

LAND TRANSFERS AND ALIENATION IN TRIBAL ECONOMY

(A Case Study of two selected scheduled area villages of Adilabad District)

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

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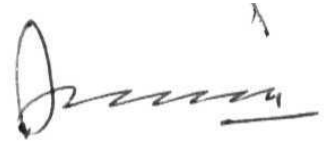
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DECLARATION

I here by declare that the work, embodied in this thesis entitled Land Transfers **and** Alienation in Tribal Economy (A Case Study of Two selected Scheduled area Villages of Adilabad District), carried out by me under the supervision of Professor G. Nancharaiah, Professor in Economics, Department of Economics, University of Hyderabad is original and this has not been submitted for any degree either in part or in full to any other University or to this University.

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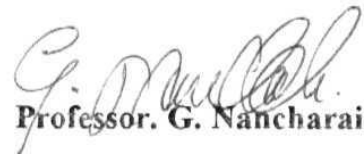


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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the Research work compiled in this thesis entitled Land Transfers and Alienation in (he Tribal Economy (A Case Study of Two Selected Scheduled Area Villages in Adilabad District), has been carried out by Mr. B. Venkati under my supervision, and the same has not been submitted elsewhere for a Ph.D. degree to the best of my knowledge.



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This is to certify that I B. Venkati have carried out the research embodied in the present **thesis** for the full period prescribed under Ph D ordinances of the University of Hyderabad under the supervision of Prof. G. Nancharaiah.

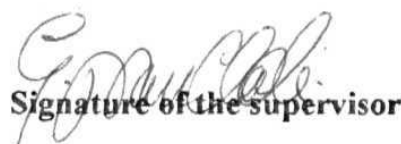
I declare to the best of my knowledge that no part of the thesis was earlier submitted for the award of Ph.D. research degree of any University.



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Signature of the supervisor

Dean of Social Sciences

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CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

The tribal people constitute an important segment of the Indian Society. Next to Africa, India has the largest concentration of Tribal population¹.

The tribes are generally referred to as aboriginal tribes², Socially organised, still on an ancient tribal basis, retaining languages, otherwise submerged **by** the Aryan or modern Dravidian speech of the advanced populations that have displaced them in the open country and still following its own ancient way which is radically different in many respects from the life of the ordinary Indian villages and towns³.

For over a century India was open to the impact of Western thought and Western ways of life. Today she is consciously turning towards her own heritage and the indigenous roots of her complex culture pattern. These roots lie not only in the great historic civilization of Dravidian and Aryan speech, not only in the earlier city civilizations of the Indus Valley, but they have their ramifications among the multitude of yet order and simpler cultures that once filled the greater part of the peninsula. The aboriginals, the people persisting in tribal forms of community life are the last representatives of these ancient and truly autochthonous civilizations and it is therefore, only natural that with the present change over from an extraspective to an intraspective tendency in Indian thought, interest in the tribal people and culture is growing⁴.

They have been a subject of a research for a bewildering variety of people for variety of reasons. For laymen and general readers they have a highly colourful, and romantic image of people as people of exotic customs and traditions. Honest Writers, and Researchers, have of course, not been able to ignore the reality of the

heart-rending poverty in which the tribal-masses are steeped in and of the heinous forms of exploitation, to which they are subjected to⁵. The conditions prevalent in **the** culturally backward areas of India, that is to say generally speaking amongst the tribal populations of India, have received much attention in recent years.

Land and Land Problems

Land and Water are the precious gifts of nature and the very basis of existence of mankind. Land is the prime source of wealth in the world.

In the third world countries, land as a productive asset plays an important role not only in the functioning of rural economies, but also in the changing fortunes of families and socio-economic groups. Other things being equal the larger the control over land, by a family, or a group of relatively homogenous set of families, the greater is its socio-economic and political power.

Most countries of the third world have, between one-half and three quarters, of their working population engaged in agriculture and a very small proportion in industries, transport or commerce. The developed countries have less than one-tenth of their labour force in agriculture, in some cases less than one-twentieth⁶.

Since land is the prime source of income in rural areas of India, by and large the size of income in rural areas continues to be closely related to the amount of land owned or controlled. The land distribution pattern in India in agriculture continues to be skewed. The land is concentrated mostly in the hands of upper castes and the dominant peasant castes to the exclusion of lower scheduled castes and **scheduled tribes. Hence, the more inequitable distribution of land has swelled the ranks of weaker sections and the bulk of whom are from the scheduled castes and tribes**⁷.

In the tribal economy two things of greatest significance to the tribals, are, land and, forests. The land is a part of this spiritual as well as economic heritage.

When the early man, turned from pastoral pursuits, by the accidental discovery, that grains of grass, that have fallen, on burnt ground, grew-stalks and produced edible grains, that were more easily gathered, stored and eaten when wanted, he initiated the conditions, by burning the vegetable growth, near his camping grounds, and after a time collected the matured ears from the stalks. This "Just how and where mankind fell into the custom of planting and cultivation" may always remain a matter for speculation⁸.

There is a good deal of discrepancy in the theories advanced to prove the origin of agriculture. Its beginnings are therefore not recorded in the ephemirical pages of history, but in the everlasting pages of rock stone and sand that entombed potshreds with grain in the dilapidated buildings of departed civilization.

With the exception of some small communities of hunters and foodgatherers, all the tribal people of India, mainly depend on agriculture for their subsistence. For centuries, if not millenia they had free access to as much as they cultivate, and it was only at the beginning of the 20th century that in some areas tribal communities encountered the competition of materially more advanced population infiltrating into the areas which had previously been the preserves of such tribes⁹.

The importance of tribals attach to land which sustains them is much deeper than what can be imagined on the basis of mere economic utility. It is agreed on all hands that the problem of land and tribals right on lands, they cultivate are most fundamental for a mere efficient use of land resources.

Till recently, there was no record of rights in the possession of tribals either in reserve or protected forests. It has been observed that even in the areas where

land records have been prepared, tribals have had to undergo considerable hardship at the hands of village officials in getting their names recorded. Often they have acquired the land by inheritance, transfer or reclamation¹⁰.

According to 1961 census report 29 per cent of the scheduled tribe households had holdings less than 2.4 acres compared to 34.5 per cent in the general population. The percentage of households having land holdings between 2.5 to 4.9 acres was 25.6 per cent amongst scheduled tribes compared to 22.8 per cent amongst the general population. The percentage of households having 10 acres or more was 20.8 per cent amongst the scheduled tribes compared to 21.2 per cent in the general population. Thus the inference that may be drawn from the data is that the land holdings of the scheduled tribes are smaller than those of the general population. It also indicates the gradual deterioration of tribal land ownership. According to 1971 census, there were 84.18 lakhs of cultivators and 48 32 lakhs of agricultural labourers amongst the scheduled tribe workers who constitute about nine-tenths of the total working population. And further it was observed that "In the states having large tribal areas the all India pattern of continuing command over land on the one end, high incidence and landlessness on the other, gets reflected as between different regions. The command over land in the more inaccessible regions continues to be undisturbed though many adverse forces are making their presence felt even in these areas. In many regions with the development of communications and intermixing of population the situation has deteriorated. In some of the advanced areas the members of the tribal families have been rendered completely landless and they may not possess even 5 to 10 per cent of the total land area. The attention to the deteriorating land situation was also pointedly drawn by the U.N. Dhebar Commission in 1961, and the A.O. Shilu Committee in 1969. The Committee headed by P.S. Appu reiterated the observations of the Dhebar Commission and urged upon the government to take up rigorous protective measures¹¹. The classical syndrome of migration of non-tribal communities - land grabbing decrease of the

land holdings perhaps may not **be that** dominant in 70's as **it** was in 1960 or even before to that. **The** above single 'modus operandi' of land alienation took a different **turn where it** was accompanied by the much renewed industrial activity, which had established the contractual co-existence of industrial-imperial capital. The displacement of tribals from their lands was reported in other general studies which revealed that neither alternative lands were shown nor compensation available to them. Thus both increasing industrial activity backed by the alien (private-public-imperial) capital on one side and increasing disparities in the country side which had been progressively resulting in the impoverishment of small-middle class peasantry in the plains on the other forced the non-tribals to pursue for alternative lands. This alternative source was available in the forest-tribal areas altogether, resulting in the depeasantisation of the tribal communities in India.

Land and Operational Holdings

According to the agricultural census of operational holdings held in 1981, the operational holdings below 2 hectares have gone up over the years with devolution by inheritance **as** well as redistribution of land, but skewed distribution of land among different size classes of operational holdings still persists. **The** number of holdings below 2 hectares went up from 49.63 million in 1970-71 to 66.6 million **in** 1980-81. These constituted 74.5% of the total holdings in 1980-81 against 69.9% **in** 1970-71, but operated areas in 1980-81 against 20.9% in 1970-71. Against this, holdings above 10 hectares came down from 2.77 million **in** 1970-71 to **2.15** million in 1980-81. **These** constituted 2.4% of the total holdings in 1980-81 against 3.9% in 1970-71, **but** operated **as** much as 37.13 million hectares **or 22.8% of** the total operated area in 1980-81 against 30.9% in 1970-71.

When we view the national level operated holdings i.e. the total operated area among the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and others during 1980-81 is given in the table below :-

Table - 1.1

Operational Holdings (Caste group wise)

Social groups	Percentage of population	Area in lakh hectares	(in hectares)
			Percentage
Scheduled Castes	15.46	115.22	7.0
Scheduled Tribes	7.85	167.04	10.2
Others	76.69	1355.71	82.8
Total	100.00	1637.97	100.0

Source : Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Twenty eight report 1986-87, p.253.

The percentage distribution of operational holdings in major size groups among the scheduled castes scheduled tribes and others is furnished in the following table **1.2**.

Table - 1.2

Distribution of operational holdings (size group wise)

Size groups	Scheduled Castes	Scheduled Tribes	Others	(in percentage)
				Total
Marginal (Below 1 hectare)	13.8	5.4	80.8	100
Small (Between 1 and 2 hectares)	10.2	9.7	80.1	100
Semi-medium (Between 2 and 4 hectares)	7.6	11.3	81.1	100
Medium (Between 4 and 10 hectares)	5.4	11.6	83.0	100
Large (10 hectares and above)	4.4	10.8	84.8	100
All size groups	11.3	7.7	81.0	100

Source : Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Twenty eighth report 1986-87, p.253.

It would be seen from the above table that among Marginal holdings the share of the Scheduled Castes was 13.8% and in the case of large holdings their share was merely 4.4%, while that of other communities was as high as 84.8%. The proportion of Scheduled Castes in the rural population in the country was 17.34% their share in the total number of operational holdings was only 11.3%. Similarly, the Scheduled Tribes had 7.7% of the total number of holdings though their proportion in the rural population was 9.54%.

The distribution of holdings at all India level among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other major size groups had been given in the table 1.3 :-

It would be seen from the above table that bulk of the land holdings (68.9) of the Scheduled Castes are marginal, i.e., below one hectare, while in the case of the Scheduled Tribes this percentage is 39.8.

Driven as they have by man or by circumstances into the hills and the backwoods and the malaria belt, these backward people are a real minority and present a real problem to the India Administrator, educationalist and politician.

For with the increasing pressure of population on better lands, there is a growing demand for the opening up of the lands of the aboriginals, lands to modern methods of cultivation while the fact that those lands contain not only many of the best forests in India but also some of her richest mineral deposits every year increases the economic and other contacts of the interior forest man with the modern world. Without any education to fit him to stand up to this culture contact or invasion everywhere the tribesman is in grave danger of being suddenly cast a drift, from all his cultural and social anchorages upon the waters of the social, economic and industrial revolution in progress elsewhere in India¹².

Table -1.3

Distribution of holdings among the **Scheduled** Castes and **Scheduled Tribes and Other** major size groups

(Area in hectares)

Size groups	Scheduled Castes		Scheduled Tribes		Others		All Social Groups	
	No. in lakhs	% age	No. in lakhs	% age	No. in lakhs	% age	No. in lakhs	% age
Marginal	69.23	68.9	27.28	39.8	404.71	56.2	501.22	56.4
Small	16.44	16.3	15.51	22.6	128.77	17.9	160.72	18.1
Semi-medium	9.52	9.5	14.05	20.5	100.98	14.0	124.55	14.0
Medium	4.38	4.4	9.36	13.7	66.94	9.3	80.68	9.1
Large	0.95	0.9	2.34	3.4	18.37	2.6	21.66	2.4
All size groups	100.52	100.0	68.54	100.0	719.77	100.0	888.83	100.0

Source : Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled tribes, Twenty eight report 1986-87, p.254.

Land is looked upon the most of the tribal communities in India not only as their dependable source of livelihood, but also as the foundation for social prestige. Social status among the tribals is measured in terms of land ownership particularly possession of hereditary land. Further more land is some times linked with the perpetuation of groups of tribal people with their autonomy, solidarity and cohesion. Land is useful to them in several ways : (a) as a source of food gathering and hunting and (b) as a place to live and as a place to work¹³.

In India the majority of the tribal people about 90 per cent are engaged in cultivation including shifting hill cultivation. These people are either working in their own land or as agricultural labourers in the field of others. The population of agricultural tribes is increasing. Again poor soil and primitive method of cultivation have enhanced the heavy pressure on land and an ever-growing population has aggravated the situation more and more. In fact, the inadequacy of agricultural land is a common feature and general problem of the Indian peasants which is more severe among the tribals. On an average, land per capita of a person dependent on agriculture is 1.6 acres in India, 4.5 acres in the USSR, and 7.5 acres in the U.S.A. Among the tribals it is even much below the national standard¹⁴.

With regard to the critical concept of land alienation, the transfer of certain rights is a well-known phenomenon. The scope and content of rights thus transferred among the tribal communities in India particularly in Andhra Pradesh is not clear. In the tribal subsistence economies alienation by outright sale is rare as land is plentiful and the technology is primitive. Transfer is resorted to in case of dire necessity. Land cannot be transferred on account of the sanctity attached to it. However, alienation of Tribal lands has of course, been a widespread occurrence in recent years. Tribal people who have occupied forests for centuries have enjoyed considerable privileges. The new forest policy laid down by the Union Government in 1952 has hit the tribals very hard¹⁵.

The National Forest Policy declared that the forest policy should be based on paramount national needs. In a way this was an extension of the Colonial British Policy and it was laid down that the claims of communities living in and around forest not override national interests¹⁶.

In actual practice the concept of national interests was interpreted in a very narrow sense. The destruction of forests for the construction of roads, building of irrigation and hydroelectricity dams, ammunition factories and other projects was justified in the name of national interest, whereas cultivation of lands as forest lands but without any actual tree cover were treated as encroachments¹⁷.

Adivasis living near forests were discouraged from using the forests. The Government tried to obtain more and more revenue from the forests. India's technically skilled professionals of forests (Forest department officials) treating adivasis as the enemies of the forest¹⁸.

The Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission in April 1960 under the Chairmanship of UN. Dhebar analyses forest policy and the impact on tribal communities. The commission emphasised the importance of forests in the life of the tribal people in providing them with all kinds of food, wild game and fish, wood for construction of houses and even income from the sale of forest produce besides fuel. It criticised the gradual extension of government authority over forests to the detriment of tribal life and economy. It noted the changes in the rights of the tribal communities over forests. The traditional rights of the tribal were no longer recognised as rights. In 1894, they became rights and privileges and in 1952 they became rights and concessions, and were later being regarded as concessions. The Commission also mentioned the reluctance of forest officials to allow exercise of tribal rights over the forest lands and produce even when there were no trees on such lands. The commission regretted that the forest policy declared in 1952 was not being implemented in its spirit.

The forest not only satisfied a deep-rooted tribal sentiment **but it** provides essential food to them. They enjoyed **the** privilege and freedom of utilising the forests as they linked up to the middle of **the** 19th century. Thereafter, people from outside moved into the forests and exploited the latter **on** commercial basis and conditions began to change. The Government started the gradual extension of authority in the national interests and thus the process of reserving and protecting the forest areas by the Government resulted in reducing the customary Tribal control over them to mere concessions¹⁹. Legislative measures undertaken **by** certain states to protect the land owned by the tribals from alienation have not been effectively implemented. Consequently, a large number of tribal communities have been deprived of their lands. This has led to widespread tribal unrest in different parts of the country. The tribals are very overwhelmed by a sense of alienation, from existing socio-political as well as economic system. The problem of land alienation is not only related to the economic but also to the Socio-Political and moral systems of the country²⁰.

A dramatic change in this peaceful co-existence occurred when improved communications opened-up previously inaccessible tribal areas and rapid growth of the Indian population led to pressure on the land's resources. **In the past fifty years most of** tribal societies have come under attack by economically more advanced and politically more powerful ethnic groups, who infiltrated into tribal regions in search of land and new economic possibilities. These population movements triggered a struggle for land in which the aboriginal tribesmen were usually the losers, and deprived of their ancestral land turned into impoverished landless labourers²¹.

Land Problem in Tribal Areas of Andhra Pradesh

Andhra Pradesh is the traditional home of nearly 33 tribal groups and most of these communities are inhabiting the border areas of Andhra Pradesh in the North

and North-East. Identical tribal groups are found in the border areas of Maharashtra State in the North and Madhya Pradesh and Orissa states in the North-East. Out of 33 recognised Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh, 30 groups are found living in more than 6,200 villages situated in sprawling 30030 Sq. Km. Scheduled areas in the districts of Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Khamman, Warangal, Adilabad and Mahaboobnagar. The Scheduled area in the state which is the chief habitat of tribal groups of Andhra Pradesh constitutes 11 % of the total geographical area of the State. The density of population is 125 in Scheduled area as against 194 in the non-scheduled area per Sq.Km.²²

The total Scheduled Tribe population in Andhra Pradesh is 31.76 lakhs according to 1981 census reports and their population increased by 15.18 lakhs (91.56%) when compared to 1971 census reports. This abnormal growth in Scheduled Tribe population is due to inclusion of Lambada, Yerukula, Yanadi communities of in the list of Scheduled Tribes in 1976. The tribal population in the state constitutes 5.93% to the total population in the state. Highest scheduled tribe population is found in Khamman district (4,29,959) and visakhapatnam comes second²³.

The main occupation of the tribal groups living in scheduled areas is cultivation. The occupational pattern of scheduled tribes in all the 23 districts of the state is furnished in Annexure II. As furnished in this statement approx. 80% of tribals living in 9 scheduled districts are eking out their livelihood from agriculture sector either through cultivation or agricultural labour. In Visakhapatnam, Khammam and Adilabad districts where tribal groups are predominantly living, more than 85% of the workers are dependent on cultivation and agricultural labour. Out of 33 tribal groups only three groups viz., Goudus in Scheduled areas Andhra region and Yerukula and Yanadis in the plain areas are not mainly dependent on agriculture. Goudus are pastorals, while Yanadis and Yerkulas are inland fishermen and basket makers respectively. Some poor **Yerukals** were completely depended upon piggery. These

groups are also working as cultivators or adopted cultivation or agricultural labour as their subsidiary occupation²⁴.

The forest and mountainous tracts which are the traditional moorings of the pre-literate societies are considered as placid places from time immemorial. But these tribal areas have been turned into virtual places of disturbances in the last two centuries. Most of the rebellions in our country arose primarily due to illegal deprivation of their rights on the kinds. The Rampa rebellion in East Godavari District in 1879 and series of revolts in tribal areas of Visakhapatnam in 19th century was due to exploitation by Muttadars and Zamindars. The Gond rebellion (Babijhari movement) in the Adilabad in 1940 was again transfer of lands from Gonds to non-tribals and extension of forest reserve boundaries over their ancestral lands²⁵. The tribal unrest leading to police firing at Indervelli in Utnoor taluk had its roots in land problem²⁶.

The prevalence of 'Jagirdari System' had worsened the fate of the peasants in Telangana during Nizam's rule. It is stated in one of the studies conducted on the 'Jagirdari System', that, in terms of the number of villages, the jagirs accounted for about 8,128 out of State's 21,876 villages, i.e., 37.2% and in terms of population, they constituted about 1/3rd of the total number of the State's 18 million inhabitants on the eve of 'jagir abolition' (1948). The socio-economic effects of this system had been well envisaged by A.M. Khusro. As the safeability and mortgagability were inherent in ownership rights, and as land became a commodity of value in the 19th century owing to the security it offered and the prestige and status, it conferred on its owner, many non-cultivators began to acquire lands which, later they leased out to others for cultivation. The growth of indebtedness also had the same effect of land being mortgaged with or sold to non-cultivators who lease it out for profit. Thus, arose a body of absentee land-holders and a class of tenant cultivators. For former generally had no interest in the land save that of deriving increased productivity but collection of rent came to be their objective.

These exploitative conditions prevalent in the jagirdari and non-jagirdari areas of the agrarian plains of Telanagana and their attendant effects of heavy burden of taxation over the peasantry, and the arbitrary ways of surrendering of surpl's in the Deshpandes and Deshmukhs who wielded the political and economic power at the local-level had resulted in a overall repressive socio-economic system.

The economic situation of 1920-22 and 1930-33 had also played a crucial role in worsening the position of the peasant who were unable to pay the taxes because of bad harvest and unfair prices. They had to surrender their lands to pay the revenues and had to sell away the lands. While commenting on the aspect of depeasantisation 'Dhanagare'²⁷ feels; land alienation increased considerably between 1910 and 1940 particularly during the economic depression, when much land previously owned by tribal peasants passed into the hands of non-cultivating urban interests, mostly by Brahmins, Marwadis, Komatis and Muslims. These communities further strengthened their hold over rural Telangana from the turn of this century. The presence and penetration of these communities can be very well understood as the needs of the Nizam state varied in this period. The need for survey and settlement and regularisation effect of the land records naturally had invited the educated elite like Brahmins. The capital held by Komatis and Marwadis which was hitherto limited only to the Urban countries and been directed to the rural areas through the money lending process. The sole purpose behind all this was to appropriate the labour and land assets while facilitating the state authorities to freely collect revenues and taxes from the peasants as there would be an increased money circulation. The other community to be drawn to the rural areas was of the Muslims who were vestiges of the feudal state power. They were encouraged by the state to strengthen its power base at the local level. It was a compulsion on the part of the Nizam State to satisfy the military and Muslim community, which resulted in the grant of many jagirs to Muslims. All these trends in the land structure found in Telangana at the end of 1928-30 had resulted in an uneven landownership and further the process of land alienation in Telangana²⁸.

All these developments like - increased state activity for the enhancement of revenues which had historically necessitated the emergence of money lending class, the slowly emergent commercial cropping system,²⁹ in the plains adjacent to the tribal region, the impact of world depression over the Indian peasants at large, the prevalence of obnoxious 'Bhagela' and 'vetti' systems whose germs were in the feudalism, the practice of feudalism and unsurveying of many villages even until the 1936 (1346F) and insecure tenural conditions resulted in massive pauperisation of the peasantry³⁰.

Hence, the land alienation in the tribal areas has to be viewed in the light of these conditions prevail in the peasant life of the plain areas of the Telangana. This view is essential because the neighbouring forest regions were inevitably dragged into the fold all these happenings. In terms of both agrarian changes and the effect of Telangana armed struggle.

In the backward district of Adilabad, largely inhabited by tribal population particularly Gonds, the government used to apply one of the approaches to solve the tribal problems. (Before Babjheri incident it was anthropologist approach adopted by the government to solve their problem after the incident it was social workers approach combined with missionary approach to solve the problem of Gonds of Adilabad district. The renowned anthropologist, C.V.F. Haimendorf, who made/ extensive study about the problems of aboriginals of this Adilabad district applied social workers and missionary approach to rehabilitate them with proper cultivation and also pacify them after Babjheri incident.)

But many Gonds lost their lands after promulgations of protective legislations also, the influence of non-tribals unabated. The Indervelli incident which took place on April 20, 1981, indicates the emotional attitudes of Gonds towards the attachment with their lands and also the protest to the alienation of their land and harassment by non-tribal exploiters³¹.

The present economic and social spectrum of tribal economy of Adilabad district given me the instinct to study the two villages namely Lakkaram and Dantanpally, with reference to land transfer problem. As these hamlets purely inhabited by the Gonds and situated in hillocks lacking road linkages and experienced (covered) under the both approaches of tribal development, represents an unit of anthropologists approach-ridden, whereas the another village Dantanpally situated on the road side only resembles the scenario of territory covered under social workers, missionaries, administrative approaches engulfed with large scale of tribal land alienation and transfer.

Many administrative steps were taken to protect the tribal cultivators from exploitation by outsiders time to time (at many times) not benefited them. These reforms and administrative steps, however, more or less remained on paper as the tribals were totally uninformed about them and even if they knew they were too isolated to take an advantage of them³².

REVIEW OF LITERATURE (Earlier Studies)

The colonial administrators and the anthropologists started showing great interest in the study of the "backward and uncivilised (tribal) communities". Many liberals from the British academic circles, who made a bee-line for digging out the language, script, traditions, and culture of the tribals, had tried to 'reclaim (tribals) the civilisation'³³.

It **was** in this context of guarding the colonial interests **that the tribal studies in India had been taken up. As one of the top Anthropologist, Talal Asaad³⁴ had put it, the "collaboration between Anthropologists and administrators" and sometimes the Administrators-Anthropologists started opening the doors of tribal research invariably to protect the colonial interests. The important tribal studies by and large**

were initiated around 1870. And significantly even the laws related to the tribal affairs were promulgated during this period. The literature and information network helped **the** colonial master to enact laws and frame the policies. The framing of policy by **the** colonial government encouraged further research on the tribal life which again was **a** historical necessity of the colonial master. The overall result of these studies indicate that on one hand they enriched the subject of anthropology and on the other hand, in the guise of knowing things, the weak links of the tribal societies which had helped the colonial masters to a great extent had been identified³⁵. But a positive aspect of all these studies was that they were in one way or other, reported to have helped the other sincere academicians to initiate research in tribal India. Hence, with all its limitations and philosophical inclinations in favour of colonialism, research in anthropology paved the way for further research on the tribal communities of India.

Thus, **a** major portion of the literature on tribals that is available in India is basically drawn by anthropological studies. Kinship, customs, language marriages crime and other aspects of the tribal cultural life have been investigated by these authors and **for** varied reasons the major part of the anthropological knowledge on tribals is overloaded with the western prejudices. Significantly, all the studies had ignored the economic and political dimensions of the tribal society. In this context, **it** may be found that the British Governors have liberally supported the studies and even initiated the census activity in the tribal areas. Even the census operations which were consistently organised from 1892 to 1941 under the British supervision had an inbuilt objective of understanding the causes of tribal discontentment and their capacity **to** resist the state. They must have thought that by knowing the tribal life it could **help** them **to** suppress **the** tribal movements. **And all these have ultimately facilitated the colonial interest to know the availability of the raw material in the tribal areas. Thus strengthening the state power, searching for the raw material and new market etc., and due to several other reasons, anthropology has**

been termed as a "child of imperialism"³⁰. David Godderds added: "Imperialism was the normal world for anthropologists (whose existence it had made possible).... **they** avoided questioning the foundations and ideolgoy of imperialism because **it** never occured to them to do so³⁷. He further says that the anthropologists instinctively have confined themselves to the appearance of things, never attempting to analyse the relationship latent in the things in themselves. Equally significant has been the constant evasion of the notion of totality, as they refuse to accept the cause and consequences of the structure and also the nature of the structure³⁸. Thus the method, form, style and the confined nature presentation of the facts and forwarding the solutions frequently echoes the reformationist, partisan, non-integral and structural functionalist approach - in one world the class-based nature of tribal research.

As the nature of all the studies had confined to limited sphere, certain problems which deserve to be exposed had been consciously or unconsciously kept aside. For instance, the growing revolting nature and spirit of the tribals, decay in their life standards, the continuous inflow of the intruders, the consequent discontent, and ever-increasing exploitation in the tribal life, particularly in land relations have not even been touched in these studies. As a result, the studies have become incompleted and failed to explain the tribal phenomenon in its totality.

Studies in the Post - Indepence Period

After Independence, several studies were undertaken by the administrators, sociologists, political scientists, economists and social workers. Even the government had constituted a number of committees to study some specific and general issues through **the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Schedled Tribes was already appointed and the Research Institutes were established in various States which brought out voluminous literature on the tribal society in India.**

The Asiatic Society, the Anthropological Society of Bombay, the Gujarat Research Society, the Ethnographic and Folk-culture Society, Lucknow, the Cultural Research Institute in West Bengal Bharatiya Adimajati Sevak Sangh, New Delhi and its branch in Nellore, Andhra Pradesh, A.N. Sinha Institute, Patna, I.C.S.S.R. and the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, have done a great deal of research on the tribal life. Apart from these, several individuals, voluntary organisations, civil liberties associations, parliamentary and non-parliamentary political parties (especially, left parties) have enriched the knowledge on the subject with their occasional reports.

V. Raghavaiah,³⁹ the pioneer social worker of tribal development, has made several attempts to analyse the tribal life in Andhra Pradesh as well as in India. His valuable books "Tribal Revolts" and "Tribes in India"⁴⁰ have set in a good tradition of giving a good chronological sketch of the tribal revolts in India (since 1778) and has presented a review of the problems of the tribals. Though they have their merits, proper attention has not been paid to the "Land Issue" in the tribal areas. But in his other studies it has been shown as the cause for many tribal revolts.

The study of M.L. Patel⁴¹ is a pioneering effort on the land problems in Madhya Pradesh. The effort of M.L. Patel to establish a casual relationship between the tribal unrest or restlessness and the loss of land had raised many issues. He has also developed a methodology which would be useful for doing research on the subject in future.

The contribution of Dube and Ratna Murdia to the subject of land alienation and restoration is also commendable. They have edited a book⁴² containing a number of articles on the subject contributed by different authors. **The** book while providing us with exhaustive data, gives us the background to the problem also. However, it has not escaped from the method of traditional interpretation of the

issue. But, Arun Sharma has highlighted the problem by touching the basic issues related to the problem. However, his work remains as a mere compilation of the statistical data and of the legislations that were passed from time to time as it has not made an in depth analysis of the problem.

Kulakarni's⁴³ study on Harsal tribals (Maharashtra Development Block) touches upon the resource utilisation (land utilisation), land relations, the housing conditions, and contains a note on the plight of the artisans. The study falls under the structuralist approach and argues for providing certain incremental benefits and for improving the existing but does not see the root cause that lies somewhere else in the land - phenomemon.

The study⁴⁴ of the development of the tribal communities inhabiting Narayanpatna and Raruban multipurpose developmental blocks in Orissa State, as selected by N. Patnaik attempts to show the impact of the development programmes on the political and economic conditions of the tribal situation. In this context he points out that "the presence of caste-Hindus and their dominance in the two blocks) resulted in the frustration of the tribals and the consequences are discontent and engendering of a rebellious outlook. Several aspects of land alienation are also covered in the study. According to him, the identification of cases of illegal transfer of land is a difficult question. The tribals who had sold their lands were reluctant to reveal their identity for the fear of economic intimidation. This observation, significantly, is in accordance with the unchecked prevalence of non-tribal landlords who had the economic hold over the tribal life and also with the failure on the part of the Government by restoring the land to the tribals.

R.N. Pareek's study⁴⁵ on the Jatapus had analysed the life of the tribals of the eastern ghats of Andhra Pradesh. It covers certain areas of the Bhadragiri taluk of the Srikakulam district giving details of the forms of exploitation and the role of

Sahukar in the economic sphere of the life of Jatapus. He criticises the governmental attitude for its negligence in the welfare of the tribals by pointing out improper revenue system and the inability of the government to arrest the illegal money-lending practices of Komities. Besides this, the main observations of the author are that the presence of the Komities and other non-tribal castes had control over the "choicest and fertile land", and that the majority of the tribals were the victims of this process of appropriation. Giving the picture of the land-holding pattern of the area, he analyses the factors behind the concentration of the land in the hands of the non-tribal trader-cum-landlords of the area.

The papers on the perspectives on tribal development covers various aspects related to the tribal problem and throws light on the land issue in tribal areas⁴⁶.

P.R.G. Mathur's paper on "Transfer and Alienation of Tribal Land and Indebtedness in Kerala", explains the mode of transfer of land and dispossession of the tribal lands in the areas of Wynad, Attapaady, Nenmeni, of the Kerala State. The study identifies the link between the indebtedness and the transfer of land, and establishes the futility of the legal methods which have largely failed to protect the landed interests of the tribals. The study, unlike other traditional studies, recognises the land-issue as a problem arising out of the existing property relations in tribal areas, but ends with the structuralist suggestions, like urging for an institutional agency in the co-operative sector to arrest the activities of the money-lender. Having known fully the failure of the co-operative efforts in the tribal areas, giving such a type of suggestion repeats the "monotony of reformism" only and shows the unpreparedness of the researcher to give more radical solutions.

The other paper by A.K. Mukhopadhyay concentrates on **the** variables like land ownership, cultivational methods, the impact of Cheiftain **system**, problems cropping up in the communal ownership of land in the north **east frontier** states. In

the light **of** the phenomena of green revolution, urbanisation, exploitation of then minerally rich areas, necessity **of** land for the factory sites, etc., the paper gives the causes **of** land alienation **but** does not explain the role of the trader-cum-money lender in the tribal areas at large and consequent alienation of the lands.

The other paper by R.N. Tripathy explains the agricultural problems of the tribal communities of NEFA and extensively covers the aspect of shifting cultivation in those territories. The study, though informative on the aspects covered, fails to highlight the agricultural problems in the tribal areas with an integrated perspective.

In the same volume, commenting on the pattern of the land alienation, Roy Burmen,⁴⁷ also fails to explain the 'dynamic nature' of the land problem. He identifies two main reasons behind the problem of land alienation (a) emergence of a new class of commercial and industrial entrepreneurs among the tribals; (b) improvement in the working conditions of the tribals through exogenous interaction.

The assumption that the emergence of commercial industrial class within the tribal class, has improved the tribal life is not only falsification of the reality but also the mystification **of** the existing conditions. It is quite evident that the entrance of the outside capital as well as outside population not only ruined the life conditions **of** the tribals while reducing them to a subservient position but alienated them from their own environment. This **has** been emphasised by several social scientists in their studies⁴⁸. At the most the entry of commercial and industrial capital might have resulted in the differentiation **of** peasantry within the tribal communities. That, of course, has certain positive effect.

Das Gupta explains⁴⁹ the Naxlite movement of 1970 in detail and discusses its socio-economic goals and their attainment. He explains the socio-economic conditions⁵⁰ of the Santal tribals of Bihar and Savaras of Srikakulam that forced

them to revolt against the exploitative social system that prevailed in these areas. This study also throws light on the emerging contradiction in tribal areas and between different tribal and non-tribal classes.

"Peasant Struggles in India" edited by A.R. Desai attempts to give a panoramic view of the tribal and peasant struggles in India during the colonial period⁵¹. The work comprises of several essays written by many authors which give an historical account of the struggles launched by various sections of the agrarian population of India including the struggles and movements of the tribals. Desai summarises these essays in his theme of analysis by raising several fundamental questions relating to their socio-economic life.

Verrier Elwin, writing in this book "A philosophy for NEFA" makes the following observations on the land problems: "In other parts of India (other than NEFA) where the tribal communities have declined, in many ways, the first cause of their depression was the loss of their land and forests'. If we look back over the long series of tribal rebellions against authority in other parts of tribal India, we see that the majority of them arose over this point⁵². Thus, the Kol insurrections of 1883 were caused by encroachment on the tribal land. The Tamar Rebellions which repeated seven times between 1789 and 1832 were primarily due to the illegal deprivation of their rights in land, which the Hos, Mundas and Oraons had suffered. J.H. Hutton too, had remarked in his work "Modern India and the west" and says that the best land (of the tribals) that is available in tribal areas had been passed into the hands of outsiders⁵³ and this is the basic problem of underdevelopment.

Setu Madhava Rao⁵⁴ in his study, "Among the Gonds of Adilabad" hits at this point and vividly explains how the Gonds of Adilabad have been appropriated from their resources especially from their cultivable lands. He also discusses the phase-wise transformation of the tribal lands from the community orientation to the cheftain

system **to** Mokasadar to Deshmukh system of land holdings and its changing effects of ruination of Gond life. Parulaker's⁵⁵ study on worlies of Maharashtra broke new grounds on the theoretical fields of tribal research. The study highlights the feudal form of oppression and its mechanism of torture, while discussing the forms **of** resistance, and movements led by the Worlies. The same community has also been studied extensively by Shard Patil and C.S. Laxmi⁵⁶ in a much more analytical framework.

The studies by various left political activists of the 20th Century would provide sufficient data on the tribals. The studies provide solid data on the deprivation, exploitation **of** the tribals in various forms, their political struggles, and their experiences with the non-tribal inhabitants and the role of the state machinery in the tribal areas.

Suresh Singh's book, "Tribal Situation in India"⁵⁷ (Proceedings of the Simla Seminar, 1972) tries to fill the gap of knowledge on the tribals representing various parts of India also gives a vivid picture of various political, administrative, cultural, economic problems faced by the tribals. The book though relatively informative, fails to analyse the problems responsible for the under development of the tribals.

Stephenn Fuchs, in his article, "Land scarcity and Land Hunger" narrates the land problem but only with a limited perspective. Suresh Singh also mentions the manipulations adopted **by** the non-tribals which have gone invariably in contravention **or the land transfer** regulations. He also analysed the conflict **of** interests of **the** installation of public industries and the decay of tribal agricultural economy.

B.D. Sharma, whose concern towards tribal development in India is very much established, in his writings elaborately deals with various aspects of tribal

development. Both his administrative and academic pursuits provide an insight into various problems of the tribal development. These articles are useful for the future researchers on this subject⁵⁸.

Arun Sinha, whose academic service is remarkable in the field of tribal studies,⁵⁹ has contributed a number of articles both in the Economic and Political Weekly and the 'Indian Express'.. Being a Specialist on the Jharkand movement and a regular reporter vehemently criticises hand-in-glove attitude of the bureaucrats with those vested class interests in dealing with the tribal problem, In some of his articles, he clearly exposes the nominal benefits of the nationalisation of industries and forests and explains how the nationalisation has helped the big landlords and industrial capitalist only.

Harish Chandre Roat⁶⁰ in his work "Tribal settlements systems and **development straregy**" analysed the tribal settlement system of "Dengarpur district of Rajasthan by way of case study. The author tries to find a solution of tribal development, feasible either through non-clustered and clustered tribal settlement without focussing much land aspects in the tribal development arena.

Ranjit Gupta⁶¹ in his edited book "Planning for Tribal development" (Collection of Seminar papers conducted at IIM, Ahmedabad in May 1976) stressed the need for the proper approach to the Intergrated tribal planning for tribal development.

Nirmal Sengupta who edited a book on Jharkand movement is an expert on the mode of production in tribal areas analyses the mutual contradictions of the inflow of developmental capital and degradation of the native Adivsasi life in Jharkand area. He also explains how the contradictions work among various classes and explains the "correspondence" between the emergence of the concept of "Diku" and the degradation of tribals⁶².

S.D. Kulkarni **who** exclusively deals with the land problem in Maharashtra tribal areas, exposed the dubious and pro-landlord nature of the legislations⁶³. He also narrates how the tribal peasants have suffered in the hands of the government officials in getting the rehabilitation amounts sanctioned. In addition to this, he observes that the falsification of land records in connivance with the landlords created the land scarcity in tribal areas.

A renowned anthropologist, Prof. Haimendorf⁶⁴ was a pioneer on studies in tribal Telangana. His contribution to the tribal studies include four separate volumes on the four dominant tribes of the regions known as chenchus of Mahabubnagar, the Koyas of Warangal, the Hill Reddies of the Bison Hills (Khammam-East Godavari) and the **Raj Gonds** of Adilabad. These major works were followed by several research articles, reports and books on various aspects related to tribal life in India. His studies on the different tribal communities provide enormous factual information over the level of development of the tribes. However, the main drawback in his studies is that he has not concentrated much on land problem in tribal areas except in a recent work in which he has dealt to some extent the land problem in tribes Telangana. Though his studies may be considered as pioneering one in the field he ignores certain aspects which are highly relevant for tribal development. For instance, the large scale evictions of tribals, granting of jagirs to non-tribals, increasing land revenues, imposing restrictions on forest tribals through and excise laws, declaring reserve **forest**, acquiring tribal lands and forest dwelling places on the name of monopolising raw materials, etc., were not properly explained from its historical perspective as a result of it, the areas which are significant in tribal life, stands uncovered. This may be because he was 'employed' by Nizam to look at the tribal **affairs in the state. The history of the tribes of Andhra Pradesh and their economic organisation has been a closed book for a very long time. No doubt some pioneering work has been done on the tribes and tribal areas in the Andhra Agency. Dr. Ayyappa was the first scholar as administrator who attempted to present picture of economic and social conditions of the Agency tribal areas.**

Another officer who studied the problems in all its facts and submitted a report was Sri. Malayappan. Besides these reports Dr. A.R.K. Murthy selected the Andhra agency for his doctoral thesis. He attempted to study the economy of the Andhra Agency and presented a critical evaluation of planning attempted for the Andhra Agency.

A recent study on Tribal economy of Telangana' specially deal with Warangal Koyas, was undertaken by Ramaiah. The study furnishes factual information related to tribal indebtedness and their family budget formation. Though here and there the study mentions about the land problem, it fails to identify causes for land alienation. The author had been in a blanket assumption that tribal lands were already restored to them in these areas and firmly believes that the land problem is being resolved by the Government, which is, however, a realistic proposition towards the problem. V.S. Ramnani⁶⁷ Studied the tribal economy of Srikakulam district in her work "Tribal economy" (Problems Prospects) stressed more on the impact of economic and non-economic factors on the tribal economy which consists tribal groups like savaras Jatapus, Gadabas in seethampets samithi, Srikakulam district.

A recent study done in the aspects of land alienation in tribal areas by B. Janardhan Rao, who exclusively deals with land alienation in Tribal area of Andhra Pradesh, narrates the land problem in the tribal economy and exposed the dubious nature of nontribals and silent spectatorship of state government regarding the alienation of tribal lands. His study is pioneering work on land alienation in the Tribal economy of Andhra Pradesh, which confined to three villages of Warangal district⁶⁸.

The studies that have been taken up both in colonial and pre-colonial stages largely **served the colonial** interest provides certain basic data about the tribals and paved **the way for** future research. The subjects undertaken after independence

mainly concentrated on "the policy" matters and were observed more about the arrangement **of** constitutional safeguards the creation of welfare institutions. The latter studies largely concentrated **on the** structures and functions of institutions created by **the** Government of India. A few of which have adequately dealt with the problem and have narrated the deterioration of the conditions prevalent due to the divisive factors such as the impact of industrialisation, inducement of technology ~~in~~ agriculture, the cultural influx, the migration trends, administrative efficiency, problems of co-ordination, regional planning and development. Most of these studies 'structural functional' **in** methodology and reformistic in studying solutions and alternative models.

Studies that have been taken up to highlight the exploitation in tribla areas are very limited in nature and they also vary in their methodology and content analysis. Some investigative reports and studies on the aspects like indebtedness, money-lending, forest policy, (but not very much on the excise policy), bonded labour and general exploitative conditions that prevail in these areas provide rich data for the basic understanding of the problem. Land problem, though recognised by many as the basic problem of tribal economy, except in certain piece-meal studies much coverage has not been given. Some social scientists after the independence, however, tried to take up this problem in detail, but the need for an extensive work on the mode of land transfer in tribal areas cannot be over-emphasised at this juncture. This is more specifically true in the case of tribal areas of Telangana of Andhra Pradesh. Hence this work is an effort in that direction.

The present study is an attempt towards systematic analysis of the Alienation and transfer **of** lands **in** the tribal economy of Adilabad district, the main focus being on **investigating the different factors, causes for the** alienation and transfer **of** lands **in this tribal economy and their impact in the scheduled** villages **of** sample **study in the connection of changing land distribution spectrum.**

1. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The present study **with** various issues, goes deep into the causes, factors, process, consequencces of land alienation and transfers in the two scheduled villages of Utnoor mandal in Adilabad district, focusing land transfers and alienation with reference **to** caste and size-wise distribution of wet and *dry* lands during the thirty years of period under study.

1. The first objective is to examine the direction and magnitude of land transfers and alienation during the period 1960-61 to 1990-91 with special reference to caste-wise and size-wise land distribution in both villages.
2. The second objective is to study the causes, process of land alienation and transfers in the selected villages.

2. IMPORTANT HYPOTHESIS

1. The development of roads and communication in the tribal economy caused proletarianisation of the tribal folk and tribal unrest is also due to land alienation and transfers.
2. Transfer and alienation of lands from tribals to non-tribals are rampant in the tribal economy (village) situated close to the motor-road, whereas land transfers and alienation is very less in the hillock - hamlets, not connected with any type **of** roads.

3. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The empirical investigation is carried in two scheduled villages of Utnoor mandal, Adilabad district namely Dantapally and Lakkaram, to present a detailed picture of the transfer and alienation of lands and its causes in the tribal economy of Adilabad district. One of them is completely inhabited by the Gonds comprising 5

hamlets san roads and communications and covered with antropological and administrative approaches of the tribal development programmes of Government in past but not with social workers and missionaries approach. This village comprising 5 hamlets situated in the hillocks with gap of radius distance of 3 Kms between tow hamlets, linked with bullock cart-tracks. Each and every hamlet located 3 to 4 kilometers away from the utnoor town. The main purpose of selecting 5 hamlets of this Lakkaram village for study linked with the tribal development as many approaches applied to these hamlets which are close in distance to Utnoor town, Neither affected with alienation of lands paradox, nor benefitted much with development programmes of ITDA so far.

