 2014b). The scholars have undertaken extensive research studies on this subject.

Another form of land alienation is when the states promote development projects as hydroelectric power stations and mining and industries. These developmental activities do not confer any benefit on the tribals directly and render them landless. The construction of irrigation dams and industrialization are the primary reasons for massive and irreversible deforestation and subsequent land loss of the tribal communities. In the last sixty years, in the new era of development, tribal communities have been displaced on a large scale. Displacement has taken place as an offshoot of the state's economic growth, and, in particular, its industrialization and

irrigation policy. For instance, there are 18 major dams in Andhra Pradesh, and six of the large ones alone have been responsible for displacing about half a million people. The proposed Indira Sagar Project (Polavaram) threatens the involuntary displacement of 2.37 lakh people from 276 villages in the scheduled areas of Andhra Pradesh, 55 percent of them being tribals. It will result in the submergence of 94,357 acres of land situated in the scheduled areas, of which 29,852 acres are poramboke. In addition to this, the Polavaram Project will submerge 3,223 hectares of forest.

Apart from the alienation of land from non-tribes, land alienation also happened in public and private development purposes. Many of those areas do not benefit from any source of government land laws. Land alienation can be seen more in the regions rich in mineral and other natural resources and where there are possibilities of increased agricultural production (Majumdar 1944). Land records manipulation is a significant factor behind the problem of land alienation. Land records are very unsatisfactory, which contributed a lot to the question of land alienation. Tribes are never legally recognized as owners of lands which they cultivated. Also, there is a problem of *benami* transfers. In May 1975, a study team of Union Home Ministry reported that large scale of ownership transfers have happened from the hands of tribal lands to other communities through illegal and benami transactions, collusive civil proceedings, etc. Another form of land alienation is related to leasing or mortgaging of land. To avail loans for various needs, tribes had given their land as mortgage to local moneylenders or the wealthy farmers (ibid.).

Impact of Globalisation

Globalization may help the Indian economy become open to other countries for imports and exports through liberalization policies. The development of industries through the entry of privatization started decreasing forest land, which helped the existence of tribal community livelihood. Most of the forest lands were destroyed in the name of development. In Odisha, the forest lands were destroyed to lay roads and water pipelines by the state government's corporate entities. Many protests took place in the nearby villagers as they depend entirely on the forests itself and the state-formed environmental schemes for them like Joint Forest Management to use the forest resources. But due to fossil-fuel based companies, climate change is becoming a significant problem. With the help of non-governmental organizations,

villages are developing sustainable livelihood by forming self-initiated community forest management by taking initiatives against factors causing deforestation and other forest degradation policies. The high opposition to corporate companies made the government get involve and take back the subsidies and other facilities provided to the corporate companies for violating environmental laws. The government should also take initiatives to provide employment opportunities for tribals other than NREGA and aspects of health, education, and other amenities. If any other developmental projects are being initiated, the local gram panchayat members should get the information. After their acceptance, the government should start the rest of the process (Wani and Kothari 2008).

As the demand increases in every sector due to the rise in population, modern industries led to forests' commercial exploitation. More significant parts of forest areas such as timber extraction, etc., are reserved under government control as the forest products are an essential source of revenue in the state (Merinews 2012). Tribal communities use forest products to fulfill their necessities. But, the tribals were either evicted or denied access to use the forest. This gave rise to a conflict between tribal traditional ownership of land rights and the state of wealth. This led tribes to revolt against the government. Tribes were restricted from taking even enough woods to build their huts or plows (Gupta 2011). Categorization of tribes should be done to prevent land alienation from lesser-developed tribes, equal distribution of reservations, and other constitutional provisions. They have been frequently denied their rights over land. Indebtedness is seen more in the community. They even purchase seeds and other essentials from local moneylenders for loans, which ultimately displaced them from their lands due to chronic indebtedness (Rao 2014a).

Forms of Displacement

Encroachment is another form of land alienation and is caused due to no proper land records. Bribing local government officers for manipulating the date of settlement of land disputes is seen to claim tribal lands. Another form is through marriage to tribal women by non-tribals to grab their lands. The adoption of tribal children is also another form of alienation. The implementation of restrictive provisions also encourages non-tribes to occupy tribal lands (Sharma 2002). The displacement of tribal lands could be understood in two ways: by policy and the second is by private companies and individuals against the tribal land policies.