This study is based on both primary and secondary data.

These villages are choosen purposively. The guidelines that have been adopted for selecting the both villages are as follows.

A. **For** the Village situated on Roadside

1. The village had predominantly tribal popolation in the past, completely inhabited Py aboriginals at its inception stage.
2. It had been included in the scheduled area in view of predominant tribal population in 1950's.
3. It has also a sizeable number of non-tribals who possess more than fifty per cent total land in the village.
4. Accessibility **to** information and extensive rapport with study villages.
5. **It is influenced by** green revolution, **of** which impact favoured the rich non-tribals.

B. For the interior village:

1. The village has predominantly (purely) tribal population in which Jurisdiction five hamlets are situated in hillocks.
2. It has been included in the scheduled area.
3. It's hamlets are situated in the hills, which are nearer (Four Kilometers away) to the Developed town and purely inhabited by aboriginals and do not have any developed communication.
4. No much awareness about the benefits of development activities.

Totally 300 house-holds are selected for sample study. Out of these 300 households, the tribal house-holds are 225 and non-tribal house-holds are 75 (including 7 Scheduled Caste house-holds).

4 . TECHNIQUE OF DATA COLLECTION

For the collection of data different questionnaires are served to both the tribal and non-tribal pesants of the selected villages. The questionnaire comprises of items related directly or indirectly to the problem of the land alienation and transfer.

PERIOD OF STUDY

This study covers a period of 30 years that is from 1960-61 to 1990-91.

5. Organisation of the Study

The study is organised into Eight Chapters. The first chapter, deals with introduction **of land-problem**, objective **and** methodology **of the study**. **This** chapter **also covers the review of literature**.

Chapter two deals with the concepts of alienation and transfer of land, scheduled areas and the factors caused for land alienation and transfers in tribal areas of Indian economy.

Chapter three confined to the History of the land problems and the problems of land alienation in Adilabad district.

Chapter four deals with the profiles of Adilabad district Untoor mandal and two selected villages.

Chapter five provides the analysis of primary data related two study villages i.e., changes in the land distribution pattern since 1960-61 to 1990-91.

Chapter six provides information in detail about land transfers, in the spectrum of caste-wise, size-groupwise, wet and dry landwise from 1960-61 to 1990-91.

Chapter seven deals with detailed analysis of causes of land transfers and alienation and factors affecting shifts in land-ownership in both the selected villages from 1960-61 to 1990-91, and also the findings of the study.

In the last chapter the summary and conclusions of the study are presented.

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CHAPTER - II

PROCESS OF ALIENATION

The Problem of Land alienation in tribal areas is not a mere "Structuralist-legalist one but a much more deeply connected phenomenon with full of contradictions related to the existing socio-economic order.

The separation of **Sands** from tribal communities can be understood in a more scientific way with the assistance of the theoretical formulations of the concept of alienation. Hence **in** this chapter an attempt is made to analyse the land problem in tribal areas in the light of the understanding of the theoretical formulations of alienation and private property.

Socio-economic exploitation of these original inhabitants in the form of land alienation and indebtedness started along with steady flow of immigrants during the reign of the fourth Nagbanshi king Pratap Rai in the Fourth Century A.D.¹ During the Muslim period brave chivalrous and scholarly people as well as priests were invited from distant places to serve the region in their various capacities. Refugees and military invaders also came and settled down in the region from time **to** time. These "Diku"(outsiders) immigrants not only infiltrated tribal territory but also into their life and culture. The influx of immigrants which continued till the Mughal era, upsetting the demographic pattern of the region, however, did not result in any major protest from the aboriginals at that time². Around the Sixth Century **A.D.** the **Munda and Oraons of Jharkand** region jointly selected a **manki** (leader) **who was not the** sovereign of **the** land but had **to** play a prominent **role during wars**³. A descendant of this "manki" was later made a **tributary of the Mughals** and by 1585 the Chotanagpur Raj was virtually annexed by the Mughals. Another 'manki' Durjansal was imprisoned by the Mughals for his failure-to pay tributes in time and on his

return from the Gwalior Jail in 1760 he surrounded himself with Hindu courtiers and mercenaries whom he made Jagirdars of Munda and Oraon villages with the right to collect and enjoy taxes from those villages⁴. The Immigrant Jagirdars and Thikadars in course of time, introduced land rent in the Chotanagpur region and gradually ousted many of the original inhabitants of the land for their inability to pay rent or reluctance to render begar or forced labour to the new masters. Thus, the transfer of ancestral tribal lands to outsiders began as early as the 17th century, reducing the tribal peasants to mere cultivators of land, paying rent to the non-tribal 'diku' landlords, who in turn paid a share to the Maharaja of Chotanagpur, who then paid a share to the Mughal emperor⁵.

By the middle of the 18th century, the communitarian-adivasi society began to lose its own distinctive qualities under the influence of a larger Hindu society. Its disintegration was expedited by the introduction of social division of labour in the form of the caste system⁶. Pressure of immigrants Rajputs, Brahmans and other high caste. Hindus and the exploitation of these newly emerging Mahajans Thikadars and Zamindars, completely scattered "adivasi economy".

In 1771 Jharkand came under the jurisdiction of East Indian Company. The Company initially subordinated the Maharaja of Chotanagpur almost in the same way as did the Mughals. But as they were actually interested in revenues from the land, they introduced a permanent legal and administrative structure to ensure regular and smooth collection of revenue. British administrators gradually introduced money economy, individual ownership of land and a police system to control tribal uprising. The traditional right of tribals over land and forests as well as the age-old panchayat systems, thus slowly gave way to the forces of modernisation⁷.

The permanent Settlement Act of Lord Cornwallis in **1793** legalised the individual proprietorship in land and led to further alienation of tribal lands. Besides,

indiscriminate destruction of forests and unplanned mining in the region, pauperised the tribals. The 'adivasi' population thus divested of all possible means of production were gradually transformed into a vast army **of** "coolie" labour⁸.

Almost all the 'rajas' of the Jharkand region accepted British supremacy and started paying rents to the Crown by the end of the 18th Century. Thus the whole administrative machinery of the former "raja" became a useful instrument in the hands of the alien rulers, to exploit the indigenous people. By the beginning of the 19th century Chotanagpur came under four-tier-system of administration.⁹ The East India company was in the top of the ladder followed by the Maharajas of Chotanagpur, throw **a** number **of** local 'rajas' mostly of non-tribal origin and finally the thikadars appointed by the 'rajas' to collect rent directly from the peasants¹⁰,

The vicious grip of the money-lender over the tribal economy makes the tribal continuously subservient to others. The Money-lenders or the trader or the feudal lord or rich peasant depending upon the conditions and contradictions prevail in those regions or villages, liberally offer loans and insist on security which is the beginning **of** the end to drag the tribals into their fold.

With no other alternative except to have the loan the tribal pledges **a** portion **of** his land to the money-lender-cum-merchant thus allowing the latter to reap the benefit of it. But the money-lender is not satisfied with this arrangement and goes even to the extent of manipulating figures related to **both** the principal amount and interest. The repayable amount thereby tends to accumulate and the money-lender **for all** tactical reasons waits for **a** longer period until **the amount becomes burden some to the tribal**¹¹. During all these years, however, the money-lender continues to enjoy the benefits of the land deposited with him by the tribal towards the security. Finally, when the money lender confirm that the tribal cannot repay the amount he then starts insisting the tribal to settle the loan, in almost all cases, by selling the

land to him. The grievances of the tribals do not end here as the tribals are many a time freed to work in their once upon a time, owned farms to pay back the remaining debt if any. Thus the process continues even though generations bondaging their lives to the exploiter in the whole system of 'Operation Land Grab'. The whole process however does not involve money-lender alone but also the State-created Deshmukhs, who further brought the cultivating peasant classes of the non-tribal communities into the tribal areas with the co-operation of the representative of revenue interests (Patwari) and legal interpreters like lawyers. In this whole strategem of exploitation, Madhava Rao correctly narrates that "every one the prosperous lawyer the rich merchant peasant, the well-to-do official, the ambitious cultivator-all had a hand in the game"¹², All these represent varied, peasant revenue legal interests of the advanced communities and the capital and state interests behind them are core reasons for the large scale alienation of lands in the tribal areas.

The British administration under (East India company defended the rent collecting 'thikadars' under attack even with the help of troops-under the company. The Mundas, Hos, Bhunyes, and Oreons of the Chotanagpur region joined hands to fight against the doubleoppression of the Diku-British alliance. The armed rebellion was against the oppressive system perpetuated by the non-tribal zamindars, traders, contractors, police and money-lenders. Though it was primarily against the land alienation, bonded labour and loss of honour of the tribals it was also a protest against the cultural domination over them.

The Birsa Munda uprising of 1895-1900 was primarily directed against the British and the non-tribal landowners. It aimed at establishing a "Birsait Raj" with Birsa as its "new kin" after driving away all the foreigners not only the British but even **the** Hindus and Muslims from the region. The question of alienation of land was **the** main driving force of the uprising. Birsa fought on economic, social, political **and** religious fronts, land, forest people and religion were the **key** issues in

this uprising. Economic exploitation in the form of land and forest alienation, social exploitation in the form of torture of tribal women and religious exploitation through the conversion of tribals to Christianity were countered. His strategies were primarily non-cooperation but he was not against direct confrontation if needed. The British tried to crush the uprising at gun point because of its potential threat to their domination¹³.

Thus it is an established fact that there is a large scale alienation of land which belong to the scheduled tribes, and the grabbers invariably in all the cases are of the non-scheduled tribes. This phenomenon has further been accumulated by the changing modes of production. Commenting on this, the National Commission on Backward Areas Development (1930) - says: In a number of areas new industrial and mining complexes established, the reservoirs of many major irrigation projects were located in the tribal areas, resulting in the submergence of extensive lands belonging to tribals. Thus in all these activities tribals all over India have been the victims of this process¹⁴.

Forms of Land Alienation

There has been a noticeable increase in the incidence of the alienation of land in contravention of the Acts made in favour of the non-tribals. The analysis over the forms of land alienation would further throw light on the present problem. The discussion in this regard has been classified as pre-legal and post-legal forms of land-alienation¹⁵.

Forms of Land Alienation-Pre-legalisation period

In the States of India, where survey and settlement process, have been lately started there, the land problem was not a serious problem, for a long time. It was

out of necessity that the Britishers have undertaken the extensive land surveys and settlement activity throughout the country in the early half of the 19th century¹⁶. This was for the first time undertaken in the Coastal belt of Andhra Pradesh¹⁷. Since Telangana was under the Nizam rule, the survey settlement activity (in its rural areas) was lately initiated (at the end of the 19th century). Due to this fact, in the tribal areas of Telangana region, the exact boundaries of individual ownership of plots of agricultural land have been left with no legal sanctions. As a result, of it, prior to the land survey and settlement, areas of tribal communities by and large remained almost unjuridical in their nature. But here it took a new turn due to the changing policies of the Nizam Government from time to time with regard to the revenue mobilization and strengthening of State machinery. As a major part of his revenue policy the Nizam in 1920s invited the plainsmen to come over to tribal areas and settle down there. This actually was the death knell to the tribe existence. The far-reaching implications of this revenue policy are many¹⁸.

Although it is very difficult to trace out the actual date on which the immigration has taken place and the presence of the non-tribal community in these areas is felt. The available information would indicate that the intensity of migration increased during the periods of 1920-30 and 1950-1960¹⁹. Because of this unprecedented migration there was a sudden change in the tribal areas and this resulted in almost chaotic conditions.

The prevalence of Sir Basta (absence of any controlling authority over the land structure) made the vested interests among the advanced communities to have full control over the tribal lands. These communities who originally entered the tribal areas for the purpose of trade, excise and revenue could enmass the wealth and brought vast tracts of land under their control. Apart suffering from the depeasantisation process the tribals, by their ignorance of the laws had to loose land, as a result of the implementation of the various developmental activities

undertaken by the Government in these areas. Whenever tanks were constructed or renovated during Nizam's period, non-tribals came to these areas as contractors and started grabbing the lands of the tribals and some of the non-tribal labourers also settled as peasants making tribal peasants as landless labourers²⁰. In short, the resumption of State's activity in the fields of excise, forest and revenue has resulted in undertaking various programmes through which the new population started pouring in occupying the lands of the area resulting in the alienation of the tribal communities²¹.

Imposing heavy taxes on tribals and forcing them to retreat deep into the forest may be another reason. Many of the peasants admit that their forefathers had to forcibly relinquish the lands in utter disgust in paying heavy taxes²². Perhaps the compulsory payment of taxes - which could restrict and harass them might not have suited to their freedom of lovingness and the type of cultivation they adopt. They were prepared to put the lands even as barren then to pay taxes on them. Taking this as a pretext in 1920 - 40s specially several non-tribal Deshmukhs and newly emerged Zamindars²³ managed to occupy the lands of those that have been evacuated by the tribals. The cultivation of these lands were carried out by the cultivating and service castes who were brought to these areas as share croppers or tenants by the former classes. When the protective Tenancy Act (1952) was promulgated, all these non-tribal tenants were either evicted by the landlords or asked to pay some amounts to claim to be the occupancy tenants of the land. This process further benefited the landlords who had already managed to own considerable holdings. Thus the lands that were under the ownership of tribals slowly passed into the lands of the non-tribal peasants which after 1950's passed into the hands of Deshmukhs and Deshpandes. After the formation of Andhra Pradesh State, the landlords practically controlled the tribal lands driving out every non-tribal who had by then grabbed the lands from the tribals.

Therefore, the emergence of the civic society with its rules and regulations, courts and other paraphernalia led to the depeasantisation of the tribals. Another method that has contributed to the large scale land alienation in these areas was "HARRAZ" activity by the then Nizam State²⁴. This activity was very much prevalent during 1940 - 50. In this activity State itself sells the land to the cultivators or the popularly known. His Highness granting the power to his administrator to allow the land to be sold to the needy or interested persons. During 1940-46 especially in the Telangana region, ryots had to come to Tehsildar to pay "ZALSA PATTI"²⁵ and the officer in-charge visits the spot as selected by the buyer and sells away the lands' to the person who was desirous to own them. This was within the purview of the law that resulted in inviting the advanced trading capital to these areas and these traders and others had considerably earned the lands at that time and got the "Firmanas" from the Nizam, or his accomplice. The tribals at the first place did not follow all these transactions and in cases where they had the knowledge of transactions had no capital to purchase the lands with competing with the outsiders (non-tribals). In the process those lands which were earlier cultivated and possessed by the tribals also passed on to the non-tribals without their knowledge. Thus the benefits of his labour including the forest was grabbed by others.

The methods like unaccountable denudation of forests on a massive scale under the supervision of the land owning classes could be seen during the past three decades as every year large tracts of forest lands were cleared off and brought under cultivation. This had further widened the gap between the tribal landless and landed gentry of the non-tribal communities, particularly in those operations of denudation of forests tribal labour had been used to a great extent to clear off the forest and these "fresh" cultivable lands again went invariably into the hands of the landlords²⁶, Thus the denudation and clearing off the forest was sought as a method by the landlords to alienate tribals even from the forest resources.

In certain areas care was taken by the landlords to avoid further legal complications. Dasheduling certain tribal areas invariably pose a threat to the very existence of the tribal life and they were left with no alternative except to migrate from these areas. This would take away their legal right on lands in the scheduled areas.

Second thing is the manipulation of the revenue officials at the local level. A few villages where tribals lived and owned the lands were shown in records either as deserted or as dwelling places of majority of the non-tribal cultivators. That is to say, when they were asked to purforth the records to be in favour of the non-tribals to further confirm such things, the survey and settlement activity would be undertaken in these villages. This makes the real cultivators (tribals) to disappear from the scene and whatever the "Patwari" puts forth becomes final and would be recorded in the survey records which would permanently disable the tribals.

In all the cases the records would show the presence of the non-tribals and their ownership and possession of the lands in the period prior to the promulgation of the protective legislation. The tribals are show in possession of a meagre land. The higher officials too had a major share in the underhand activity as they ostensibly supported the land owning classes. Thus this type of gross distortion of land records and manipulation during the survey activity did only help the "Aspirants of cheap lands" in those areas²⁷.

Broadly speaking these are some of the methods which were being applied in Telangana tribal areas during 1900-1960's which had shattered the hopes of the tribals to reassert their hereditary and natural rights over the lands. All these forms were applied prior to the promulgation of the land transfer regulations in Telangana quite conveniently. In fact, this is not a simple change that took place, but an outcome of deliberate and purposeful nature of the capital pumping trends that were moulded, supported and fed by the, then Nizam State and its apparatus and its attendant classes. The above analysis would help us to have an insight into the problem of the transfer of lands during the period when the protective regulations were not promulgated.

Post-Legalisation Forms of Land Alienation in India

The studies that were undertaken after the promulgation of protective legislation or legalisation would reveal the gross violence of the protective laws and laid bare

some **of** the new forms through which the Land alienation in the tribal areas was further effected.

The first and foremost form of alienation of lands in this phase is the manipulation of the land records. The unsatisfactory state of land records both **in** the initial stages of the survey and settlement operations and the in the period following the regular settlement operations contributed to the larger extent of land alienation in these areas. It is observed by the National Commission of Backward Areas that the significant consequences of the unsatisfactory state of land records was that the tribals were never legally recognised as owners of the land which they cultivated as they could simply occupy it till such time as a superior claim got enforced²⁸. The extent of the land ownership actually recorded in favour of the tribal cultivators **in a** settlement operation would depend largely on the sensitivity of the officer responsible **for** the operation, the strength of the outside interests and the consciousness amongst the community about the nature of their operations. The Commission further mentions that in many areas therefore, dissonance between the official records and the field station as a result of the settlement operations about which the tribals do not know anything²⁹. Even this was mentioned a long ago by Verrier Elwin who expected the possible dangers of the lack of proper maintenance of the records. He observed that "in most of the inaccessible and ex-zamindari areas no proper records of rights had been prepared³⁰. Even after the passage of two decades since he made this observation no possible efforts have **not** been made to avoid the tragedy. Thus, this being the major drawback, it has effectively been misused by the vested interests among the non-tribal communities.

The second form of the land alienation is reported to have taken place due to **BENAMI** transfers. The report of the study team of the Union Home Ministry (May, 1975) pointed out that large scale transfers of ownership of the **Advaxis lands** are being allowed to go out of hands through illegal and Benami transactions, collusive

civil proceedings etc. in which land remains to be in the name of the original owners who are reduced to the level of share-croppers. Even the working Group on Tribal Development appointed by the Planning Commission is of the opinion that, inspite of the protective measures to restore alienated land to tribals, it is still reported to be taking place. It appears that in most cases these caused because of Benami transactions³¹. Thus the technique might have changed but the substance remained the same. Coupled **to** this, the crucial ignorance of the tribals to maintain documents has its negative effect to claim the ownership of the lands. Their non-tribal counterparts are well versed in this art and they also seemed to be experts in falsifying the documents as the courts rely on the documents and the Judges sitting in the Courts are **too** legalistic and this helps the non-tribals invariably³². This situation is not confined to any of particular area of the tribal regions but pervades all over the country. In Jharkand region of Bihar, it is reported that even defacto possessions were brought to the notice of the Government which continued to adopt the Ostrich, like attitude the venality of the Revenue Department officials and the so-called impartiality of lawyers who would defend any case for a foe also militated against the tribal interest³³.

The third form of the land alienation is related to the leasing or mortgaging of the land. For various needs, tribals raise loans from a trader-feudal lord or a rich peasant³⁴ and invariably they have to give either gold or land as security. In a report of the survey **and** settlement of the Ranchi district (1927-35) of Bihar State, it has been mentioned **that** - 30,66,875 acres of land were held under simple mortgage and 861.99 acres **under "Bhugat banda" mortgage**³⁵. .

Due to lack of the agriculture implements bullocks, capital to cultivate, many tribals peasants give their lands on lease to non-tribals. Very rarely those lands would be reassigned to the tribals³⁶. Analysing this, one of Researchers on tribal studies commented. In the past few years, the non-tribal cultivator have adopted a

novel method of retaining the land of the Konda Reddies and Koyas for raising tobacco and chillies. On expiry **of** the lease, these non-tribals enter into a fresh agreement **with** the Konda Reddies for share - cropping on the condition that the entire cost **of** cultivation would be borne by them and the yield be distributed among themselves **in** the ratio of 2/3 : 1/3 shares to the non-tribals cultivator and to tribal land - holder³⁷. Besides this, in the region or villages where the commercialisation of crops is taking place, the assured irrigation is available, and the land happens to be of block cotton type, the inevitable requirement is capital and a capitalist would essentially show great tact and 'take land on lease' to be free from the legal implications whereby their purposive interests would be protected. Hence, taking land **on** lease would work out to **be** a more fetching method to the non-tribals who can have a constant control over the lands without legally coming into the possession of the lands.

"Encroachment"¹ is another mode of dispossessing the tribals of their lands and this is adopted by the new entrants in all the places where there were not proper land records³⁸. Bribing the local patwari for manipulating the date of settlement of land dispute to be on record prior to the stipulated year is another method. This ante-dating method had been used because the legislation that were enacted in all the States had put a specific year as a cut-off year³⁹. According to these legislations land sold or mortgaged within that specified year are to be declared as illegal and restored to the tribals. To avoid this, ante-dating has become one of the powerful means to non-tribals to enable the Courts to sustain their claim. This is done with **the** connivance of the Patwari, **a** lower rung official in the revenue machinery, who **rarely notes down** all **these** operations - seriously.

Concubinage or marital alliance is another form to circumvent the law and it has emerged comparatively on a large scale in the alienation of lands from the tribals. Large areas of fertile lands were purchased by non-tribals and registered in

the names of the tribal women whom they kept (even falsely) as their mistresses. These martial alliances not only worked as a strong ground for economic purposes but also the sustenance of political power by the non-tribal communities to usurp the reserved seats of authority at the local levels⁴⁰. This is very much prevalent in other states too. For instance, I.N. Thakur who analyses the reason for land alienation in the tribal areas of Bihar comments. A novel method of land alienation has come to light where a non-tribal is able to get possession of the land of the tribal by marrying a tribal woman or in some cases, by keeping her as a concubine⁴¹. This method came into existence as many protective legislations allow the intra-transfers of land within the tribal communities.

Fictitious adoption of the non-tribals by the tribal families is also prevalent in few parts of India. Explaining this Dhanam a tribal administrator comments: Acquisition of lands in the names of non-tribal boys who become tribals overnight after execution of the bogus adoption deeds in the name of non-tribal is another important method used by the non-tribal to grab tribal lands⁴². This false adoption of the non-tribals as the tribals would not only result in the land owing legitimacy but it enables such non-tribals to enjoy the privileges that the Indian constitution made available only to the tribals. This falsification of the records pertaining to the numerical strength of the tribal community would not end here. This has gone to the extent of descheduling or eliminating the villages from the scheduled areas and declaring or notifying certain villages as to fall within the scheduled areas and all this appears to have been done in perfunctory manner with the result that some of the tribal villages - having sufficient tribal population have been left outside the jurisdiction of the notified tribal area.

Instances are there where the landlords resorted to some other manipulation. Many big land owners produced false medical certificates, to establish the incapability of the Adivasis to cultivate their lands and managed to get these lands on leave for

fixed periods.⁴³ Dubey S.N. and Murdia besides identifying the cause related to the tenancy legislation, have identified another cause the slackness in the implementation of the restrictive provisions and also the socio-economic factors. It is further observed that the exploiter would not hesitate even to employ goondas⁴⁴ Whenever the tribals assert their rights on their lands or make other legitimate demands, the non-tribal would not hesitate to use his political influence and takes the assistance of the State machinery⁴⁵.

With the exception of some small communities of hunters and food gatherers All tribal populations of Andhra Pradesh depend for their subsistence primarily on the cultivation of land. For centuries, if not millennia, they had free access to as much land as they could cultivate and it was only at the beginning of the twentieth century that in some areas tribal communities encountered the competition of materially more advanced populations infiltrating into areas which had previously been the preserves of such tribes as Gonds Kolams, Koyas, or Konda Reddis. Some of these tribes were slash and burn cultivators whose main implements were axe, hoe, and digging stick while others had practised plough cultivation for countless generations and were living in permanent villages. The former, who tilled hill-slopes cleared of forest growth, did not hold land attractive to other population and were able to pursue their traditional method of tillage until the time when much of their ancestral territory was declared State forest and newly introduced rules of forest conservancy limited the areas available for shifting cultivation. The fortunes of such primitive tribes depending on slash-and-burn cultivation stood always on a lower level of material development⁴⁶.

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23. **The origin of the Institution** of Zamindar in Telangana is known only in **the beginning of the 20th century.**
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CHAPTER - III

THE HISTORY OF THE LAND PROBLEM AND THE PROBLEM OF LAND ALIENATION IN ADILABAD DISTRICT

This chapter deals with Land Problems in Adilabad District. To understand this Land Problem, and alienation of Lands in this district many studies were undertaken by different researchers anthropologists, economists. Some of them (in the form of case studies) were given in this chapter.

The main concentration of the Gonds in Adilabad District a region which until less than **a** hundred years ago was rich in forests, poor in communications, and little economic and political importance. There can be no doubt that the larger part of the district was then inhabited almost exclusively by aboriginals, among whom kolams were probably the oldest population. But long before the rise of Muslim and later Maratha power, gond chieftains, styled rajas, were established in the area. Several forts, such as the magnificently built Manikgarh-port, suggest that gond rajas lived in a style not inferior to that of Hindu rulers, and it would seem that even when the gond chieftains had to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Nizam of Hyderabad a feudal system, persisted among the majority of the gond of Adilabad district. They continued to be principal holders and tillers of the land and the administration established by the Nizams government did not at first affected the condition of the tribal population. Small colonies of traders and carafstmen existed in market places such as Jangaon, later renamed Asifabad, but a major change in the tribals position seems **to have** occured only in the first years of the twentieth-century with the improvement of communications between Mancherial and Rajura on the eastern side **of the** district and between Nirmal and Adilabad on the western side. Along these **two** lines non-tribal populations flooded into the district both from the south **and from the north, and** occpuied such land as became easily accessible. The

subsequent construction of a road linking Nirmal and Mancherial encouraged Telugu cultivators from the neighbouring district of Karimnagar to settle in the riverian tract and acquire land on the left bank of the Godavari, and at about the same time many Maratha peasants mainly kunbi caste moved from the adjoining districts of Berar across the penganga river and occupied large parts of the northern plains.

To understand the process of the Gond's gradual displacement with reference to land by other and more dynamic populations, it is necessary to consider their method of cultivation existed before introduction of Forest conservancy act of 1930. In the 1991 there were still old people alive who spoke of the time when the gond of the highlands mainly cultivated the light, red soils of the plateaux and slightly inclined slopes, but not the heavy black-soils in the bottom of the valleys. At that time Gond farmers were in the habit of shifting their fields every two or three years, abandoning each plot before the soil showed signs of exhaustion.

The Gond's practice of frequently shifting their fields and some times also their settlements was appropriate to a situation in which they were virtually the only inhabitants of large expanses of cultivable land and forest, and there were no other claimants to land temporarily abandoned by gond cultivators. But as soon as agricultural populations from neighbouring areas moved into Adilabad district the gond's habit of cultivating their land in rotation became a source of weakness, for fields left fallow with the intention of resuming cultivation after a number of years could easily be occupied by new settlers, who then managed to obtain title deeds for the occupied land. At the turn of the century it was government policy of open up the district **and** to encourage the influx of new settlers, and to grant them PATTA free of **charge for as** much land as they could make arable. At first, no doubt, the gonds **too had the** possibility of obtaining individual patta, and some gonds were actually **given patta** documents, but the whole concept of having permanent rights to **individual plots was foreign** to the tribesmen, and they were slow to realize the

necessity of obtaining title deeds to land which they had always considered communal property. Later, when pressure on land became acute and they did realize the value of patta, they were not sufficiently well versed in dealing with revenue officials to compete successfully with newcomers from more progressive areas. Consequently, they frequently failed to obtain recognition of their claims to the land which they and their fore fathers had cultivated¹.

With the gradual improvement of communications and the influx of experienced cultivators such as kunbis and kapus the country became valuable and attractive to investors and Brahmins, Komatis and Muslims living in place such as Adilabad, Asifabad, and Nirmal began acquiring villages to be managed on a commercial basis. As few gonds had patta rights this was not difficult, and absentee landlords could obtain whole villages by applying for the auctioning of government land and outbidding any tribal who tried to retain his land. In many cases the tribal cultivators were not even informed of the auctioning of the land they were tilling, and became aware of the change of ownership only, when the new landlord demanded to be paid rent.

By 1940 most of the villages near such administrative or commercial centres as Asifabad had already fallen into the hands of nontribals. Thus of the twenty villages within a distance of approximately three miles from Asifabad, twelve no longer contained any tribals, five had a partly tribal population but were owned by non-tribal land-lords, and there were only two villages in which gonds and one in which kolams-cultivated government land, but in these villages, too, other land was held by non-tribals².

Either of the three valleys running westwards and southwards from Asifabad, we find very similar conditions, although the occupations of the land by non-aboriginals seems here to have been of more recent date. South of Asifabad and particularly in the Tilani area, a great deal of land has been acquired by land

owners of Velma caste, who live in the neighbourhood of Lakshettipet and in Karimnagar and who, having once gained a foothold in the area, are ousting the aboriginals³.

Whereas in this case the dispossession of the Gond cultivator occurred in a rather irregular way, the same result is often achieved in other ways, and lands held on Siva-I-jamabandi tenure by Gonds are withdrawn from them and allotted again on siwa-i-jamabandi tenure to non-aboriginals⁴.

Turning to Rajura Taluq we find that the majority of villages in the fertile Penganga plains have a mixed population of Gonds and Kunbis. The population of some villages close to Rajura is purely non-aboriginal, and in many villages the number of Gonds is small compared to that of other castes, but in others Gonds are still the only inhabitants; many of the plains villages belong, however, to absentee landlords. A great many of the Kunbis have come in their own lifetime from the Central Provinces of Berar, but near the Penganga there are some villages where Kunbis seem to have established for several generations. In the villages near the foothills, however, the Kunbi element represents everywhere a recent influx. The holdings of absentee landlords have also been largely acquired within the last 25 or 30 years; and Sahukars of British India, who have their permanent residence in Chanda or Yeotmal District and a pied-a-terre in one of the larger villages of Rajura, have acquired and are still acquiring land which was previously held by aboriginals. The Land Alienation Act appears to be here little more than a dead letter⁵.

Gonds of Asifabad Taluq complain frequently that even in such villages where some acres of Karihkata or Parampok land are still available, they cannot obtain permission to cultivate them and that all their applications remain unanswered. They ascribe this, rightly or wrongly, to the hesitation of patwaris and girdawars to allot land to Gonds when there may soon be an opportunity of giving it to a more affluent non-aboriginal, who is willing and able to pay a handsome gratification.

Owing to their greater wealth and influence non-aboriginal landowners do often success in acquiring rights on fallow land, which aborigines have failed to obtain even on siwai-i-jamabandi tenure, and in many cases these landlords use aborigines to make the land arable, but replace them by other tenants as soon as they have fulfilled their function⁶.

Since the aborigines' position in the landlord villages is definitely unfavourable as compared with the tribesmen's position in Government villages, many Gonds leave a village soon after it has been acquired by an absentee landlord, and try to get land on siwa-i-jamabandi tenure. But no sooner have they made the land arable then they are again in danger of losing it to non-aboriginal pattadars⁷.

In Utnur Taluq the situation is different, so far as it contains no lowlands comparable to the country round Asifabad or the Penganga plains, and as communications have only been improved recently. When Utnur was established as Tahsil head-quarters seventy five years ago, the bulk of the land under cultivation was in possession of aborigines, some of whom had even patta rights. Soon afterwards, however, there occurred an influx of Marathas, Kunbis, Lambaras and Mathuras from Yeotmal, Nander and Parabhani, and it seems that great many aborigines within the new taluq resigned or were somehow persuaded or compelled to resign their lands. Thus there exists in the Tahsil office a file of the year 1324 Fasli according to which in the villages of Arjuni Karki, Sangwi, Kando, Dongargaon, Sori, Jheri, Punaguda, Koni Kasa, Ganeshpu, Dhonda Buzurg, Dabba Khurd, Sonapur, Addesar, Gaori, Ragapur, Sitagondi, Pulera, Lendiguda, Pangri, Koinur Khurd, **Nethur**, **Gammur**, **Kanchanpalli**, **Dhanora**, **Paralavada**, **Lingapur**, **Chorpalli** and **Parampur and Chenur** (both of which are deserted and which were unable to trace) **a total of 2,843** bighas with **a total revenue of Rs. 1,097 was** relinquished by Gonds. **The file gives no** reason for the relinquishment **of all** these pattas, **but** **considering that some of the villages are now included in the Reserved Forest and**

deserted, while others have been acquired by outsiders, we may assume that some pressure was exerted on the Gonds.

Voluntary relinquishment of patta rights seems also to have taken place at that time, a man resigning his patta rights on any particular piece of land was entitled to occupy any other piece of vacant land of equal size so long as he continued paying his revenue. Under this rule, so admirably suited to the peculiarities of aboriginal economic and social organisation, the Gonds could cultivate their beloved light soils in rotation : a patta was then not so much the briefed right in any particular piece of land, but a right to cultivate a certain acreage. A few years after this rule had been abolished many Gonds relinquished their pattas for inferior lands, for they could not cultivate the permanently and no longer could they exchange exhausted areas against other land that had laid fallow for a sufficient period⁸.

There are however, other reasons why Gonds have even in recent years relinquished patta rights, and one of these must be sought in the particular structure of the Gond society, which is not based on the joint family as among the Hindus. When a Gond with a large patta holding dies before his sons have grown to full manhood, there is often no one to look after the property, if his brothers may perhaps live in distant villages with their wives-kin, or he himself may have left his home-village and taken over the land of his father-in-law, then relinquishing of patta land occurred. With the high mortality and low expectancy of life there is often no man both willing and capable of holding the land in trust for the children. Even an adult, but still young and inexperienced, son inheriting his father's land may be frightened by the responsibility of finding the annual revenue of perhaps Rs. 100 or more and feel incapable of managing his inheritance : consequently he relinquished his **patta**, **either** retaining as much ground as he can cultivate himself or forfeiting his claim by going to live with his wife's people. When patta lapses the other villagers, **who** cultivated the land of the old pattadar, now find themselves cultivating

on siwa-i-jamabandi tenure and therefore liable to expulsion by Revenue or Forest authorities. It is probably the difficulty which a young boy with little authority among his co-villagers experiences in collecting his rents regularly, and his inability to cope with sahu-karas and minor officials which make him shun the responsibility of a large holding⁹.

A reason often given by Gonds for the failure of a young heir to ascertain his claim on patta land is his lack of cash to pay the high fees connected with the transfer to his own name. Gratifications to patwari, girdawar and tahasil clerks necessary to such a transaction seem indeed often to amount to two or three times the annual revenue.

In areas with mixed populations the danger of Gond land passing to non-aboriginals on the death of a patta holder is very great, and patwaris and revenue subordinates have in the past been easily persuaded by substantial gratifications to transfer the land without any formalities to the name of a non-aboriginal. Even now-a-days it often happens that such land passes to non-aboriginals¹⁰.

Very often it is the patwari or the non-aboriginal police and mali patel who appropriate the whole or part of a minor Gond's land¹¹.

Apart from these individual cases of dispossession there occurred some 72 years ago a large scale relinquishment of patta lands in the hills as the result of an epidemic. This may have been the influenza epidemic of 1919 or a cholera epidemic, and it is said that at that time many families were decimated and many villages deserted. Numerous heirs of patta holders, unable to continue paying the revenue for lands which nobody cultivated, relinquished their pattas at this time and many of the **villages then deserted** are now included in the Reserved Forest.

In Utnur Taluq the settlement of outsiders followed mainly the road, then projected **and now** almost completed from Gudi Hatnur to Utnur and in the triangle

between this road and the Nirmal-Adilabad road a great part of the arable land has already fallen into the hands of Marathas, Kunbis, Lambaras and Mathuras, while those Gonds of that area who have not been forced into the position of dependants are having a stiff fight to retain their rights. Moreover a few Marathas and a great many Lambaras settled in villages north of Utnur. Some of the Lambaras immigrated about 40 years ago, but others are still arriving from Nander district as well as from the C.P. and Berar. A considerable amount of land is now held by Lambaras on patta and the new immigrants often bring sufficient cash to take in auction land which had until then been cultivated by Gonds on siva-i-jarnabandi tenure. There are some Lambaras who have pattas for several hundred acres and let the land to Gonds. The Lambaras patel of Mahagaon for instance, owns more than 600 acres but cultivates himself only a small fraction. In most of the mixed Gond-Lambaras villages the patelki has gone to the Lambaras, and this, combined with their greater shrewdness, enables them to obtain almost everywhere the best lands.

There are a few villages owned by absentee landlords, and some of the non-cultivating residents of Utnur hold pattas for considerable amounts of land in various villages and occupy an even greater area in siwa-i-jarnabandi tenure. Part of their land they let out to Gonds and Naikpods, not usually at a fixed rate, but under an agreement that the cultivator provides bullocks and seed grain and pays them half of the crop in lieu of rent; the rest they cultivated with servants, many of them Gond, and these they pay mainly in grain.

Same thing have noticed in Asifabad and Rajura Taluqs the tendency of non-aboriginals to acquire land almost immediately after it has been made arable by aboriginals and the latter have paid the value of the timber chobina felled in clearing it. The same method is often used by men of non-cultivating castes in Utnur¹².

The only areas where aboriginals have not yet been ousted from their lands **by non-aboriginals to any** great extent are the hilly tracts to which ascent is by cart-

trakes over steep ghats, these tracts include the Manikgarh block in Rajura Taluq, and the adjoining **Satmala** block belonging partly to Adilabad and partly to Utnur, the Deboli block **Utnur** Taluq and the Dhanora and Tilani blocks in Asifabad Taluq. In the latter, however, which slopes gently down towards Asifabad, a good deal of land has already been acquired by non-aboriginals, and it is mainly in the Manikgarh hills between the Pedda Vagu and the Penganga plains and in the hills that stretch from Utnur eastwards across the taluq border, that the population is still almost purely aboriginal. But even here the first beginnings of an alienation of land are already noticeable. The villages of Babjipet and Masapur in the hills north and south of Kerimeri, **for** instances, have been acquired by a Vakil and a merchant of Asifabad respectively, and in many villages individual survey numbers are held on patta by non-resident non-aboriginals, who do not cultivate, but let them out to Gonds.

There can be no doubt that unless checked by more effective means than the present application of the Land Alienation Act, the aboriginals, dispossession of their land is rapidly progressing; and example not from the three taluqs under review, but from the neighbouring Adilabad Taluq, where developments are even more advanced, will show the trend of event¹³.

The deterioration of the Gond's position in these twelve villages within the life-time of the present generation is by no means exceptional, but can be considered representative of conditions in the plains of Adilabad, Rajura and Asifabad Taluqs.

The Aborigines lack of patta rights

The main reason for the Gonds inability to retain only land which is covered **by outsiders is their lack of patta rights.** It has been mentioned **that at the time of settlement when they might** have obtained pattas without great capital outlay, they **did not realize the importance** of patas, **but** later many of them made strenuous efforts to

get pattas. Generally have failed, however, for mean while rules came into force according to which the Gonds cultivating siwa-i-jamabandi lands cannot be granted patta rights without acquiring the land in auction. The recent concession that those who had occupied any land continuously for more than ten years can obtain Patta rights by paying a sum equal to 20 times the revenue, and those who have cultivated the same land for more than twenty years by paying a sum equal to 16 times the revenue, has not materially changed the position. For only an insignificant minority of Gonds can afford such an expenditure, even if payment in instalments is granted. Moreover those few Gonds who would be able to pay the necessary amounts in instalments mostly complain that their applications remain unanswered and that inspite of numerous reminders no action is taken by the Tahsil authorities¹⁴.

The aboriginals also seem to experience certain difficulties in obtaining their patta - documents when they have acquired land in auction¹⁵,

The present position is that only a small minority of Gonds and even fewer Kolarns and Naikpods possess patta lands, while the vast majority of the independent aboriginal cultivators held their land on siwa-i-jamabandi tenure and are consequently liable to expulsion at short notice. In most of the Gond villages in the hills about one house-holder in five or six owns some patta land, but there are other villages where none of the inhabitants has any permanent rights on their land. Mr. Crofton has mentioned in his tour notes of 10.01.1942 that in the Daboli block seven out of thirty villages contain no patta land whatsoever, but this should not lead us to believe that all these villages are either particularly small or of a temporary nature, comparable to the small hamlets of such digging - stick and hoe cultivators as Kolams and Hill Reddis; most of them are Gond settlements built on ancient village sites and undistinguishable from other Gond villages. The fact that none of the inhabitants possess a patta is purely incidental and may in some cases be due to a temporary abandonment of the village following an epidemic or tiger-scare; to name only a few

villages from the hilly part of Utnur, in Dabba Khurd with 26 houses, Chorgaon with 19 houses, and Busimetla with 30 houses, no land is held on patta.

Comparatively favourable is the position of Gonds and Kolams in a few hill - villages of Rajura Taluq where the aboriginal patel holds a patta for the whole of the cultivated land. He lets it out to the other villagers on a non-profit basis, and such aboriginal pattadars collect rents which vary between 20 and 33 per cent of the average rents collected by non aboriginal absentee pattadars, who run their villages as commercial enterprises.

The lack of pattas is by no means a feature only of the villages in the interior but is a general phenomenon in the whole area, and it is therefore easy for affluent non-aboriginals to acquire whole villages. The acquisition of siwa-i-jamabandi lands by non-aboriginals is already far advanced, and even in the hilly part of Utnur taluq auctions of land have begun in recent years; here it is mainly Lambaras who bid for the land. Thus within the last few years land has been acquired by Lambaras in Makapur Chandur and Tadi Harapnur. Tadi Harapnur was originally a pure Gond village, but all the good land has in recent years gone to Lambaras and most of the Gonds have moved to the neighuring village of Gunjala. These Lambaras came from Yeotmal, and who also intended to settle. A few months later they took in auction land to the value of Rs. 170 to accommodate some of the new settlers. Similarly a Rohilla money-lender has recently acquired the whole village of Yenku and settled in it a group of low caste cultiators from the Central provinces. In the lower ranges sloping down towards Adilabad the acquisition of hill villages by non-aboriginals has already for progressed and several villages are now in the hands of vakils and merchants or Adilabad town¹⁶.

In the 1940 the weakness of the Gonds' position was mainly due to the fact that few of them possessed title deeds (Patta) to the land they were occupying. The

majority of the tribals then cultivated according to a system of land tenure known as Siwa-i-jamabandi. The land they tilled remained government land, and although they had permission to cultivate and annually paid the land revenue they were not registered as owners (Pattadars) in the village register. The allotment of land on Siva-i-jamabandi tenure was within the powers of the tahsildar, who normally endorsed the actions of Patwari and revenue inspector without investigating the rights and wrongs of individual cases. The transfer of Government land from one cultivator to the other was then the order of the day and every year many tribals were evicted from land which they had been cultivating on siva-i-jamabandi tenure, only because an affluent non-tribal, able to bribe the revenue subordinates had cast his eye on the same land and had been given preference over the tribal cultivator.

The system of Siwa-i-jamabandi tenure which by definition allowed a great deal of flexibility, provided the lower revenue staff with incomparable opportunities for enriching themselves by the shuffling of land from one cultivator to another and even when government began allotting Patta to Gonds and Kolams, large area of land continued to be cultivated on Siwa-i-jamabandi tenure.

Jamabandi Tenure

It is not quite clear what triggered this invasion but local Gonds as well as, officials tell of the long columns of bullock carts on which the immigrants carried household goods and grain stores and of the herds of cattle which they brought with them. It seems that this movement of non-tribals in to the tribal areas of Utnur reached its climax between 1965 and 1975, and continued upto 1980. It coincided with widespread illegal felling of forest, which resulted in the almost complete deforestation of most of the land along the road between Gudi Hatmur and Utnur.

It seems that a few senior district officers made some feeble attempts to stop the flow of immigrants, but on the whole neither revenue nor forest officers succeeded

in stemming the tide. As many of the new comers were able to occupy cultivable land, there can be no doubt that the minor revenue officials, and particular Patwari and revenue inspectors, were won over by the immigrants, many of whom were wealthy enough to pay large bribes. The laws prohibiting the acquisition of tribal land by non-tribals were obviously ignored. Otherwise it would have been impossible for recent immigrants with no claim to tribal status to acquire house sites and arable land at the expense of Gonds who lost all or most of their land within a span of a few years. The methods used to achieve this aim were similar to those which forty years earlier were used to dispossess the tribals of the lowlands. Apart from outright trickery and the bribing of Patwari and members of the revenue staff fraudulently to change entries in the land register, the new comers deliberately led Gonds into debt then induced them to lease their land to the owner. With the connivance of Patwari and revenue inspectors, it was then not difficult to enter the new occupiers name as owner in the village and tahsil records. The results of this process of large scale land alienation are obvious to anyone familiar with the area villages on or near the motorable roads which in the 1940s and 1950 had still purely tribal population and consisted of the usual thatched huts, are now teeming with new comers, whose shops and large masonry houses often painted in garish colours, have completely transformed the scene. Many of these villages no longer contain any Gonds, whereas in others small clusters of Gond houses in traditional style form incongruous accretions to the modern settlements.

In Utnur taluk a great deal of Gond land has passed into the hands of Banjaras, an immigrant community who had moved in to Adilabad District from Berar only **at the turn of the** century. Well organised, aggressive and often affluent, they succeeded in dislodging many Gonds from their holdings.

In the 1970s there were innumerable cases of illegal occupation of Gond land **by Banjaras, but at** that time there was at least the theoretical possibility of

restoring the land to the Gond owners because the Banjaras were not notified as a Scheduled Tribe. In 1977, however, the Banjaras were included in the list of Scheduled Tribe and ever since then there has been no legal bar to the transfer of land from Gonds to Banjaras for such transactions are permitted between tribals.

Process of **Alienation** of Lands in **the Adilabad** District

The Gonds were the not only the ruling race, but the principal holders and cultivators of the land also. As long as the gonds remained the ruling race, their standard of living and their material - culture seems to have been by no means low, and there can be little doubt that relative to the general standards of yesterday, it was higher than it is today¹⁷.

Even after the fall of Chanda the feudal system with Gond Chieftains in control of small tracts of land persisted in the inaccessible hill regions of Adilabad for many years and the predominance of the Gond population remained for long unchallenged¹⁸.

Main factors for transition in land spectrum of tribal economy of Adilabad District (in brief) are :

1. Watan of Deshmuki and Deshpande being conferred on non-aboriginals.
2. Decline of Gond feudal Rajas, in power prestige and influence.
3. Influx of non-aboriginal cultivators, mainly in the plains of foot-hills of the district.
4. Government policy of developing the district and raising its income through opening the tribal economy for non-aboriginals.
5. Relinquishing of patta lands of the government the patwaris mischievous role.
6. Lack of patta - rights, large scale eviction.
7. No allocation of Kharijkhata lands to the tribals on Siwa-i-jamabandi tennure.

8. Absentee - land - lordism in large scale.
9. Declaration of Forest reservations and shifting cultivation occupation.
10. The introduction of the forest conservancy operation in 1920's and 1930's the acquisition and retention of land become a problem for the tribals in general and the Gonds in particular, and they began to feel lack of permanent rights.
11. The Nizam was fallen in the heavy debt-trap, by the end of 1820, due to the heavy expenses incurred in the maintenance of the Hyderabad contingent of British Army, but also due to the Scandalous mismanagement of the state finance by his minister Chandulal¹⁹. Meanwhile the house messrs. Palmeris & Company eagerly offered him loans so liberally until the amount became hopelessly large. To repay the huge debts that were accumulated in due course, the Nizam started opening up new avenue both in the land revenue and in leasing out a few areas to the British colonial trade interests especially in the forest regions of Adilabad, Warangal and Khammam districts, where raw material was abundantly available. All this process had facilitated for the penetration of the colonial capital in to the forest regions (or in other words, in to the tribal areas; of Adilabad (the forest border of his domain) Warangal and Khammam districts of Telangana²⁰.
12. The Britishers had further extended the operations in the telangana tribal areas, in pursuit of the raw material. This was preceded by the establishment of a railway line from Hyderabad to Paloncha²¹ for mining operations in 1844. The railway line had been extended to Vijayawada in 1899, through which they (Britishers) clearly availed themselves of the facility for the raw material portation, while providing a link between Madras²² and Bombay, the two major colonial trade centres. This has been made much easier with the opening up of the chanda - Balharsha Railway line in 1929 which had connected the Adilabad forest areas to the outside world. All these efforts had been carried out with the active involvement of the colonial capital, which in turn served its purpose of linking the market centres of Delhi and central India to South India.

Notes and References

1. **C.V.F. Haimendorf** Tribes of India (The struggle for survival Oxford University Press, 1988 p-53).
2. An example of this experience, experienced by the tribal cultivator named Katelipoti, and explained to noted Anthropologist **C.V.F. Haimendorf**. . . . "My forefathers all lived in Jandagura and my father had also a patta. But one day the present pattadar's father declared that government had given him the whole village land. We went to the Tahsil office but the Tahsil did not help us he said that the old records got burnt, and now the land was registered in the name of the Present pattadar's father. This did not happen only in my village, the gond of Kautaguda, Ankasapur, Bapur, Darapur, Kommuguda and Yellaram lost their land in the same way. Many have gone elsewhere but are still paying rent to the pattadar until now he asked Rs. 13 per plough, but, this year he demands Rs. 20 and says that those who won't pay must leave his village so I too am going. I have applied for some Kharijkata land in Uttoor Taluk and I hope I can settle in Jainur. (C.V.F. Haimendorf Tribal Hyderabad 1945, p.69).
3. The way in which **Velma Doras**, gradually eliminated the indigenous tribesmen is illustrated by the following story, which a tribal cultivator Kotnaka Maru of Durgapur, narrated to C.V.F. Haimendorf, during his tour. . . . "I was born in Durgapur and cultivated there, until some ten years ago, when there were so many tigers in the neighbourhood that all of us went to live in another village. In those days I paid Rs. 10 revenue. Five years later, when the tigers had gone, we returned to Durgapur where the land had laid fallow, during our absence **and** I applied to the Tahsildar for permission to clear again 40 acres. When **I and** my brothers had felled all the same growth, on these 40 acres, **the Girdawar came and said that, I could only** take 18 acres and that the rest **would be cultivated** by Velma Dora of Mandamarri in Gander Taluq. This **Velma Dora** acquired some land in Gamaraipet only ten years ago and there

he keeps a gumastha, but never before we had cleared the land in Durgapur **he** raised a claim on it. But the Girdawar gave me only 18 acres and for them I paid Rs. 16 chobina to the Forest Amin. For a four years I Cultivated these 18 acres but last year the Velma Dora took three acres of my land; this year I had already sown Indian corn and Korra on The remaining fields, when the Velma's gumastha brought twenty men with ploughs from Gamaraipet and ploughed up three acres of my sown fields. I have given many applications to the Tahsildar, but because the Velma's Vakil is so powerful it is all of no use. (Source : **C.V.F.** Haimendorf Tribal Hyderabad, 1945, p. 70-71).

4. An example of this is afforded by the experience of Kursenga Bhima and Tsermakj Arju, two Gonds of Belgaon a village near Asifabad. Belgaon is a landlord village, but five years ago the two Gonds each obtained permission to clear and cultivate 10 acres of Kharijkhata land in the neighbouring village of Khapri. In obtaining this permission their outlay was as follows: two bulls worth Rs. 80 to the patwari, Rs. 20 to the girdawar, Rs. 20 to the Forest Ranger and Rs. 40 to the forest guard. For five years they cultivated the land and each paid Rs. 5 revenue. But this year, without giving any reason, the Tahsildar withdrew the land from the two Gonds and allotted it, also in siwa-i-jamabandi tenure, to Devalal, a rich Lambara, who holds already the larger part of the village-land of Khapri on patta. The two Gonds are now left without any land and have to subsist on coolie-work. (Source : **C.V.V.** Haimendorf Tribal Hyderabad, 1945, p.72).
5. Setu Madhava Rao, Among the Gonds of Adilabad, Popular Book Depot, Bombay 1942, p-64.
6. **The** village lands of Nokari, a deserted Gond site in the plains of Rajura Taluq, **were** acquired some years ago by a Brahmin, and he called Gonds from one of his **other** villages, Kavargaon, **to** settle there and fell the jungle. At first **he** **demandd from them a rent of Rs. 12 per plough, but two years ago when all**

the village land had been brought under cultivation, he begin raising the rent, and this year he is asking of his Gond tenants a rent of between Rs. 40 and Rs. 60 per plough, and threatens to expel them, if they are unwilling or unable to pay, saying that he can get enough kunbis and Marars to take their place. (Source : C.V.F. Haimendorf Tribal Hyderabad, 1945, p-72).

7. An example of and experiences of Maravi Jeitur of sonapur village explained to **C.V.F.** Hairnendorf, "Till three years ago I lived in Pachgaon, which is a landlord village, but there the rent was so high that I looked for other land. At that time there were only four houses in Sonapur, and so I and many Gonds from Pachgaon, Bendvi, Brukunda Khurd, and Sonorli, all pattadar villages, settled in Sonapur. We obtained permission from the Tahsildar to cultivate Kharijkhata and parampok land, cleared all the jungle and paid the chobina to the Forest Chaukidar. Now there are altogether 45 Gond households in Sonapur; but none of us was able to get a patta. Some time ago we heard that both a Komati and a silversmith of Rajura were trying to get the whole village of Sonapur. So we went to Adilabad and saw the Taluqdar Sahib, but he told us that we must pay Rs. 300 if we want to take the village in auction. And now we have been told that soon the auction will take place and that both the Komati and the silversmith are going to bid. (Sources : Tribal Hyderabad by Christoph Von Furer - Haimendorf (1945) p-73).
8. V. Raghavaiah, Tribal Revolts, Andhra Rashtra Adima Jati Sevak Sang, Nellore (A.P.) 1971, p-48.
9. Until five years ago Moda in Rajura Taluq was a big Gond village, containing with its sub-settlements and Kolam hamlets about 200 houses. The patel and patta holders was kotnaka Hanu, but when he died his young son did not take **over the** patta; and all the villagers dispersed. Kotnaka Hanu's son lives now in Parandoli, with his wife's kin, and a former inhabitant of Moda, Pendur **Ramu, now** living in Markanja Metta, told me that after the patel's death the

patwari and forest officers told the villagers, that now the pattadar was dead and since his son had not taken up the patta, they could no longer stay **in Moda**. Shortly after this Moda with its sub-settlements Kikajheri and Andanguda was disbanded and the sites of the three settlements were included in the Reserved Forest. Pendur Rana has no land of his own and some of the former inhabitants would like to reoccupy Moda, but are unable to obtain permission. (Source : C.V.F. Haimendorf Tribal Hyderabad 1945, p-76).

10. In Dhanora a village of Asifabad Taluq in the Pedda Vagu Valley, a large part of the village land belonged to Gond Patel Tsakati Isru, who had a patta for 200 acres: Two years ago he died, leaving no son, but one married daughter, also living in the village. he was succeeded as patel by his brother's son Jangu, and the latter claimed the Patta land. The patwari, however, declared that neither Jangu nor the daughter have a right in the patta land, and it was consequently transformed into Kharihkata land; the villagers cultivate them at present on siwa-i-jumabandi tenure. Ever since, however, Banias of Asifabad have been trying to acquire the whole village in auction, and it is more than probable that they will succeed, and that Dhanora, like most of the neighbouring villages **in** the Pedda Vagu Valley, will soon belong to an absentee landlord. (Source : C.V.F. Haimendorf Tribal Hyderabad, 1945 p-77).
11. An example is a case from Asifabad Taluq. Naitam Jangu of Mandrumera village was a young boy when about 10 years ago his father died. There were no brothers or other close relations of his father to look after the widow's and the children's interests, and so the patwari took for himself 8 acres of the land **and a** sahuakar appropriated the remaining land of altogether about 25 acres, under **the** pretext of debts owed to him by the deceased. He also took **possession** of 8 cows, 4 calves, 4 bullocks, 1 cart, **and 2** brass pots, **all belonging to Jangu's** father. **There** were no court proceedings, relinquishment **of patta rights, or any** other formalities, but the patwari and the sahuakar simply

took possession of the boy's property. Jangu has now no land left; he is very poor and works for other cultivators. (Source : Four Reports of C.V.E Haimendorf Published by the Revenue Department, Govt. of H.E.H. the Nizam 1945, p-76).

12. Pandera Malku, a landless Gond of Nagapur, tells that three years ago he obtained permission from the Tahsildar to cultivate a piece of parampok land and to fell the jungle growing there. The girdawar and patwari measured the land and Malku's name was entered in the revenue register. Malku ploughed the land and sowed, oil-seeds, but when the crop was one foot high, Gulam Qadar, a resident of Utnur, came with some men and had the field ploughed up and chenna, sown. Gulam Qadar reaped his crop, but the revenue was collected from Malku, who was also liable for the Chobina of Rs. 15 to the Forest Department, but could not pay it at that time. The next year Malku tried again to cultivate the field, but Gulam Qadar drove him off the field by aiming at him with a gun and threatening to shoot him. Gulam Qadar then enlisted the support of the police, where upon the sub inspector sent a constable for Malku and told Malku that he would get into trouble if he went anywhere near the field, Gulam Qadar, however, did not actually cultivate the field that year, and it remained fallow, no one paying the revenue. This year Malku again obtained permission from the Tahsildar to cultivate the field, but before he could begin work, Gulam Qadar ploughed it up and so intimidated Malku that he did not effectively oppose him. During the Taluqdar's visit to Utnur, Malku brought the case before him, and a few days later the girdawar and patwari called Malku and handed the field over to him for cultivation. At that time Malku sold a cow and paid the chobina of Rs. 15 to the Forest Ranger. But he had hardly started ploughing, when Gulam Qadar, who had in the meanwhile been to Hyderabad and Adilabad, again ploughed up the field and sowed jowari, saying that he had obtained an order from the Taluqdar authorising him to occupy the land. (source : Four Reports of C.V.F. Haimendorf's tour diary, Published by the Revenue Department Government of M.E.H. Nizam, Hyderabad 1945, p-79).

13. A group of twelve villages in the plains east of Adilabad namely: Chandpalli (20), Sardapur (10), Karki (30), Chapri (19), Ponar (20), Rankum (19), Patan (9), Sonkas (19), Pithgaon (19), Jinoli (19), Karoni (19), and Warur (19) formed until some 30 years ago the jagir estate of the Gond mokashi Koranga Bhim Rao at that time the population of all these villages was purely aboriginal. When Bhim Rao died his small son Yesund Rao the present Mokashi was not granted the estate, which was taken under Khalsa administration. Soon afterwards several of the villages were acquired by non-aboriginal, absentee pattadars, who soon introduced non-aboriginal settlers, and absentee non-aboriginals were appointed as police and mali patels of the twelve villages, including the mokashi's own residence Chandpalli. (Source : Tribal Hyderabad, C.V.F. Haimendorf, (1945) p-81).
14. 1. Atram Teling Rao, a Gond of Modi (59) in Asifabad Taluq, complains that he cultivates 120 acres of Kharijkahata land, for which he pays Rs. 130 revenue; for the four years he has tried to get a patta. he is prepared to acquire the land in auction and pay for it and he has submitted several applications to the Tahsildar but without success.

2. The case of Marpatsi Somu of Chintakara (72) is identical. He cultivates 100 acres of inferior land in the hills and pays Rs. 25 revenue; for the last five years he has been applying for a patta and is prepared to pay, but the Tahsildar takes no action. (Source : C.V.F. Haimendorf, Tribal Hyderabad p. 83-84).
15. The **case** related by Maravi Somu of Tutra (24) in Rajura Taluq, may serve as an example. "Three years ago I and my father's brother's son Yenku, bid for **land at an** auction, and I was accorded 82 acres and Yenku 280 acres. Ever **since I have paid Rs. 82** revenue and Yenku has paid Rs. **250**. But although **we both paid the full** amount for the land at the time of the auction, I received a **patta for only 22 acres** and Yenku a **patta** for 30 acres. **We have** given several **applications, to the Tahsildar, but received** no reply **and we have** never

succeeded in approaching him direct. After we had taken the land in auction we had to pay Rs. 100 to the Forest Ranger, Rs. 50 to the forest Chaukidar and Rs. 50 to the Patwari. For none of these sums did we get receipts. Upto now the girdawar has not come to measure out the patta land". To this Yenku added that the girdawar is now syaing that he will only come and measure the land if Yenku gives him as per acre. So far Yenku, though paying the full revenue of Rs. 250, cultivates only half of the land, for the Chaukidar prevents him from clearing the rest of small growth; only if Yenku gives him an 'inam' of Rs. 50 will be give permission to clear the shrub. Yenku wants, also, to build a house on his patta land, but this too the chaukidar does not allow.

(Source: Tour Diaries of **C.V.F.** Haimendorf (Adilabad district, Marlavai, April 27th 1943).

16. Setu Madhava Rao, Among the Gonds of Adilabad, popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1949, P.51.
17. Census of India 1941, Volume XXI, H.E.H. The Nizam Dominions (Hyderabad State) part - I, Report (7th issue) **p.XXVII.**
18. Ibid. **P.XXVII.**
19. Karl Marx, Notes on Indian History, op. cit, p. 124.
20. See for details, The Gonds of Andhra Pradesh, C.V.F. Haimandorf, Vikas Publications 1977, p.543.
21. The census of 1891, Naizam Dominions, H.E.H. Nizam Government, Hyderabad, p.6.
22. As **the coastal** districts were already gone under the control of the Britishers **who have started** their trade operations in Andhra Prior to Telangana and this connection to Vijayawada, became more convenient for their smooth operations **all over.**

CHAPTER IV

PROFILES OF ADILABAD DISTRICT AND UTNOOR MANDAL

1. DISTRICT PROFILE

Physical characteristics

Adilabad is the northernmost district in the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh as reorganised in 1956. It extends over 16,128 Sq Km. and is well-endowed with natural resources - land, water, forests and minerals. Several rivers including the Godavari flow through the district. The average rainfall (from the north-west monsoon) is 1051 mm which is higher than the state average¹.

Until the 1940s much of the region was remote and relatively inaccessible comprised mainly of hill terrain covered by dense teak forests. Though the construction of roads and major highways has opened up the region and deforestation in recent decades has steadily reduced forest areas. Adilabad is still well known for its forest lands². As estimated in then 1981 census, Adilabad district had almost 44% of its land area under forests - the second highest forest area in the State after Khammam district. Since the forest area required to ensure ecological balance is around a one third of land area, Adilabad is in a "relatively favourable position at present despite increasing deforestation. For Andhra Pradesh as a whole, the area under forests is estimated at 23.18% of total geographical area (1985 estimates) which is considerably less than that required to maintain ecological balance³.

Red and black soil are both found in Adilabad district though black soil predominates, accounting for almost 72% of the soil in the district. The mineral resources are mainly coal, limestone and manganese ore.

1.1. Political/Administrative units

The district, until recently, was comprised of 11 taluks Adilabad, Asifabad, Boath, Chinnur, Khanapur, Lakshettipet, Mudhol, Nirmal, Sirpur and Utnoor. The number of villages in Adilabad district in 1981 was 155. since 1985 the unit of administration is the mandal. As presently constituted Adilabad district is comprising of 52 mandals.

12 Population

The total population of Adilabad District according to 1981 census was 16.39 lakhs (compared to the 1971 population figure of 12.88 lakhs). Of this total, 80.65% were categorised as rural and 19.35% as urban. Males accounted for 50.52% of the total population of the District and females for 49.48%. The district has the lowest density of population in the State - 101 persons per sq.km.⁴(see Table 4.1).

Adilabad district has a higher proportion of schedule castes and scheduled tribes (which together constitute 35% of the total population than the rest of the State. Andhra Pradesh has a tribal population of 31.76 lakhs of 8% of the total tribal population of India. The scheduled castes form 18.34% of the district's total population, compared with an average of 14.9% for the state, while the scheduled tribes form 16.7% of the district's population compared with a state average of 5.9%.

The composition of the tribal population of Adilabad district as estimated in the ITDA Report is as follows:

Gonds	135976
Lambadas	77410
Kolams	30352
Koyas	12970
Pardans	11993

Table 4.1

MANDAL-WISE POPULATION OF ADILABAD DISTRICT
(Census 1991)

No.	Name of the Mandal	Population		
		Male	Female	Total
1.	Utnur	20,655	19,232	39,887
2.	Talamadugu	12,699	12,906	25,605
3.	Tamsi	15,069	15,541	30,610
4.	Adilabad	65,565	62,658	1,28,223
	a) Rural	22,014	21,976	43,990
	b) Urban	43,551	40,682	84,233
5.	Jainad	19,270	19,631	38,901
6.	Beia	13,534	13,696	27,230
7.	Narnoor	17,966	17,187	35,153
8.	Indervally	16,683	16,084	32,767
9.	Gudihathnur	10,701	10,407	21,108
10.	Ichoda	17,229	16,759	33,988
11.	Bazar Hatnoor	10,797	10,464	21,261
12.	Boath	18,645	18,751	37,396
13.	Neradigonda	10,124	9,976	20,100
14.	Sarangapur	17,191	18,152	35,343
15.	Kuntala	12,451	12,812	25,263
16.	Kubeer	16,388	16,067	32,455
17.	Bhainsa	29,260	29,060	58,320
	a) Rural	14,011	14,645	28,656
	b) Urban	15,249	14,415	29,664
18.	Tanur	14,257	14,325	28,582
19.	Mudhole	21,611	21,531	43,142
20.	Lohesra	12,998	13,764	26,762
21.	Diiawarpur	14,010	14,953	28,963
22.	Nirmal	48,066	48,180	96,246
	a) Rural	18,930	19,539	38,469
	b) Urban	29,136	28,641	57,777
23.	Laxmanchanda	13,963	14,791	28,754
24.	Mamda	12,084	12,532	24,616
25.	Khanapur	23,735	23,264	46,999
26.	Kaddam	20,948	20,202	41,150
27.	Jainoor	10,395	9,777	20,172
28.	Keramari	10,426	10,040	20,466
29.	Sirpur (Urban)	10,236	10,276	20,510
30.	Jannaram	21,201	20,826	42,027
31.	Dandepalli	21,034	20,656	41,690
32.	Lakshettipet	20,223	19,752	39,975
	a) Rural	15,602	15,296	30,898
	b) Urban	4,621	4,456	9,077

33.	Manchierial	69,561	65,620	1,35,181
	a) Rural	42,294	40,261	82,555
	b) Urban	27,269	25,359	52,626
34.	Mandamarri	57,865	54,775	1,12,640
	a) Rural	6,462	6,009	12,471
	b) Urban	51,403	48,766	1,00,169
35.	Kasipet	13,789	12,901	26,690
36.	Tiryani	11,006	10,575	21,581
37.	Asifabad	19,702	19,545	39,247
	a) Rural	12,288	12,090	24,378
	b) Urban	7,414	7,455	14,869
38.	Wankide	11,752	11,499	23,251
39.	Kagaznagar	46,086	44,756	90,842
	a) Rural	16,714	16,475	33,189
	b) Urban	29,372	28,281	57,653
40.	Rebbena	14,194	13,678	27,872
41.	Tandur	16,555	16,039	32,594
42.	Bellampalle	46,369	44,289	90,658
	a) Rural	12,273	11,777	24,050
	b) Urban	34,096	32,512	66,608
43.	Nennal	9,564	9,186	18,750
44.	Bhemine	10,287	9,887	20,174
45.	Sirpur	12,279	11,965	24,244
	a) Rural	7,884	7,842	15,726
	b) Urban	4,395	4,123	8,518
46.	Kouthala	18,493	18,139	36,632
47.	Bejjur	17,442	17,397	34,839
48.	Dahegaon	13,315	13,394	26,709
49.	Vemanapalle	7,620	7,504	15,124
50.	Kotapalle	13,572	13,559	27,131
51.	Chennur	20,660	20,229	40,889
52.	Jaipur	20,707	19,679	40,386

Source : Director of census operation Andhra Pradesh, Urban/Village primary census Abstract 199-92.

Adilabad district 1991-92 census department Hyderabad.

From the Table 4.1 it can be observed that the total population of Adilabad district is 20,79,098 (as per 1991 census of which population males is 10,50,232 and female is 10,28,866. Out of 52 mandals Mancherial mandal having highest population i.e. 1,35,181 and Adilabad mandal comes second with 1,28,223 population where as Utnoor mandal having the Population of 39,887. Vemanapalle mandal is having lowest population of 15,124.

Andh	2715
Thoties	1306
Chenchus	88
Bheels	76

Agriculture is the main source of livelihood for almost 90% of tribal households. The areas of tribal concentration have been identified as notified or Scheduled areas as part of the government's policy to promote tribal development. The area declared as Agency (Tribal) Area in the state covers 30,031 Sq. Km. or 11% of the state's area and includes Adilabad district. The highlands of Adilabad district are one of the areas with a higher proportion of tribal population as compared with the rest of the state.

1.3 Economic Characteristics

Of the total population of the district, 43.46% are workers, while 56.54% non-workers - a pattern comparable to the state average. The occupational distribution of the labour force reveals the importance of the agricultural sector to the district's economy and the low level of industrial development with limited employment possibilities. Cultivators (37.32%) and agricultural labourers (35.0%) account for over 72% of the work force and the remainder fall within the category of 'other' occupations.

Adilabad district is predominantly agricultural. The industrial activity is related to agro-based, forest-based and mineral-based industries. The development of these industries is extremely limited as compared with the resource potential of the district.

In terms of most conventional economic indicators. Adilabad district is underdeveloped and lagging behind not only the comparable state average but also with regard to its potential for economic development.

The study by Vidyanath (1989) places Adilabad district in Zone 3 representing low levels of resource development as compared with other districts. Whatever development has been achieved so far is due to the utilisation of the abundant forest and mineral (mainly coal) resources located in the district.

Table 4.2

Classification of Geographical Area in Adilabad district 1986-87

Sl. No.	Classification of the Area	Area in hectares	% Total Geographical Area
1.	Forest	6,87,584	42.4
2.	Barren and Cultivable land	38,575	2.4
3.	Land put to non-agricultural uses	60,712	3.8
4.	Cultivable waste	23,104	1.4
5.	Permanent pastures and other grazing lands	46,057	2.8
6.	Land under miscellaneous, trees, crops & groves not included in net area sown.	9,319	0.6
7.	Other fallow lands	41,821	2.6
8.	Current fallow lands	1,17,710	7.3
9.	Net area sown	5,95,499	36.7
10.	Area sown more than once	21,266	1.3
11.	Total cropped area	6,16,765	38.0

Source : Andhra Pradesh Seasons and crops report 1987-88 (1390 fasli) Director of Economic and Statistical Bureau, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, p-150-151.

From Table 4.2 it follows that forest occupies largest portion of the total geographical area. Percentage of cropped area to the total geographical is 38.0, while percentage of the area sown more than one is 1.3 only.

II. THE TRIBAL POPULATION OF ADILABAD DISTRICT

2.1 Major Tribal Groups: History, Customs and Social Structure

Within the tribal population of India, the numerically predominant tribal group is that of the Gonds who account for 10% of the total tribal population according to recent estimates. This is true of Adilabad district, where Gonds account for 9% of the population. In earlier centuries their main area of concentration was the former princely state of Baster in the present state of Madhya Pradesh, some of the other tribal groups found in Adilabad district are the Kolams, Naikpods and Koyas - the latter mainly concentrated in Warangal district are a sub-group of the Gonds. The two groups are however distinguishable by language. The Koyas speak a Teluguised Gondi dialect distinct from the Raj Gonds who have retained their Gondi language. Gondi is the second largest spoken language in Adilabad district.

The original home of the Gond race extended over the vast area between the Narmada river in the north and the Krishna river in the South. The pattern of their dispersion and present concentration is the result of various internal migrations at different periods in their history - either as a response to famines, or in search of cultivable land, with a preference for mountainous/hilly terrain and forest areas rather than plains and lowlands. The dense forested region of Adilabad district became an area of tribal concentration in Andhra Pradesh. (The loss of their tribal lands to non-tribals has become a part of the more recent history of the tribal population).

The Gond settlements are mainly comprised of small village, often with **no more than 25** houses, very few villages contain as many as 100 households. Gond villages are easy to identify as their names are often derived from fruits, vegetables, **plants and trees, reflecting** the **importance** of the environment to the tribal groups

living in the region. The names of Gond tribals are largely based on Gond mythology, with some Muslim and Telugu influences reflecting historical associations. The use of names based on Hindu mythological characters is so far limited.

Until the early twentieth century, the tribal economy was a barter economy with exchange as the basis for all transactions with non-forest dwellers. This situation was altered with the penetration of the money economy into tribal regions.

2.2 Agriculture Cropping pattern

Cultivation is the main source of livelihood for the tribal population of Adilabad district, though types of cultivation differ from area to area depending on terrain. The Kolams of the highland slopes and the Naikpods who have now moved to the plains follow the "Podu" or slash-and-burn form of cultivation, while the Gonds practice the relatively more settled plough cultivation technique with rotation of crops and the practice of leaving land fall in between periods of cultivation. The presence of red and black soils in the district has led to a distinctive cropping pattern of food crops (such as sorghum, millet and pulses) and non-food crops such as cotton on different plots of land. Paddy and Maize are also grown in irrigated areas. The demands of the market economy have resulted in changes in the cropping pattern and a marked shift from food crops to non-food crops. Jowar is the staple diet of the tribal population of the district.

2.3 Present economic position : the problem of land alienation

Several changes were set in motion in the twentieth century which marked the end of the "isolation" of the tribals from outside influences. One such change was brought about by the form of centralised administration under the British which

extended into tribal areas. The building of roads and the establishment of communication links during the 1940s accelerated the process of penetration into tribal areas. With growing commercialisation, expansion of the market economy and the entry of non-tribal into the area followed by the acquisition of tribal land by the "new" settlers, the process of opening up of the tribal regions was complete. In Haimendorf's view, the major trends in Gond society evident since the 1940s are the erosion of the traditional social structure and the economic domination of Gonds by non-tribal groups.

Open access of land has always been the basis of the tribal economy and the cultivation of land is the main economic activity. (About 85% of the Scheduled Tribes population of Andhra Pradesh depend on land for their livelihood).

Though the formal recognition of tribal rights over land has a long history, they are ineffective, in counteracting the various processes at work in the scheduled areas of Adilabad district. For example, the earliest attempt to separate agency area from other areas, dates back to the British administration of 1839. In 1917 an Act called the Agency Tract - Interest and Transfer Act was passed in the interests of the tribal population in the agency areas. During the Nizam's rule there was the 1946 Tribal Areas - Regulation (1356 Fasli). This was replaced by the Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Areas Land Transfer Regulation Act of 1959, as extended to Telanaga in 1963. The Act seeks to protect tribal rights to land by the notification of scheduled areas and restoration of tribal land to tribals. However the loopholes in the **Act** and weak implementation of the provisions of the **Act** have made it inadequate to deal with **the** crux of the tribal problem i.e., land alienation.

The loss of tribal control over land (in the areas populated by tribal groups) is **the result** of **several** factors. **The** weakness of the tribal population with regard to

land ownership is partly due to the fact that the tribal owner, cultivating land did not have "**Patta**" rights to the land in a formal sense. The system of land tenure in the tribal areas of Adilabad district is of the type referred to as Siwa-i-jamabandi. This system involves cultivation of government lands and collective payment of annual land revenue by the tribal groups but does not confer ownership rights on the cultivator. As a result, the tribal cultivators were made more vulnerable to the subsequent acquisition of their land by non-tribal individuals with political influence. The entry of non-tribal groups into the district was facilitated by several factors including the increased accessibility of the region, the waves of "immigration" from neighbouring areas especially from Maharashtra, and the recognition of the Banjaras as a Scheduled Tribe in Andhra Pradesh (but not in Maharashtra) in 1977. Certain aspects of the state government's policy towards increasing revenue from forests also had effects on the position of the tribal population in the district leading to their displacement from their original places of habitation in the forest areas. The uncertainty of status of certain types of forest land and conflicting interpretations by the revenue authorities and the forest department have further affected the economic position of the tribal cultivators. With increased commercialisation of forest produce and the ineffective attempts at reservation of forest areas restricting tribal people but not commercial contractors, the control of the tribal population over forest land has been rapidly eroded. As a result, growing numbers of former tribal cultivators are now landless agricultural labourers. Among landless agricultural labourers in the Agency tracts, scheduled tribes now constitute the largest single group.

The process of land alienation has affected both the tribal and non-tribal groups in **the** region. The increasing land alienation experienced by the tribal **population** has resulted in the non-tribal groups establishing a hold, over the areas formerly held as tribal land. The emergence of the non-tribal groups as powerful actors, in **the** process has been further influenced by several factors.

The attempts to frame legislations in favour of the tribal population with regard to their ownership of land and the protection of land rights has been thwarted by successful counter attempts by non-tribal groups. This response has been possible due to inadequate legislation to protect tribal land rights, and weak implementation of existing provisions. In recent years there has even been a reversal of former attempts to regularise tribal land ownership, as legislation that is discriminatory to tribal population and its land rights and favourable to non-tribal ownership has come through.

Regulation I of 1970 which was a major attempt at protecting rights of tribals over their land, prohibited transfer of tribal lands in the Agency tracts to anyone except a tribal. The purpose of the Act was weakened by an executive order in August 1979 which exempted non-tribals occupying upto 5 acres of wet land or 10 acres of dry land in the scheduled areas from purview of Regulation I of 70. In January 1989 the state government repealed Regulation I of 1970. The extreme vulnerability of the tribal population to widespread loss of tribal lands therefore continues as dispossession of tribals, proceeds on a sizeable scale. The tribal unrest resulting from these processes has important socio-political implications.

The process of displacement of the tribal groups from land originally owned by them is further worsened by the lack of employment opportunities in the district. The pace and pattern of industrial development are not suitable for the absorption of the tribal population into employment in the industrial sector.

2.4 State Policy and current Approaches to Tribal Sector

The priority areas for policy intervention in Adilabad district relate to the protection of tribal rights to land and the socio-economic development of the people and area.

The uplift of the tribal population has been a special focus of state policy since independence. Several constitutional provisions are aimed specifically at promoting the broadly defined objective of "tribal welfare". The Constitution of India requires the state to "promote with special care, the educational and economic interests of weaker sections of the people and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and scheduled Tribes and protect them from social injustice and all form of exploitation". Article 244 relates to the administration of scheduled and tribal areas: Article 275 provides for grants from Union to States for the Welfare of scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Areas; and Article 339 establishes the control of the Union Government over the administration of Scheduled areas and the welfare of Scheduled Tribes.

In operational terms, the objective of promoting tribal welfare has been reflected in various plan documents with varying degrees of emphasis. Since 1952, the formulation of policy on the problems of the tribal population has been merged with Community Development Programmes. The five year plans at the State level are mainly directed towards educational and 'economic upliftment' schemes. Since the Fifth Plan period, Tribal Sub-Plans have been introduced to ensure financial resources and implementation of schemes specifically for tribal development.

The establishment of the Girijan Co-operative corporation has been an attempt to prevent further exploitation of the tribal population by commercial interests - traders and money lenders. The Co-operative procures agricultural and minor forest produce from tribals at reasonable prices and it also supplies essential commodities to them at controlled prices. The provision of credit facilities to the tribal population is also one of the aims of the Girijan Co-operative Corporation.

A comprehensive tribal policy in Adilabad district needs to first reconcile the conflicting interests of tribal communities and forestry development. The protection

and conservation of forest wealth, the prevention of environmental degradation, and the utilisation of forest resources to benefit the target groups of the population need to be made priority areas for policy action.

An approach linking agricultural production, social forestry and horticulture needs to be formulated as part of a longer term strategy for the uplift of tribal groups. The suggestions made in the approach paper on the development of horticulture in Gondwana are relevant in this context. The region which includes Adilabad, Karimnagar, Warangal and Khamman, was found to have soil unsuitable for traditional types of cultivation, but appropriate for certain types of trees such as mango, cashew and guava. An area development programme related to the "growth pole" approach was suggested for the development of this region. Diversification of the tribal economy in Adilabad district must become an integral part of a planned, phased programme of balanced regional development which aims to stabilise and improve the economic position of tribal groups, and utilise existing resources optimally.

2.5 Natural Resources : Availability and Utilisation

The feasibility requirement of development planning makes it necessary to have an assessment of the resource-base before estimating the development potential of the district. The availability of natural resources, renewable and non-renewable, and the possible extent to their utilisation set the boundaries within which the further development of the district may be analysed. Though the natural resource base is not the only determining factor, it is significant in any assessment of potential resource utilisation.

In this section we present the main features relating to the natural resource base of Adilabad district. The major resources to be discussed are land, forests,

water, minerals and energy. The data is with regard to a single point in time, and aims to show the present position in terms of possibilities for further development.

2.6 Land, Soil, land-use, Cropping pattern

For a region that is primarily agricultural, land is the key natural resource and its ownership and utilisation is a determining feature of the agrarian structure. From the purely physical/technical point of view, the pattern of land utilisation is influenced by the extent of cultivable area, the type of soil and access to irrigation sources.

The soil of Adilabad district ranges from red to mixed red and black soils and medium black soil. The latter, known for a high level of water retention, is extremely fertile and suitable for the cultivation of rain-fed crops such as jowar, bajra, cotton, tobacco and groundnut. Irrigated crops grown on such soil include paddy and sugarcane. The presence of red and black soils makes Adilabad an area with rich agricultural potential. However, the extent of land use does not appear to correspond to the resource base.

The gap between land which could be cultivated and land under cultivation at present, is substantial and is one of the measures of the wastage of a primary resource. According to the 1971 census, the total cultivated land in Adilabad district as a whole is 15,17,015 acres, while the total cultivable waste or uncultivated land is 6,99,591 acres. In the taluks of Sirpur and Chinnur the extent of potentially cultivable and lying uncultivated is almost as high as the area of cultivated land. For Sirpur, the figures for cultivated land and cultivable waste are 1,81,894 acres and 1,34,255 acres respectively and for Chinnur taluk, the corresponding figures are 1,33,859 acres and 1,30,555 acres respectively⁵.

These figures show a significant gap between actual and optional utilisation of existing cultivable land. The percentage of land under forests is 42.43% while 37.42% is the net area sown, (For the state as a whole only 21.27% of land is under forest). The rest of the land is classified as barren and uncultivable land, put to *non-agricultural* uses and current follows. It is interesting to note that though 42% of land is under forest which is double the percentage for the state; the percentage of net area sown to total land is the same as for the state. The extent of barren and uncultivable land in Adilabad is only 2.38% as against 8.27% in the state as a whole. Similarly, land put to non-agricultural uses in Adilabad is 3.70% while for the state it is 8.19% land under current follows in the district is only 5.91% while in the slate it is 11.51%. Thus the pattern of utilisation of land other than forest land is more efficient in Adilabad district when compared with the state average, though the potential for extending the cultivated area is considerably high. This needs to be examined further in relation to size distribution of holdings, irrigation, cropping pattern and yields.

Table 4.3

Area Irrigated by Different Sources in Adilabad District (1990-91)

(Area in 000 hectares)

	Canals	Tanks	Tubewells	Otherwells	Other sources
Gross Area Irrigated	23	24	1	17	2
Area Irrigated more than once	4	1	-	2	1
Net Area Irrigated	19	23	1	15	1

Source : An outline of Agricultural situation in Andhra Pradesh 1990-91. p-40-44, Directorate of Economics and Statistical Bureau Govt. of A.P. Hyderabad.

From Table 4.3 it is observed that gross area irrigated under **cannal** and tanks is more than tubewells and other wells.

2.7 Size Distribution of holdings

Of the total land under cultivation in the district, holdings below 1.0 hectare accounted for 34.81% of total holdings and 6.74% of total area. The corresponding figures for the state are 51.62% and 13.16% respectively. About 25% of area and the total number of holdings come under the size group 2 and 4 acres. Holdings between 4 and 10 hectares accounted for 37.34% of area and 16.71% of holdings, as against 27.76% and 8.79% for the entire state. Holdings of 10 hectares and above accounted for 3.52% of all holdings and 20% of area. It may be seen that one third of holdings are below 1 hectare and one-fifth are in the range of 1 and 2 hectares. Thus 64% of holdings are below 2 hectares and are in the category of marginal and small farmers. Given the fact that much of this land is not irrigated and even 4 hectare farms are included in the category of small farms, the percentage share in total number of holdings would come to 80%.

Table 4.4

Distribution of Population by Workers, Marginal workers and Non-workers in Adilabad District 1990-91

1.	Total main workers	8,69,090
2.	Cultivators	2,94,493
3.	Agricultural labourers	3,03,877
4.	Household industry workers	42,270
5.	Other workers	2,28,450
6.	Marginal workers	54,914
7.	Non-workers	11,58,475

Source : Statistical Abstract 1990-91, Directorate of Economics and Statistics Govt. of A. P. Hyderabad.

From **Table 4.4** it is observed that, the number of cultivators are 2,94,493 where as agricultural labourers are 3,03,877. Similarly the number of marginal workers are **54,914** and non-workers are 11,58,475

2.8 Cropping pattern

Of the total cropped area in the district 70.68% is under food crops, and 29.32% under non-food crops. Among the food crops, Jowar accounts for 35.78% of area followed by rice with 11%, while pulses account for 16.8% of area. Among non-food crops, cotton occupies 22.30% of area, followed by sesaman (4.24%) and groundnut (0.13%). **Thus it** may be seen that jowar and cotton together account for two-third of total cropped area. Rice accounts for only 11 % while pulses account for 16.8% of area.

Compared with the cropping pattern in the state, Adilabad has 35.78% of its area under jowar while the corresponding figure for the state is 14.74%. When the total output of the main crops in the district and their share in the total output in the state are considered, It is found that 20.82% of the state output of sesaman, 14.06% **of wheat**, 11.87% of the jowar and 10.53% of cotton are produced in Adilabad (see **Table No. 4.5**).

2.9 Water : Ground and surface water resources

The level of utilisation of water resources is a major determinant of agricultural **and** non-agricultural activity. Though the state of Andhra Pradesh with five major **and minor rivers** flowing through it had abundant water resources **and** a relatively high level of utilisation, the pattern of utilisation varies within the state.

Adilabad is one of the districts with a significant surplus of water - resources but a low level of utilisation (Vidyanath, 1989-89).

Table 4.5

**Area under different food grains and quantum of total food grains
production in Adilabad district (1990-91)**

(Area in 000 hectares)
(Production in 000 tonnes)

Name of the crops	Area		Production	
	Kharif	Rabi	Kharif	Rabi
Paddy	62	7	101	17
Wheat	3	-	3	-
Jowar	75	108	45	47
Bajra	1	-	-	-
Ragi	-	-	-	-
Maize	20	2	15	7
Korra	-	-	-	-
Varagu	-	-	-	-
Samai	-	-	-	-
Bengal gram	2	-	1	-
Green gram	18	4	1	-
Black gram	10	1	2	-
Horse gram	-	3	-	1
Gow gram	-	1	-	-
Other pulses	2	-	-	-
Ground nut	1	1	1	1
Castor	1	-	-	-
Sensamum	4	20	-	1
Sun flower	1	-	1	-
Chillies	5	-	2	-
Tobacco	-	-	-	-
Cotton	158	-	91	-

Source : An outline of Agricultural situation in Andhra Pradesh 1990-91, p-49-111, Directorate of Economics and Statistical Bureau Govt. of A. P. Hyderabad.

From Table 4.5 it is observed that area under paddy is 62,000 hectares and under Jowar is 75,000 hectares. Similarly under cotton crop it is 1,58,000 hectares. The area under cotton and jowar is more.

In terms of rainfall, the district is in an area of Telangana region which receives moderate to heavy rainfall during the southwest monsoon. Several rivers flow through the district, the most important of which is the Godavari, which forms almost a boundary to the south of the District. Given the importance of agriculture to the district's economy and the favourable red and black soils, the potential for exploitation of water resources in Adilabad district is relatively high. Recent estimates indicate that the surface water potential available in the district is 2,89,709 (hoc). The percentage of surface water potential utilised in Adilabad districts is 43.17% the lowest proportion in the state as a whole. The average for Andhra Pradesh of surface water potential utilised is 77.48%".

A similar picture emerges from the data on ground water potential. The ground water potential in Adilabad district is around 2,13,532 hectares and the actual exploitation of ground water resources is less than 5% as against a state average of over 16%. In a ranking of districts in terms of overall water resource development, Adilabad ranks lowest and is placed in Zone IV*".

2.10 Forests : Area, Type, Forest produce

The approach to Forests, as an important utilisable natural resource had changed in recent years with the growing emphasis on the role of forests in preserving the ecological balance. The recent trends of the deforestation and the resulting ecological disturbance have brought the issue of forest conservation to the centre of environmental concern - both globally and nationally.

In Andhra Pradesh which has around 23% of forest area (1981 census), the process of deforestation continues though the existing forest area is less than the proportion required for maintaining ecological **balance** (which is around 33%).

Adilabad district with over 43% of its land area under forests has the second highest percentage of forest area in the state after Khammam district where forests cover more than 52% of total area. The types of forests found in Adilabad district are of the tropical moist and dry deciduous variety. The main species of these forests types are rosewood sal, satinwood, teak, red sandals and maddi.

The vast teak forests of Adilabad district make timber the major forest produce. In 1984-85, over 26% of the State's timber was accounted for, by Adilabad district. Other major forest produces of the district are bamboo, firewood and charcoal.

Minor forest produce include fruits, resins, tamarind, beedi leaves and fodder. In value terms, Adilabad district ranks second in the state for total value of minor forests produce (Rs. 37,173,000 in 1984 to 85) - after Warangal. More than three - fourths of this sum is accounted for by the value of beedi leaves.

UTNOOR MANDAL

Utnoor is situated in the heart of the tribal country almost half way between the rivers Godavari and the Penganga. Traditionally the old name of Utnur was Vithal Nagar derived from the Diety Vishnu or Vithal⁶.

In the persian document, found with, Gond families, of Sirpur in Utnoor taluk, "Utnoor" referred as "Sarkar Nabi Nagar" forming part of Suba Berar Balghat⁷.

This Utnoor mandal lies between 19° 12' - 19° 30' longitudes and 78° 35' - 78° 55' latitude. It is bounded on the north by Asifabad mandal of Adilabad district, on the south by Kadam and Khanapur mandals, on the west by Indravelli and Gudihathnoor mandals, and on the east by Ghanapur, Indanpalli mandals.