The level of the problem varies from state to state and from tribe to tribe. All tribal land transfers must be recorded, and existing laws should be restructured (Huhua 2009). Land alienation deprives several tribal communities of their means of livelihood and sometimes leads to severe law and order problems. Tribal lands have been acquired by non-tribes through loopholes in the law and also through various illegal and fraudulent means at times by way of oral transactions which have no legal sanction. Incomplete and unsatisfactory land records have resulted in land alienation (Rupavath 2014). The traditional landholdings by the tribal communities do not attribute legal documents in majority cases. As a result, this has become a significant source of land grabbing.

Landlessness had been a significant cause of indebtedness among tribes in India. Fifty-eight percent of people are below the poverty line with a high concentration in states like Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, and West Bengal. The primary cause for indebtedness is land alienation, which further leads to dispossession of tribal land. Poverty, land alienation, debt, and landlessness among the tribal community is a vicious circle (Rao et al. 2006). Indebtedness is an outcome of low family income and social class structure. Tribes lack knowledge on the concept of loans and interest rates, which gave way for non-tribes to exploit them. So, education policy should be appropriately implemented for tribes to develop knowledge in all aspects (Ghurye 1943). Unless indebtedness is checked, there will be no permanent solution to the problem of land alienation. Several high-power committees such as the Baua and Appu Committees have examined the issue and have made several recommendations to solve this problem. The committee suggested that production and consumption credit should be made available to tribals in an integrated manner at the field level to ensure that they keep away from moneylenders (ibid.). Whatever the policies and programmes that the government implements for the benefit of the tribal people have become largely ineffective in this context. There are many pieces of evidence that the existing research studies explored this subject. Central India, a prominent geographical region with a high percent of tribal people, affects displacement. This region is also known to be rich in terms of the availability of natural resources.

Case Studies

There is much evidence where the tribal communities deprive due to proper infrastructure facilities to market their products. For example, Rathod Pralad,

aged 57 years, residing in *Paraswada* (B) village, *Gadiguda* Mandal in Adilabad district, has cultivated 6 acres of land in which he grows the only cotton. In this village, there are no roads or even drinking water facilities. The single water source for them is groundwater. There is no proper transportation facility to their village as it is almost a border village near the Maharashtra state. So, every input price is high as this village is far from the market. They also depend on collecting minor forest products such as fodder, honey, oils, fuelwoods, beedi leaves, and gums. They sell these products in the Girijan Cooperative Commission (GCC) or to local moneylenders. But after the implementation of forest rights policy, restrictions on forest products led them to suffer from crises. Due to the high input costs and low output income, he took a loan from the local moneylender with a high-interest rate. As he could not clear the loan, his entire family was working as agricultural laborers in other farmer's fields.

Mesram Jangu Bapu, aged 36 years, residing in Keslapur village, Indervelly Mandal in Adilabad district, has only 2 acres of land in which he cultivates cotton. Every year, he cultivates the only cotton, as rainfall is the single water resource for the growth of crops. It grows the output of around 30 quintals of cotton and gets the market's minimum support price. But, still, the input costs are not getting covered by output price. Input costs include seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, labor costs, and electricity costs. So, he started taking seeds from the Dhan foundation to save a minimum of ₹200 compared with the market price. Also, he took a bank loan for their subsistence level of living standards, such as for children's education and health issues. So here, one can observe that due to fewer landholdings, there is no scope for savings. This led him to take loans from other resources. There are many such pieces of evidence and cases across India.

Conclusion

Every tribal community has its own cultures, lifestyles, social structures, rituals, values, etc. Forest is the only option that occupies an essential position in tribal culture and economy. From birth to death, it is the fundamental right of their way of life. It can be said that India's underprivileged people are living in the areas of the richest natural resources. Historically, tribes have been facing difficulties and getting excluded because of various foremost groups' economic interests. As a significant resource, the land has been a spring of problem in tribal life because of two related reasons. The first, their

dependency on land, and the second, the inappropriate scheduling of government agencies' policies. There is also the migration of tribal laborers to other areas due to the depletion of land resources and lack of employment opportunities in their regions. The concept of livelihood theory needs a broader understanding. Livelihood approach mainly focussed on how people organize their lives productively and focus more on opportunities. In the case of scheduled tribes, they are traditionally famous for shifting cultivation by adopting livelihood diversification as a coping strategy. The strategies include intensifying existing income activities, migration, informal credit networks, adjusting the consumption patterns, and adopting settled agricultural methods. Although the constitution has made elaborate provisions for safeguarding scheduled tribes' interests, the enforcement of the same has not been of the desired level.

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Annexure- II



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