The Utnur Mandal has total population of 30089, with 39 villages inhabited. **The** total geographical area of this mandal extends to 31,195 hectares, which comprises forests, and other cultivable lands under tank and well irrigation. This mandal has high percentage of tribal population, out of 30,089 of the total population 13,303 are scheduled tribes, 4,779 belong to scheduled caste. The number of male, female population in this mandal stands as 15,288 and 14,801, with low density of population per square kilometer i.e., 96 per Sq. Km.

The main reason for selecting two villages Utnur mandal for study, is, it is the only mandal in the district which has been until 1940, populated more or less exclusively by tribals. The largest forest area of the district, which might have attracted the tribals, as is well known mostly inhabit hill areas particularly Utnur has much concentration of tribals while the forest in Utnur mandal cover a large areas, taking the state as a whole, while 23.66% of its geographical area of Utnur mandal is covered by forests.

Another important reason for taking two villages of Utnur mandal as the study's setting is the fact, that the Utnur taluk remained, more or less, in tact as a geographical and administrative unit, ever since its creation **in the** decade 1911-1921. In other words, its geographical and revenue boundaries remains unaltered, before mandal system of administrative units came in existence in the government machinery of Andhra Pradesh.

Thirdly Utnoor mandal has historical significance also. It had a glorious past, **dating back, to** the great Gond Kingdom of the 14th Century. It formed part of a **Great Gond** Kingdom with Chanda (now **in** Maharastra) as capital. **The Atram Rajas of Sirpur in Utnur** taluk were related **and** subordinate **to Atram Rajas** of Chanda. **Even during the** Moghul period it **was the** administrative **head quaters** of Sarkar (Sub-District).

As a fourth reason, it may be mentioned that the occupation of all the tribal population of this mandal centres, on agricultural and collection of forest produce with more than 90% working as either cultivators or agricultural labourers. Isolation sedentary settlements, and exclusive dependence on agricultures and forest produce easily lead to emergence of stable and even static cultures, very much tied down to the locality, and ecology and functioning in some kind of homeostatic balance with environment. Generally all the features, characteristics of tribal communities, depending on agriculture can also found among the tribals of the area. Hence Utnoor taluk (Utnoor mandal) provides a natural ideal sitting for examining influxes and development inputs, etc.

This Adilabad district comprises large sized forest inhabited by tribals, and the percentage of tribal population in this district constitutes 44% with major part of Raj Gonds, Kolams, Pardhans and immigrated Banjaras/Lambaras/Lambadis from Maharashtra.

Many villages of this Mandal having fertile lands which are good source for growing paddy, jowar, Redgram, Cotton, black grams. Moreover, heavy annual rainfall of this mandal which recorded as 1105.5 mm. gives stimulus to the tiller to extend the cultivable areas to raise many crops.

The total area used for raising paddy crops, stands nearly 1101 hectares, for Jowar it is 4012 hectares, Red gram crops covers approximately 892 hectares whereas blackgram and cotton crops are raised in 1318 hectares and 5596 hectares, out of the total net geographical area of this mandal which extended up to 13,653 hectares. The area sown under cotton crops is larger than other areas covered for raising different crops out of 13653 net geographical area, cotton crop cultivation covers 5596 hectares.

Background information about Utanoor Taluk

Soils : Medium black soils called Regur constitute 95% of the area of the Taluk while Chelka and Dubba type of soils constitute 3% and 2% respectively of the total area. The soils in general have normal soil reactions with pH values ranging lower than 8.5 which is normal for Black soils. The self content of the soils is also not adverse. An analysis of the soil compositions reveals that phosphorus is moderately available, and organic carbon and potassium are available in good quantities, while the soils nutrient level supports, traditionally grown crop varieties, artificial chemical fertilization supplementing the soil fertility is required for raising high yielding crop-varieties frequently grown in this taluk. In considering the social and demographic changes in this taluk the geographical factors of the presence of a fertile soil supportive of food and commercial crops will have to be understood as an important element of the taluk's ecological environment, particularly as a factor attracting large migrant population from the plains. It is a common observation that geographical conditions particularly those including soil structures and texture irrigation availability and climate etc., are important physical factors. Population size and dispersal, Technology comes in as a supplementary variable that helps, tap and harness un-utilised potential of physical factors such as fertile soil, and underground irrigation, water, etc. Increasing concentrations of populations seasonable or semi-permanent or permanent labour movements are associated with modifications of physical environment as well as technological improvement. Demographers have found population increases taking place in conjunction with changes in technology and discoveries of new energy sources. A whole school of sociological thinking credits in deterministic terms, geography and technology with considerable counsel potential for bringing about changes in the level. Quality and scale of social organisation of human aggregates. The soil of this mandal are good for the cultivation of Jowar, paddy and cotton. Jawar is the principal food crop of the area and the tribals prepare Roti (called Ghattu in Gondi) or gruel from this and consume it with salt or a leaf curry. Jowar accounts for 35% of the net sown area of the taluk. Paddy is another important food crop which is slowly becoming popular in this area

and occupies 8% of the net sown area. However mostly dry paddy is cultivated in this area. Cotton as a cash crop was borrowed by tribals from non-tribals early in the 19th century and covers about 27% of the net sown area. The food crop namely Jowar is the traditional crop in the sense that it is through centuries of trial and error experience, well intergrated in to the rythm and self-sufficient character of the social life of the tribals group's inhabiting this taluk. Therefore while the replacement of traditional varieties of these crops with modern improves varieties may not so much disturb the social equilibrium of the communities changes in cropping patterns and crop rotations may call for modifications in the working rythms cultivation skills marketing and other technical and non-technical aspects of tribal agriculture. It has been mentioned a little while ago that either was unknown to them until it diffused to them from non-tribals early in the 19th century.

Climate : The crops grown and the cultivation practices of tribals of this area are as much detemined by the rainfall and climatic conditions as by their inherited traditions and technology.

Even though this district comprises much flora and fauna along with fertile lands used for cultivation, not endowed with highe irrigaion sources. Out of total net geographical area (13,653 hecets.) 6 per cent of area having irrigation sources like tanks and wells. There are 681 irrigation tanks and 100 irrigations wells in this mandal. The number of villages electrified are 33 out of 122 villages (including hamlets) and number of pumpsets energised are 149. The number of industrial ventures and productive units which energised are 46 and 920, so far in this mandal. The economic and educational backwardness manifests in all spheres of life of this district. Many mandals of this district are having low literacy rate, particularly illiteracy seems in large scale among tribal communities of this district. The total number of educational institutional located in this mandal are 20 primary school, 4 upper primary schools, 2 secondary schools, and also one Junior college, with Science and arts groups. There is a hospital with the capacity of 30 beds, to render the medical, health services to them who were for generation together living in the

vicious circle of poverty, super-stitions, customs of their own in which they worship more than one deity for cure of their diseases.

In this tribal economy mechanisation of agriculture has been not taken so far. Still wooden-plough cultivation practised everywhere. For the extension of medical feeding care to the plough bulls, there is one veterinary hospital at this mandal centre. Besides it, there is one commercial bank, two Grameena Banks, one Co-operative Bank are located at the mandal headquarters to provide credit, servicing facilities to the tillers of the agricultural sector of different groups, particularly Marginal small farmers of this tribal economy⁸.

Table 4.6

Occupational pattern and development particulars of Utnoor Mandal

1.	No. of villages	39
2.	No. of Cities/Town	
3.	Density of population per Sq. kms.	96
4.	Percentage of Scheduled Caste population	16
5.	Percentage of Scheduled Tribes population	44
6.	Percentage of Literacy	17
7.	Percentage of workers	43
8.	Percentage of agricultural labourers	15
9.	Percentage of forest area in the total geographical area	44
10.	Percentage of net cultivated land	44
11.	Percentage of area irrigated	6
12.	Percentage of village electrification	85
13.	Percentage of roads extension	14
14.	Hospital beds per one thousand population	1

Source : Mandal Statistics Adilabad district 1985, (Mandal Darshini of Utnoor mandal (Telugu) 1985), p-52.

PROFILE OF THE LAKKARAM VILLAGE

The Rajas of Lakkaram near Utnoor (Raja Atram Jagpat Rao) had their residence in the Garni but after his death the fortunes of the family declined and Jagpat Rao had to move to Lakkaram⁹.

It **is** correct to establish as per the legends and traditions of the gonds (as recorded in their folk tales, songs and semi religious stories of migration of Gond chiefs that the gonds ruled only in the eastern parts of Adilabad, first, as independent rulers from 1350 till 1600 as tributaries till 1751 A.D.¹⁰ Even though the historical data **are** scarce there can be no doubt that the larger part of the district was inhabited almost exclusively by aboriginals only. The Gond Rajas (ancestors) were establishing this area at fifteen generation above and believed that they come from Berar, built the fort of Wodur Wakri on the Nirmal Adilabad road. About at the same time, **a** member of the same family built the port at Chanda and it is probable that the construction of Manik Garh-Fort ascribed to the Gond Raja Geram Manikrao, dates from the same period. Though the family traditions of the present Rajs families, do not go back further than about fifteen generations, it is fairly certain that Gonds **hae** inhabited the district for a longer time.

The ancestors of the Rajas of Utnur and Chanda who were both of Atram clan (which belongs to **a** six-god phratry) had come from the Central provinces but descendants of other Gond Rajas (of different clans and phraties) can still be traced and it **is** assumed that the Gonds of Adilabad lived under petty chieftains who each dominated **only a** few groups of villages before more affluent and ambitious Rajas **built the forts whose** ruins are still standing **at various points of this Adilabad country. These Gond Forts** and particularly magnificently **built Manigharpur suggest that the Gonds of those** times did not live like so many aboriginal tribes, **in virtual seclusion, but** entertained **a** manifold relations with other peoples¹¹.

It is appropriate to say that more than one hundred years ago some of the Gond Rajas seem to have still been able to maintain a style commensurate with their position within tribe. At that time, a member of the Atram Jagpat Rao's family (Utnur Rajas) member used to hold a Maqta for the paraganas Haveli (i.e. Utnur) Paying and annual revenue of Rs. 600/-. His jurisdiction in tribal matter extended over an area which comprises now Utnur Taluks and part of the Adilabad and Lakshettipet taluks where as Rajura and Asifabad taluks stood under the tribal jurisdiction of the Chanda Raja. Each Raja directly administered the area nearest his residence but the rest of his territory was divided among the hereditary mokashis and Deshmukhs who held estates of from ten to forty villages, still a few Mokhasis hold their estates as Maqta and most of them lost their right in the land and today they act only as tribal head man¹².

The Utnur Raja has also lost his estate and for the Maqta of Utnur Sirpur and Indravelli parganas last held by Raja Isru Jangu was confiscated by Government in 1272 Fasli. Some years later, the father of Jagapath Rao, Atram Lingai Hanmantha Rao was granted the five villages they were 1) Lakkaram. 2) Gangapet 3) Koinur 4) Pamalawada 5) Jannaram as a maqta for a period of 30 years. But Jagpat Rao holds only the village of Lakkaram as Maqta and has vatan rights in Jannaram. During this period, he enjoyed great prestige among the Gonds and many important Panchayats are conducted by him. The Lakkaram village (Having gram panchayat office) which consists five hamlets is situated 2 kilometers away from Utnur town, where as hamlets are situated 4 and 5 kilometers away from Utnur mandal head quarters.

The eldest son of Jagpat Rao, Atram Deo Shah the first tribal incumbent who **was** elected as samithi president of Utnur taluk in 1982. Raja Dev Shah still lives in

Lakkaram village. He was elected to Legislative Assembly of Andhra Pradesh (as M.L.A.) in the Elections of 1972 and lost in the 1978 elections with another Banjara politician who had infinitely greater financial resources and support of many non-tribals. Many times he has been elected for Legislative council (as an M.L.C.) and assigned with number of Tribal Development programmes besides heading those programmes.

Table 4.7

Population and Occupational Pattern of Lakkaram Village			
1.	Total Geographical area	930.37	Sq. kms.
2.	Total Population	1240	
3.	Total No. of households	230	
4.	Scheduled Caste population	218	
5.	Scheduled Tribes population	686	
6.	Literates a) Males	187	
	b) Females	32	
7.	Total main workers	528	
8.	Cultivators	316	
9.	Agricultural labourers	132	
10.	Household industry, Manufacturing, Processing, Servicing and Repairs	17	
11.	Other workers	63	
12.	Marginal workers	37	
13.	Non-workers	675	

(Source census of India 1981, Series 2, Andhra Pradesh, District census handbook Adilabad district 1981).

PROFILE OF THE DANTANPALLI VILLAGE

The Gonds of Adilabad settled in this District fifteen generation ago¹³.

The Gonds themselves both from their mythology and from ruined sites of past civilisation in the area, realised that they are not the first people to have lived here. But the fact remains that they see themselves as the people who cleared the forest and along with the other aboriginal tribes groups have first claimed to be the original occupants¹⁴.

In the old days when the land was plentiful and mobility great, there was no need or prescribe who should inherit a man's land. There was then no permanent rights inland and Gonds could move freely to any locality, where there was vacant land for the taking. Hence, it was the moveable property such as, cattle, household goods ornaments, and other valuables which was handed on from generation to generation and no one was greatly concerned about the inheritance of land.

Dantanpally lies on the road side only, and seventy years ago, it was purely inhabited exclusively by aboriginal Gonds only.

With the new road build during the 1920's from Asifabad to Lakshettipet via Utnur made convenient to traders to enter in these areas for expanding the lending and market activities.

Dantanpalli village situated on the right side, of Adilabad to **Jannaram** road, which connects to Khanapur, **Kadam**, Luxettipet, Mancherial with Utnur, **at a distance of about 10** kilometres away from Utnur, (the head quarters **of the taluk and** present

mandal with Intergrated tribal development offices and joint collector and revenue offices). Towards the end of the nineteenth century, this village is purely aboriginals village **and** after some time, when the governments policy has became to open this tribal economy for outsiders to raise the income of the H.E.H. Nizams ex-chequer many non-tribals were immigrated to this area¹⁵.

This villages located at the place which is 60 kilometre away from Adilabad district head-quater and about 10 kilometers away from the taluk head-quater in Utnur. The past details of the village narrate by an elder of the tribal Gond community provide us with an almost authentic history of the village. As per his version the village, was new **settlmement**, created by non-boriginals in 1930s prior to this i.e. beofre 1930 the village was situated in the thick forest region, away from the present place, and there lived a few exclusively tribal families.

Datanpally lies on the road side only it was purely inhabited exclusively by aboriginal Gonds only. With the new road built during the 1920s from Asifabad to Lakshettipet via Utnur made convenient to traders to enter in these areas for expanding thier lending and market activities.

The composition of the village populations has undergone substantial changes in the last three decades (1930 to 1960) and durign 1960-61 (as per the census report) there were 149 households with a population of 532, there were 41 Gond families, and their population was 165, the rest of the families numbering 108 were non-tribals. The influx of non-tribals had already began when the village was brought into the ambit of the tribal development activities of the government in 1961.

In the past the tribal people of this are like Gonds Naikpods, **Kolams**, Pardhans **thotis of this Adilabad** district used to have a subsistance economy like **that of** any **other aboriginals of the Andhra** Pradesh used to have.

Due to long-standing contact with the outside world and particularly to the influx of a large number of non-tribals into the village the outlook and the value system of the Gond of this village have changed substantially. Now-a-days the Gonds, Naikpods, Kolams name their children in the style of plain people, and educate them by sending them to school.

As a part of welfare and development programmes in these type of schedule areas, concerned state governments were started many Ashram schools Residential Junior Colleges, Technical Training, Teacher Training Institutions. Many boys and girls, who were completed their primary upper-high school studies in this village went to Utnur to sought admission in the Junior College and Technical Institutions.

There is a major shifts in dietary habits of the Gonds Naikpods, Kolams of this village and now they have given up eating wild-roots, caryota pith, and mango kernals, sorghum millets and accustomed for rice, which is widely available and is generally preferred to other food grains. At funerals and weddings rice was the more presitigious food served to the guests, and the serving of sorghum millet on such occasions is looked down upon.

With the increasing monetisation of the economy cattle, goats, and pigs, which in the past had only a use value have acquired an exchange value, raising goats, sheep, for sale, in the market has become a common practice. Occasionally, more than needed plough bullocks and cows are also sold by Gonds.

These changes in the dietary habits the engaging of the serives of a Brahmin priets for the performance of marriage rites, and the hiring of record players, coupled with general inflation, have pushed up the cost of marriage and death ceremonies and have made the Gonds vulnerable in periods of a crisis in the family.

The non-tribal cultivators, large in number, plays an important role in the village economy for they control the major part of the cultivable land. They employ Gonds Naikpods as wage labourers and the relationship between them is not that of a master and servant. They attend each other's marriages and other social functions and on the whole the social relations between them are cordial. The Gonds approach the non-tribals for advice whenever they have personal problems and take their help in matters connected with the government or other out-side non-tribals.

Today though most of the land being cultivated by the non-tribals in the villages, the Gonds and Naikpods have become conscious that the land belongs to **them**. presently the village consists of 400 house holds belonging to both tribal and non-tribal communities while the number of households during the years 1971 and 1981 are 249 with total population of 12342, the total households are 347 with total population 1787.

The village had been connected with a state high way (Roads) which connects Adilabad with Mancherial luxettipet, Khanapur, the major crops of the village are cotton maize and **Jowar**, Red gram also.

The emergence of outsiders and growth of new institutions and their penetration in various sectors had resulted in various changes especially during 1950-70. Lands adjoining the forest areas taken in mortgage and hitherto said to have been cultivated by tribal inhabitants and after some time had been purchased by these non-tribals. The patwari (village Karnan) had actively corroborated them in all these deeds. This was the beginning of the tribal land dispossession in the village (on both old and newly cleared podu lands) infavour of the non-tribal cultivators of plains and also for the merchants of utnoor town.

Table 4.8

Population and Occupational Pattern of Dantanpally Village			
1.	Total Geographical area	1899-59	Sq. kms.
2.	Total Population	1787	
3.	Total No. of households	347	
4.	Scheduled Caste population	420	
5.	Scheduled Tribes population	539	
6.	Literates a) Males	174	
	b) Females	15	
7.	Total main workers	918	
8.	Cultivators	503	
9.	Agricultural labourers	282	
10.	Household industry, Manufacturing, Processing, Servicing and Repairs	44	
11.	Other workers	89	
12.	Marginal workers	5	
13.	Non-workers	864	

(Source census of India 1981, Series 2, Andhra Pradesh, District census handbook Adilabad district 1981).

Notes and References

1. Source : Census 1981 (series 2 Andhra Pradesh) District census Hand Book Adilabad district p.2.
2. C.V.F. Haimendorf Tribes of India (Struggle for Survival) Oxford University Press 1988 p. 57.
3. V.N.V.K. Sastry "Among the Gonds" (Chugh Publications) 1988 p.3
4. Source : Census of India 1981, series 2 part XIII - A & B Andhra Pradesh District census Hand Book, Adilabad District 1981.
5. Source : An outline of Agricultural situation in Andhra Pradesh 1986-87, p.36 to 40 (Directorate of Economics and Statistical Bureau, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh Hyd).
- **1. Report of V. Vidyanath 1989, p.91.
- ***2. Report of V. Vidyanath 1989, p. 102.
6. Sethu Mahdava Rao, Among the Gonds of Adilabad (Allahabad) 30 July 1994, p-12.
7. Ibid p-12.
8. Source : Mandal Statistical guide Adilabad district, 1985 (Mandala Gananka Darshini (in telugu), Utnur mandal) p-56.
9. Sethu Madhava Rao, Among the Gonds of Adilabad (Allahabad) 30 July 1949, p-16.
10. Census of India, 1941 vol. XXI H.E.H. The Nizam Dominions. Hyderabad part I, Report (7th Issue) P. XXIII.

11. See C.V.F. Haimendorfs Tribal Hyderabad Published by the Revenue dept. Govt. of H.E.H. the Nizam Hyd. 1945, p-64.
12. Ibid p.64-65.
13. See C.V.F. Haimendorfs tribal Hyderabad Rev. Dept. Govt. of H.E.H. Nizam, Hyderabad 1945 p.63.
14. Tribes of India, (the struggle for survival) by c.V.F. Haimendorf, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1988 p-205.

CHAPTER - V

THE LAND DISTRIBUTION PATTERN SINCE 1960-61

An attempt is made to examine the changes in the land distribution pattern, since 1960-61 to 1990-91, in line with the major objective of the present study. This period has been divided into four sub-periods, so that, each period comprises of 10 years. The data relating to ownership holdings at four points of time, viz., 1960-61; 1970-71; 1980-81; and 1990-91 are obtained from samples house-hold survey.

This chapter covers the analysis of changes in the land-holdings-pattern, in the two villages, of Utnoor mandal, Adilabad district, from 1960-61 to 1990-91 (30 years period). One village Dantanpally is situated at motor road side with larger non-tribal population and another village Lakkaram, which consist five hamlets situated in hillocks, purely inhabited by aboriginals (gonds), and not linked with any type of roads, except, bullock-cart-tracks. The empirical evidence, provided in this study is based on the feild work, carried out in these two villages. Totally 300 households were interviewed. Out of these 300 households, the tribal household are 225, and non-tribal households are 75.

The Lakkaram village, consists of five hamlets (which are sample of this study) namely Rampur(K), Durgapur, Muthadiguda, Chinna-suddugudem, Pedda-suddugudem, inhabited exclusively by the gond tribals.

Another village, Dantanpally, consists of predominantly non-tribal population **and some** tribal families. Dantanpally was purely tribal village **at earliest** stage **of** its **formation and** gradually re-shaped as **non-tribal** village with **heavy influx of** non-tribal migrants.

For the purpose of caste wise composition, all the castes of sample study of this village are grouped under two broad heads namely tribals, and non-tribals. Here the term tribal includes castes like Gonds Naikpods, Lambadas (Banjaras). The Mahars are categorised as Scheduled castes (constitutionally they come under scheduled caste). The term non-tribal is used in a very broad sense which includes all castes, other than Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes, particularly combination of Backward Caste respondents and forward caste respondents of our sample study. Similarly Backward castes, include, castes like Kapus, Gowds, Perikas, Hatkars, Kunbis, Marathas, whereas forward caste-group comprises castes, like Komatis, and Muslims, of the study village.

This facilitates us to understand, the impact of communications, non-tribal-migration, on the alienation and transfers of land in the road-side village economy, between tribals and non-tribals. Similarly the tribals and non-tribals are classified along the lines of different peasant classes also, to see the land transfers between different size-groups.

The factors responsible for the changes in the land ownership pattern, of the sample households (excluding landless Agricultural-labourers) during the period under study, are analysed with the help of data on land transfers, collected from the sample-households. The land transfers and alienations have been studied during four time periods, characterised by four specific factors as explained below.

- I. 1) No acute land problem and no serious encroachment on the tribal land 1960-61¹.
- II. a) Land transfer Regulation II of 1963 was the first of its kind made after formation of Andhra Pradesh, to cover the Telangana region, and also the militant movements of the tribals, backed by naxalities during 1969, in the

districts of Srikakulam, Khamman, Warangal, Adilabad (Girijan Movement in Srikakulam 1967 to 1970)².

b) Illegal occupation of Gond's lands by Banjaras. 1970-71.

III. a) Post Green-revolution developments;

b) The movement of non-tribals, in to the tribal areas of Utnoor, reached its climax between 1965 and 1975 (see C.V.F. Haimendorf's "Tribes of India" 1988 p-58).

c) The inclusions of the Banjaras in the list of scheduled tribes in the year 1977-78 from then no legal bar to the transfer of land from Gonds to Banjaras³. 1980-81.

IV. a) After-math situation of "Carnage" at Indravelli⁴ (The Indravelli Massacre).

b) Increasing ITDA's role.

c) Industrialization and tribal non-tribal migration to urban areas. 1990-91.

The land Ownership Particulars in Dantanpally village

The land-Ownership particulars in all the periods mentioned, related to the total land, of sample households, excluding landless agricultural labourers, under the revenue Jurisdiction of Dantanpally Village owned by both tribal and non-tribal inhabitants. No forest land comes under the revenue Jurisdiction of this village, as the formation of this village took place after clearing the forest by tribals⁵. The initial tribal labour, which was used to clear the forests, were pushed out of their land, gradually with heavy influx of non-tribal from plain areas⁶. To prohibit further felling of forest, and encroachment on the forest land by tribals at initial stage of village formation the government declared the forests in the periphery of the village as Reserved forests, which deprived the tribals from getting fire-wood and other necessities⁷. No **porombok** or Kharijkata land available except land under tank bed which is a common property resource (CRP) to all villagers for fishing, grazing the

cattle and also for burial and cremation purposes of dead. Nobody will possess legal right, to own and cultivate this tank-bed land, and hence excluded from the present analysis.

It is worth while to count and consider the impact of the land-holdings of non-tribals at their native village from which, they had migrated long back to this village for acquiring more land, at cheaper rate, by disposing their own lands at higher rate, at their native village, upon this village economy, in different periods. But due to non-availability of land details at their native village accurately for 1960,1970,1980 and 1990, this analysis confined to the land under Dantanpally village revenue Jurisdiction only.

PHASE -1

DANTANPALLY VILLAGE

Land Distribution in 1960-61

The data relating to land-ownership position in 1960-61 are obtained from the respondents through household survey and also through interviews, with village Karnam, and some elderly people. Each individual, owning land is considered as land-owning house-hold. All the land owning non-tribal households are grouped under different castes and size-groups who were the settlers (migrants) of this village, except aboriginals, like Gonds, Naik-podes on the basis of the information given by the respondents of the sample-households.

Caste-wise Distribution of Owned Land in 1960-61

From table 5-1 it can be observed that in 1960-61, 30.48 per cent, of total land of the sample land owning households was owned by tribals like Gonds, Naik

Pods and Lambadies and their land owning households constitute 38.46 per cent of total land owning households. Similarly 0.98 percent of total land was under the ownership of scheduled castes like Mahars and their land owning households constitute 03.41 per cent of total land-owning households. Backward castes like kapu, Gowda perika Hatkar Kunbis, Maratha, caste people are owning 58.96 per cent of total land and their land owning households constitute 47.86 per cent of total land owning households. Forward-castes like komatis, Muslims people are owning 9.58 per cent of total land of sample Land owning households and their land owning households constitute only 10.25 per cent of total land-owning households.

Table 5.1
Caste-Wise Distribution of Owned Land in 1960-61

Caste	Land owned (in acres)	Percentage of owned land to total land	No. of Land owning households	No. of Land owning households to total land owning households (in percentage)	Average of owned area (in acres)
Scheduled Tribes (STs)	517.55	30.48	45	38.46	11.49
Scheduled Castes (SCs)	16.35	0.98	4	03.41	4.20
Backward Castes (BCs)	1001.00	58.96	56	47.86	17.67
Forward Castes (FCs)	162.70	9.58	12	10.25	13.55
Total	1697.50	100.00	117	100.00	14.50

Source : Household survey

Since Dantanpally village predominantly non-tribal village with the presence of a few tribal families, is characterised primarily by the presence of rich peasantry, who yield both economic and political power. Here among the non-tribal population, the backward caste peasantry play significant role in the village polity and economy^{8, 1}

There can be no doubt, that the larger part of the district was then inhabited almost exclusively by aboriginals, among whom Gonds, Kolams, were probably the oldest population. But long before the rise of Muslims and later Maratha power, Gond-chieftains, styled rajas, were established, in the areas. But a major change in the tribals position seems to have occurred only in the first years of the twentieth century with the improvement of communications between Mancherial and Rajura, on the eastern side, of the district, and between Nirmal and Adilabad, on the western side. Along, these two lines, non-tribal populations flooded, into the district, both from the southern, from the north, and occupied such land as became easily accessible.

At the turn of twentieth century, it was government policy to open up the district, and to encourage the influx of new settlers, and to grant them patta free of charge, for as much land as they could make arable. With the gradual improvement of communications, and the influx of experienced cultivators such as Kumbis and Kapus the area become valuable and attractive to investors, and Brahmins, Komats, and Muslims living in places such as Adilabad, Asifabad, and Nirmal began acquiring villages to be managed on a commercial basis⁹. Now let us examine the ownership pattern of land size-wise and then reimpose caste over size-group.

Caste-wise and Size-wise Distribution of Owned Land in 1960-61

From table 5.2, it is found that the number of large holdings is 34 and the medium holdings are 32. Taking large and medium holdings together, they constitute

Table 5.2

Caste-Wise and Size-Wise Distribution of Owned Land During the Year 1960-61 (Dantanpally)

Size of the holdings	No. of land owning households					Area owned in acres				
	STs	SCs	BCs	FCs	Total	STs	SCs	BCs	FCs	Total
Large Farmers	15(44.12) (33.33)	Nil	13(38.23) (23.21)	6(17.65) (50.0)	34(100.0) (29.05)	375.00(31.26) (72.42)	Nil	721.35(60.14) (72.06)	103.00(8.58) (63.30)	1199.35(100.0) (70.6)
Medium farmers	9(28.12) (20.0)	Nil	17(53.12) (30.35)	6(18.75) (50.0)	32(100.0) (27.35)	83.90(26.86) (16.21)	Nil	169.25(54.16) (16.90)	59.75(19.13) (36.72)	312.50(100.0) (18.40)
Small farmers	11(32.35) (24.44)	3(8.82) (75.0)	20(58.82) (35.7)	Nil	34(100.0) (29.0)	51.15(31.0) (9.88)	14.85(9.0) (88.39)	99.0(60.0) (9.89)	Nil	165.00(100.0) (9.72)
Marginal farmers	10(58.82) (22.22)	1(5.88) (25.0)	6(35.29) (10.71)	Nil	17(100.0) (14.5)	7.50(36.31) (1.44)	1.95(9.44) (11.60)	11.20(54.23) (1.11)	Nil	20.65(100.0) (1.21)
Total farmers	45(38.46) (100.0)	4(3.41) (100.0)	56(47.86) (100.0)	12(10.25) (100.0)	117(100.0) (100.0)	517.55(30.48) (100.0)	16.80(0.98) (100.0)	1001.0(58.96) (100.0)	162.70(9.58) (100.0)	1697.50(100.0) (100.0)
Average size holdings		-	-	-	-	11.49	4.2	17.67	13.55	14.5

(Note : Figures in the brackets refers to percentages) Source : House-hold survey

46.40 (29.05+27.35) per cent of total holdings covering 89 (70.60+18.40) per cent of the area owned by total sample land-owning households. As a matter of fact, small holdings alone constitute about 29.0 per cent of total land-owning households, owning 9.72 per cent of total land.

It is also evident from tables 5.2 that about 43.5 per cent of the holdings are less than 5 acres in size covering 10.93 per cent of the total land of sample land-owning households. While holdings above 10 acres, which constitute around 29.05 per cent to the total number, controlled nearly 70.6 per cent of the land. Similarly medium holdings which constitute 27.35 per cent of the holdings, are controlling 18.40 per cent of the total land of sample land-owning households.

The Lorenz curve (Fig. 5.1 see p. 168) is away from the line of equal distribution and the Gini co-efficeint is 0.48. It indicates that the distribution of land is engulfed with some degree of inequality (Please see Appendix 5.1 for details).

There are 34 large farmers, out of them 15 belonged to Scheduled tribe community, and 13 of them belonged to Backward class communities, similarly 6 of them belonged to forward class communities. Within the scheduled tribe community it can also be observed that out of total 45 land-owning households, medium and large households are 24 and occupied an area of 458.90 acres of land out of total land of 517.55 acres owned by tribal households, that is 53.33 per cent of land-owning households of tribals controlled 88.66 per cent of the total owned by the tribals. the remaining 11.34 per cent of the total land owned by tribals under small and marginal categories (holdings) which constituted 46.66 per cent of the total land-owning households of tribals¹⁰. The average land holdings of scheduled tribe is 11.49 acres.

With in the scheduled caste community 75.0 per cent of holdings are small farmers and 25.0 per cent of holdings are marginal farmers and occupied an area of

16.80 acres, out of total land of 16.80 acres owned by scheduled castes households. That is 4 scheduled caste households controlled cent per cent (100%) of the total land owned by them. There is no holdings of scheduled castes under the categories of large holdings and also under medium holdings. The average land holding of scheduled caste is 4.2 which is much less than the average holdings of all caste groups.

Similarly within the Backward caste farming community there are 56 land-owning household. Medium and large households together are 30. They controlled an area of 890.60 acres out of total 1001.0 acres owned by Backward caste farmers. In other words 53.56 per cent of Backward community land-owning households controlled 89 per cent of the total land owned by all land-owning households of Backward caste farmers, while 46.44 per cent of the land holdings of this community controlled only 11 per cent of the total owned by Backward caste farming community¹¹. The average land holdings of Backward caste farmers is 17.67 acres which is greater than all average land holdings of all caste groups.

The distribution pattern of land ownership caste wise and size wise (Table 5.2) indicates that large holdings belong to Forward caste farming community constituting 50.0 per cent of their total holdings and they controlled the area of 63.30 per cent of their total land owned, during the year 1960-61. 50 per cent medium holdings of Forward caste peasantry, out of total holdings, owning 36.70 per cent of the total land under this category. The average land holdings of Forward caste farming community is 13.55, which is less than total average but, greater than scheduled tribes average also scheduled castes average size, land holdings¹².

It is also evident from the table 5.2 that 44.1 per cent of the large holdings, belonged to scheduled tribes, community out of total large holding of the all caste

groups, controlled nearly 31.26 per cent of land under this large farmer category. Similarly 38.23 per cent of Backward caste, large holdings controlled more than 50 per cent of the area (i.e. 60.14 per cent) under this large farming category. In the case of Forward castes large holdings which constitute 17.65 per cent of the large holdings controlled 8.58 per cent of the area under this category. In the case of scheduled caste, there is no holding of either under large category or under medium holdings category 28.12 per cent of medium holdings belonged to scheduled tribe community, controlling about 26.86 per cent of the area under this category, 53.12 per cent of medium holdings belonged to Backward caste farmers, accounting for nearly 54.16 per cent of the area under this category. There is no holdings of scheduled castes under this category. Only 18.75 medium holdings belong to Forward caste farming community, accounting for an area of about 19.13 per cent of the area under the category of medium holdings.

When the small holdings category is taken into account nearly 32.35 per cent of this category holdings comes from scheduled tribes peasantry, and about 31.0 per cent of the area under this category is occupied by them. Only 8.82 per cent of small holdings belonged to scheduled caste who owns 9.0 per cent of the area under the category of small holdings. Similarly more than 50 per cent (i.e. 58.82 per cent) of small holdings belonged to Backward class cultivators, who controlled more than 50 per cent (i.e. 60.0 per cent) of the area under this category. There is no holdings of Forward class peasantry under this category.

Out of 17 marginal holdings 10 belong to scheduled tribe, one belongs to scheduled caste and 6 belong to Backward castes. That is 58.82 per cent of marginal holdings belong to scheduled tribes controlling 36.31 per cent of the total land under this category. Similarly 5.88 per cent of marginal holdings belong to scheduled caste controlling 9.44 per cent of the total land under this category, while the percentage of marginal holdings belonged to Backward caste is 35.29 owning

54.23 per cent of the total land under this category. In the case of holdings of Forward caste almost all of them have fallen under large and medium categories and not single holdings visible under this category. There is a significant difference among the average land-holdings of forward castes, backward castes, scheduled tribes and that of scheduled castes as the average land holdings of scheduled tribes are 11.49 for scheduled castes 4.2 and of backward castes and forward castes 17.67 and 13.55 acres, respectively.

There is no much difference between land holdings of forward caste and that of scheduled tribes although the average holdings of forward caste farmers (13.55 acres) is higher than that of scheduled tribes (11.49 acres). The average size of the land holdings of forward caste is increased due to 6 large holdings, accounting for 63.30 per cent of the total land held by forward caste. Similarly the average size of the land holdings of Backward caste cultivators has gone up due to 13 large holdings, accounting for 72.06 per cent of the total land held by this Backward caste farmers of this category.

It is evident from the table 5.2 that an over-whelming majority of the tribals are agriculturists. They use to cultivate in their land, minor-millet and coarse-grains which are usually of inferior quality in their patches of land situated in the hillocks but in the road side, plain village their position changed some extent gradually. In view of this traditional cultivating system the irrigated area in the tribal regions is far less than one per cent (1%) when compared to the all India figure 25 per cent¹³.

- The landless section of the respondents, however engaged in wage labour of different agriculture and forest based occupations. The wage system also varied from village to village and season to season¹⁴

LAKKARAM VILLAGE

The Land Distribution Pattern in Hillock of Lakkaram Village in 1960-61

The details of the land-ownership in all the periods mentioned related to the total land of sample households, excluding landless agricultural labourers under the revenue Jurisdiction of Lakkaram Village owned by lone aboriginal (Gond) inhabitants. This village Lakkaram in which Jurisdiction, hamlets, like Rampur (K), Durgapur, Muthadiguda, Chinna-suddugudem, Pedda-suddugudem fall and all these hamlets are almost inhabited by the Gonds only, since long¹⁵. The main feature of these hamlets are, that these hamlet are situated in the hills, 4 kilometers away from the Utanoor mandal head-quarters.

The empirical evidence related to land ownership particulars in 1960-61 are procured from the tribal (Gond) respondents, through Household survey and interviews with village sarpanch and also with some elderly people. The piece of land owned by each and every tribal peasant is considered as land-owning household. All the land owning tribal households are grouped under different size-wise categories, on the basis of the evidence given by the tribal respondents of the sample households.

There is no other caste except Gond in these hamlets and these hamlets are purely inhabited by Gonds only. Hence caste wise distribution of land does not occur.

Size-wise Distribution of Owned Land in 1960-61

From table 5.3 it is found that out of 118 total land owning households, 98 households. (87 small holding + 11 marginal holdings) owning less than 5 acres controlled on area of 522.5 acres i.e. 83.04 per cent of the total holdings are less than 5 acres accounting for an area of 69.51 percent in the total land. On the other

hand, medium and large holdings taken together constitute 16.94 per cent of the total holdings accounting for 30.47 per cent of the total land. When medium and large holdings viewed separately it is found that one large holding controls an area of 20 acres alone, and 19 medium holdings controlled an area of 209.0 acres accounting for an area of 27.81 per cent in the total land. From table 5.3 it is also found that the average land holding of large farmer category is 20.0 acres, 11.0 acres in the case of medium size land holders and 5.68 acres, 2.5 acres in the case of small and marginal size land holders respectively, where as overall average was found to be. 6.36 acres.

Table 5.3

**Size-Wise Distribution of Owned Land During the Year 1960-61
In the Lakkaram Village (Dry lands, No Wet lands)**

Size of land holdings	No. of households	Area owned in acres	% of Land owned to total area	% of Land households total land owning households	Average (in acres)
10 acres and above large farmers	1	20.0	2.66	0.84	20.0
5 acres to 9.9 acres medium farmers	19	209.0	27.81	16.10	11.0
2 acres to 4.99 acres small farmers	87	495.0	65.86	73.72	5.68
below 2 acres	11	27.5	3.65	9.32	2.5
Total	118	751.5	100.0	100.0	6.36

Source : Household survey

To measure the degree of inequality in size-wise distribution of land ownership, the Lorenz curve is (Fig. 5.2 see p.169) drawn and Gini-concentration ratio is calculated. Since Lorenz curve is not so much away from the line of equal distribution and the Gini concentration ratio is 0.17 there is not much degree of inequality in the distribution of land (please see the Appendix 5.2 for further details).

DANTANPALLY VILLAGE

The Land Distribution Pattern in 1970-71

The methods of data collection are the same as those adopted for the year 1960-61.

Table 5.4
Caste-Wise Distribution of Owned Land in 1970-71

Caste	Land owned (in acres)	Percentage of owned land to total land	No. of Land owning households	No. of Land owning households to total land owning households (in percentage)	Average of owned area (in acres)
Scheduled Tribes (STs)	440.0	50.89	32	33.33	13.75
Scheduled Castes (SCs)	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Backward Castes (BCs)	364.5	42.16	52	54.16	7.00
Forward Castes (FCs)	60.0	6.94	12	12.5	5.00
Total	864.5	100.00	96	100.00	9.00

Source : Household survey

From table 5.4 it can be observed that 50.89 per cent of the total land of sample households of Dantanpally village was owned by scheduled tribe community, and their land owning households constitute 33.33 per cent of total land-owning households. 42.16 per cent of the total land was under control of Backward caste communities, and their land owning households constitute 54.16 per cent of total land-owning households. Where as, scheduled castes are not owning single cent of an area, in the year 1970-71. It is also found that 6.94 per cent of the total land was owned by Forward caste rich farmers, and their land owning households constitute 12.5 per cent of total land-owning households. The average size of land holdings is 13.75 acres in the case of scheduled tribes, 7.00 acres in the case of Backward caste (BCs) and 5.00 acres in the case of Forward castes, where as scheduled caste farming community lost their land completely, during the transition period from 1960-61 to 1970-71.

Now let us examine the caste wise and size wise land ownership position in 1970-71.

From table 5.5 it is found that out of 96 total land owning households, 43 households are owning less than 5 acres, and controlling an area of 96.5 acres i.e. 14.58 per cent of marginal holdings controlling only 1.04 per cent of total land, where as 30.20 percent of small holdings, out of total land owning households occupied only 10.12 per cent of total land. If marginal and small farmers are taken together, they constitute 44.78 per cent of total land-owning households but owned only 11.16 per cent of the total land. On the other hand medium and large holdings taken together constitute more than 50 per cent (i.e. 55.20) of the total holdings accounting for 88.33 per cent of the total land.

To measure the degree of inequality in the class-wise distribution of landownership Lorenz curve is (Fig. 5.3 see p.170) drawn and Gini concentration

Table 5.5

Caste-Wise and Size-Wise Distribution of Owned Land During the Year 1970-71 (Dantanpally)

Size of the holdings	No. of land owning households					Area owned in acres				
	STs	SCs	BCs	FCs	Total	STs	SCs	BCs	FCs	Total
Large Farmers	15(51.72) (46.87)	Nil	12(41.37) (23.07)	2(6.89) (16.66)	29(100.0) (30.20)	394.00(66.10) (89.54)	Nil	180.00(30.20) (48.38)	22.00(3.69) (36.66)	596.00(100.0) (68.94)
Medium farmers	7(29.16) (21.87)	Nil	12(50.00) (23.07)	5(20.83) (41.66)	24(100.0) (25.00)	39.00(22.67) (8.86)	Nil	107.00(62.20) (29.35)	26.00(15.11) (43.33)	172.00(100.0) (19.89)
Small farmers	2(6.89) (6.25)	Nil	22(75.86) (42.30)	5(17.24) (41.66)	29(100.0) (30.20)	4.0(4.57) (0.90)	Nil	71.50(81.71) (19.61)	12.0(13.71) (20.00)	87.50(100.0) (10.12)
Marginal farmers	8(57.41) (25.00)	Nil	6(42.85) (1.1.53)	Nil	14(100.0) (14.50)	3.00(33.33) (0.68)	Nil	6.00(66.66) (1.64)	Nil	9.00(100.0) (1.04)
Total farmers	32(33.33) (100.0)	Nil	52(54.16) (100.0)	12(12.50) (100.0)	96(100.0) (100.0)	440.00(50.89) (100.0)	Nil	364.50(42.16) (100.0)	60.00(69.4) (100.0)	864.50(100.0) (100.0)
Average size holdings		-	-	-	-	13.75	Nil	7.00	5.00	9.00

(Note : Figures in the brackets refers to percentages) Source : House-hold survey

ratio is also calculated. Since Lorenz curve is away from the line of equal distribution and the Gini co-efficient or concentration ratio is 0.46, there is some degree of inequality in the distribution of land (Please see the Appendix 5.2 for further details).

When the land ownership pattern is observed caste-wise and size-wise from table 5.5 it is found that there is no large, medium small and marginal holdings belonging to scheduled caste. All these 4 scheduled caste holdings, who owned less than 5 acres during the year 1960-61 transformed in to landless agricultural labourers in the year 1970-71. Out of 32 total scheduled tribe land-owning households, 15 (46.87 per cent of them are owning more than 10 acres, while of the 52 Backward castes land owning households, 12 households, (i.e. 23.07 per cent) of them are owning more than 10 acres. They owned an area of 180.0 acres.

Within the Backward caste farmers, out of the total land 364.5 acres owned by them, 23.07 per cent are large holdings accounting for 48.38 per cent of total land owned by them, while 23.07 per cent are medium holdings accounting for 29.35 per cent of the total land owned by them. Small and marginal holdings altogether constitute 53.83 per cent of total holdings of this category owned 21.25 per cent of the total land of sample land owning household. 46.14 per cent of the land holdings of Backward caste which falls in the size group of medium and large holdings are owning 77.73 per cent of total land owned by them. In the case of Forward castes there is no such degree of inequality of land-ownership, like Backward castes 16.66 per cent of large holdings occupies 36.66 per cent of total land owned by them. Although medium and small holdings of Forward castes constitute 83.32 per cent of total land holdings owned by them, they control only 63.33 per cent of the total land owned by them. Out of 96 total holdings of all caste groups, and all size groups 30.20 per cent of large holding occupies more than 50 per cent i.e., 68.94 per cent total land owned by sample land owning household whereas 55.20 per cent of medium and small holdings altogether won't possess more than 31 per

cent of total land owned by all size groups. 14.50 per cent of marginal farmers owning less (very meagre) quantum of land of 9 acres only (i.e. 1.04 percentage of total area owned by all size groups). Because of the high degree of inequality within Backward castes land holders their average land holding (7.00 acres) is less than average land holdings of scheduled tribe. The average land holdings of forward castes, is 5.00 which is much less than the average holdings of all castes groups¹⁶. During the year 1970-71 the respondents witnessed some changes. This is evident from the fact that the households who controlled 10 acres and above in the year 1960-61 have not figured in similar number in the year 1970-71. Instead their number has declined in terms of caste wise and size wise in the year 1970-71. It is due to rampant land transfers taking place in the road-side village.

The Land Distribution Pattern in the Hillock -Hamlets of the **Lakkaram Village in the year 1970-71**

Table 5.6

Size-Wise Distribution of Owned Land During the Year 1970-71
In the Lakkaram Village (Dry lands, No Wet lands)

Size of land holdings	No. of households	Area owned in acres	% of Land owned to total area	% of Land households total land owning households	Average (in acres)
10 acres and above large farmers	1	20.0	2.66	0.84	20.0
5 acres to 9.9 acres medium farmers	19	209.0	27.81	16.10	11.0
2 acres to 4.99 acres small farmers	87	495.0	65.86	73.72	5.68
below 2 acres	11	27.5	3.65	9.32	2.5
Total	118	751.5	100.0	100.0	6.36

Source : Household survey

The details of land holdings pattern of tribal respondents of 5 hamlets of Lakkaram village show the trends of status quo of their ownership on the land (Table 5.6). When the agricultural population from neighbouring areas first infiltrated into Adilabad district, the aboriginals in the hills remained long undisturbed, and it was only those of the plains, and the lower valley, whose position soon under went far reaching changes.

During the year 1970-71, the respondents are not witnessed any changes. This is evident from table 5.5 that the households who have been classified in different size groups of land owning households in the year 1960-61 again figured in, during the year 1970-71 with similar land owning households and with same area owned in the year 1960-61.

All agree that the Gonds of the hills cultivated mainly the light soils on the plateaux and slightly inclined slopes, but not the heavy black cotton soils. The main crops they use to sow and grow are Kharif crops mainly sama (*panicum miliare*) Kora (*panium ilalicum*) Jowari (*Sorghum valgard*) and oil seeds which they sowed in rotation in these light soils, where ploughing was easy. These hamlets are not linked with roads, but only with bullock-cart tracks. These aboriginals (Gonds) of these hamlets not yet been ousted from their land neither by non-aboriginals nor by aboriginals of the same hamlet. No alienation of lands so far. To measure the degree of inequality in size wise distribution of land-ownership the Lorenz curve (Fig. 5.4 **see p.171**) is drawn and Gini concentration ratio is calculated. Since **Lorenz curve is not so** much away from the line of equal distribution and the Gini **concentration ratio is 0.17, there is not much degree of inequality in the distribution of land (Please see the Appendix 5.4 for further details).**

DANTANPALLY VILLAGE

Land Distribution Pattern in 1980-81

The land holding particulars of Dantanpally villag, situated at motor road side with predominant non-tribal population, shown caste wise in the Table 5.7 reveal that about 16.44 per cent of the total land was under the control of scheduled tribes in 1980-81. The land owning scheduled tribe househlods were only 25 with an average size of 8.00 acres. In the case of Backward castes, they owned as much as 68.63 per cent of the total land with an average size of 14.90 acres.

Table 5.7
Caste-Wise Distribution of Owned Land in 1980-81

Caste	Land owned (in acres)	Percentage of owned land to total land	No.of Land owning households	No. of Land owning households to total land owning households (in percentage)	Average of owned area (in acres)
Scheduled Tribes (STs)	200.0	16.44	25	26.88	8.00
Scheduled Castes (SCs)	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Backward Castes (BCs)	834.90	68.63	56	60.21	14.90
Forward Castes (FCs)	181.60	14.91	12	12.90	15.12
Total	1216.50	100.00	93	100.00	13.08

Source : Household survey

Scheduled castes were not owning in any size group holdings, while forward caste farmers owned about 14.91 per cent of total land with an average size of 15.12 acres. When the size wise distribution of land-ownership is observed it is found (table 5.8) that nearly 36.55 per cent of holdings are less than 5 acres controlling about 36.55 per cent of the land, on the other hand the holdings of 5 acres and above, below 10 acres, which constitute about 36.55 per cent of total land holdings owned 25.18 per cent of the total land. Large holdings which constitute more than 50 per cent i.e. 70.5 per cent of total land holdings occupied 62.24 per cent of total area owned by all size and all caste groups.

To find out the degree of inequality Lorenz curve is drawn and Gini concentration ratio is calculated. Since the Lorenz curve (Fig. 5.5 see p. 172) is away from line of equal distribution and Gini concentration ratio is 0.40 the degree of inequality exists. (Please see Appendix 5.5 for further details).

When the distribution pattern of land-ownership is observed caste-wise and size-wise from table 5.8 it is found that, out of 25 large holdings 10 belong to scheduled tribe, none belongs to scheduled castes, 2 belong to forward castes and 13 belong to Backward castes. That is more than 50 per cent of large holdings (i.e. 52 per cent) belong to Backward castes controlling about 67.16 per cent of the total land under this category. 40 per cent of large holdings belongs to scheduled tribe controlled about 18.62 per cent of the total land under this community. Within the scheduled tribe out of the total land of 200.00 acres owned by them, medium, small and marginal holdings all together, constitute 60 per cent of the total scheduled tribe land-owning households, owning more than 29 per cent (i.e. 29.95 per cent) of the land owned by all scheduled tribe households.

Within the Backward castes, out of the total land 834.70 acres owned by them 23.21 per cent large holdings owned 61.33 per cent of land owned by all

Table 5.8

Caste-Wise and Size-Wise Distribution of Owned Land During the Year 1980-81 (Dantanpally)

Size of the holdings	No. of land owning households					Area owned in acres				
	STs	SCs	BCs	FCs	Total	STs	SCs	BCs	FCs	Total
Large Farmers	10(40.00) (40.00)	Nil	13(52.00) (23.21)	2(8.00) (16.66)	25(100.0) (26.88)	141.00(18.62) (70.50)	Nil	512.00(67.61) (61.33)	104.25(13.76) (57.43)	757.25(100.0) (62.24)
Medium farmers	6(17.64) (24.00)	Nil	22(64.70) (39.28)	6(17.64) (50.00)	34(100.0) (36.55)	30.00(9.79) (15.00)	Nil	218.80(71.40) (26.21)	57.60(18.79) (31.73)	306.40(100.0) (25.18)
Small farmers	4(13.79) (16.00)	Nil	21(72.41) (37.50)	4(13.79) (33.33)	29(100.0) (31.18)	19.30(13.49) (9.65)	Nil	103.90(72.65) (12.44)	19.70(13.77) (10.85)	143.00(100.0) (11.75)
Marginal farmers	5(100.00) (20.00)	Nil	Nil	Nil	5(100.0) (5.37)	9.75(100.00) (4.87)	Nil	Nil	Nil	9.75(100.0) (0.80)
Total farmers	25(26.88) (100.0)	Nil	56(60.21) (100.0)	12(12.90) (100.0)	93(100.0) (100.0)	200.00(16.44) (100.0)	Nil	834.70(68.63) (100.0)	181.50(1491) (100.0)	1216.50(100.0) (100.0)
Average size holdings		-	-	-	-	8.00	Nil	14.90	15.12	13.08

(Note : Figures in the brackets refers to percentages) Source : House-hold survey

Backward caste households. Similarly out of the total land 834.70 acres owned by them, medium, small and marginal, all together constitute about 76.79 per cent of the total Backward castes land owning households, owning more than 35 per cent (i.e. 38.66 per cent) of the land, owned by all Backward caste households. Within the Forward castes out of the total land 181.50 acres owned by them, medium and large holdings all-together constitute about 66.66 per cent of the total land-owning households of this community. 89.15 per cent of the land owned by all Forward caste households on the other hand, 33.33 per cent of land-owning households of this community are within the size group of 2 to 5 acres, range and owned about 10.85 per cent of land owned by them. Because of the high degree of inequality within the Backward castes the average land-holdings (14.90) is less than the average holdings of Forward castes (15.12 acres). The average holdings of scheduled tribe is 8.0 acres which is much less than the average holding of all caste groups.

This table indicates that there is increase in households owning 5 to 9.9 acres of land from 1970-71 to 1980-81. This increase may be by the virtue of using seeds and crops of high yielding varieties in their agricultural fields and through procurement of higher yield from the crops. The availability of assured Irrigation to the fields of the rich section of the non-tribal community almost a common picture in the villages where as the poor and small peasant-classes could not gain the benefits of assured irrigation sources. The rich peasants of the non-tribal community raise commercial crops and use fertilisers. Tribal of this, tribal economy using fertilizers in limited quantities in recent times. The non-tribals engaged mainly in making money, were confident of their ability to be economically successful even without formal education where as tribals they realized that their depressed status could be bettered only by education, despite the disappointing results of the schooling of so many of their children.

The Land Distribution Pattern in the Hillock -Hamlet of the Lakkaram Village inthe year 1980-81

The Spectrum of land holding pattern in all the hamlets of Lakkaram village indicates that a similar situation of the year 1970-71 perpetuate in view of the isolated location of the tribal hamlets away from motorable roads, and communication, except six cases of legal land transfer cases, who sold their land as per norms laid down in their tribal society, along with procedures to other tribal families to meet the expenditures required to get jobs like watchman, attender in the offices, located at Utnoor head-quarters, and also in Saudi-Arabia (oil producing countries like Kuwait, Yemen, Dubai which are named by the Indian who want to go there as "Muscut") demanded by Pyraveekars¹⁷. These "Pyraveekars" are non-tribals like middle men or brokers who developed vested interest with officials local and outside political leaders, to go on, with these type of "Pyravees" (activities) without any hindrances and also to amass wealth. The tribals were lured by their cunning nature and disposed their lands, and paid them the promised amount as per illegal agreement¹⁸.

In this way 6 marginal farmers sold their lands to their own tribal community people and became land-less labourers by which in the year 1980-81 marginal farmers number has been declined to 5 and landless labourer's number has gone up to 37.

Size-wise Distribution of Owned Land in the Year 1980-81

From the table 5.9 it is found that out of 112 total land-owning household 92 households (87 small farmers 5 marginals farmer) are owning less than 5 acres, and controlled an area 512.5 acres i.e. 82.15 per cent of the total holdings are less than 5 acres, accounting for an area of 68.18 per cent in the total land-owned by sample land-owning households of these five hamlets of Lakkaram Village. On the other

hand medium and large holdings taken together constitute 17.85 per cent of the total holdings accounting for 31.70 per cent of total land owned by all size group holdings.

Table 5.9

**Size-Wise Distribution of Owned Land During the Year 1980-81
In the Lakkaram Village (Dry lands, No Wet lands)**

Size of land holdings	No. of households	Area owned in acres	% of Land owned to total area	% of Land households total land owning households	Average (in acres)
10 acres and above large farmers	1	20.0	2.66	0.84	20.0
5 acres to 9.9 acres medium farmers	19	219.0	29.14	16.96	11.52
2 acres to 4.99 acres small farmers	87	495.0	65.86	77.67	5.68
Below 2 acres or 0.01 to 1.99 acres marginal farmers	5	17.5	2.32	4.46	3.5
Total	112	751.5	100.0	100.0	6.70

Source : Household survey

The average land holding of large farmer category is 20 acres while in the case of medium farmer category it is 11.52 acres. There is increase in the average land holding of medium farmers, comparatively with the average land holding of same category farmers of the year 1970-71. This increase may be by the virtue of purchasing land from the six marginal farmers who sold away their owned land to the extent of 10 acres to meet the expenditures for going, Muscut to get jobs there

as directed by their "Pyraveekars" who demanded money from them to arrange "Visa" and other formalities to reach Dubai by air from Bombay. Similarly the average land holdings of small farmers and marginal farmers are 5.68 acres and 3.5 acres, which are less than average holding of all size groups of total land-owning sample households. To measure the degree of inequality in size-wise distribution of land ownership the Lorenz curve is (Fig. 5.6 see p. 173) drawn and Gini concentration ratio is calculated. Since Lorenz curve is not so much away from the line of equal distribution and Gini concentration ratio is 0.15 which reveals that the degree of inequality in the distribution of land is not much (Please see the Appendix 5.6 for further details). Thus the trends of the data given in the table 5.8 and 5.9 indicate that significant land transfers took place in the road-side village, (Table 5.8). The developments of communications, roads, trade, ignited further changes and strengthened the property realtions in the tribal economy which inevitably involves the process of alienation of the "real creators of the wealth" from their earlier advantageous position without their own knowledge. In other words it is tribals who had cleared off the forest tracks, for cultivation purposes no longer will be the masters of those pieces of land, but the newly entered one, takes them over. But there are persistence of status-quo-pattern of land distribution among different size group land holdings except slight change in the case of marginal farmers in the hamlets of Lakkaram village during the year 1980-81.

These two villages are flooded with new techniques of modern age culture of Green-Revolution in agricultural sector which were assimilated by the farmers of Dantanpally village and not opted much so far by the farmers of these five hamlets of Lakkaram village.

In Dantanpally village, during 1960s and prior to this the farmers were used primitive cultivating methods and unaware of commercial crops, high yielding varieties,

chemical fertilizers, insecticides and pesticides. But after 1970s, the advanced technology in the country particularly in the neighbouring plain areas of tribal economy shown great impact in the scheduled area villages, inhabited by non-tribals. Now all cultivators venturing for commercial crops, high yielding varieties, mechanisation of farming.

DANTANPALLY VILLAGE

IV. Land Distribution Pattern in 1990-91

The G.O. Ms. No. 129 dated 13th August 1979 which explains that the non-tribal landless poor in occupation of lands in the scheduled area upto five acres of wet land or ten acres of dry land should not be evicted for the present under the provisions of the A.P. Scheduled area land transfer regulation 1959. In view of this order most of the non-tribal occupants could not be evicted. Meanwhile the Commissioner Land Revenue instructed all the Special Deputy Collectors (Tribal welfare) to book fresh cases of land transfers from tribals to non-tribals on suo-moto basis, so that all such cases could be considered on disposal immediately after the executive instructions were withdrawn (wide letter Rc. No. 85/1327/82; dated: 16-06-1982)¹⁹.

By the execution of this government order (129) all the efforts made through Regulation to restore the alienated lands to the tribals failed and they brewed a legal framework for the non-tribals to exploit the tribal lands. This has led to tensions **in the** tribal areas between the tribal and non-tribals, particularly **in** the case of Adilabad district, this order was a major source, of conflict between the tribal **Gonds**, and the non-tribal **Maratha-Rich-Peasants**, which has led to **the** firing on April 20, 1981 at Indravelli²⁰.

Table 5.10
Caste-Wise Distribution of Owned Land in 1990-91

Caste	Land owned (in acres)	Percentage of owned land to total land	No.of Land owning households	No. of Land owning households to total land owning households (in percentage)	Average of owned area (in acres)
Scheduled Tribes (STs)	92.00	7.29	33	32.67	2.78
Scheduled Castes (SCs)	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Backward Castes (BCs)	971.50	78.75	56	55.44	17.34
Forward Castes (FCs)	170.00	13.78	12	11.88	14.16
Total	1233.50	100.00	101	100.00	12.21

Source : Household survey

The information shown in the table 5.10 indicates that the road side village Dantanpally comprises different land owning castes, with different quantum of area owned during the year 1990-91. From table 5.10 it is found that the land owned by scheduled tribe is 92 acres, which constitute about 7.29 per cent in the total land and their land owning households also constitute about 32.67 per cent of the total land-owning households. Backward castes owned an area of 971.50 acres of land which constitutes about 78.75 per cent in the total land. Scheduled castes are not owning any piece of land. The forward caste cultivating households owned an area of 170.00 acres of land which constitute about 11.88 per cent of the total land owning households. From this type of trend of the data given in the table 5.10 it is clear that largest portion of the land is under the control of Backward castes. The

average size of the holdings is 17.34 acres in the case of forward castes, and 2.78 acres in the case of Scheduled tribes. Thus the average size of the holdings is smallest in the case of scheduled tribes and highest in the case of Backward castes. The average of land holdings of all caste groups is 12.21 acres.

Now let us examine the class-wise distribution of land-ownership. From table 5.11 it is observed that more than 50 per cent (i.e. 51.48 per cent) of the land holdings are below 5 acres and they control only about 13.52 per cent of total land a less than 1/4th of total land. While large and medium holdings together constitute less than 50 percent (i.e. 48.52 percent) of the total land owning households, but control more than 86.0 percent (i.e. 86.48 percent) of the total land owned by sample cultivators of the village. To measure the degree of inequality Lorenz curve is drawn and Gini concentration ratio is also calculated. The Lorenz curve (Fig. 5.7 see p.174) is away from the line of equal distribution and the value of gini concentration ratio is high (0.54). (please see the Appendix (5.7) for details).

When the land-ownership pattern from the point of view of caste and size is observed it is found from table 5.11 that 16 large holdings belonged to Backward castes, 2 belong to Forward castes and 2 belong to Scheduled tribe making total 20 large holdings. Out of 29 medium holdings; 20 belong to Backward castes, 6 belong to Forward castes and remaining 3 belong to scheduled tribe, out of 34 small holdings 20 belong to Backward castes, 10 belong to scheduled tribe, 4 belong to forward castes. Regarding marginal holdings of this village it is found that all the marginal holdings belonged to scheduled tribe only²¹. 55.44 per cent of holdings of all size groups belonging to Backward castes owns 78.75 per cent of total land owned by all size groups and all caste groups. 32.67 per cent of holdings of all size groups belonging to scheduled tribe community owns 7.45 per cent of total quantum of owned land by sample land owning category.

Table 5.11

Caste-Wise and Size-Wise Distribution of Owned Land During the Year 1990-91 (Dantanpally)

Size of the holdings	No. of land owning households					Area owned in acres				
	STs	SCs	BCs	FCs	Total	STs	SCs	BCs	FCs	Total
Large Farmers	2(10.00) (6.06)	Nil	16(80.00) (28.57)	2(10.00) (16.66)	20(100.0) (19.80)	20.00(2.54) (21.73)	Nil	676.00(86.00) (69.58)	90.00(11.45) (52.94)	786.00(100.0) (63.72)
Medium farmers	3(10.34) (9.09)	Nil	20(68.96) (35.71)	6(20.68) (30.00)	29(100.0) (28.71)	24.00(8.56) (26.08)	Nil	196.56(70.07) (20.23)	59.94(21.36) (35.25)	280.50(100.0) (22.74)
Small farmers	10(29.41) (30.30)	Nil	20(58.82) (35.71)	4(11.76) (33.33)	34(100.0) (33.66)	30.00(20.13) (32.60)	Nil	99.08(66.49) (10.19)	19.92(13.36) (11.71)	149.00(100.0) (12.07)
Marginal farmers	18(100.00) (54.54)	Nil	Nil	Nil	18(100.0) (17.82)	18.00(100.00) (19.56)	Nil	Nil	Nil	18.00(100.0) (1.45)
Total farmers	33(32.67) (100.0)	Nil	56(55.44) (100.0)	12(11.88) (100.0)	101(100.0) (100.0)	92.00(7.45) (100.0)	Nil	971.50(78.75) (100.0)	17000(1378) (100.0)	1233.50(100.0) (100.0)
Average size holdings		-	-	-	-	2.78	Nil	17.34	14.16	12.21

(Note : Figures in the brackets refers to percentages) Source : House-hold survey

Similarly 11.88 per cent of holdings of Forward castes belonging of all size groups controlling 13.78 per cent of total land owned by 101 sample land-owning sample households²².

The intra-caste inequalities are also high in the case of Backward caste. Out of 56 holdings of Backward castes medium and large holdings constitute 64.28 per cent but they own 79.81 per cent of the land owned of by backward castes on the other hand more than 30 per cent (i.e. 35.71 per cent) of land holdings of backward castes are less than 5 acres but controls 10.19 percentage of the total land owned by this community. In the case of Forward caste and scheduled tribe community except 2 large farmers from each community the rest are of less than 9.9 acres, 14 holdings are of less than five acres and only 18 are less than 2 acres.

The Land Distribution Pattern in the Hillock Hamlets of Lakkaram Village in the year 1990-91

The process of change in these hamlets and the over all picture of the land transformation shown in table 5.12 indicates that during the year 1990-91 the tribal respondents of these five hamlets are not witnessed any changes. Similar situation of 1980-81 perpetuates without any variation in view of the isolated location of the tribal hamlets, away from motorable roads and communications. The isolated location of these hamlets made them to live in old tradition-bound Gond society, content with meagre along with non-encroachment of land²³ In these hamlets where there is no or little flat lands, nothing attracts new comers and the Gonds are still undisturbed in the possession of the land. The land holding and distribution pattern of the year 1980-81 figured again in similar way in the year 1990-91 without any changes in the holdings and land owned. To measure the degree of inequality in size-wise distribution of land-ownership the Lorenz curve (Fig. 5.8 see p.175) is drawn and Gini concentration ration is calculated. Since the Lorenz curve is not so much away

Table 5.12

**Size-Wise Distribution of Owned Land During the Year 1990-91
In the Lakkaram Village (Dry lands, No Wet lands)**

Size of land holdings	No. of households	Area owned in acres	% of Land owned to total area	% of Land households total land owning households	Average (in acres)
10 acres and above large farmers	1	20.0	2.66	0.89	20.0
5 acres to 9.9 acres medium farmers	19	219.0	29.14	16.96	11.52
2 acres to 4.99 acres small farmers	87	495.0	65.86	77.67	5.68
Below 2 acres or 0.01 to 1.99 acres marginal farmers	5	17.5	2.32	4.46	3.5
Total	112	751.5	100.0	100.0	6.70

Source : Field study

from the line of equal distribution and the gini-concentration ratio is **0.15**, it is clear that the degree of inequality in the distribution of land is negligible (please see the Appendix 5.8 for details).

Caste-Wise Distribution of Owned Land and Variation in Average Holdings During the Period 1960-61 to 1990-91 (Dantanpally Village)

The information depicted in the table 5.13 shows that the total land under the control of sample land-owning house-holds during the year 1960-61 is 1697.5 acres and it is the summation of the land owned by different caste groups and size groups as per the information furnished by them during the field study which is framed in the table (5.13)

Table 5.13

Caste-wise distribution of owned land and variation in average holdings during 1960-61 to 1990-91 (Excluding landless agricultural labourers)

Year	Area Owned in acres total and average				
	FCs	BCs	SCs	STs	Total
1960-61 Total	162.70	1001.00	16.80	517.50	1697.50
Average	13.55 (9.58)	17.67 (58.96)	4.20 (0.99)	11.49 (30.48)	14.50 (100.00)
1970-71 Total	60.00	364.50	Nil	440.00	864.50
Average	5.00 (6.94)	7.00 (42.16)	Nil	13.75 (50.89)	9.00 (100.00)
1980-81 Total	181.40	834.90	Nil	200.00	1216.50
Average	15.11 (14.91)	14.90 (68.63)	Nil	8.00 (16.44)	13.08 (100.00)
1990-91 Total	169.80	971.50	Nil	92.00	1233.50
Average	14.50 (13.74)	17.36 (78.85)	Nil	2.78 (7.45)	12.21 (100.00)

Note : Figures in the brackets refers to percentage, Source : Household **survey**.

In 1960-61, 9.58 per cent of total land was under the control of Forward castes who migrated to this village, with dual purpose of trading and land-procuring. Backward castes owning 58.96, (highest percentage among all caste groups) per cent of total land, while scheduled caste owns 0.99. (least percentage among all caste groups) percentage of total land. Similarly the scheduled tribes controlled 30.48 per cent of total land, among, three tribal groups, Banjaras or Lambadis are owning larger percent of the land owned by scheduled tribe group.

This trend reveals that largest share of the landed property was enjoyed by Backward castes and the lowest by scheduled castes. Forward caste and scheduled tribes occupied middle positions. The average size land holding of all caste groups is 14.5 acres. While for forward caste it is 13.55 acres for Backward caste it is 17.67 acres, and for scheduled caste and scheduled tribe it is 4.2 acres and 11.49 acres respectively. After one decade, that is by 1970-71, a dramatic and significant change occurred in the land-ownership position of different caste groups. As per the information marked by figures in the table (5.13) indicates that during 1970-71 the percentage of land under the possession of forward caste declined from the year 1960-61 that is from 9.58 to 6.94. The Backward caste groups owned land declined and during 1970-71, they controlled 42.16 per cent while, scheduled caste lost all lands within short-span of time (one decade) and became landless. The sample scheduled caste house holds of our study not owning any small piece of land during the year 1970-71. There is lot of increase in the proportion of land owned by scheduled tribes, as their percentage of share, has risen up to 50.89 in the total land. The average size of the land holding in the case forward caste was 5.0 acres, and in the case of Backward caste was 7.0 acres, and for scheduled tribe, it was 13.75 acres. After the gap of ten years many changes emerged in the scenario of land ownership of the respondents of the Dantanpally village. This decade period witnessed with many upward, downward, changes in the land-holdings particulars of different caste groups. Forward caste rich-peasantry, who owned 6.94 per cent of

the total land in 1970-71, with an average holdings of 5.0 acres were stabilised with an acquiring further more lands, by which their share in the total land during the year 1980-81 has gone upto 14.91 per cent with an average land holding of 15.11 acres. Similar trend occurred in the case of land-holding spectrum of Backward castes where tremendous improvement in the share of land-owned of the Backward caste in total land. Their share had gone up from 42.16 per cent in 1970-71 to 68.63 per cent in 1980-81, contrary to it there is decline in the share of scheduled tribes in total land. They were stripped-off their land and by 1980-81, their share in total land has come down to about 16.45 per cent with an average land holding of 8.0 acres.

The glance at land-owning particulars furnished in the table 5.13 against the year 1990-91 which is happened to be the last phase of our analysis indicates that the control of Forward castes over land not changed much either in ascending order or descending order. Their share in the total land has slightly come down from 14.91 per cent in 1980-81 to 13.76 per cent in 1990-91 and the average land holding has come down from 15.11 acres to 14.50 acres. On the other hand there is a further improvement in the control of Backward-castes over the land as their share in the total land has gone up to 78.85 percent in 1990-91 from 68.63 percent in 1980-81 and the average land holding has also gone up to 17.36 acres from 14.90 acres. The total area owned by Backward castes increased from 834.90 acres in 1980-81 to 971.50 acres in 1990-91, while the number of land-owning house holds remained constant. But there is deterioration in the ownership position of the scheduled tribes as their share in the land has come down from 16.45 percent in 1980-81 to **7.45** percent in 1990-91, and their average land holding has also come down from 8.0 acres to 2.78 acres. There is an increase in the number of scheduled **tribe land owning** households from 25 to 33, while total area owned **by them** declined from 200.0 acres to 92.0 acres.

Size-Group Wise Break-up of Land Owned, and Number of Land Owning Households During the Period of 1960-61 to 1990-91 (Dantanpally Village)

When the change in the land-ownership from 1960-61 to 1990-91 (Table 5.14) is observed size-wise it is found there is decrease of marginal farmers from 17 in 1960-61 to 14 in 1970-71 i.e. the decrease is 17.64 percent. The number of small farmers also decreased from 34 in 1960-61 to 29 in 1970-71 i.e., the decrease of 14.70 percent. The number of medium farmers also decreased from 32 to 24 i.e., the decrease 37.50 per cent. In the case of large farmers also there is decrease, their number has been decreased from 34 to 25 i.e., the decrease is 14.70 per cent.

Table 5.14

Size-Group wise Break-up of land owned and number of land owning household during the period 1960-61 to 1990-91

Size of holding	Area owned in acres			
	1960-61	1970-71	1980-81	1990-91
Marginal	20.25 (17)	9.00 (14)	9.75 (5)	18.00 (18)
Small	165.00 (34)	87.50 (29)	143.00 (29)	149.00 (34)
Medium	312.50 (32)	172.00 (24)	306.40 (34)	280.50 (29)
Large	1199.35 (34)	596.00 (29)	757.35 (25)	786.00 (20)
Total	1697.50 (117)	864.50 (96)	1216.50 (93)	1233.50 (101)
Average	14.50	9.00	13.80	12.21

(Note : Figures in the brackets refer to number of land owning households) Source Household survey.

Thus there is decrease in the number of holdings of all size-groups during the transition period from 1960 to 1970. It can also be seen that the size of holding all categories has come down from 14.5 acres to 9.0 acres. Similarly the total number of land-owning households has come down from 117 to 96 i.e. the decrease of 17.94 percent. It is also to be noted that the area under holding of less than 5 acres (under the control of marginal and small farmers) has been decreased from 185.65 acres to 96.5 acres i.e., decrease of 48.02 per cent. The number of holdings of less than 5 acres decreased from 51 to 43 i.e., decrease of 15.68 per cent. The average size of holding of less than 5 acres has declines from 3.64 acres to 2.24 acres. The number of medium holdings has been decreased from 32 to 24 while the total area under this category has declined from 312.5 acres 172.0 acres. In this process the average size of holdings under this category decreased from 9.76 acres to 7.16 acres.

The number of big or large holdings has declined from 34 in 1960-61 to 29 in 1970-71 and the area under this category also declined from 1199.35 acres to 590.0 acres. Thus the fall in the area under this category is 50.30 per cent. Therefore the average size of holdings declined from 35.27 acres to 20.55 acres. The degree of land concentration has also declined by 1970-71 as Gini-concentration ratio was 0.48 in 1960-61 and in 1970-71 it was declined to 0.46 this can also be observed from Lorenz curves in Fig. 5.1 and 5.2.

This road side village witnessed tremendous change in the land-ownership pattern during 1970-71 to 1980-81. From table 5.13 it can be observed that the number of marginal holdings decreased from 14 to 5 which comes to about 64.28 per cent decline. The number of small holdings remained constant both in 1970 and 1980. The number of medium farmers increased form 24 to 34 as the percentage of increase gone up to 41.66. In the case of large farmers, their number was also declined from 29 to 25 which comes to about 13.79 per cent decline. In the case of

land holdings of less than 5 acres of all castes, it is found that their number has decreased from 43 in 1970-71 to 34 in 1980-81 and the average size of the area owned increased from 2.24 acres to 4.49 acres. Hence there is decrease of the percentage of the average size of the area to the tune of 100.44. Contrary to it, in the case of holdings of medium size (5 acres about below 10 acres) their number has increased from 24 to 34 and the average area owned also increased from 7.10 acres to 9.0 acres, i.e., 41.66 per cent in the number of households and 26.76 per cent in the average size. In the case large holdings (10 acres and above) it is found that their number has decreased from 29 in 1970-71 to 25 in 1980-81 and the average size of the area owned increased from 20.55 acres to 30.29 acres in view decrease in the number of large holding. Further, it is also found that, there is decrease of 13.79 per cent in number of large holdings, while there is 47.39 per cent increase in the average size of land owned.

In between 1980-81 and 1990-91 the total number of land-owning households increased from 93 in 1980-81 to 101 in 1990-91 and the average area of owned land declined from 13.08 acres to 12.21 acres. The number of marginal holdings increase from 5 to 18 and small holdings increased from 29 to 34 when all the land-holdings less than 5 acres taken together their number increased from 34 in 1980-81 to 52 in 1990-91 and land owned increased from 152.75 acres to 167.0 acres. The average size of the land owned under this category fell from 4.49 acres to 3.21 acres on the other hand there is a decline trend in the land holdings of 5 acres and above (i.e. 5 acres and above +10 acres and above holdings), Their number decreased from 59 in 1980-81 to 49 in 1990-91. the average area owned under the category of 5 acres above, also rose from 18.02 acres to 21.76 acres in view of decline **in the** number holding owning 5 acres and **above**. the share of holdings under **this** category in total land decreased from 87.43 per cent to 86.46 per cent. **The decline** in number is same in both cases of medium and large farmers **during this decade** period of 1981 to 1991.

Caste and Size-Group

This study of Dantanpally village, denotes that in 1960-61 of all **the** 34 large holdings 15 belonged to scheduled tribes, and 13 belonged to Backward caste, similarly 6 belonged to Forward caste. In 1970-71 from among all 29 large holdings, 15 belonged to scheduled tribe and 12 belonged to Backward caste while 2 holdings related to Forward caste.

The Backward caste medium holdings whose number was only 17 in 1960-61, declined to 12 in 1970-71. The number of Backward caste land-holdings less than 5 acres rose from 26 in 1960-61 to 28 in 1970-71 and the area under this category declined from 110.10 acres to 77.50 acres while the number of Forward caste holdings of the same category, has risen to 5 from, no holdings in 1960-61, and the area under this category was 12.0 acres in the year 1970-71. The number of holdings of scheduled castes less than 5 acres decreased from 4 in 1960-61 to no holdings in 1970-71 and the area under this category was 16.80 acres in 1960-61. Similarly the number of holdings of scheduled tribes less than 5 acres decreased from 21 in 1961 to 10 in 1971, became less than half of the number of 1960-61 and **the area under this** category was declined from 58.65 acres to 7.00 acres there is higher proportional decrease in the area owned. Thus by 1970-71, **the** control of all castes on **the** land declined.

When we look at the land-ownership in 1980-81 with reference to caste and size-group we find that out of 25 large holdings 10 belonged to scheduled tribe and 13 belonged to Backward caste, 2 belonged to Forward caste while scheduled caste **not holding single** peice of land. As **a** matter of fact the 13 large holdings of **Backward caste who** constitute 13.98 per cent of total number **of land** holdings own **as much as about 42.08 per cent of the total land.** Out of **34 (1980-81)** medium farmers **6 belong to scheduled tribes, 22 belong to Backward caste and 6 belong to Forward caste.** No land holdings are there in the case of scheduled caste.

If small farmers and marginal farmers combined together their number goes up to 34 of this 34 of this land holdings of less than 5 acres, 9 belong to scheduled tribes, 21 belong to Backward caste and 4 belong to Forward caste group while scheduled caste deprived off all their lands, of the total 152.75 acres land held under this category Backward caste owns 103.90 acres i.e. 68.02 per cent, Forward caste owns 12.89 per cent and scheduled tribes own 18.98 per cent. This clearly shows the control of Backward caste over the land by. 1980-81. Coming to 1990-91 situation change in the land ownership is observed from caste and size-group point of view, and it is found that out of 20 large holdings 16 belonged to Backward caste, 2 belonged to Forward caste and 2 to scheduled tribe. Their number rose from 13 in 1980-81 to 16 in 1990-91 and consequently their share in the total land also rose from 42.08 per cent to 54.80 per cent. Out of 29 medium holdings 3 belonged to scheduled tribe 30 belonged to Backward caste, 6 belong to Forward caste.

Thus, with reference to land-ownership particulars, scheduled tribes lost their control, Backward castes gained significantly and the forward castes position remained almost the same from 1970-71 to 1980-81, except in the year 1960-61, without any significant change in the process of shifts in the land ownership, whereas scheduled castes were stripped off their land during the transition period from 1961 to 1971. Thus these are the land-ownership over the thirty years of period examined in this study.

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Number of Land Owning households and Size-group Wise Break-up of Owned Land During the Period 1960-61 to 1990-91

The information depicted in the table 5.15 indicates, the changes occurred in the land-ownership from 1960-61 to 1990-91 size-group wise in the village Lakkaram,

which consists five hamlets purely inhabited by aboriginals (Gonds) only. It is found there is no increase in the number of large farmers from the year 1961 to 1991. The number of large farmer remained constant during the three decades of time (1960-61 to 1990-91). Similarly the number of medium farmers remained constant for the period of 30 years i.e., from 1960-61 to 1990-91. Many changes occurred in the modern world, and in periphery of these hamlets in the spheres, like Agriculture, Industry, Trade, Communications, Science, Technology, living conditions, but all these did not alter the land ownership particulars in this village except six land transfer cases in the size group of marginal farmers. The status-quo visible in the table in the case of small farmers framed with the information given by the Gond respondents of these five hamlets.

Table 5.15

Size-Group wise Break-up of land owned and number of land owning household during the period 1960-61 to 1990-91

Size of holding	Area owned in acres			
	1960-61	1970-71	1980-81	1990-91
Marginal	27.50 (11)	27.50 (11)	17.50 (5)	17.50 (5)
Small	495.00 (87)	495.00 (87)	495.00 (87)	495.00 (87)
Medium	209.00 (19)	209.00 (19)	219.00 (19)	219.00 (19)
Large	20.00 (1)	20.00 (1)	20.00 (1)	20.00 (1)
Total	751.50 (118)	751.50 (118)	751.50 (112)	751.50 (112)
Average	6.36	6.36	6.70	6.70

(Note : Figures in the brackets refer to number of land owning households) Source Household survey.

The degree of land concentration has remained same (constant) as Gini-concentration ratio was 0.17 for the two period 1960-61 and 1970-71. This can also be observed from Lorenz curve in fig. 5.5 and 5.6.

Due to changes in the marginal holdings and area owned by them in the year 1980-81 the degree of land concentraion has declined from 1970-71 to 1980-81.

The Gini-co-efficient ration was 0.17 in 1970-71 and 0.063 in 1980-81. The trend of Lorenz curve in fig. 5.7 reveals the same thing.

The degree of land concentration has remained constant for the period of 1980-81 and 1990-91 in view of no transfers of land with in the same tribe (Gond) in these hillock-hamlets. The Gini-concentration ratio remained same in both period of 1980-81 **and** 1990-91. Similar facts also be observed from Lorenz curve in fig. 5.7 and 5.8.

Table 5.16

**Changes in concentration ratio during the period 1960-61 to 1990-91
in both villages (Gini Co-efficient)**

Name of the village	1960-61	1970-71	1980-81	1990-91
Dantanpally	0.48	0.46	0.40	0.54
Lakkaram	0.17	0.17	0.15	0.15

Table 5.16 shows that the concentration ratio of ownership holdings are high in Dantanpally village comparatively to the Lakkaram village. In the case of Dantanpally village concentration ratio for ownership holding was significantly higher in the year 1990-91.

Thus the trend of land ownership particulars of these five hamlets reveals that the oboriginals (Gonds) of these hamlets did not lost their control over thier land and perpetuation of status-quo in the connection of land-ownership exists during **the** thirty years period examined in this study.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. In the words of C.V.F. Haimendorf - In a note submitted to the government of Andhra Pradesh in 1960 at the end of a visit to Adilabad. He commented on the situation of the Gonds as follows:

There appears to be at present no acute land problems and as far as I could see there has been no serious encroachment on the tribals land....
"Tribes of India" (the struggle for survival) C.V.F. Haimendorf, Oxford University Press, 1988 p-57.

2. a) After the formation of Andhra Pradesh State another important land transfer regulation covering the Andhra Agency Areas and the Telangana tribal-districts of Adilabad, Warangal and Khammam, was enacted. This Regulation is known as 1959 A. P. (Scheduled areas) land transfer regulation. It was later extended to cover the scheduled areas of Mahaboob nagar, Adilabad, Warangal and Khammam districts to bring uniformity in law throughout the scheduled areas of the state (Regulation II of 1963).
- b) The immediate objective of the Revolutionary aimed struggle of the Girijans were :
 - i) To take away forcibly from the feudal land-lords the hoarded food-grains and other necessities of life in addition to the land.
 - ii) To refuse to repay debts and loans.
 - iii) To overthrow the feudal landlords, it was resolved that anyone who dared to oppose the implementation of these tasks with arms must be opposed with arms. (see, Agrarian struggles in India by A. P. Desai, Oxford University Press 1986 p.226-227).

3.
 - a) The Green-Revolution also named as grow-more food campaign compelled many tilling community of rich peasant to encroach upon tribal lands and also made them to change dry land in to wet land, through extending water source irrigation facilities to the fallow, waste lands.
 - b) C.V.F. Haimendrof Tribes of India, (struggle for survival), Oxford Univesity press New Delhi, 1988, p-58.
 - c) In 1977 however the Banjaras were included in the list of scheduled tribes and ever since there has been no legal bar to the transfer of land from Gonds to Banjaras for such transactions are permitted between tribals. (see C.V.F. Haimendrof's Tribes of India struggle for survival p-62).
4. On 20 April 1981, when a crowd of Unarmed Gonds were fired on by a forcce of police assembled to prevent a meeting of Gonds who had gathered to protest the alienation of their land and harassment by non-tribal exploiters. (see C.V.F. Haimendrof's Tribes of India struggle for survival p-323).
5. C.V.F Haimendorf Trbes of India (Struggle for Survival) Oxford University Press, 1988, p.91.
6. Ibid p.58.
7. When the demands of modern industries situated outside the tribal areas led to the commercial exploitation of forests. These became then an important

source of revenue in the state and to regulate the extraction of timber and other produce, large forest areas were designated as "reserved" and put under the control of a government department.

All those areas which were not actually under cultivation was included in reserved forest. In the case of Gonds, a great deal of land which had been cultivated on Siwa-i-Jamabandi tenure and was lying fallow, at the time of demarcation, of forest lines, round the village was included in the reserve and the Gonds were thus deprived of its future use. (see Pratap DR. study of Tribal Manpower Resources, Adilabad District, Manpower study series, Project No-1, Hyderabad 1977, p-90).

8. Tribals in their pre-capitalistic socio-economic formations had not made land as a commodity as it was freely available to them for cultivation and has been at their disposal for centuries known and unknown. It is they who had cleared - off forests by their labour for centuries and possessed the land for a thousand odd years. At this stage of evolution of tribal societies there was a dependence on land for making livelihood, but despite of it, it never used to be held under the strict sense of individual private ownership of property. But when the outside forces started encroaching on their lands and environment gradually their activity started confining itself to a limited area, particularly for the purpose of cultivation and these relations were further accentuated and latter strengthened in the early twentieth century by the emergence of settlers and initiation of the survey and land records.

9. Tribes of India, Oxford University Press, 1988) By C.V.F. Haimendorf p-54.

10. A study of the different scheduled tribe communities (numbering 384) indicates that almost every community pursues multiple occupations. As many as 139 communities depend primarily on settled cultivation, 84 on shifting cultivation, 11 on terrace cultivation. The major non-agricultural occupations are food-gathering for 39 communities, hunting for 19, fishing for 7, animal husbandry for 15, handicraft for 49, and trade and commerce for 7.

There are some what traditional occupations. For 40 other communities labour work has become the primary occupation. For 90 other communities this is the major secondary occupation. (See Nirmal Sengupta's, The social and economic basis of current tribal movements-social action -Oct-Dec 90-volume-40, No.4, p-337-388).

11. According to 1961 census report of India, 29 per cent of the scheduled tribe households had holdings less than 2.4 acres compared to 34.5 per cent in the general population. The percentage of households having land holdings between 2.5 to 4.9 acres were 25.6 per cent amongst schedules tribes compared to 22.8 per cent amongst the general population. The percentage of households having 10 acres or more was 20.8 per cent amongst the scheduled tribes, compared to 21.2 per cent in the general population. Thus the inference that may be drawn from the data is that land holdings of the scheduled tribes are smaller than those of the general population. It is also indicate the gradual deterioration of tribal land ownership. According to 1971 census there were 84.18 lakhs of cultivators and 48.32 lakhs of agricultural labourers amongst the scheduled tribe workers who constitute about nine-tenths of the total working population (see National Commission on Backward Area Development. p.51).

12. When Utnoor was established as Tahsil head-quarters in the year 1917, the bulk of the land in this village and its periphery was in possession of aboriginals some of whom had even patta rights. The settlement of outsiders particularly in Utnoor taluq followed mainly the road then projected and completed from Gudihatnoor to Utnoor. (see Tribes of India by C.V.F. Haimendorf, Oxford Press, p-58).
13. It is the practice of the Gonds to settle in the one and the same place until they will be interrupted by influential wealthy outsiders of the plain, advanced areas. The only areas where aboriginals have not at been ousted from their lands by non-aboriginals to any great extent are the hilly-tracts to which ascend is by cart-tracts over steep-ghats. (see Nadeem Hasnains Tribal India Today, p-245).
14. In the days of hectic agricultural activity a male casual labour will be paid 4 seers of Jawar or 4 to 6 rupees, and female casual labour is paid 3 seers of Jawar or 2 to 4 rupees. During the off-season they are paid less. The differential wage system and disparity between the male and female labour do exists in this village.
15. It is the practice of the Gonds to settle in the one and the same place until and unless they will be interrupted by influential wealthy outsiders of the plain, advanced areas. The only areas where aboriginals have not yet been ousted from their lands by non-aboriginals to any great extent are the hilly-tracts to which ascend is by cart-tracts over steepghats. (See Nadeem Hasnains Tribal India Today, p.245).

16. a) The Srikakulam district has drawn world-wide attention through the tribal participation in the political upheaval of 1969-71 (see V. Raghaviah, Tribal Revol Andhra Rashtriya Adimajati Sevak Sangh Nelloore, 1976).
- b) The early fifties witnessed an intense awareness among the substantial land owners in Andhra about the impending legislation on land reforms in the state. There were innumerable instances, where fearing the legislation, big land owners desperately disposed of their lands. (V.V. Sayanna, 1952) Added to this there were elections to the State Assembly of Andhra in 1955 when it was generally felt that the communist party of India which advocated radical reforms in the state would come to power. Although this did not actually happen such a fear among the substantial land owners had hastened the process of land transfers especially through benami transfers. (see Rajasekhars Land transfers and family partitioning, Oxford university press 1985) p-26,
- c) The phenomena of land ceilings among the non-tribals themselves and between tribal indicates that the non-tribals who migrated to the tribal areas and occupied large tracts on one or other pretext latter sold away. Some of their lands to the other peasantry households who were invited and migrated from the plains to strengthen the non-tribal solidarity in the tribal areas. This had increased the numerical strength of the non-tribals while a number of tribal households were reduced to minority. In the whole process the rich (landlords) families have further strengthened their hold on the tribal areas. After some time sensing threat to their large (huge) holdings in tribal areas sold

away all their lands to the outsiders. In the process land-lords and rich peasants have left the area while the small non-tribal peasants are pitted against each other. (see B.J. Rao's Land Alienation in Tribal areas 1987, P-204).

17. In the hamlet of pedda suddu guda, Jugunaka paiku a small farmer of Gond caste sold one acre of dry land to Atram Janju of the same hamlet, to apy the amount to the muscat agent named Abdul Lateef who runs the hotel in the Utnoor town. He sold that one acre of dry land at the rate of Rs. 20007- (Rupees two thousand) per acre to Atram Jangee who saved this amount from the sale of his cotton produce, which sold in Utnoor market. The pyraveekar, who happened to be well versed in Urdu language and having contacts with the peoples of Hyderabad, who knows the techniques of deceiving the innocent peoples of the remote and city areas. Having developed the ambition of going to OPEC countries to earn more within whort span of time the through pyraveekars, the tribals ventured to pay the amount demanded by pyraveekars.
18. There are many cases who sold their lands to meet the expenses for VISA and travelling by aeroplane, from Bombay to Dubai (It is also called as MUSCUT by the peoples of karimnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad district peoples) and for getting job as mason, attender, technician. In the districts of Adilabad, Karimnagar, Nizambad many poor peasants lost their land and not benefited at any cost.
19. a) See K. Mohan Rao's paper "Implementation of Land Transfer Regulation in Tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh" - An over view P. 11-12.

P) Govt. of A. P. SW Dept. G.O. Ms. No. 129, dt. 13-8-79.

subject to (a) G.O. Ms. No. 971 Revenue dt. 7-10-69.

(b) G.O. Ms. No. 41 Revenue dt. 12-1-71.

(c) G.O. Ms. No. 951 E & SW dt. 4-12-74.

20. Another Massacre of Tribals Economic and political weekly vol. XIV, No. 18, May 2nd 1981, pp. 796, 797.
21. For various needs tribals raise the loans from a trader feudal lord or a rich peasant and invariably they have to give either gold or land as security. Due to lack of the agriculture implements bullocks, capital to cultivate many poor tribal peasants give their lands on lease to non-tribals. Very rarely those lands would be re-assigned to the tribals. (see Jayaprakash Rao's "Konda Reddies in Transition" Tribes of India. (Struggle for Survival), C.V.F. Haimendorf Oxford University Press, Delhi 1982, P-275).
22. All the developmental activities undertaken by the Government to uplift tribal and non-tribal communities had benefited the rich peasants and landlords of the non-tribal community and others are traders and pyraveekars (middlemen).
The Green-Revolution named as grow more food campaign compelled many tilling community of rich peasants to encroach upon tribal lands and also made them to change dry land into wet land through extending water source irrigation to the fallow waste lands. The Rural electrification schemes particularly electrification of tribal belts through energising the pumpsets, digging borewells, development of canal irrigation, stimulated to enlarge the irrigated area under wet land cultivation.

23. Only in the interior villages far from motorable roads, have, the tribals been able to retain their land and their independence. In such villages, tribals hold virtually all the land. Their large and well-built houses reflect a prosperity such as most tribals used to enjoy before the invasion of settlers from other regions deprived them of their ancestral land. It is their misfortune that Government plans to laying motor roads to link different trading centres cutting right through the tribal areas and un-doubtedly bringing in its wake the petty traders, money lenders, and land grabbers, who are other parts of the districts have established themselves along all motorable roads, (see C.V.F. Haimendorf. *The Tribe of India Struggle for survival*, orford university press, 1988, p.69).

Appendix 5.1

Cumulative Frequency of Land-holdings (1960-61) (Dantanpally Village)

Size Group	No. of land owning households	Cumulated land owning households	%of Cumulated land owning households	Area Owned in acres	Cumulated area in acres	Cumulated % of area owned
Marginal	17	17	14.52	20.65	20.65	1.21
Small	34	51	43.58	165.00	185.65	10.93
Medium	32	83	70.94	312.50	498.15	29.34
Large	34	117	100.00	1199.35	1697.50	100.00

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{Gini-co-efficient} &= [14.52 \times 10.93] + [43.58 \times 29.34] + [70.94 \times 100] - [1.21 \times 43.58] \\
 &\quad + [10.93 \times 70.94] + [29.34 \times 100] \\
 &= 8531.34 - 3762.11 = 4769.23/10000 \\
 &= 0.476 \text{ or } 0.48
 \end{aligned}$$

$$\text{Gini-co-efficient} = 0.48$$

Appendix 5.2

Cumulative Frequency of Land Holdings (1960-61) Lakkaram Village

Size Group	No. of land owning households	Cumulated land owning households	% of Cumulated land owning households	Area Owned in acres	Cumulated area in acres	Cumulated % of area owned
Marginal	11	11	9.32	27.50	27.50	3.66
Small	87	98	83.05	495.00	522.50	69.53
Medium	19	117	99.15	209.00	731.50	97.40
Large	1	118	100.00	20.00	751.50	100.00

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{Gini-co-efficient} &= [9.32 \times 69.53] + [83.05 \times 97.40] + [99.15 \times 100] - [3.66 \times 83.051] \\
 &\quad + [69.53 \times 99.15] + [97.40 \times 100] \\
 &= 18652.09 - 16937.862 = 1714.23/10000 \\
 &= 0.171423 \text{ or } 0.17
 \end{aligned}$$

$$\text{Gini-co-efficient} = 0.17$$

Appendix 5.3

Cumulative Frequency of Land Holdings (1970-71) Dantanpally Village

Size Group	No. of land owning households	Cumulated land owning households	% of Cumulated land owning households	Area Owned in acres	Cumulated area in acres	Cumulated % of area owned
Marginal	14	14	14.58	9.00	9.00	1.04
Small	29	43	44.79	87.50	96.50	11.16
Medium	24	67	69.79	172.00	268.50	31.05
Large	29	96	100.00	596.00	864.50	100.00

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Gini-co-efficient} &= [14.58 \times 11.16] + [44.79 \times 31.05] + [69.79 \times 100] - [1.04 \times 44.79] \\ &\quad + [11.16 \times 69.79] + [31.05 \times 100] \\ &= 8532.4426 - 3930.4380 = 4602.0043/10000 = 0.46 \end{aligned}$$

$$\text{Gini-co-efficient} = 0.46$$

Appendix 5.4

Cumulative Frequency of Land Holdings (1970-71) Lakkaram Village

Size Group	No. of land owning households	Cumulated land owning households	% of Cumulated land owning households	Area Owned in acres	Cumulated area in acres	Cumulated % of area owned
Marginal	11	11	9.32	27.50	27.50	3.66
Small	87	98	83.05	495.00	522.50	69.53
Medium	19	117	99.15	209.00	731.50	97.40
Large	1	118	100.00	20.00	751.50	100.00

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Gini-co-efficient} &= [9.32 \times 69.53] + [83.05 \times 97.40] + [99.15 \times 100] - [3.66 \times 83.051] \\ &\quad + [69.53 \times 99.15] + [97.40 \times 100] \\ &= 18652.09 - 16937.862 = 1714.23/10000 \\ &= 0.171423 \text{ or } 0.17 \end{aligned}$$

$$\text{Gini-co-efficient} = 0.17$$

Appendix 5.5

Cumulative Frequency of Land Holdings (1980-81) Dantanpally Village

Size Group	No. of land owning households	Cumulated land owning households	% of Cumulated land owning households	Area Owned in acres	Cumulated area in acres	Cumulated % of area owned
Marginal	5	5	5.37	9.75	9.75	0.80
Small	29	34	36.55	143.00	152.75	12.55
Medium	34	68	73.11	306.40	459.15	37.74
Large	25	93	100.00	757.35	1216.50	100.00

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{Gini-co-efficient} &= [5.37 \times 12.55] + [36.55 \times 37.74] + [73.11 \times 100] - [0.80 \times 36.55] \\
 &\quad + [12.55 \times 73.11] + [37.74 \times 100] \\
 &= 8757.7905 - 4720.7705 = 4037.02/10000 \\
 &= 0.403 \text{ or } 0.40
 \end{aligned}$$

$$\text{Gini-co-efficient} = 0.40$$

Appendix 5.6

Cumulative Frequency of Land Holdings (1980-81) Lakkaram Village

Size Group	No. of land owning households	Cumulated land owning households	% of Cumulated land owning households	Area Owned in acres	Cumulated area in acres	Cumulated % of area owned
Marginal	5	5	4.47	17.50	17.50	2.32
Small	87	92	82.14	495.00	512.50	68.20
Medium	19	111	99.00	219.00	731.50	97.34
Large	1	112	100.00	20.00	751.50	100.00

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{Gini-co-efficient} &= [4.47 \times 68.20] + [82.14 \times 97.34] + [99.11 \times 100] - \\
 &\quad [13.31 \times 82.14] + [68.20 \times 99.11] + [97.34 \times 100] \\
 &= 304.86 + 7995.51 + 9911 - 190.56 + 6759.30 + 9734 \\
 &= 18211.37 - 16683.86 = 1527.51/10000 \\
 &= 0.1527 \text{ or } 0.15
 \end{aligned}$$

$$\text{Gini-co-efficient} = 0.15$$

Appendix 5.7

Cumulative Frequency of Land Holdings (1990-91) Dantanpally Village

Size Group	No. of land owning households	Cumulated land owning households	% of Cumulated land owning households	Area Owned in acres	Cumulated area in acres	Cumulated % of area owned
Marginal	18	18	17.82	1800	18.00	1.45
Small	34	52	51.48	14900	167.00	13.53
Medium	29	81	80.19	280.50	447.50	36.27
Large	20	101	100.00	786.00	1233.60	100.00

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{Gini-co-efficient} &= [17.82 \times 13.53] + [51.48 \times 36.27] + [80.19 \times 100] - [1.45 \times 51.48] \\
 &\quad - [13.53 \times 80.19] + [36.27 \times 100] \\
 &= 10127.2840 - 4786.6167 \\
 &= 5340.668 / 10000 = 0.5340 \text{ or } 0.54
 \end{aligned}$$

$$\text{Gini-co-efficient} = 0.54$$

Appendix 5.8

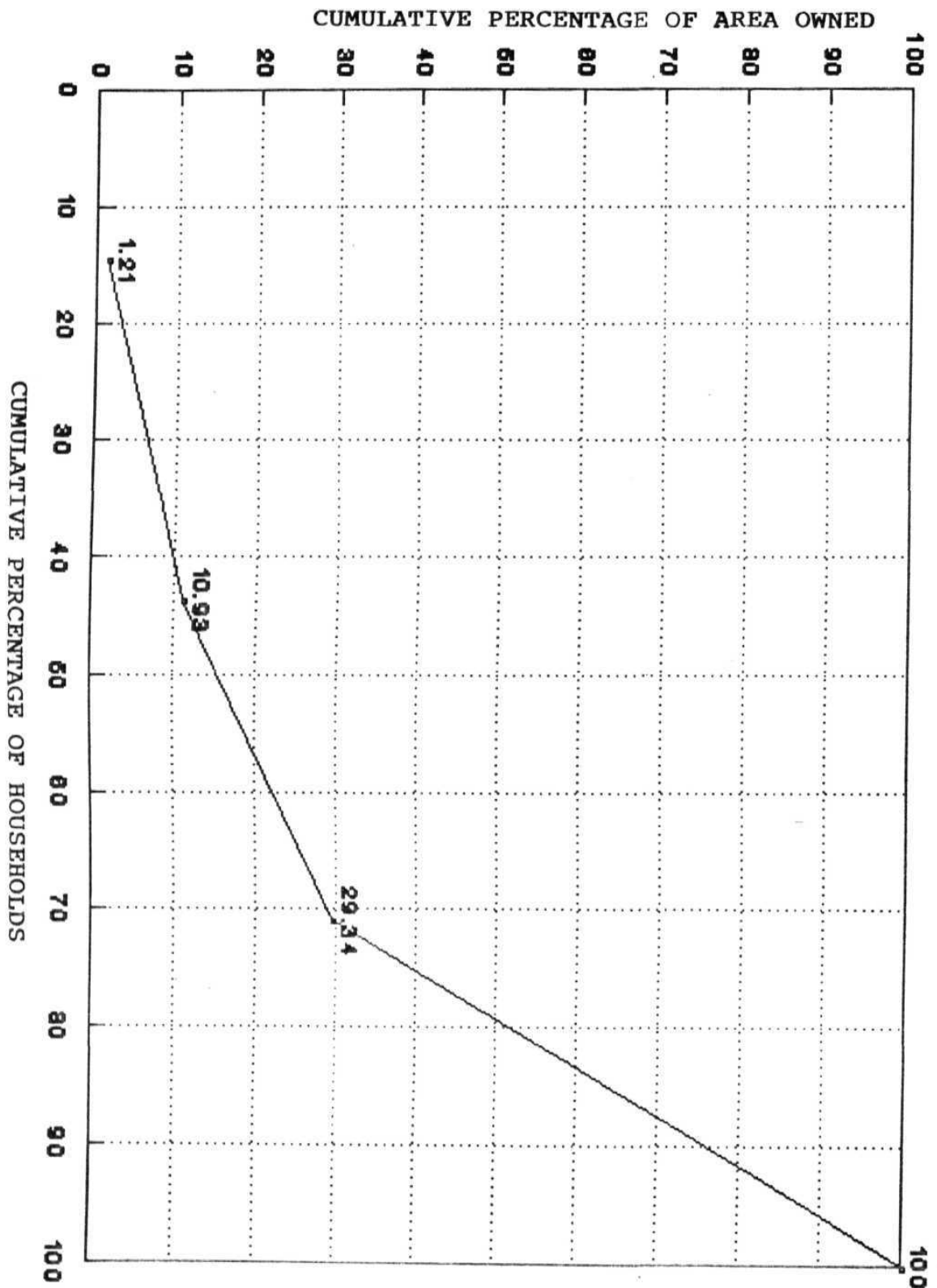
Cumulative Frequency of Land Holdings (1990-91) Lakkaram Village

Size Group	No. of land owning households	Cumulated land owning households	% of Cumulated land owning households	Area Owned in acres	Cumulated area in acres	Cumulated % of area owned
Marginal	5	5	4.47	17.50	17.50	3.32
Small	87	92	82.14	495.00	512.50	68.20
Medium	19	111	99.00	219.00	731.50	97.34
Large	1	112	100.00	20.00	751.50	100.00

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{Gini-co-efficient} &= [4.47 \times 68.20] + [82.14 \times 97.34] + [99.11 \times 100] - \\
 &\quad [13.31 \times 82.14] + [68.20 \times 99.11] + [97.34 \times 100] \\
 &= 304.86 + 7995.51 + 9911 - [190.56 + 6759.30 + 9734] \\
 &= 18211.37 - 16683.86 = 1527.51 / 10000 \\
 &= 0.1527 \text{ or } 0.15
 \end{aligned}$$

$$\text{Gini-co-efficient} = 0.15$$

LORENZ CURVE PERTAINING TO LAND DISTRIBUTION IN 1960-61
DANTANPALLY VILLAGE



Note:- Scale on X-axis 1cm = 10, on Y-axis 1cm = 10.

Fig. 5.1

LORENZ CURVE PERTAINING TO LAND DISTRIBUTION 1960-61
LAKKARAM VILLAGE

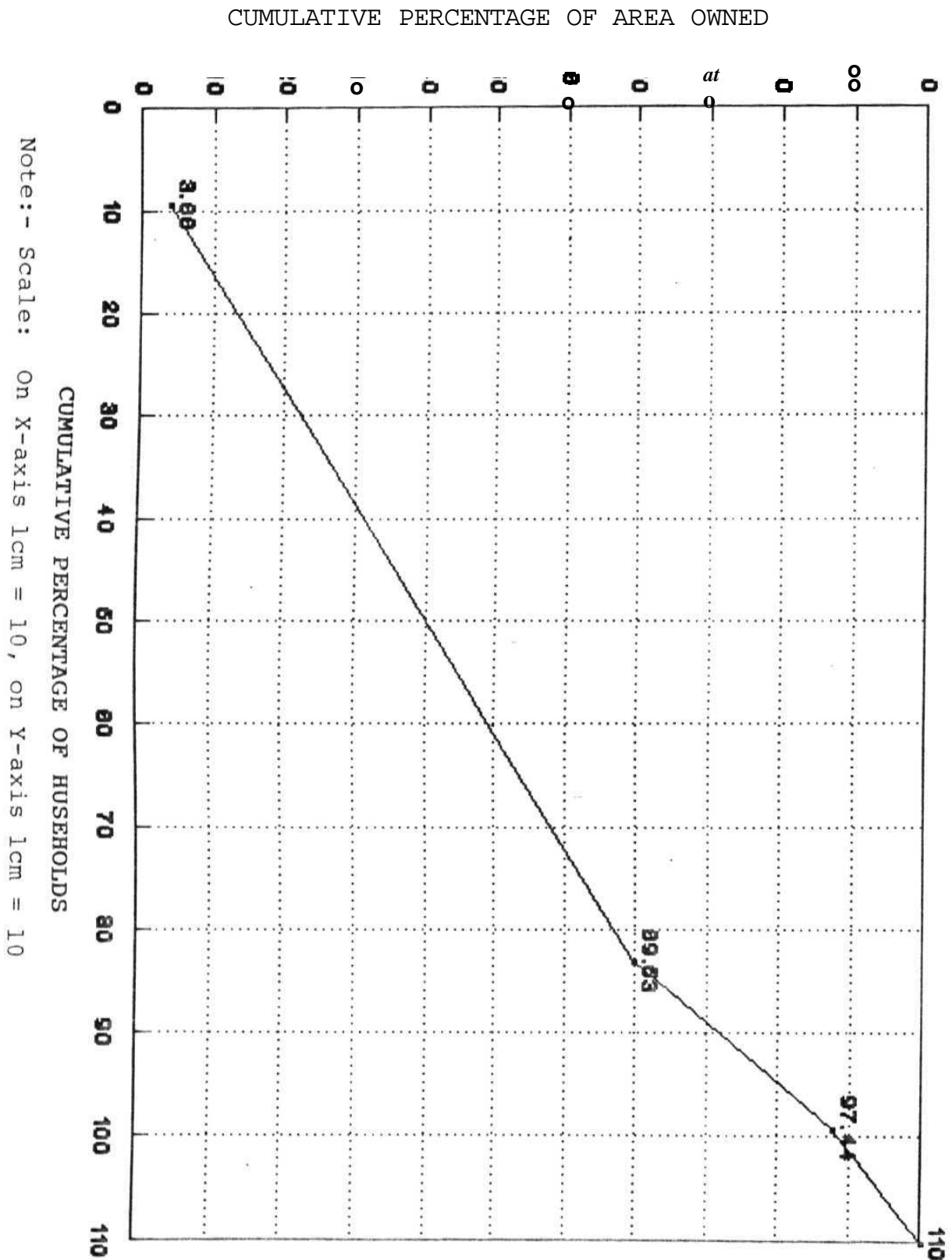
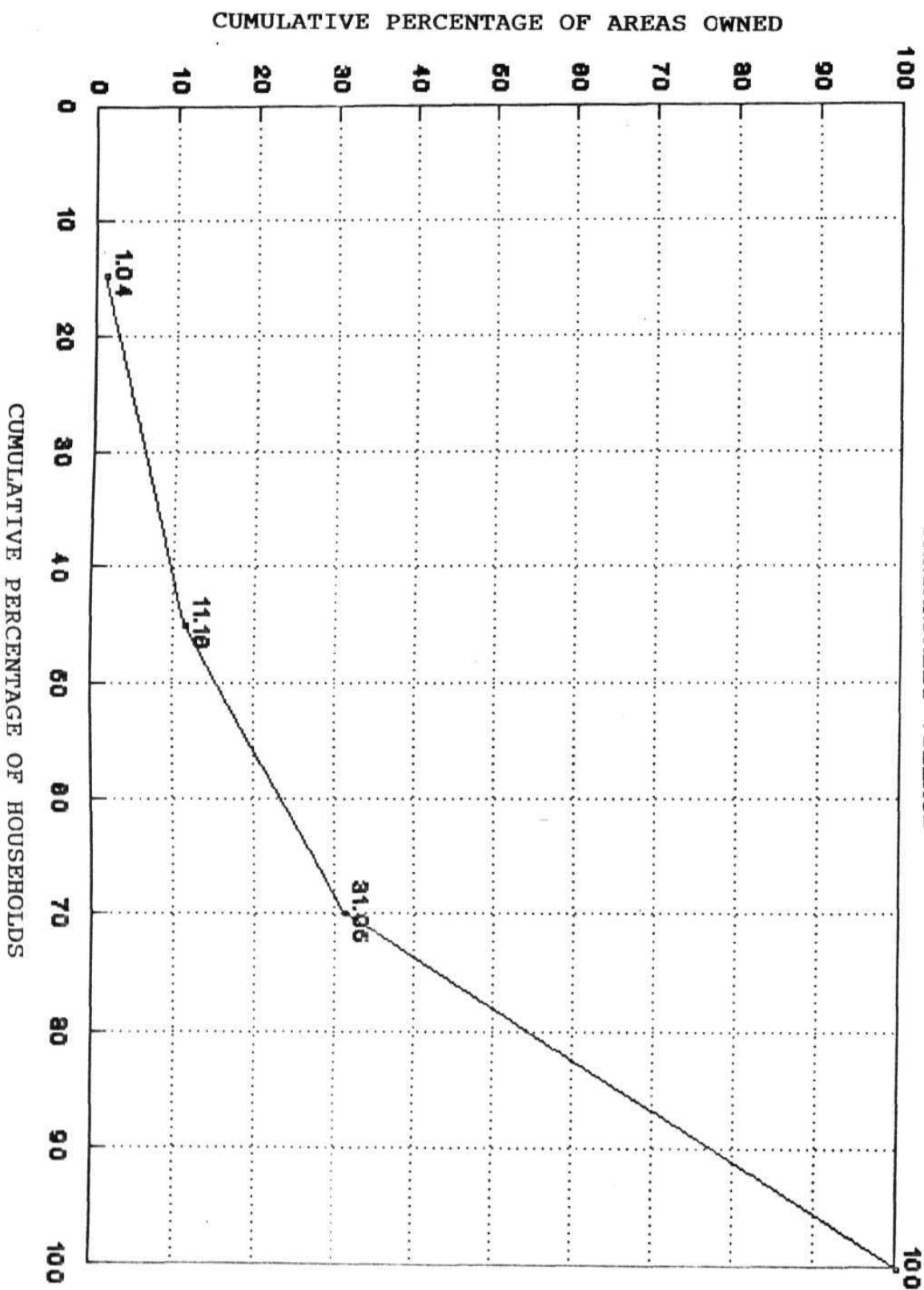


Fig. 5.2.

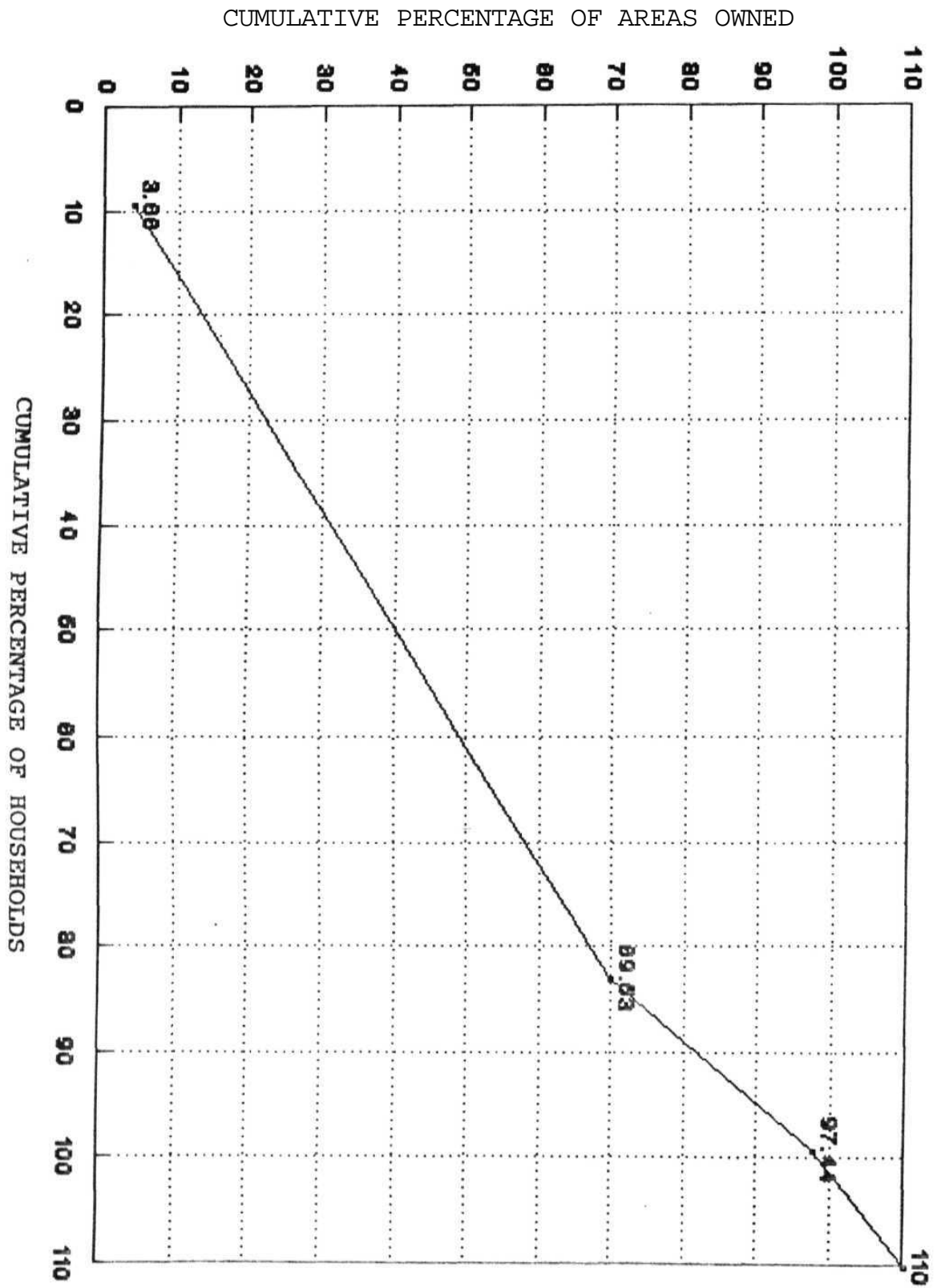
LORENZ CURVE PERTAINING TO LAND DISTRIBUTION IN 1970-71
DANTANPALLY VILLAGE



Note: Scale On X-axis 1cm = 10, on Y-axis 1cm = 10

Fig. 5.3.

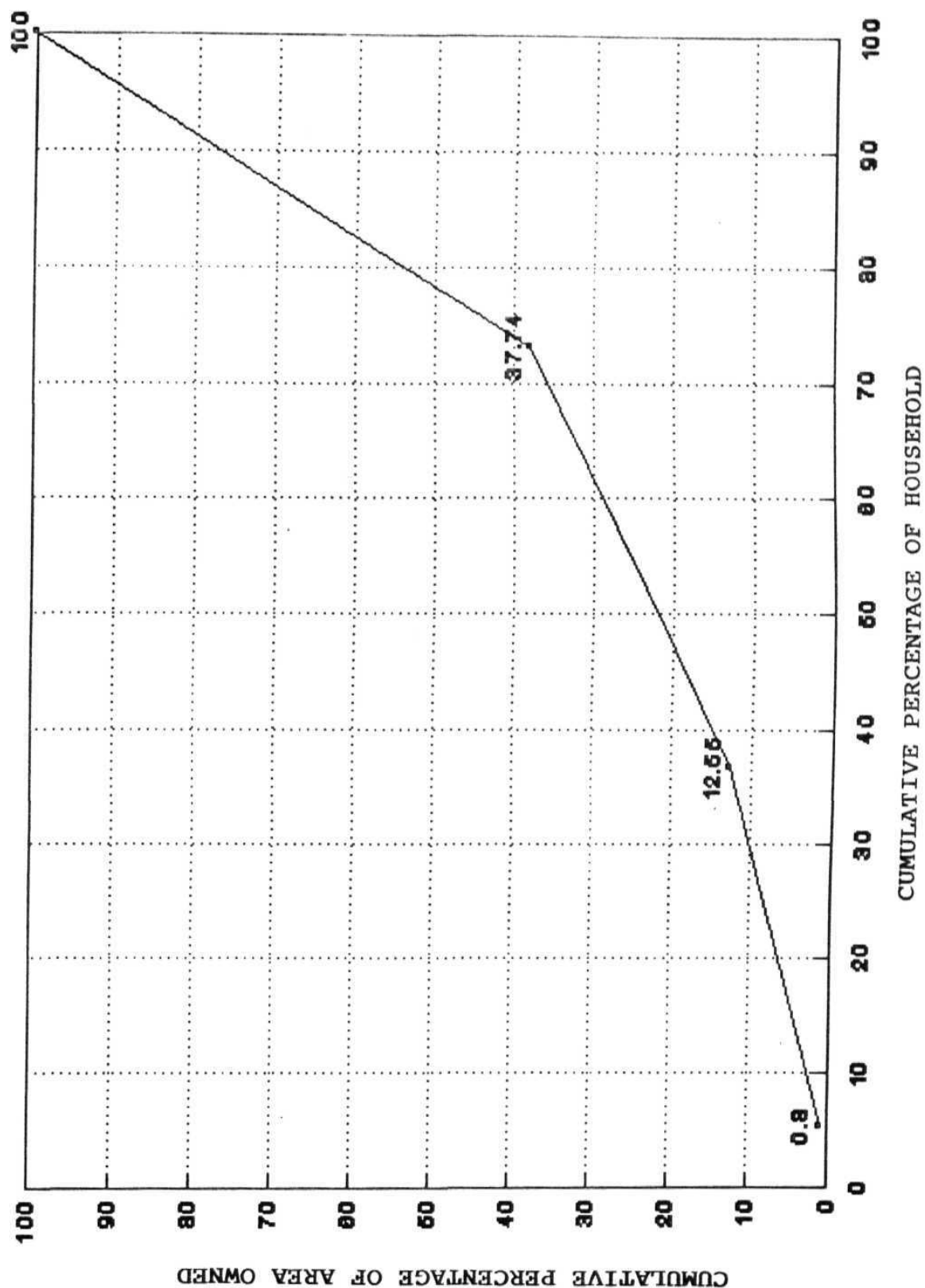
LORENZ CURVE PERTAINING TO LAND DISTRIBUTION IN 1970-71
LAKKARAM VILLAGE



Note: Scale On X-axis 1cm = 10, on Y-axis 1cm = 10

Fig. 5.4

LORENZ CURVE PERTAINING TO LAND DISTRIBUTION IN 1980-81
DANTANPALLY VILLAGE

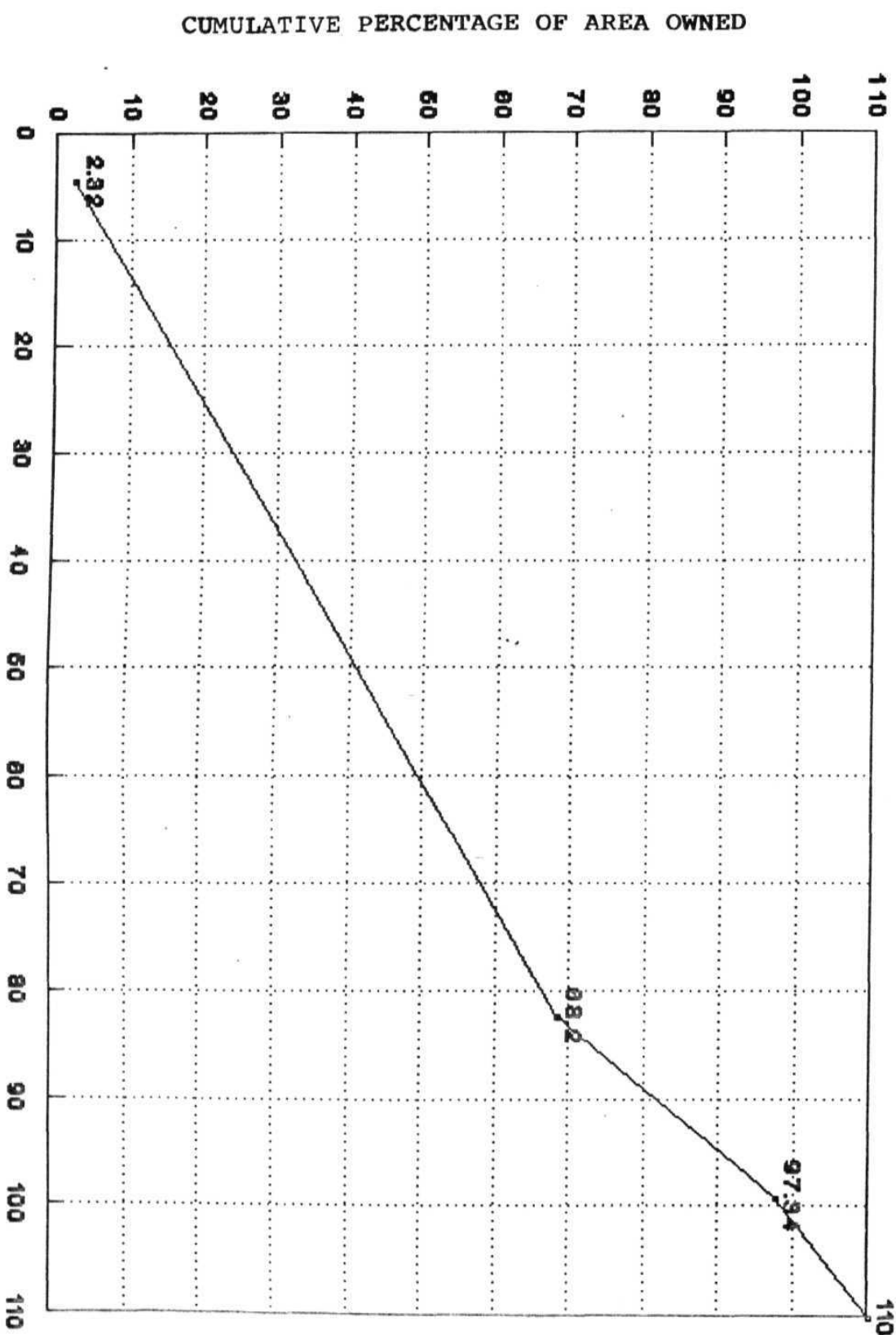


Note: Scale On X-axis lcm= 10, On Y-axis lcm= 10

Fig. 5.5

LORENZ CURVE PERTAINING TO LAND DISTRIBUTION IN 1980-81

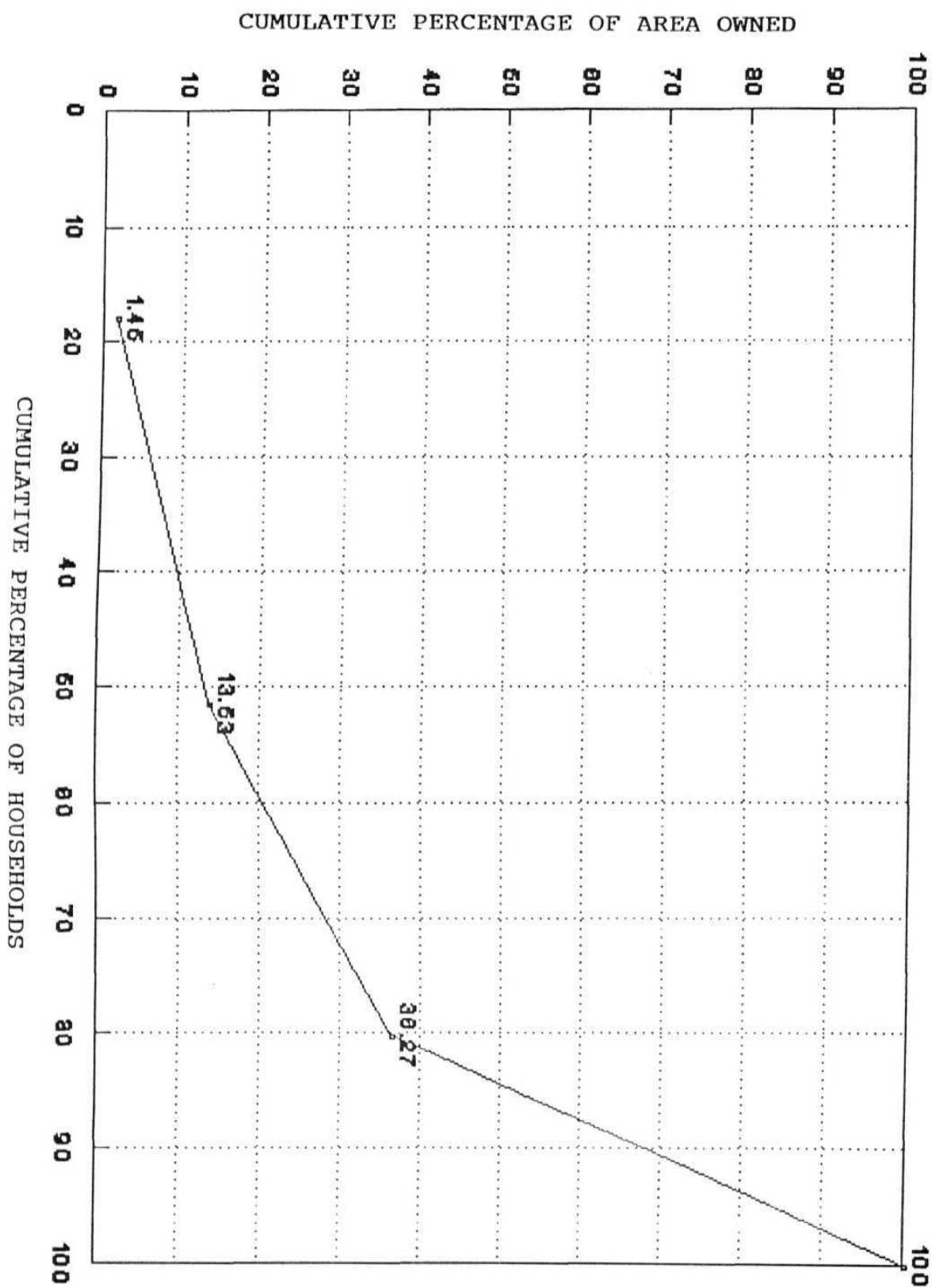
LAKKARAM VILLAGE



Note: Scale On X-axis 1cm= 10, On Y-axis 1cm= 10

Fig. 5.6

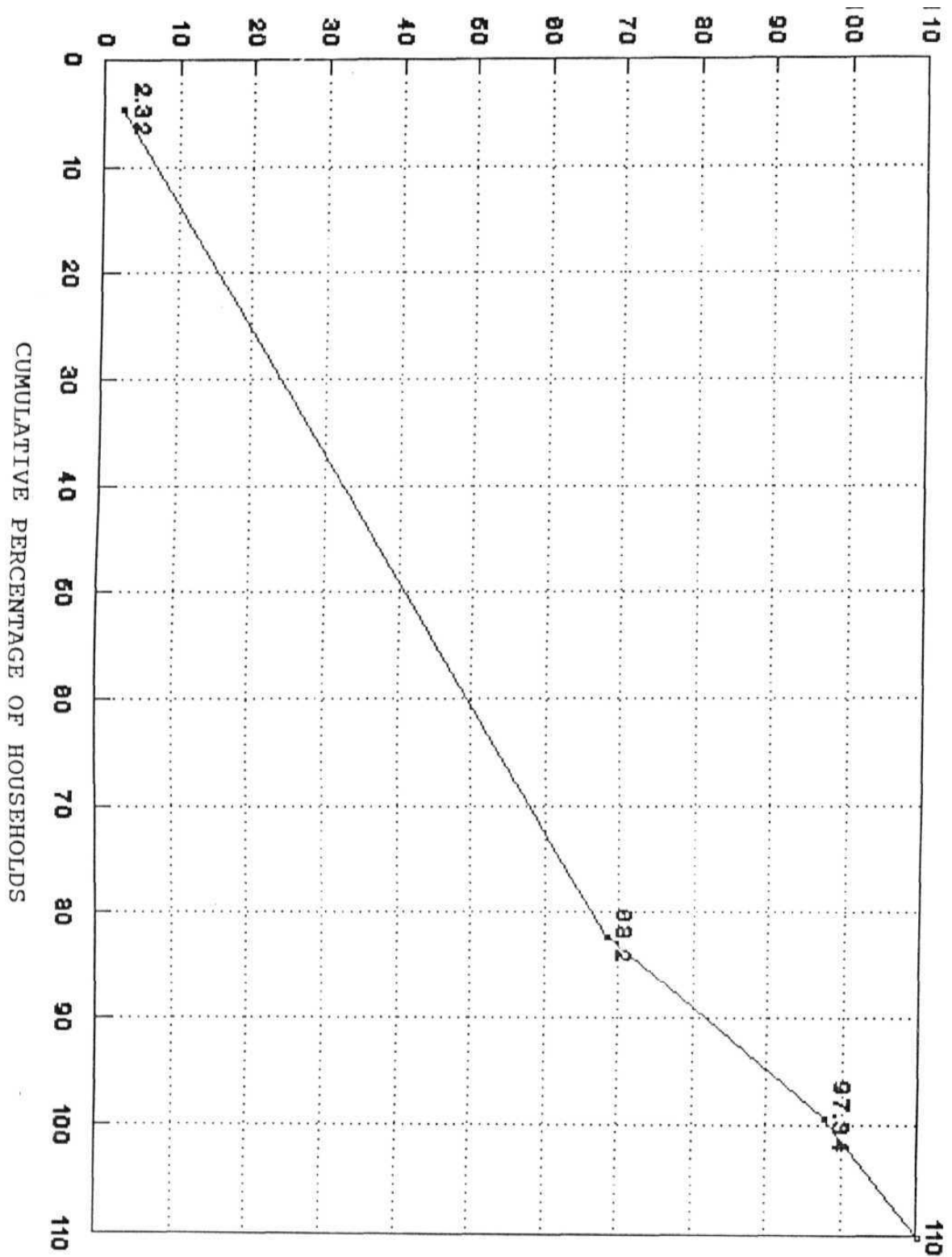
LORENZ CURVE PERTAINING TO LAND DISTRIBUTION IN 1990-91
DANTANPALLY VILLAGE



Note; Scale On X-axis 1cm= 10, On Y-axis 1cm= 10

Fig. 5.7

LORENZ CURVE PERTAINING TO LAND DISTRIBUTION IN 1990-91
LAKKARAM VILLAGE



Note: Scale On X-axis 1cm= 10, On Y-axis 1cm=10

Fig. 5.8

CHAPTER - VI

THE LAND TRANSFERS SINCE (1960-61)

Changes in distribution of Land

An attempt is made in this chapter to examine the land transfers caste wise and size-group wise, land gained, land lost, reasons, and quantum of land lost, gained in the line of caste, size-group during the period of 30 years i.e. between 1960-61 to 1990-91.

The land transfers, from 1960-61 to 1990-91 (30 years) are not only viewed historically but also analysed with the help of micro-data, on land transfers, collected from the sample households. While studying the factor responsible for the changes in the land transfers between 1960-61 to 1990-91, four specific time periods, characterised by the following four specific factors are considered with greater emphasis.

- I. No acute land problem and no-serious encroachment on the tribal land during the year 1960-61, which is taken as base year for this analysis.
- II. The impact of land transfer Regulation 11 of 1963, which was the first, of its kind, made after formation of Andhra Pradesh to cover, the Telangana region, on the land transfers in the tribal economy of both selected villages of Adilabad district. Similarly how the militant movements of the tribals backed by extremist group of communist party of India, during 1969 in this district, affected the land transfers in the study villagers of Adilabad district, during the year 1970-71.

In addition to the above two factors the illegal occupation of Gond's land by Banjaras during the year 1970-71, in the Adilabad district, particularly in the Dantanpally Village, viewed with empirical data.

- III. How the green - revolution has effected the tribal economic scenario of the backward, forest-rich, Adilabad district, in general, and both study villages in particular. Similarly the inclusion of the Banjaras in the list of scheduled tribe in the year 1977-78, from which (period) there is no legal bar to the transfers of land from Gonds to Banjaras has benefited the Banjaras or not, will be analysed.
- IV. The political, economic situation and the tempo of development-programmes after the incident of the "Indravelli-Massacre" (carnage at Indravelli on 20 April 1981) and their impact of on land transfers.

(A) Caste Wise Analysis of Land transfers between 1960-61 to 1970-71 (Dantanpally village)

The Kapus (Since long when kapu emerge richest, then he called himself as Reddy. This type of Kapu-Reddys are found in large number in Telanaga, particularly in Adilabad district), were the principal gainers during this period (Table 6.1) Gowdas, Muslims, Banjaras, also aquired land to a significant extent. The tribal folk like Gonds, Naikpods, (households) were the principal land losers. Even among the forward caste-households which include komaties, Muslims, it was Muslims who lost much of their land [i.e. 94.70 acres out of it, 54 acres to kapus, 30 acres to Gowdas 10.70 acres to their own community] where as komaties lost 8.0 acres of land to kapus. Infact alienation of land by tribals was not specific, to this village, and it was taking place, all over the Adilabad district, and land problem was old, and socio-economic related, since, the begining of twentieth century, and perpetuating still,

Table 6.1

Land Transfers (Caste-Wise), Area and Percentage, in Total Land Purchased and Sold, Between 1960-61 to 1970-71 in acres

Castes	Komatias	Kapus	Gowds	Perikas	Hatkars	Muslims	Mahars	Kumbis	Banjaras	Gonds	Naikpods	Marathas	Total Area Purchased
	FC	BC	BC	BC	BC	FC	SC	BC	ST	ST	ST	BC	
Komatias	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.0 (0.36)	2.0 (0.24)	-	5.00 (0.60)
Kapus	8.0 (0.95)	150.0 (17.98)	30.5 (3.63)	50.0 (5.97)	7.0 (0.84)	54.0 (6.44)	10.80 (1.29)	100.00 (11.93)	-	27.0 (3.22)	25.0 (2.98)	60.0 (7.16)	522.30 (62.33)
Gowds	-	-	7.0 (0.84)	10.0 (1.29)	5.0 (0.59)	30.0 (3.63)	2.0 (0.24)	25.0 (2.98)	-	-	2.0 (0.24)	10.0 (1.29)	91.00 (10.86)
Perikas	-	-	-	10.0 (1.29)	-	-	2.0 (0.24)	-	-	-	2.0 (0.24)	5.0 (0.59)	19.00 (2.26)
Hatkars	-	44.0 (5.25)	-	5.0 (0.59)	2.0 (0.24)	-	-	-	-	-	1.0 (0.12)	-	52.00 (6.30)
Muslims	-	-	-	-	-	10.70 (1.27)	-	15.0 (1.78)	-	3.0 (0.36)	1.0 (0.12)	3.0 (0.36)	32.70 (3.90)
Mahars	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kumbis	-	75.0 (8.94)	6.0 (0.72)	5.0 (0.59)	4.0 (0.48)	-	2.0 (0.24)	10.0 (1.19)	-	10.0 (1.19)	1.0 (0.12)	-	113.00 (13.48)
Banjaras	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.0 (0.36)	-	-	3.0 (0.36)
Gonds	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Naikpods	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Marathas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total area Sold	8.0 (0.95)	269.0 (32.26)	43.5 (5.21)	80.0 (9.59)	18.0 (2.15)	94.70 (11.35)	16.80 (2.01)	150.0 (17.98)	-	46.0 (5.51)	34.0 (4.07)	78.0 (9.35)	838.00 (100.00)

N.B: Vertical columns = Castes of Sellers; Horizontal columns = Castes of Buyers; Area in Acres only
(Note : Figures in the brackets refers to percentages) Source : Household survey

with rampant land transfers in this tribal economy. As, it is pointed out, earlier that there was no serious erosion of the Gonds hold on their land in 1960. The gains, in the form of allocation of land achieved by Gonds in the 1940s, were largely lost in the 1970s¹. The early fifties witnessed an intense awareness among the substantial land-owners, in Andhra, about the impending legislation on land reforms in the state. There were innumerable instances, where fearing the legislation, big land-owners, desperately, disposed of their lands². The landlords who obtained land from the tribals, farmed their dependants for rent and invested the proceeds, in money - lending. If loans could not be repaid, the land was given to immigrant cultivating Telugu castes. The situation gave rise to the Babijheri-uprising of 1939, and later to sympathies with communist and Naxalite parties in the 1960s and 1970s³. In the case of Adilabad district in general and particularly in the Dantanpally Village the early seventies (between 1960-70) witnessed an intense awareness among the non-tribal land -owners. There were innumerable instances where fearing the legislation, that is, land - transfers Regulation 11 of 1963 which was first of its kind, made after formation of Andhra Pradesh, to cover the Telanagana region, and also the militant movements of the tribals, backed by Naxalites, during 1969 in the districts of Srikakulam, Khammam, Warangal, Adilabad many non-tribal big land owners desperately disposed of their lands to, medium, small, marginal, land holders⁴.

The average land-holdings of upper castes (Forward Castes) consists sub-castes like Komatis, and Muslims (Table 6.2) has declined from 19.0 acres (1960-61) to 15.0 acres (1970-71) and 12.47 acres (1960-61) to 3.0 acres (1970-71) similarly in the case of Backward Castes, (Which includes sub-castes like Kapus, Gowdas, Perikas, Hatkars, Kunbis, Marathas) the average land owned, in acres of each sub-caste has been declined (Table 6.2)

TABLES: 6.2, 6.9, 6.16 (Summation of three tables)

CHANGES IN THE CASTE-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF LAND IN THE DANTANPALLY VILLAGE
DURING THE PERIOD 1960-61 TO 1990-91 (IN ACRES)

Caste	1960-61				1970-71				1980-81				1990-91			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Komatis	2	38.00	2.23	19.00	2	30.00	3.47	15.00	2	30.00	2.46	15.00	2	30.00	2.43	15.00
Kapus/ Telegas	18	489.00	28.80	27.16	18	220.00	25.44	12.22	18	400.00	32.88	22.22	18	450.00	36.48	25.00
Gowds/	10	105.00	6.18	10.50	10	62.50	7.22	6.25	10	108.00	8.87	10.80	10	211.00	17.10	21.10
Perikas	5	90.00	5.30	18.00	5	10.00	1.15	2.00	5	105.00	8.63	21.00	5	5.00	0.40	1.00
Hatkars	2	28.00	1.64	14.00	2	10.00	1.15	5.00	2	22.50	1.84	11.25	2	26.50	2.14	13.25
Muslims	10	124.70	7.35	12.47	10	30.00	3.47	3.00	10	151.40	12.44	15.14	10	139.00	11.26	13.90
Mahars	4	16.80	0.98	4.20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kunbis	15	200.00	11.78	13.33	13	50.00	5.75	3.84	15	150.0	12.33	10.00	15	205.00	16.51	13.66
Banjaras/ Lambadas	34	437.00	25.74	12.85	32	440.00	50.88	13.75	25	200.00	16.44	8.00	33	92.00	7.45	2.78
Gonds	7	46.00	2.70	6.57	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Naikpods	4	34.00	2.00	8.50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Marathas	6	90.00	5.30	15.00	4	12.00	1.38	3.00	6	50.00	4.11	8.33	6	75.00	6.08	12.50
Total	117	1697.50	100.00	14.50	96	864.50	100.00	9.00	93	1216.50	100.00	13.08	101	1233.50	100.00	12.21

Note: 1. Number of households; 2. Extent of land owned; 3. Percentage of land owned; 4. Average land in Acres.

Source: Survey Data. Table 6.2 = 1960-61 to 1970-71; Table 6.9 = 1970-71 to 1980-81; Table 6.16 = 1980-81 to 1990-91.

In the case of Scheduled Castes, (Mahars) they lost complete land, owned by them during 1960-61 to 1970-71 due to poverty and joined the pool of agricultural labourers. Similar case with scheduled tribes of our study like Gonds and Naikpods, who lost, their owned land due to poverty by 1970-71 and became landless agricultural labourers⁵. In the case Banjara (Lambada) tribe, they did not lost much land, but number of landless agricultural labourers has gone up from 1960-61 to 1970-71⁶.

Reasons for the Transfers and Alienation of Land : Caste-wise Analysis (1960-61 to 1970-71)

In the case of scheduled tribes, 44.73 per cent, of households (Table 6.3) were alienated their lands, among which 5.26 per cent lost, due to medical expenses, 18.42 per cent lost, due to addiction to liquor, (consuming liquor) 7.89 per cent for debt servicing and also due to bad harvest of crops. Similarly in the case of scheduled caste 5.26 per cent, lost their land due to addiction and 2.63 per cent of households due to debt servicing and bad-harvest. Among back-ward castes 2.63 per cent lost to meet their medical expenditure for getting good treatment from the medical experts of city areas. In the same way 2.63 per cent lost their land due to addiction of liquor. About 10.52 per cent households lost their land due to the fear of protective, Land Transfer Regulation (LTR) 11 of 1963, which was first of it's kind, made after formation of Andhra Pradesh, to cover the Telagana region. The political distrubances like Girijan movements in Srikakulam district (1967-70),backed by extremist group of communist party of India, and Telanagana agitation in Andhra Pradesh compelled many upper caste and backward-caste rich farmers to dispose their lands, hurriedly, and for resorting migration to the district head - quarters⁷. Nearly 10.52 per cent households, transacted (sold) their lands, sensing threat to

REASONS FOR LAND ALIENATION AND TRANSFER REPORTED BY HOUSEHOLDS; ALIENATED THEIR LANDS
(CASTE-WISE) DURING THE PERIOD 1960-61 TO 1970-71

	Food require- ment	Medi- cal expe- nses	Rituals & other customary expenses	Educa- tional expe- nses	Addi- tion to liquor	Debt servi- cing & bad harvest	Legal expe- nses	Fear of protec- tive LTRs of ST's	Political disturbances (Naxalite Movement)	Produ- ctive purp- ose	Ignorance of protective laws	Not sold	No. of H Hs alienated lands	Percent- age of H Hs alienated	No. o'H.Hs becoming land'less as a resut of alienation	Grand Total (No of H Hs surveyed)
1)	-	-	-	-	-	-		3 (7.89)	1 (2.63)	-		8	4 (1052)	10.52	-	12
2)	-	1 (2.63)	-	-	1 (263)	-		4 (10.52)	4 (10.52)	-		46	10 (26.31)	2631	4	56
S 3)	4 (1053)	-	-	-	2 (526)	1 (2.63)	-		-	-	-		7 (1842)	18.42	7	7
4)	5 (13.15)	2 (5.26)	-	-	7 (18.42)	3 (7.89)	-		-	-		56	17 (44.73)	44.73	43	75
5)	9 (23.68)	3 (7.89)	-	-	10 (26.31)	4 (10.52)		7 (18.41)	5 (13.15)	-		112	38 (100.00)	100.00	54	150

N.B: 1=FCs; 2=BCs; 3=SCs; 4=STs; 5= Total of all Castes : H.H. = House holds

(Note : Figures in brackets refers to percentages) Source : Household **survey**.

their landed assets. The percentage of households disposed their lands for productive purposes like re-investing in trade, machinery, estates, etc are not found. Thus, totally, from the backward caste, 26.31 percentage of households transacted their lands, during the period of ten years, from 1960-61 to 1970-71.

Out of 12 upper caste households, 1 household (2.63 percentage) sold their owned land, due to fear of political disturbances, and 3 households (7.89 percentage) disposed due to fear of LTRs. Thus, the information depicted in the table 6.3 illustrates that the tribal - peasants and scheduled caste peasants lost major chunk of their land due to poverty, addiction⁷, debt-servicing and bad harvest, while forward caste and backward caste transacted (sold) their lands due to fear of protective land transfer Regulations (LTR) meant for favouring the tribals and also due to fear of Girijan movement in the Srikakulam district in particular, and political - disturbances with the Adilabad district, and in it's periphery areas.

Reasons for the Transfers and Alienation of Land Size-wise analysis

Rich farmers, who owned more than 10 acres of land disposed their land due to fear of protective legislations, framed for safeguarding the tribal rights in their lands (LTR 11 of 1963). Out of 18.41 percentage of households (Table 6.4) who transferred their land, 13.15 percentage are large farmers and 5.26 percentage are medium farmers. Similarly 13.15 percentage of total households, disposed part of their owned lands due to fear of political disturbances, with in the district and it's neighbouring areas in the Andhra Pradesh, during this period. Medium farmers, falling in the size class of 5 to 9.9 acres, had lost their part of their owned land, for meeting the expenses incurred towards consumption of liquor and also due to fear for protective LTRs. Out of 7 households of medium farmers category (18.42

TABLE 6.4

**REASONS FOR LAND ALIENATION AND TRANSFER REPORTED BY HOUSEHOLDS; ALIENATED THEIR LANDS
(SIZE-WISE) DURING THE PERIOD 1960-61 TO 1970-71**

Size-group of land holdings of sellers	Food require- ment	Medi- cal expe- nses	Rituals & other customary expenses	Educa- tional expe- nses	Addi- tion to liquor	Debt servi- cing & bad harvest	Legal expe- nses	Fear of protec- tive LTRs of ST's	Political disturbances (Naxalite Movement)	Produ- ctive purp- ose	Ignorance of protective laws	Gifts etc.,	Marriage dowry etc.,	Miscell- aneous	Total holdings transferred & alienated of lands
Marginal	6 (15.78)	-	-	-	2 (5.26)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8 (21.05)
Small	3 (7.89)	3 (7.89)	-	-	3 (7.89)	4 (10.52)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13 (34.21)
Medium	-	-	-	-	5 (13.15)	-	-	2 (5.26)	-	-	-	-	-	-	7 (18.42)
Large	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 (13.15)	5 (13.15)	-	-	-	-	-	10 (26.31)
Total	9 (23.67)	3 (7.89)	-	-	10 (26.30)	4 (10.52)	-	7 (18.41)	5 (13.15)	-	-	-	-	-	38 (100.00)

(Note : Figures in the brackets refers to percentages) Source : Household survey.

percentage) 5 households (13.15 percentage) transacted their land due to addiction to liquor, 2 households (5.26 percentage) disposed their land due to fear of protective LTRs. Similarly 13 (34.21 percentage) households of small farmers category lost part of their owned land, to meet the expenditures towards food requirements, medical expenses, consumption of liquor, and also for debt-servicing. Out of 34.21 percentage of households of small farmers category, who disposed their lands, 7.89 percentage for food requirements, and also 7.89 percentage, solds, for medical expenses, similarly same percentage (7.89) alienated due addiction to liquor, while 10.52 percentage households, are transfered their land for debt servicing and also due to bad-harvest.

In the case of marginal farmers, falling in the size class of 0.01 acres to 1.99 acres totally 8 households alienated their lands for meeting the food requirements, and also due to addiction of liquor. 15.78 percentage of households alienated their lands for meeting food requirements. 5.26 percentage alienated due to addiction of liquor.

Thus, an analysis of caste-wise, size-wise land transfers during the period 1960-61 to 1970-71 revealed that, kapus ["Kapu Balusthe Reddy" - A telugu proverb, that of kapu become richer, then he can be called Reddy] were the dominant land-owning community in 1960-61 and also in 1970-71 with higher average land holdings, compared to other caste peasants.

Similarly land transfers and alienation process in this period reveals that upper caste and Backward caste large farmers transfered part of their owned land due to fear of LTRd and also Girijan militant movements, where as scheduled caste, scheduled tribe farmers lost their land due to poverty, debt-servicing and bad harvest

and also for purchasing food items, and due to addiction to liquor. The farmers of the medium, small, marginal categories disposed part of their owned land-holdings, for meeting the expenditures incurred towards, food-items-purchase, medical treatments, addiction to liquor, and also, due to bad harvest and for debt-servicing in the short period.

Size-Wise Analysis of Land Transfers (1960-61 to 1970-71)

Among large farmers, Backward Caste farmers, numbering thirteen (13) were dominating by controlling 721.35 acres of total land in this village in the year 1960-61 (table 6.5). Similarly 15 tribal large farmers, controlling 375.0 acres of total land occupied second place in the year 1960-61, in this road side village, followed by 6 forward caste large farmers owning 103.0 acres of land, while no scheduled caste large farmer existed in that year.

The number and quantum of land, owned by rich, large farmers of forward caste, and backward caste declined by the year 1970-71. Within the gap of ten years, there is a tremendous change in the land holdings of large farmers of backward caste and forward caste, while scheduled tribe (particularly Banjara caste) large farmer's total land owned, has been increased from 375.00 acres to 394.00 acres with the same number of large farmers.

In the case of medium size group of owning 5 to 9.9 acres, of land uppercaste and backward, and scheduled tribe lost their owned land during the transition period of 1960-61 to 1970-71 (table 6.5) their number also declined by the year 1970-71. Similarly in **the** case of small tribal farmers, transacted (sold) **their** owned land between the period 1960-61 to 1970-71. Marginal farmers of all caste of the year

TABLES 6.5, 6.10, 6.17 (Summation of three tables)

DANTANPALLY VILLAGE, TRIBAL, NON-TRIBAL FAMILIES, SIZE-WISE, CASTE-WISE
LAND OWNERSHIP PARTICULARS FROM THE YEAR 1960-61 TO 1990-91

Size-group of land holdings	1960-61		1970-71		1980-81		1990-91	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Large farmers 10 acres and above	FC=6	103.00	FC=2	22.00	FC=2	104.25	FC=2	90.00
	BC=13	721.35	BC=12	180.00	BC=13	512.10	BC=16	676.00
	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-
	ST=15	375.00	ST=15	394.00	ST=10	141.00	ST=2	20.00
Medium farmers 5 to 9.9 acres	FC=6	59.70	FC=5	26.00	FC=6	57.50	FC=6	59.94
	BC=17	169.15	BC=12	107.00	BC=22	218.90	BC=20	196.56
	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-
	ST=9	83.65	ST=7	39.00	ST=6	30.00	ST=3	24.00
Small farmers 2 to 4.99 acres	FC=Nil	-	FC=5	12.00	FC=4	19.75	FC=4	19.92
	BC=20	99.00	BC=22	71.50	BC=21	103.95	BC=20	99.08
	SC=3	14.85	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-
	ST=11	51.15	ST=2	4.00	ST=4	19.30	ST=10	30.00
Marginal farmers 0.01 to 1.99 acres	FC=Nil	-	FC=Nil	-	FC=Nil	-	FC=Nil	-
	BC=6	11.20	BC=6	6.00	BC=Nil	-	BC=Nil	-
	SC=1	1.95	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-
	ST=10	7.50	ST=8	3.00	ST=5	9.75	ST=18	18.00
Landless Labourers	FC=Nil	-	FC=Nil	-	FC=Nil	-	FC=Nil	-
	BC=Nil	-	BC=4	-	BC=Nil	-	BC=Nil	-
	SC=3	-	SC=7	-	SC=7	-	SC=7	-
	ST=30	-	ST=43	-	ST=50	-	ST=42	-

Note : 1. Number of holdings; 2. Total owned land

Table 6.5 = 1960-61 to 1970-71; Table 6.10 = 1970-71 to 1980-81; Table 6.17 = 1980-81 to 1990-91.

Sources: Household survey

1960-61 (table 6.5) alienated and transferred their lands during this transition period of one decade. During the year 1960-61 all forward caste households are owning more than 5 acres, but not less than 4.99 acres (table 6.5) The number of landless agricultural labourers has risen to 54 in 1970-71 from 33 in 1960-61 to 1970-71.

Land Transfers and Alienation In Dantanpally Village During 1960-61 to 1970-71.

Marginal farmers of size 0.01 acre to 1.99 acres and who owned 20.65 acres of land in the year 1960-61 sold 11.65 acres of land (1.39 percent) by 1970-71 (table 6.6)

Analogously small farmers of this village, lost 77.5 acres (9.28 percent) of land, as their total land holdings decreased from 165.0 acres to 87. acres in the period of ten years.

In the case of medium and large farmers, they disposed huge chunk of cultivable land due to number of reasons existed in this village, large farmers sold 603.35 (72.25 percent) acres of land, whereas medium farmers transacted (sold) 140.5 (16.82 percent) acres of land, making total land sold pertaining to all size group, as 833.00 acres (table 6.6)-

Transfers And Alienation of Wet and Dry lands according to size group of land-holdings, between the year 1960-61 to 1970-71 :

The agricultural production depends upon, fertile wet and dry lands, in the village economy, while wet land suits for raising food crops and dry land suits for commercial crops. The availability of wet lands depends upon the extension of irrigation sources.

Table 6.6, 6.13, 6.20 (Summation of three tables)

Land Transfers and Alienation in Dantanpally Village according to size-group of Land holdings from the year 1960-61 to 1990-91 (Size-group-wise)

Year	Less than 2 acres marginal farmers		2 to 4.99 acres Small farmers		5 to 9.99 acres medium farmers		10 acres and large farmers		Total land holdings (in acres)	Total land sold/ Purchased (in acres)
	Total land holdings (in acres)	Land sold/ purchased (in acres)	Total land holdings (in acres)	Land sold/ purchased (in acres)	Total land holdings (in acres)	Land sold/ purchased (in acres)	Total land holdings (in acres)	Land sold/ purchased (in acres)	Total land holdings (in acres)	Total land sold/ Purchased (in acres)
1960-61	20.65	(-)11.65 (1.39)	165.00	(-)77.50 (9.28)	312.50	(-)140.50 (16.28)	1199.35	(-)603.35 (72.25)	1697.50	(-)835.00 (100.00)
1970-71	9.00	(+)0.75 (0.21)	87.50	(+)55.50 (15.78)	172.00	(+)134.00 (38.12)	596.00	(+)161.25 (45.87)	864.50	(+)351.50 (100.00)
1980-81	9.75	(+)8.25 (47.14)	143.00	(+)6.00 (34.28)	306.40	(-)25.50 (145.70)	757.25	(+)28.75 (164.28)	1216.50	(+)17.50
1990-91	18.00	- (+)2.65	149.00	- (-)16.00	280.50	- (-)31.50	786.25	- (+)413.00	1283.50	- (-)463.15

Note: Figures in the brackets refer to percentages,

Table 6.6 = 1960-61 to 1970-71; Table 6.13 = 1970-71 to 1980-81; Table 6.20 = 1980-81 to 1990-91

Source : Field study.

In the case of Dantanpally Village, during the year 1960-61 large farmers owned 395.0 (77.14 percent) acres of wet, 409.35 (60.77 percent) of dry land (Table 6.7) but during the period of one decade, they lost 181.0 (74.48 percent) acres of wet land through sale, and 241.35 (69.55 percent) acres of dry land. Medium farmers wet land holdings decreased from 103.0 (20.11 percent) acres to 46.0 (17.10 percent) acres and dry land holdings from 106.5 (15.81 percent) to 80.0 (24.5 percent) acres. The wet and dry lands owned by small, marginal farmers declined between the period of 1960-61 to 1970-71, small farmers lost 1.65 percentage of wet land and 20.02 percent of dry land. Marginal farmers lost their one acre (0.41 percent) (1 acre) wet land 9.65 acres (2.78 percent) of dry land by 1970-71 and during the year 1970-71, they are not having single cent of wet land.

Conclusion: The land transfers and alienation spectrum of the period between 1960-61 to 1970-71 in the Dantanpally Village in the form of caste-wise size-wise, manifests that upper caste and backward caste cultivators were disposed part of their owned land due to different reasons, while scheduled caste and scheduled tribe peasant alienated their land due to poverty and debt servicing process.

The analysis size-wise reveals that Transfer and alienation of land occurred in large quantum and all size group farmers lost land, through the market (except SC and ST) in this transition period of one decade 1960-61 to 1970-71).

II. Caste wise analysis of land transfer between the periods of 1970-71 to 1980-81:

As in the previous period, the kapus were principal land gainers, in the land market (table 6.8). They acquired as much as 180.0 (29.36 percent) acres of land Gowadas acquired 46.50 (7.59 percent) acres of land, perikas acquired 95.0 (15.49

Table 6.7

Changes in size-wise distribution of operational holdings (wet and dry) and total areas owned (wet converted to dry, i.e., 1 acre wet = 2 acres dry) of sample households during the one decade of time (1960-61 to 1970-71)

	1960-61					1970-71					Quantum of Land		Percentage of Land	
	Total area owned (in acres) and average in acres					Total area owned (in acres) and average in acres					sold / purchased		sold / purchased	
	No. of Holdings	Wet (Acres)	Dry (Acres)	Total (Acres)	Average (Acres)	No. of Holdings	Wet (Acres)	Dry (Acres)	Total (Acres)	Average (Acres)	Wet	Dry	Wet	Dry
Large farmers (10 acres and above)	34	395.00 (77.14)	409.35 (60.77)	1199.35 (70.65)	35.28	29	214.00 (79.55)	168.00 (51.45)	596.00 (68.94)	20.55	(-)181.00 (74.48)	(-)241.35 (69.55)	45.82	58.96
Medium farmers 5 to 9.9 acres	32	103.00 (20.11)	106.50 (15.81)	312.50 (18.40)	9.78	24	46.00 (17.10)	80.00 (24.50)	172.00 19.89	7.17	(-)57.00 (23.46)	(-)26.50 (7.64)	55.33	24.88
Small farmers 2 to 4.99 acres	34	13.00 (2.53)	139.00 20.63	165.00 (9.71)	4.89	29	9.00 (3.34)	69.50 (21.28)	87.50 (10.12)	3.01	(-)4.0 (1.65)	(-)69.50 (20.02)	30.76	50.00
Marginal farmers below 2 acres	17	1.0 (0.20)	18.65 (2.77)	20.65 (1.22)	1.21	14	0.00 (0.00)	9.00 (2.75)	9.00 (1.04)	0.64	(-)1.00 (0.41)	(-)9.65 (2.78)	100.00	51.74
Total	117	512.00 (100.00)	673.55 (100.00)	1697.55 (100.00)	14.50	96	269.00 (100.00)	326.50 (100.00)	864.50 (100.00)	9.00	243.00 (100.00)	347.00 (100.00)		

Note : Figures in the brackets refer to percentage
Source : House-hold Survey

Table 6.8

Land Transfers (Caste-Wise) Area and Percentage in Total Land Purchased and Sold Between 1970-71 to 1980-81 in acres

Castes	Komatis	Kapus	Gowds	Perikas	Hatkars	Muslims	Mahars	Kumbis	Banjaras	Gonds	Naikpods	Marathas	Total Area
	FC	BC	BC	BC	BC	FC	SC	BC	ST	ST	ST	BC	Purchased
Komatis	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kapus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	180.00 (29.36)	-	-	-	180.00 (29.36)
Gowds	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.00 (1.63)	20.00 (3.25)	16.50 (2.69)	-	46.50 (7.59)
Perikas	-	-	-	10.0 (1.63)	-	-	-	-	10.00 (1.63)	15.00 (2.45)	60.00 (9.78)	-	95.00 (15.49)
Hatkars	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7.50 (1.14)	5.0 (0.82)	-	12.50 (2.03)
Muslims	-	-	-	-	-	58.40 (9.53)	22.00 (3.59)	-	-	20.00 (3.25)	21.00 (3.42)	-	121.40 (19.80)
Mahars	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kumbis	-	-	-	-	-	20.00 (3.25)	-	-	10.00 (1.63)	20.00 (3.25)	50.00 (8.15)	-	100.00 (16.31)
Banjaras	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20.00 (3.25)	-	-	20.00 (3.25)
Gonds	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Naikpods	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Marathas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.00 (1.63)	16.00 (2.46)	12.00 (2.00)	-	38.00 (6.19)
Total area Sold	-	-	-	10.00 (1.63)	-	78.40 (12.79)	22.00 (3.58)	-	240.00 (39.15)	98.00 (15.98)	164.50 (26.84)	-	613.00 (100.00)

N.B: Vertical columns = Castes of Sellers; Horizontal columns = Castes of Buyers; Area in Acres only.
(Note : Figures in the brackets refers to percentages) Source : House-hold survey.

percent) acres of land, Hatkars acquired 12.5 (19.80 percentage) acres of land scheduled caste peasants not purchased any piece of land. Kunbis got 100 acres (16.31 percent) land through market, while Banjaras lost 240.0 (39.15 percentage) acres of land. Gonds, Naik pods were not in possession of land during 1970-71, Marathas gained 38.0 (10.75 percentage) acres of land. Banjaras gained only 20 (3.26 percent) acres of land, while Gonds and Naikpodes of sample lost 98.0 (15.98 percent) acres, and 164.5 acres (26.84 percent) of land to non-tribals of sample study. Total land gained by all castes during this period were 593.40 acres. Except Banjara caste no other castes lost land during this period. Banjara/lambadi caste peasants lost 240.00 acres of Land to other castes of the village.

For various needs the tribals raise the loans from a trader, feudal lord or a rich peasant and invariably they have to give either gold or land as security. Due to lack of the agricultural implements, bullocks, capital to cultivate, many poor tribal peasants mortgage their land to non-tribals. Very rarely those land would be re-assigned to the tribals.

The Kapus gained huge chunk of land and their average land holding has been increased from 12.22 acres (in 1970-71) to 22.22 acres (in 1980-81) (table 6.9). Similarly the average land holdings of non-tribal like Gowds, perikas, Hatkars muslims, Kumbis, marathas increased. (table 6.9) Komaties average land holding remained constant, while Banjaras average land holding decreased, even though the number of land owners of this caste declined. Gond Naikpods and scheduled caste peasants of our study lost whole land during the period of 1960-61 to 1970-71 and by 1980-81, they were not owning single cent of cultivable land.

TABLES: 6.2, 6.9, 6.16 (Summation of three tables)

CHANGES IN THE CASTE-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF LAND IN THE DANTANPALLY VILLAGE
DURING THE PERIOD 1960-61 TO 1990-91 (IN ACRES)

Caste	1960-61				1970-71				1980-81				1990-91			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Komatias	2	38.00	2.23	19.00	2	30.00	3.47	15.00	2	30.00	2.46	15.00	2	30.00	2.43	15.00
Kapus/ Telegas	18	489.00	28.80	27.16	18	220.00	25.44	12.22	18	400.00	32.88	22.22	18	450.00	36.48	25.00
Gowds/ Perikas	10	105.00	6.18	10.50	10	62.50	7.22	6.25	10	108.00	8.87	10.80	10	211.00	17.10	21.10
Perikas	5	90.00	5.30	18.00	5	10.00	1.15	2.00	5	105.00	8.63	21.00	5	5.00	0.40	1.00
Hatkars	2	28.00	1.64	14.00	2	10.00	1.15	5.00	2	22.50	1.84	11.25	2	26.50	2.14	13.25
Muslims	10	124.70	7.35	12.47	10	30.00	3.47	3.00	10	151.40	12.44	15.14	10	139.00	11.26	13.90
Mahars	4	16.80	0.98	4.20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kunbis	15	200.00	11.78	13.33	13	50.00	5.75	3.84	15	150.0	12.33	10.00	15	205.00	16.61	13.66
Banjaras/ Lambadas	34	437.00	25.74	12.85	32	440.00	50.88	13.75	25	200.00	16.44	8.00	33	92.00	7.45	2.78
Gonds	7	46.00	2.70	6.57	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Naikpods	4	34.00	2.00	8.50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Marathas	6	90.00	5.30	15.00	4	12.00	1.38	3.00	6	50.00	4.11	8.33	6	75.00	6.08	12.50
Total	117	1697.50	100.00	14.50	96	864.50	100.00	9.00	93	1216.50	100.00	13.08	101	1233.50	100.00	12.21

Note: 1. Number of households; 2. Extent of land owned; 3. Percentage of land owned; 4. Average land in Acres.

Source: Survey Data. Table 6.2 = 1960-61 to 1970-71; Table 6.9 = 1970-71 to 1980-81; Table 6.16 = 1980-81 to 1990-91.

Ø) Size-wise Land transfers between 1970-71 to 1980-81:

When the land transfer observed size-wise, from table 6.10 it is found that large farmers from Backward caste numbered 13, owning 512.10 (67.61 percent) acres of land, in the year 1980-81, while their total land holding were 180.00 (30.20 percent) in the year 1970-71. Thus there is tremendous increase in the land acquiring attitude of the backward caste peasants. The green-revolution (named grow-more food campaign) compelled many tilling-community of rich peasants to encroach upon the agricultural land (particularly upon tribal lands in the Adilabad district) and also made them to convert dry land into wet land through extending water-source irrigation facilities to the fallow waste lands. The Rural electrification-schemes (REC schemes), particularly electrification of tribal belts through energising the pumpsets, digging bore-wells, development of well and tank irrigation, stimulated the tilling community to enlarge the irrigated area under we land cultivation.

In the case of forward caste farmers from the large-hodking category their total land-holdings are increased, where as in the case of tribals (Banjaras) their total land during this transition period, decreased from 394.00 (66.10 percent) acres to 141.0 (18.62 percent) acres.

In the case of Medium farmers, falling in the category of 5 to 9.9 acres, the total land under forward caste peasants control increased from, 26.0 (15.11 percent) acres to 57.60 (18.79 percent) acres. Similar trend with backward caste peasants of this category and their land holding increased from 107.00 (62.20 percent) acres to 218.90 (71.40 percent) acres. No scheduled caste farmers of our study falls in this category. Where as six scheduled tribel farmers of this category owning 30.0 (9.79 percent) acres of land only which was 9 acres less of the land holdings held in the year 1970-71 (i.e 39.0 acres 22.67 percent)

TABLES 6.5, 6.10, 6.17 (Summation of three tables)

DANTANPALLY VILLAGE, TRIBAL, NON-TRIBAL FAMILIES, SIZE-WISE, CASTE-WISE
LAND OWNERSHIP PARTICULARS FROM THE YEAR 1960-61 TO 1990-91

Size-group of land holdings	1960-61		1970-71		1980-81		1990-91	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Large farmers 10 acres and above	FC=6	103.00	FC=2	22.00	FC=2	104.25	FC=2	90.00
	BC=13	721.35	BC=12	180.00	BC=13	512.10	BC=16	676.00
	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-
	ST=15	375.00	ST=15	394.00	ST=10	141.00	ST=2	20.00
Medium farmers 5 to 9.9 acres	FC=6	59.70	FC=5	26.00	FC=6	57.50	FC=6	59.94
	BC=17	169.15	BC=12	107.00	BC=22	218.90	BC=20	196.56
	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-
	ST=9	83.65	ST=7	39.00	ST=6	30.00	ST=3	24.00
Small farmers 2 to 4.99 acres	FC=Nil	-	FC=5	12.00	FC=4	19.75	FC=4	19.92
	BC=20	99.00	BC=22	71.50	BC=21	103.95	BC=20	99.08
	SC=3	14.85	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-
	ST=11	51.15	ST=2	4.00	ST=4	19.30	ST=10	30.00
Marginal farmers 0.01 to 1.99 acres	FC=Nil	-	FC=Nil	-	FC=Nil	-	FC=Nil	-
	BC=6	11.20	BC=6	6.00	BC=Nil	-	BC=Nil	-
	SC=1	1.95	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-
	ST=10	7.50	ST=8	3.00	ST=5	9.75	ST=18	18.00
Landless Labourers	FC=Nil	-	FC=Nil	-	FC=Nil	-	FC=Nil	-
	BC=Nil	-	BC=4	-	BC=Nil	-	BC=Nil	-
	SC=3	-	SC=7	-	SC=7	-	SC=7	-
	ST=30	-	ST=43	-	ST=50	-	ST=42	-

Note : 1. Number of holdings; 2. Total owned land

Table 6.5 = 1960-61 to 1970-71; Table 6.10 = 1970-71 to 1980-81; Table 6.17 = 1980-81 to 1990-91.

Sources: Household survey

A significant phenomenon during this period was the increase in the total land, owned by all size groups of this village. Unlike in the last period, small **and** marginal farmers of scheduled tribe community of this period are land gainers, whereas marginal farmers of backward caste lost their previous land holdings.

C) Reasons for Land Sales (Caste-wise analysis)

The post-Green revolution impact has effected the scenario of the agricultural economy of this road-side village. Many non tribals resorted to acquiring more land for social prestige and for producing more agricultural products for higher market surplus. The rich peasants of the non tribals community raise commercial crops and use fertilisers, and more particular about money making techniques even without education.

The major finding that emerges out of the analysis is that, over a period of three decades, many of the tribal households became landless, losing their traditional, ancestral lands due to a number of historical, and economic factors.

The cases reported during this period in between 1970-71 to 1980-81, (table 6.11) reveals that, 3.70 percent of backward caste (perika caste) peasants transacted (sold) their two acres (2 acres) of land to meet the expenditure increased towards food requirements, same percentage of respondents of perika caste lost their land (3 acres) due to addiction of liquor and also debt servicing, bad harvests, 3.70 percent of households lost 5.0 acres of land. The calamities like fire-accidents, **drought** conditions made perika peasants to sold their lands between the year 1971-74 and after it, they strived to produce more crops and purchased 95 acres of land.

TABLE 6.11

REASONS FOR LAND ALIENATION AND TRANSFER REPORTED BY HOUSEHOLDS; ALIENATED THEIR LANDS
(CASTE-WISE) DURING THE PERIOD 1970-71 TO 1980-81

	Food require-ment	Medi-cal expe-nses	Rituals & other customary expenses	Educa-tional expe-nses	Addi-tion to liquor	Debt servi-cing & bad harvest	Legal expe-nses	Fear of protec-tive LTRs of ST's	Political disturbances (Naxalite Movement)	Produ-ctive purp-ose	Ignorance of protective laws	Not sold	No. of H.Hs alienated lands	Percent-age of H.Hs alienated	No. of H.Hs becoming landless as a result of alienation	Grand Total (No. of H.Hs surveyed)
1)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	12
2)	1 (3.70)	-	-	-	1 (3.70)	1 (3.70)	-	-	-	-	-	53	3 (11.11)	11.11	-	56
3)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	7
4)	6 (22.22)	4 (14.81)	-	-	10 (37.00)	4 (14.81)	-	-	-	-	-	51	24 (88.88)	88.88	50	75
5)	7 (25.92)	4 (14.81)	-	-	11 (40.70)	5 (18.51)	-	-	-	-	-	116	27 (100.00)	100.00	57	150

N.B: 1=FCs; 2=BCs; 3=SCs; 4=STs; 5= Total of all Castes H.Hs = House-holds
(Note : Figures in the brackets refers to percentages) Source : Household survey.

The tribal respondents, particularly lambadis, of this village who **lost part of** their owned land between 1970-71 to 1980-81 are 24, among which 22.22 per cent (6 households) lost 30 acres of their land for acquiring their food requirements, 14.81 percent (4 households) disposed part of their owned land i.e. 24 acres to meet the expenses, incurred towards medical treatment. Large number of tribal households, nearly 10 households (37.0 percentage) disposed larger part of their owned land i.e. 106 acres due to their bad habits of addiction to liquor, which is available at higher rate, without shortage in any season in the Rural areas. Nearly 14.81 percent (4 households) lost 80 acres of their land, to accumulate the money towards payment of debt servicing procedures and also due to bad harvest by **the** vices of unfavourable monsoon, natural calamities, pesticides, insecticides.

All the developmental activities undertaken by the Government to uplift the poor sections of tribal, non-tribal communities had benefited the rich peasants and land-lords of the non-tribal community only. Other who were profited were traders and pyraveekars (middlemen).

D) Reasons for land sales (Size wise analysis)

Two large farmers (7.4 percentage households) lost 50.0 acres and Two medium farmers (7.41 percentage) who falls in the range of 5 acres to 9.9 acres land-holding category lost their land i.e. 32.0 acres, (table 6.12) to meet the expenditure, what they expended for consumption of alcohol. In the same way 5 marginal peasants (18.51 percent households) and 4 small peasants (14.18 percent) **lost** 5.5 acres and 18.5 acres of their land for the same purpose. While **14.81** percent of marginal farmers disposed their land for making money towards debt servicing and also due to bad harvest, 7.41 percent of (2 households) respondents

TABLE 6.12

**REASONS FOR LAND ALIENATION AND TRANSFER, REPORTED BY HOUSEHOLDS; ALIENATED THEIR LANDS
(SIZE-WISE) DURING THE PERIOD 1970-71 TO 1980-81**

Size-group of land holdings of sellers	Food requirement	Medical expenses	Rituals & other customary expenses	Educational expenses	Addition to liquor	Debt servicing & bad harvest	Legal expenses	Fear of protective LTRs of ST's	Political disturbances (Naxalite Movement)	Productive use	Ignorance of protective laws	Gifts etc.	Marriage dowry etc.	Miscellaneous	Total holdings transferred & alienated of lands
Marginal	-	-	-	-	5 (18.51)	4 (14.81)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9 (33.33)
Small	2 (7.41)	-	-	-	4 (14.81)	1 (3.70)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7 (25.92)
Medium	-	4 (14.81)	-	-	2 (7.41)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 (22.22)
Large	-	-	-	3 (11.11)	2 (7.41)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 (18.51)
Total	2 (7.41)	4 (14.81)	-	3 (11.11)	13 (48.14)	5 (18.51)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27 (100.00)

(Note : Figures in brackets refers to percentages) Source : Household survey.

of their category lost their land for meeting food requirements, while 14.81 per cent medium farmers (4 respondents) alienated their land due to monetary burden caused by medical expenses.

Marginal farmers lost part of their owned lands in this one decade period for meeting the accidental, incidental expenditures increased towards consumption of liquor and clearing - off their debts. Small farmers alienated their land, due to addiction to liquor, and also for food requirement.

Large farmers of this study village lost their land due to the heavy monetary burden caused by sending their sons and daughters to the prestigious institutions for professional courses, and also for luxuries, like consumption of foreign made liquors, going to bars and restaurants.

E) Land transfers and Alienation in Dantanpally Village according to size-group of land holdings (in acres) between the year 1970-71 to 1980-81

The village economies of the Adilabad district undergone changes in the spheres of economic, social, political arenas. The developments in the science and technology, the green-revolution changed the agricultural spectrum of rural areas. Use of high yielding varieties, fertilisers, pesticides and insecticides made the farmers to go for commercialisation of crops (raising cash crops) which fetches higher price. The area under cash-crop expanding much, due to changes in elasticity of demand for cash crops like Cotton, Chillies, Tobacco, Ground nuts, Sunflower, Garlics, Turmeric, Ginger, Redgram, Green gram, Castor, Tamarind in the domestic market, and also from the foreign markets.

The modernisation of agriculture made the large farmers, land-lords to cultivate the whole land what they owned, instead giving those lands for lease, as in pre-green-revolution period. The marginal, small farmers instead of disposing their tiny holdings to get rid-off financial crunches, they strived hard to make their small and marginal holdings more productive by the application of modern technology and with the usage of ground, tank, river, water for irrigation⁸. More-over, small, marginal holdings are better suited for super-vision, management, controlling etc. The information about the transfers and alienation, depicted in the (table 6.13) indicates that marginal farmers gained 0.21 per cent of land out of total land gained by all size-groups. Small farmers gained 15.78 per cent of land (55.5 acres). Whereas medium farmers gained 38.12 per cent of the total purchased land i.e. 351.5 acres. Similarly large farmers acquired (purchased) 45.87, percentage of (161.25 acres) of land in this transition period of ten years. Thus the class composition and land ownership pattern between 1970-71 to 1980-81, indicates a few important trends. There is a noticeable indication of the increase in the land holdings of all size group farmers, of this village, by the virtue of modern technology, green-revolution and stable political, situation in the study village.

F) Transfer and alienation of wet and dry lands according to the size-group of land-holdings between the year 1970-71 to 1980-81 (in acres only):

The detailed breakdown of ownership of wet and dry lands are shown in table 6.14. This would reveal that most of the respondents hold largely wet lands apart from owning dry lands.

29 large farmers, who were owned 214.0 acres (79.55 percent) of wet land and 168.0 acres (51.45 percent) of dry land during 1970-71, are controlling 276.0 acres (74.39 percent) of wet land and 205.25 acres (43.26 percent) of dry land

Table 6.6, 6.13, 6.20 (Summation of three tables)

Land Transfers and Alienation in Dantanpally Village according to size-group of Land holdings from the year 1960-61 to 1990-91 (Size-group-wise)

Year	Less than 2 acres marginal farmers		2 to 4.99 acres Small farmers		5 to 9.99 acres medium farmers		10 acres and large farmers		Total land sold/ Purchased (in acres)	
	Total land holdings (in acres)	Land sold/ purchased (in acres)	Total land holdings (in acres)	Land sold/ purchased (in acres)	Total land holdings (in acres)	Land sold/ purchased (in acres)	Total land holdings (in acres)	Land sold/ purchased (in acres)	Total land holdings (in acres)	Total land sold/ Purchased (in acres)
1960-61	20.65	(-)11.65 (1.39)	165.00	(-)77.50 (9.28)	312.50	(-)140.50 (16.28)	1199.35	(-)603.35 (72.25)	1697.50	(-)835.00 (100.00)
1970-71	9.00	(+)0.75 (0.21)	87.50	(+)55.50 (15.78)	172.00	(+)134.00 (38.12)	596.00	(+)161.25 (45.87)	864.50	(+)351.50 (100.00)
1980-81	9.75	(+)8.25 (47.14)	143.00	(+)6.00 (34.28)	306.40	(-)25.50 (145.70)	757.25	(+)28.75 (164.28)	1216.50	(+)17.50
1990-91	18.00	- (+)2.65	149.00	- (-)16.00	280.50	- (-)31.50	786.25	- (+)413.00	1283.50	- (-)463.15

Note: Figures in the brackets refer to percentages,
Table 6.6 = 1960-61 to 1970-71; Table 6.13 = 1970-71 to 1980-81; Table 6.20 = 1980-81 to 1990-91
Source : Field study.

Table 6.14

Changes in size-wise distribution of operational holdings (wet and dry) and total areas owned (wet converted to dry, i.e., 1 acre wet = 2 acres dry) of sample households during the one decade of time (1970-71 to 1980-81)

	1970-71					1980-81					Quantum of Land		Percentage of Land	
	Total area owned (in acres) and average in acres					Total area owned (in acres) and average in acres					sold / purchased	sold / purchased	Wet	Dry
	No. of Holdings	Wet (Acres)	Dry (Acres)	Total (Acres)	Average (Acres)	No. of Holdings	Wet (Acres)	Dry (Acres)	Total (Acres)	Average (Acres)	Wet	Dry	Wet	Dry
Large farmers (10 acres and above	29	214.00 (79.55)	168.00 (51.45)	596.00 (68.94)	20.55	25	276.00 (74.39)	205.25 (43.26)	757.25 (62.24)	30.29	(+)62.00 (60.80)	(+)37.25 (25.18)	28.97	22.17
Medium farmers 5 to 9.9 acres	24	46.00 (17.10)	80.00 (24.50)	172.00 (19.89)	7.17	34	71.00 (19.13)	164.40 (34.65)	306.40 (25.18)	9.01	(+)25.00 (24.50)	(+)84.40 (57.06)	54.35	105.50
Small farmers 2 to 4.99 acres	29	9.00 (3.34)	69.50 (21.28)	87.50 (10.12)	3.01	29	24.00 (6.46)	95.00 (20.02)	143.00 (11.75)	4.93	(+)15.00 (14.78)	(+)25.50 (17.24)	166.67	36.69
Marginal farmers below 2 acres	14	0.00 (0.00)	9.00 (2.75)	9.00 (1.04)	0.64	5	0.00 (0.00)	9.75 (2.05)	9.75 (0.80)	1.95	0.00 (0.00)	(+)0.75 (0.01)	0.00	8.33
Total	96	269.00 (100.00)	326.50 (100.00)	864.50 (100.00)	9.00	93	371.00 (100.00)	474.40 (100.00)	1216.50 (100.00)	13.08	102.00 (100.00)	147.90 (100.00)		

Note : Figures in the brackets refer to percentage
Source : House-hold Survey

during 1980-81 (even though the number of large holding declined from 29 to 25), gaining 62.0 acres (60.80 percent) of wet land and 37.25 acres (25.18 percent) of **dry** land.

Medium farmers gained 25.0 acres (24.50 percent) of wet land and 84.4 acres (57.06 percent) of dry land in this period. In the same pattern small farmers gained 15.0 acres (14.78 percent) of wet land and 25.50 acres (17.24 percent) of **dry** land wet land and marginal farmers acquired no land but dry land of 0.75 acres (0.01 percent) in addition to their wet and dry land-holdings of 1970-71. This phenomena of increase in the wet and dry land holdings indicates the prospective scenario of the village economy, which is completely dependent of, on agriculture without any alternative source. This trend of growth is due to accessibility and availability of the gains of technology and green-revolution and competitive zeal among the tillers of the land to produce more for receiving awards, rewards applauses from the public and government⁹.

Many ryots of village are ambitious to acquire comforts and luxuries like his counter-part in urban area, like owning spacious two-storey building, automobiles, air-coolers, television sets, VCR's, washing, sewing machines. These preferences compel them to acquire more land to produce more by which they gain higher marketable surplus.

Conclusions : The analysis of the data realted to the land transfers between 1970-71 to 1980-81 in the road-side village Dantanpally, would show insight **in** the to the problem of the land alienation in the tribal areas.

Dantanpally village, linked with road, communication, exhibits different picture in the years, between 1970-71 to 1980-81, comparatively between the year 1960-61

to 1970-71 in its land control and other aspects like having control or hold over other social and economic aspects of the village.

A significant phenomenon during this period of ten years (one decade) was the increase in the total land and average land owned by marginal, small, medium, and large farmers. The Kapus acquired more land comparatively other forward and backward caste peasants. All upper caste, backward caste peasants of all size groups are land gainers, while the scheduled tribe peasants were lost part of their owned land due to poverty, debt- servicing process, addiction, educational medical expenses.

Any how the social economic position of the non-tribal farmers was stable to purchase more cultivable lands, where as the economic positions of the scheduled tribe gradually worsening and the tempo and trend of their land alienation still perpetuating.

Many non-tribal, rich middle, small, farmers benefited with the advancement of technology, scientific researches, in agriculture and also by market expansion, variation in elasticity of demand for cash crops in the domestic as well as international markets.

III. A) Caste wise analysis of land transfers between the periods of 1980-81 to 1990-91 :

Gowdas (toddy tappers caste) gained a significant extent of land (table 6.15) though the net gain of the Gowda caste was lower than that of the Kapus. The Gowdas are looked upon as the principal gainers in this one decade period even though they lost 6.09 percent of total land sold (by all castes) to their fellow caste

Table 6.15

Land Transfers (Caste-Wise) Area and Percentage in Total Land Purchased and Sold Between 1980-81 to 1990-91 in acres

Castes	Komatias	Kapus	Gowds	Perikars	Hatkars	Muslims	Mahars	Kumbis	Banjaras	Gonds	Naikpods	Marathas	Total Area
	FC	BC	BC	BC	BC	FC	SC	BC	ST	ST	ST	BC	Purchased
Komatias	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kapus	-	-	-	50.00 (16.39)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50.00 (16.39)
Gowds	-	-	18.60 (6.09)	50.00 (16.39)	-	12.40 (4.07)	-	-	22.00 (7.21)	-	-	-	103.00 (33.77)
Perikars	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hatkars	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.00 (1.31)	-	-	-	-	4.00 (1.31)
Muslims	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mahars	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kumbis	-	-	-	-	15.00 (4.92)	-	-	40.00 (13.11)	-	-	-	-	55.00 (18.03)
Banjaras	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	68.00 (22.29)	-	-	-	68.00 (22.29)
Gonds	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Naikpods	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Marathas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18.00 (5.90)	-	-	7.00 (2.30)	25.00 (8.20)
Total area Sold	-	-	18.60 (6.09)	100.00 (32.79)	15.00 (4.92)	12.40 (4.06)	-	44.00 (14.43)	108.00 (35.40)	-	-	7.00 (2.30)	305.00 (100.00)

N.B: Vertical columns = Castes of Sellers; Horizontal columns = Castes of Buyers; Area in Acres only.
 (Note : Figures in the brackets refers to percentages) Source : House-hold survey.

men. The reasons for this interesting development are not far to seek. Firstly, there were changes in the allotment of trees, with ownership rights, fixing the prices of toddy transporting facilities to urban areas, to shandies, to Jatraplaces, benefited large, to the toddy tappers. Secondly, formation of credit co-operative societies for their benefits, high prices not only to toddy, but also to the palm-tree-fruit, leaves, fibre, wood, etc. enhanced the financial base of toddy tappers, coming back to the question of land transfers among other castes, the Kapus gained 16-39 percent (50.0 acres) out of total land gained by all castes, not disposing single cent of land. Kunbis, Marathas, Hatkars, Banjaras are also gained land equally, foregoing some quantum of land to other caste and their fellow caste men.

Around 1990-91 the village economy dominated by Kapus (Kapu-reddies), Gowds, Muslims, Vaisiyas and few perika, Maratha, kunbi, families, they still continuing money-lending tradition in this village and purchased land from their own caste fellow men and from other backward and forward caste farmers, except scheduled tribe peasants.

Still the kapus owning larger (36.48 percent) cultivable area (table 6.16) under their control with higher average land - holdings comparatively with other caste peasants; table 6.16 shows that Kapus (kapu-reddy) caste owned much portion of the total land owned by all castes. The average land holdings of komatis-remained as it was, while muslims farmers average land holding declined to 13.9 acres from 15.14 acres. Gowdas average land holding doubled, while perikas average land holdings declined enormously from 21.0 acres (in 1980-81) to 1.0 acre (in 1990-91) Hatkars improved their average land holdings slightly on with kunbis, whose average holdings increased from 10.0 acres to 13.66 acres. Banjara tribes lost huge chunk of their land and it seems through decline in average land-holdings Marathas gained 25.0 acres of land.

TABLES: 6.2, 6.9, 6.16 (Summation of three tables)

**CHANGES IN THE CASTE-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF LAND IN THE DANTANPALLY VILLAGE
DURING THE PERIOD 1960-61 TO 1990-91 (IN ACRES)**

Caste	1960-61				1970-71				1980-81				1990-91			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Komatis	2	38.00	2.23	19.00	2	30.00	3.47	15.00	2	30.00	2.46	15.00	2	30.00	2.43	15.00
Kapus/ Telegas	18	489.00	28.80	27.16	18	220.00	25.44	12.22	18	400.00	32.88	22.22	18	450.00	36.48	25.00
Gowds/	10	105.00	6.18	10.50	10	62.50	7.22	6.25	10	108.00	8.87	10.80	10	211.00	17.10	21.10
Perikas	5	90.00	5.30	18.00	5	10.00	1.15	2.00	5	105.00	8.63	21.00	5	5.00	0.40	1.00
Hatkars	2	28.00	1.64	14.00	2	10.00	1.15	5.00	2	22.50	1.84	11.25	2	26.50	2.14	13.25
Muslims	10	124.70	7.35	12.47	10	30.00	3.47	3.00	10	151.40	12.44	15.14	10	139.00	11.26	13.90
Mahars	4	16.80	0.98	4.20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kunbis	15	200.00	11.78	13.33	13	50.00	5.75	3.84	15	150.0	12.33	10.00	15	205.00	16.61	13.66
Banjaras/ Lambadas	34	437.00	25.74	12.85	32	440.00	50.88	13.75	25	200.00	16.44	8.00	33	92.00	7.45	2.78
Gonds	7	46.00	2.70	6.57	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Naikpods	4	34.00	2.00	8.50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Marathas	6	90.00	5.30	15.00	4	12.00	1.38	3.00	6	50.00	4.11	8.33	6	75.00	6.08	12.50
Total	117	1697.50	100.00	14.50	96	864.50	100.00	9.00	93	1216.50	100.00	13.08	101	1233.50	100.00	12.21

Note: 1. Number of households; 2. Extent of land owned; 3. Percentage of land owned; 4. Average land in Acres.

Source: Survey Data. Table 6.2 = 1960-61 to 1970-71; Table 6.9 = 1970-71 to 1980-81; Table 6.16 = 1980-81 to 1990-91.

B) Size-wise land transfers between 1980-81 to 1990-91

The information given in the table 6.17 indicates that, large farmers of backward caste and medium farmers of forward caste were the principal gainers during this period, out of 101 total land owning peasants, 2 forward caste large farmers owning 90.00 acres of land during the year 1990-91 and lost 14.25 acres (1.56 percent) of with in the gap of this ten years period. Backward caste large farmers gained 163.90 acres (13.30 percent) of land, while scheduled tribal large farmers lost 121.0 acres of (9.80 percent) land.

Medium farmers of the upper caste gained, with additionally acquiring fewer acres of land, where as backward caste peasants of this category lost 22.34 acres (1.81 percent) of land. Small farmers lost (0.013 percent) of land and marginal farmers of our study except Banjara tribes of this period lost their owned complete land during this one decade period while Banjara tribe gained 0.66 percent of land which witnessed many structural, social change in 1960s. Rich farmers were used to acquire land, as it ensures, social prestige, respect, value in the village, and in relation, and also in friend circles. Though there was risk in agriculture in earlier times, there was no legal bar on the extent of land acquired. But now one had come in to existence. Besides with increased monetisation of the economy, opportunities for investment in other avenues also increased. Hence rich farmers, medium farmers, were seeking greener pastures in non-agricultural activities¹¹. This facilitated the acquisition of land, by the small farmers. When some small farmers could not repay the loans due to the unfavourable factors like bad harvest, drought, natural calamities **they** have **to** dispose part of their lands. Since rich farmers were reluctant to purchase land, they started selling to the small, medium, marginal farmers. The small, marginal farmers of this modern and scientific age not confined to cultivation

TABLES 6.5, 6.10, 6.17 (Summation of three tables)

DANTANPALLY VILLAGE, TRIBAL, NON-TRIBAL FAMILIES, SIZE-WISE, CASTE-WISE
LAND OWNERSHIP PARTICULARS FROM THE YEAR 1960-61 TO 1990-91

Size-group of land holdings	1960-61		1970-71		1980-81		1990-91	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Large farmers 10 acres and above	FC=6	103.00	FC=2	22.00	FC=2	104.25	FC=2	90.00
	BC=13	721.35	BC=12	180.00	BC=13	512.10	BC=16	676.00
	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-
	ST=15	375.00	ST=15	394.00	ST=10	141.00	ST=2	20.00
Medium farmers 5 to 9.9 acres	FC=6	59.70	FC=5	26.00	FC=6	57.50	FC=6	59.94
	BC=17	169.15	BC=12	107.00	BC=22	218.90	BC=20	196.56
	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-
	ST=9	83.65	ST=7	39.00	ST=6	30.00	ST=3	24.00
Small farmers 2 to 4.99 acres	FC=Nil	-	FC=5	12.00	FC=4	19.75	FC=4	19.92
	BC=20	99.00	BC=22	71.50	BC=21	103.95	BC=20	99.08
	SC=3	14.85	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-
	ST=11	51.15	ST=2	4.00	ST=4	19.30	ST=10	30.00
Marginal farmers 0.01 to 1.99 acres	FC=Nil	-	FC=Nil	-	FC=Nil	-	FC=Nil	-
	BC=6	11.20	BC=6	6.00	BC=Nil	-	BC=Nil	-
	SC=1	1.95	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-	SC=Nil	-
	ST=10	7.50	ST=8	3.00	ST=5	9.75	ST=18	18.00
Landless Labourers	FC=Nil	-	FC=Nil	-	FC=Nil	-	FC=Nil	-
	BC=Nil	-	BC=4	-	BC=Nil	-	BC=Nil	-
	SC=3	-	SC=7	-	SC=7	-	SC=7	-
	ST=30	-	ST=43	-	ST=50	-	ST=42	-

Note : 1. Number of holdings; 2. Total owned land

Table 6.5 = 1960-61 to 1970-71; Table 6.10 = 1970-71 to 1980-81; Table 6.17 = 1980-81 to 1990-91.

Sources: Household survey

of their lands, but also venturing to non-farming activities, such as sheep, and buffalo rearing, poultry, dairy arrack-selling, fisheries road, building construct works at village level, pyravees, and with surpluses realised in these activities they acquired land for cultivation but not for social prestige.

C.) Reasons for land sales (caste-wise)

The information (Table 6.18) about the perception of the tribals and non-tribals towards the reasons for the despossession of their lands. Among the total household surveyed (150) 16 households alienated their land during this period of ten years (1980-81 to 1990-91) 43.75 percent of the households alienated land (lost, part of their lands) due to addiction of liquor, among which 6.25 percent respondents belong to forward caste, in the same way 6.25 percent from Backward caste, 31.25 per cent from scheduled tribe. It was the usual practice that dalits consume more alcohol even though they won't have much money with them. They won't hesitate to borrow at higher interest rate, the money to meet the expenditures incurred towards consumption of liquor¹⁰.

It is common phenomenon that the arrack sale and consumption are more in rural areas, at the harvest times.

Totally 18.75 percent respondents (3 households) revealed that, they lost their land due to repayment of loan and also due to bad harvest among 18.75 percent, 12.5 percent respondents belong to shceduled tribe community, and 6.25 percent hailing from backward caste. The tribal peasants who disposed their land to meet medical expenditures are 6.25 percent, 18.75 percent (3 households) respondent of tribal community lost land for meeting the money required for performing

TABLE 6.18

**REASONS FOR LAND ALIENATION AND TRANSFER REPORTED BY HOUSEHOLDS; ALIENATED THEIR LANDS
(CASTE-WISE) DURING THE PERIOD 1980-81 TO 1990-91**

	Food require- ment	Medi- cal expe- nses	Rituals & other customary expenses	Educa- tional expe- nses	Addi- tion to liquor	Debt servi- cing & bad harvest	Legal expe- nses	Fear of protec- tive LTRs of ST's	Political disturbances (Naxalite Movement)	Produ- ctive purp- ose	Ignorance of protective laws	Not sold	No. of H.Hs alienated lands	Percent- age of H.Hs alienated	No. of H.Hs becoming landless as a result of alienation	Grand Total (No. of H.Hs surveyed)
1)	-	-	-	-	1 (6.25)	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	1 (6.25)	6.25	-	12
2)	1 (6.25)	-	-	-	1 (6.25)	1 (6.25)	-	-	-	-	-	53	3 (18.75)	18.75	-	56
3)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	7
4)	-	1 (6.25)	3 (18.95)	1 (6.25)	5 (31.25)	2 (12.50)	-	-	-	-	-	63	12 (75.00)	75.00	42	75
5)	1 (6.25)	1 (6.25)	3 (18.95)	1 (6.25)	7 (43.75)	3 (18.75)	-	-	-	-	-	127	16 (100.00)	100.00	49	150

N.B: 1=FCs; 2=BCs; 3=SCs; 4=STs; 5= Total of all Castes, H.Hs = House-holds
(Note : Figures in the brackets refers to percentages) Source : Household survey.

rituals and other customary traditional festives. 6.25 percent respondents (tribal households) alienated their lands to meet the educational expenses, like sending their son, and daughters, for private coaching, and also for buying costly dresses. 6.25 percent backward caste household lost their land for meeting the food requirements.

0) Reasons for land sales : (size-group wise analysis)

Among large farmers who owned more than 10 acres of cultivable lands 6.25 percent loss for educational purposes, and same percentage of household lost their land to pay the amount to an arrack seller who supplied him arrack on credit basis (table 6.19). Out of total 16 households who sold (transferred) their lands, 6.25 percent of small farmers transacted some portion of their owned land to purchase food items like Rice, Jowar, Oil, Dal etc, and similarly same percentage alienated for debt servicing and also due to bad harvest. Due to addiction to the liquor 6.25 percent households alienated land.

Out of 68.75 percent of medium of farmers, transacted their owned land, 25.0 percent disposed their land to meet the medical expenses incurred due to complicated health problems, which required the services of eminent experts in the medical profession, staying at Hyderabad, Nizamabad, Adilabad head-quarters. In the same way same percentage of respondents, transacted lands for accumulating money to join their sons and daughters at the prestigious private educational Institutions for their persons academic brilliance. The number of households lost their lands for productive purpose (i.e. re-investing in trade, machinery, estates, building construction) are 2 (12.5 percent) and due to addiction of liquor one peasant (6.25 percent). Middle income class families and medium farmers in the agricultural sector are always victims of financial, sociological, other evil effects. They neither benefit much, nor suffer much.

TABLE 6.19

**REASONS FOR LAND ALIENATION AND TRANSFER REPORTED BY HOUSEHOLDS; ALIENATED THEIR LANDS
(SIZE-WISE) DURING THE PERIOD 1980-81 TO 1990-91**

Size-group of land holdings of sellers	Food require- ment	Medi- cal expe- nses	Rituals & other customary expenses	Educa- tional expe- nses	Addi- tion to liquor	Debt servi- cing & bad harvest	Legal expe- nses	Fear of protec- tive LTRs of ST's	Political disturbances (Naxalite Movement)	Produ- ctive purp- ose	Ignorance of protective laws	Gifts etc.,	Marriage dowry etc.,	Miscell- aneous	Total holdings transferred & alienated of lands
Marginal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Small	1 (6.25)	-	-	-	1 (6.25)	1 (6.25)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3 (18.75)
Medium	-	4 (25.00)	-	4 (25.00)	1 (6.25)	-	-	-	-	2 (12.50)	-	-	-	-	11 (68.75)
Large	-	-	-	1 (6.25)	1 (6.25)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (12.50)
Total	1 (6.25)	4 (25.00)	-	5 (31.25)	3 (18.75)	1 (6.25)	-	-	-	2 (12.50)	-	-	-	-	16 (100.00)

(Note : Figures in the brackets refers to percentages) Source : Household survey.

During this transaction of transition period marginal farmers did not dispose any quantum of land.

E) Land transfers and alienation according to size-group of land holdings (in acres) between the period 1980-81 to 1990-91:

The data furnished in the table 6.20 reveals that, marginal farmer acquired 47.14 per cent of land, between the period 1980-81 to 1990-91 and small farmers also gained 34.28 percent of land in this period. Many small and marginal farmers turned to non-farming activities, such as sheep, Goat rearing poultry, dairy, arrack-selling house sites business, chits, pyravees, with these activities they amassed lot of wealth and diverted towards productive channels, including purchase of houses, land etc. Medium farmers and large farmers resorted for selling part of their lands to diversify their investment in to non-agricultural activities. Now a days the rich farmers are seeking greener- pastures in non-agricultural activities, that is why their land acquisitive ethos were blunted.

F) Transfer and alienation of Wet and Dry lands according to the size group of land-holdings between the years 1980-81 to 1990-91 (in acres only)

The information shown in the table 6.21 indicates that the quantum of wet land owned by large farms increased during the year 1990-91, to the tune of 249.0 acres (69.83 percent), from 276.0 acres in 1980-81 i.e. 18.00 acres (36.00 percent) respectively. The availability of assured irrigation to the fields of the rich sections of the non-tribal community almost a common picture in the villages, where as the poor and small peasant classes could not gain the benefits of assured irrigation sources.

Table 6.6, 6.13, 6.20 (Summation of three tables)

Land Transfers and Alienation in Dantanpally Village according to size-group of Land holdings from the year 1960-61 to 1990-91 (Size-group-wise)

Year	Less than 2 acres marginal farmers		2 to 4.99 acres Small farmers		5 to 9.99 acres medium farmers		10 acres and large farmers		Total land holdings (in acres)	Total land sold/ Purchased (in acres)
	Total land holdings (in acres)	Land sold/ purchased (in acres)	Total land holdings (in acres)	Land sold/ purchased (in acres)	Total land holdings (in acres)	Land sold/ purchased (in acres)	Total land holdings (in acres)	Land sold/ purchased (in acres)	Total land holdings (in acres)	Total land sold/ Purchased (in acres)
1960-61	20.65	(-)11.65 (1.39)	165.00	(-)77.50 (9.28)	312.50	(-)140.50 (16.28)	1199.35	(-)603.35 (72.25)	1697.50	(-)835.00 (100.00)
1970-71	9.00	(+)0.75 (0.21)	87.50	(+)55.50 (15.78)	172.00	(+)134.00 (38.12)	596.00	(+)161.25 (45.87)	864.50	(+)351.50 (100.00)
1980-81	9.75	(+)8.25 (47.14)	143.00	(+)6.00 (34.28)	306.40	(-)25.50 (145.70)	757.25	(+)28.75 (164.28)	1216.50	(+)17.50
1990-91	18.00	- (+)2.65	149.00	- (-)16.00	280.50	- (-)31.50	786.25	- (+)413.00	1283.50	- (-)463.15

Note: Figures in the brackets refer to percentages,

Table 6.6 = 1960-61 to 1970-71; Table 6.13 = 1970-71 to 1980-81; Table 6.20 = 1980-81 to 1990-91

Source : Field study.

Table 6.21

Changes in size-wise distribution of operational holdings (wet and dry) and total areas owned (wet converted to dry i.e., 1 acre wet = 2 acres dry) of sample households during the one decade of time (1980-81 to 1990-91)

	1980-81					1990-91					Quantum of Land		
	Total area owned (in acres) and average in acres					Total area owned (in acres) and average in acres					soid / purchased		
	No. of Holdings	Wet (Acres)	Dry (Acres)	Total (Acres)	Average (Acres)	No. of Holdings	Wet (Acres)	Dry (Acres)	Total (Acres)	Average (Acres)	Wet	Dry	Wet
Large farmers (10 acres and above)	25	276.00 (74.39)	205.25 (43.26)	757.25 (62.24)	30.29	20	294.00 (69.83)	198.00 (50.57)	786.00 (63.72)	39.00	(+)18.00 (36.00)	(+)7.25 (41.42)	6.52
Medium farmers 5 to 9.9 acres	34	71.00 (19.13)	164.40 (34.65)	306.40 (25.18)	9.01	29	101.00 (23.99)	78.50 (20.05)	280.50 (22.74)	9.67	(+)30.00 (60.00)	(-)85.90 (100.00)	42.25
Small farmers 2 to 4.99 acres	29	24.00 (6.46)	95.00 (20.02)	143.00 (11.75)	4.93	34	25.00 (5.93)	99.00 (25.28)	149.00 (12.07)	4.38	(+)01.00 (2.00)	(+)4.00 (22.85)	4.17
Marginal farmers below 2 acres	5	0.00 (0.00)	9.75 (2.05)	9.75 (0.80)	1.95	18	1.00 (0.23)	16.00 (4.08)	18.00 (1.45)	1.00	(+)1.00 (2.00)	(+)5.25 (35.71)	0.00
Total	93	371.00 (100.00)	474.40 (100.00)	1216.50 (100.00)	13.08	101	421.00 (100.00)	391.50 (100.00)	1233.50 (100.00)	12.21	(+)50.00 (100.00)	(+)17.50 (100.00)	64.10

Note : Figures in the brackets refer to percentage
Source : House-hold Survey

The rich peasants of all communities particularly the non-tribal community, raise commercial-crops and use fertilisers. Tribals of this tribal economy using fertilisers in limited quantities in recent times¹².

The wet land area under control of large farmers increased from the year 1980-81 to 1990-91, but the dry land area decreased from 205.25 acres to 198.0 acres (50.57 percent). While average land holding increased from 30.29 acres to 39.30 acres. The medium farmers owned 101.0 acres (23.99 percent) of wet land **and** 78.5 acres (20.05 percent) of dry land during the year 1990-91, while their wet land holdings were 71.0 acres (19.13 percent) and dry land holdings were 164.4 acres (34.65 percent) in the year 1980-81. There is 30.0 acres (60.0 percent) of increase in the quantum of wet land, while 86.0 acres decrease in dry land area.

Small and marginal farmers purchased 01.00 acrea of wet (2.0 percent) and 4.00 acres (22.85 percent) of dry land and 01.0 acre (2.00 percent) 6.25 acres (35.71 percent) increase in their wet and dry land holdings in the year 1990-91 from the year 1980-81.

There is a continuous increase in the wet land holdings owned by all size-groups tillers, during 1990-91 if compared with the wet land holdings of 1980-81.

It is common phenomena, that every ryot want to convert dry land in **to wet** and also prefers much of purchasing the wet land than dry land, which is having higher market rate during sales than **dry** land market rate. The wet land which is **closer** to tank-bund fetches highest price as it is called "fountain land" (**BADUVAPOLAM** in telugu which mean no much water required for ripening the -

crops) and also fertile for double-cropping, and higher production. Where as tail-end wet lands carry lesser market values.

The cost of production is low in the case of wet land for raising food crops, where as cost of production (investment) is higher in the case of dry land for raising cash-crops like chillies tobacco, cotton, ground-nut, sun-flower etc.

The ground water source potentiality is higher in the wet land comparative to the dry land. Similarly re-sale value will be doubled with in short span of time, i.e. with in two years. Where dry land value might be running in arthimetic progression.

These factors made the peasants of all size group to acquire more wet land than dry, are stimulated them to change dry lands in to the wet lands.

Conclusion : When Utnur was made as Tahsil head quarter in the year 1917, the bulk of the land in this village and it's periphery was in possession of aboriginals, some of whom had even patta rights. The settlement of outsiders, particularly in Utnur taluk, followed mainly the road, then completed from Gudihatoor to Utnur.

Before 1917 there was high concentration of land ownership among aboriginals. At the turn of twentieth century, it was Government policy to open up the district and to encourage the influx of new settlers and to grant them patta free of charge for as much land as they could make arable. With the gradual improvement of communication and the influx of experienced cultivators such as kunbis and kapus, the tribal villages became valuable and attractive to investors and Brahmins Komatis, and Muslimes living in places, such as Adilabad Asifabad and Nirmal began acquiring villages to be managed on a commercial basis.

An analysis of the caste-wise land ownership revealed that kapus were the dominant land owning communities in 1961. Similarly all the other castes also owned significant land.

Similarly size group wise analysis reveals that large farmers and medium farmers of Backward caste, are more than forward caste and scheduled tribe farmers.

However there was tranquility in the tribal economy of the Dantanpally village during 1960-61. Which is the base year of our study.

The turmoil occurred, after passage of land transfer Regulation 11 of 1963, which was first of its kind made after formation of Andhra Pradesh to cover the Telanagana region on the land transfers in the tribal economy and also due to sensing threats from the militant movements of the tribals backed by extremist group of communist party of India during 1968-69, in this district. All caste farmers transacted part of their land to their own caste fellow men and also to other backward and forward caste peasants, except scheduled caste and scheduled tribe peasants, between this transition of period of 1960-61 to 1970-71. Among the tribes of this village the Gonds and Naikpods and four scheduled caste farmers lost their owned land completely to kapu, komati, Gowda, Perika, Hatkars, Muslims, Kunbis and Marathas, whereas Banjara (Lambada) tribe gained, 3 acres of land during this ten years period. This period characterised with increase in depeasantisation, pauperisation, polarisation, of tribal agricultural proletariat, which already in existence in this backward tribal economy. During 1980-81, as a result of post green revolution in the tribal economy, and accessibility and availability of high-tech methods, in agricultural research by which they acquired larger tracts of wet and dry lands from the tribal peasants of Banjara, Gond, Naikpod castes.

An analysis of caste-wise land transfers revealed that Kapus were the dominant land owning community and land gainers in 1980-81. Analogously, large, medium and small farmers of the backward caste controlling larger area of lands than the same peasants of the other forward scheduled caste, scheduled tribe peasants.

The political, economic, situation and the tempo of development programmes, undertaken by centrally sponsored agency ITDA (Integrated Tribal development Agency), which was started in the year 1975) slow phase Industrialization, and extension of credit, subsidy facilities to all corners of the district particularly to the tribals by ITDA, SFDA, MFDA, DRDA, (DRDP schemes) NABARD, and through nationalised banking Institutions, created the situations in which tribal land alienation controlled in larger extent in over all the district of Adilabad and also in study village. After 1980-81, tribal land transfers and alienation in the study village of Dantanpally in the case of Gond and Naikpod tribes completely ceased, as per our study, but not in the whole district.

Between the period 1980-81 to 1990-91 land transfers took place among backward caste themselves. No Gond and Naikpode tribe of our sample and also out of sample lost or gained single cent of land, except Banjara (Lambada) tribe, who gained, and lost land during the transformation period of 1980-81 to 1990-91. In this period (1980-81 to 1990-91) kapus are net land gainers without losing single piece of land, whereas Gowds acquired 103.0 (33.7 percent) acres and lost 18.6 (6.09 percent) acres.

**LAND TRANSFERS (CASTE-WISE) LAND GAINED AND LOST BY
DIFFERENT SIZE GROUPS OF FARMERS IN TOTAL LAND
PURCHASED, SOLD, DURING THE PERIOD, FROM
1960-61 TO 1990-91 (DANTANPALLY VILLAGE).**

Growing pressure of population, on land, in an unequal society, would mean, harsher and increasingly Precarious conditions of living for the rural poor¹³. Generally the influx of non-tribals in the Adilabad District, and settlement of the some of them in the Dantanpally village, ignited for land transfers and alienation inview of monetization of tribal economy. While studying land gained and lost by different size groups and by different castes, it is viewed, that the land lost by Gonds, Naikpods, mahars from 1960-61 onwards and by some of the lambadas after 1978 as alienation of land i.e. illegal occupations of their land by non-tribals, as **per** the information recorded from the respondents.

1. The Land gained, and lost, during the period 1960-61 to 1970-71.

Table 6.22 provides a glimpse, of how the distribution of land holdings undergone changes due to land transfers and alienation during the three decades of period (30 years) i.e. from 1960-61 to 1990-91 in the Dantanpally village. The analysis of land transfers made through the quantum of land gained and lost by different caste and size groups of farmers, between the period 1960-61 to 1970-71 reveals that forward caste large farmers lost 9.37 percent out of total land **lost** (864.50 acres), while Backward Caste large farmers lost 62.65 per cent (541.35 acres). There was no large holdings belonging to scheduled caste community. Where as scheduled Tribe large holdings (Particularly Banjara Caste large farmers) gained 61.22 per cent (19.00 acres) out of total gained land.

TABLE NO. 6.22

Land gained and lost by different caste and size-groups of Farmers during the 30 years of period i.e. 1960-61 to 1990-91 in Dantanpally Village

Size-group of land holdings	Land owned in 1960-61 (In Acres)	Land owned in 1970-71 (In Acres)	Land Gained and Lost 1961 to 71	Land owned in 1980-81 (in Acres)	Land Gained and Lost 1971 to 81	Land owned in 1990-91	Land Gained and Lost 1981 to 91
Large Farmers (10 acres and above)							
FC	103.00	22.00	(-)81.00 (9.37)	104.25	(+)82.35 (13.28)	90.00	(-)14.25 (8.45)
BC	721.35	180.00	(-)541.35 (62.65)	512.10	(+)332.10 (53.56)	676.00	(+)163.90 (88.37)
SC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ST	375.00	394.00	(+)19.00 (61.22)	141.00	(-)253.00 (94.40)	20.00	(-)121.00 (71.82)
Medium Farmers (5 to 9.9 acres)							
FC	59.70	26.00	(-)33.70 (3.90)	57.50	(+)31.50 (5.08)	59.94	(+)02.44 (1.31)
BC	169.15	107.00	(-)62.15 (7.19)	218.90	(+)111.90 (18.04)	196.56	(-)22.34 (13.26)
SC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ST	83.65	39.00	(-)44.65 (5.16)	30.00	(-)9.00 (3.35)	24.00	(-)06.00 (3.56)
Small Farmers (2 to 4.9 acres)							
FC	-	12.00	(+)12.00 (38.70)	19.75	(+)7.75 (1.25)	19.92	(+)0.17 (0.09)
BC	99.00	71.50	(-)28.50 (3.29)	103.95	(+)32.45 (5.23)	99.08	(-)04.87 (2.89)
SC	14.85	-	(-)14.85 (1.71)	-	-	-	-
ST	51.15	04.00	(-)47.15 (5.45)	19.30	(+)15.30 (2.46)	30.00	(+)10.70 (5.76)
Marginal Farmers (0.01 to 1.99 acres)							
FC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BC	11.20	6.00	(-)5.20 (0.60)	-	(-)6.00 (2.23)	-	-
SC	1.95	-	(-)1.95 (0.22)	-	-	-	-
ST	7.50	3.00	(-)4.50 (0.52)	9.75	(+)6.75 (1.08)	18.00	(+)8.25 (4.44)
Total Land Owned	1697.50	864.50		1216.50		1233.50	
Quantum of Land Lost and Gained			(-)864.00 (+)31.00 (100.00)		(-)268.00 (+)620.00 (100.00)		(-)168.46 (+)185.46 (100.00)
Net Loss/Gain			(-)833.00		(+)352.00		(+)17.00

Note : Figures in the brackets refer to Percentages, Source : House Hold Survey.

Analogously, medium farmers of forward caste lost 3.90 percent (33.70 **acres**) **of land**, and Backward Caste peasants lost 7.19 per cent (62.15 acres) of, total land **lost**. The Scheduled Caste peasants of our study are neither medium farmers nor large farmers. The Scheduled Tribe medium peasants lost 5.16 per cent (44.65 acres) of land. The small farmers of our sample study of Forward caste gained 38.70 percent (12.00 acres) where as Backward Caste ryots (small) lost 3.29 percent (28.50 acres) of land.

In the case of Scheduled Caste small farmers, lost complete land, i.e. 1.71 percent (14.85 acres). What they owned during 1960-61 during (1961 to 1991) while scheduled tribes lost 5.45 percent (47.15 acres) of land.

There was no marginal farmers from forward caste of our sample in the year 1960-61. Backward peasants lost 0.60 per cent (5.20 acres) Scheduled Caste **farmers** lost 0.22 per cent (1.95 acres) and Scheduled Tribe tillers (marginal) lost 0.52 percent (4.50 acres) of land.

The trend of land transfers indicates that between the period 1960-61 to 1970-71, the farmers of different size groups lost huge chunk of their land for different reasons. The total land lost in this period is 864.00 acres and land gained is 31.00 acres, by which overall net loss of land will be 833.00 acres.

2. The land gained and the land lost during the period 1970-71 to 1980-81

When the land owned particulars by size wise and caste wise analysed, between the years 1970-71 to 1980-81, it reveals that forward caste, large farmers gained 13.28 percent (82.35 acres) of land, out of total gained land 620.00 **acres**.

Backward caste large farmers gained 53.36 percent (332.10 acres) of **land**. **There** was no large farmer, from scheduled caste and scheduled tribe peasants lost 94.40 percent (253.00 acres) of land.

In **the** case of medium farmers category, forward caste gained 5.08 percent (31.50 acres) of land, Backward caste gained 18.04 percent (111.90 acres) of land while scheduled tribe lost 3.35 percent (9.00 acres) of total land lost. In our study there are no medium farmers belonging to Scheduled caste community.

During this period, the small farmers of forward caste gained 1.25 percent (7.75 acres) of land while Backward Caste peasants gained 5.23 percent (32.45 acres) of land and scheduled Tribe tiller acquired 2.46 percent (15.30 acres) of land. The scheduled caste small farmers lost their owned complete-land, between the period 1960-61 to 1970-71 and, joined the pool of agricultural labourers.

The resource base of the schedule caste farmers especially the small farmers is very weak and they are practically engaged in subsistence farming. While the knowledge of the new technology has spread on a very restricted scale, and also to a limited segment of rich farmers because of the limitation in coverage of the extension services, demonstration and seed multiplication farms, the farmers are mostly illiterate and they hesitate to use the new technology of farming¹⁴.

In the category of marginal farmers forward caste peasants are not figured, because always they control huge chunk of land holdings and ventures to acquire more land, instead losing their owned land by which they get respect, social-prestige in the village.

Backward Caste peasants of this category lost 2.23 percent (6.00 acres) of land where as scheduled tribe cultivators gained 1.08 percent (6.75 acres) of land. The scheduled caste respondents of this category not owned single cent of land in the year 1970-71 as such lost nothing between the period 1970-71 to 1980-81. The development processes of the past have generated growth and affluence for the few and poverty and insecurity for the many¹⁵.

3. The land gained and lost during the period 1980-81 to 1990-91

The figures in table 6.22 indicates that large farmers of our sample of this study village belonging to forward caste lost 8.45 percent (14.25 acres) of total land. While Backward peasants gained 88.37 percent (163.90 acres) of land and the scheduled tribe lost 71.82 percent (121.00 acres) of land.

In the size-group of 5 to 9.9 acres holding forward caste peasants gained 1.31 percent (2.44 acres) Backward farmers lost 13.26 percent (22.34 acres) and scheduled tribe lost 3.56 percent (6.00 acres) due to different reasons.

The respondents of different caste and size groups of our sample who falls in the category of small farmers, among them, forward caste land-owners, gained 0.09 percent (0.17 acres) of total gained land, similarly scheduled tribe land owners gained 5.76 percent (10.70 acres) of land, where as Backward caste farmers lost 2.89 percent (4.87 acres) of, total lost land in this period. The scheduled caste respondents remained as landless labourers, from 1971 onwards to 1991.

Marginal farmers of our sample study belonging to forward caste backward caste, scheduled caste neither owning any piece of land in the year 1981 nor as on 1990-91, where as scheduled tribe land owners - cum - tillers gained 4.44 percent (8.25 acres) of land, out of total gained land 185.46 acres.

II. REASONS FOR LAND LOST (TRANSFER AND ALIENATION OF LAND) AS REPORTED BY HOUSEHOLDS AND THE QUANTUM OF LAND (IN ACRES) ALIENATED AND TRANSFERED DURING THE PERIOD 1960-61 TO 1990-91 IN DANTANPALLY VILLAGE

Land resources (or natural resources) play a strategic role in the determination of man economic, social, and cultural progress. In our country agriculture has been practised for thousands of years and it has developed in to a tradition⁸.

1. The land lost (Caste-wise) under various reasons during the period 1960-61 to 1970-71 (in acres)

Before 1917 there was high concentration of land ownership among aboriginals. The tribals were not fully understood the evil designs of the non-tribal-migrants with regard to the land transactions as land was available in plenty. The tribals were also not fully dependent on lands for thier survival. There are many cases that due to the introduction of state taxation on lands, many of the tribals relinquished their lands to avoid tax payment and these lands were in the course of time had been swallowed by the other classes⁹.

During the period 1960-61 to 1970-71 the sample households of our study village lost their owned land due to several reasons. Table 6.23 reveals that. Scheduled Caste farmers lost 34.78 percent (8.00 acres) of land for food requirement¹⁰.

Similarly 65.22 percent (15.00 acres) of land lost by scheduled tribe farmers for meeting food requirements making total land lost 23 acres due to procuring food requirements.

TABLE 6.23

**REASONS AND QUANTUM OF LAND LOST (TRANSFER AND ALIENATION) REPORTED BY HOUSEHOLDS (CASTE-WISE)
AND THE AREA IN ACRES ALIENATED AND TRANSFERRED DURING THE PERIOD 1960-61 TO 1990-91 (DANTAPALLY VILLAGE)**

Per- iod	Caste- Group	Food require- ment	Medi- cal expe- nises	Rituals & other customary expenses	Educa- tional expe- nises	Addi- tion to liquor	Debt servicing & bad harvest	Legal expe- nises	Fear of protec- tive LTRs of ST's	Political disturbances (Naxalite Movement)	Produ- ctive purp- ose	Ignorance of protective laws	Total land alienated and %	Total land tran- sferred and %	Grand total of lost land in acres
1960-61 to 1970-71	Forward Caste	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	41.00 (11.84)	73.00 (20.39)	-	-	-	114.00 (14.85)	114.00 (13.19)
	Backward Caste	-	11.45 (66.56)	-	-	35.55 (40.15)	-	-	305.15 (88.16)	284.85 (79.60)	-	-	-	639.00 (83.01)	639.00 (73.71)
	Scheduled Caste	8.00 (34.78)	-	-	-	03.00 (3.39)	5.08 (18.15)	-	-	-	-	-	16.80 (17.35)	-	16.80 (1.94)
	Scheduled Tribe	15.00 (65.22)	5.80 (33.72)	-	-	50.00 (56.46)	26.18 (81.44)	-	-	-	-	-	80.00 (82.65)	16.30 (2.13)	96.30 (11.14)
	Total	23.00 (100.00) (2.66)	17.25 (100.00) (1.99)	-	-	88.55 (100.00) (10.24)	31.95 (100.00) (3.69)	-	346.15 (100.00) (40.05)	357.85 (100.00) (41.41)	-	-	96.80 (100.00) (11.20)	767.30 (100.00) (88.80)	864.10 (100.00) (66.46)
1970-71 to 1980-81	Forward Caste	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Backward Caste	5.45 (18.46)	-	-	-	16.30 (13.38)	6.25 (7.67)	-	-	-	-	-	-	28.33 (17.13)	28.00 (10.44)
	Scheduled Caste	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Scheduled Tribe	24.15 (81.59)	36.00 (100.00)	-	-	105.50 (86.58)	75.35 (92.45)	-	-	-	-	-	104.25 (100.00)	135.42 (82.86)	240.00 (89.56)
	Total	29.60 (100.00) (11.04)	36.00 (100.00) (13.43)	-	-	121.85 (100.00) (45.46)	81.50 (100.00) (30.41)	-	-	-	-	-	104.25 (100.00) (43.61)	163.75 (100.00) (15.40)	262.00 (100.00) (100.00)
1980-81 to 1990-91	Forward Caste	-	-	-	-	12.40 (12.73)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12.40 (9.53)	12.40 (7.38)
	Backward Caste	10.00 (100.00)	-	-	-	30.00 (30.80)	8.00 (32.00)	-	-	-	-	-	-	48.00 (36.42)	48.00 (28.26)
	Scheduled Caste	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Scheduled Tribe	-	8.00 (100.00)	18.00 (100.00)	9.00 (100.00)	55.00 (56.46)	17.00 (68.00)	-	-	-	1.00 (0.59)	-	38.00 (100.00)	70.00 (53.84)	108.00 (64.28)
	Total	10.00 (100.00) (5.94)	8.00 (100.00) (4.85)	18.00 (100.00) (10.71)	9.00 (100.00) (5.35)	97.40 (100.00) (57.98)	25.00 (100.00) (14.88)	-	-	-	1.00 (100.00) (0.59)	-	38.00 (100.00) (22.56)	130.40 (100.00) (77.44)	168.40 (100.00) (100.00)

(Note : Figures in the brackets refers to percentages) Source : Household survey.

For meeting the expenses incurred towards unforeseen health and family **troubles**, backward caste peasants, lost 66.56 percent (11.45 acres) land **out of total** land lost for the medical expenses, similarly the scheduled tribe lost 33.72 percent (5.80 acres) of land for the same reasons.

Poverty, ignorance, drought and famines health and family troubles of the tribals, encouraged the advanced non-tribals to offer loans generously, while keeping, their lands as security which were ultimately never transferred to their masters. The total land lost for medical expenses in this period goes up to 17.25 acres (1.99 percent) respectively.

The consumption of arrack (alcohol or liquor) and sales are more in rural areas. Even though the tribals brews the mahua liquor with mahua-flowers, procured **from** adjoining forests, addition to it they consume alcohol, sold by the arrack contractors or excise staff in their villages, along with the non-tribal peasants. It was the usual practice that the different size-group, caste peasants, consume more alcohol even though they won't have much money with them in the rural areas. They won't hesitate to borrow at higher interest the money required to meet the expenditures incurred towards consumption of liquor.

The information depicted in the table 6.23 indicates that Backward Caste farmers lost 40.15 percent (30.55 acres) of land and scheduled caste farmers lost 3.39 percent (3.00 acres) of land and scheduled tribe farmers lost 56.46 percent (50.00 acres) of land due to addiction to liquor. The total land lost due **to addiction to** liquor was 88.55 acres (10.24 percent) respectively.

The unprecedented drought and bad harvests made the scheduled caste **and** scheduled tribe farmers to borrow from money lenders, who collects interest at

exorbitant rates and falsify the accounts, and makes the borrowed small amount in to huge amount, creating huge financial burden, to the cultivator which makes them to dispose part of their land.

The money lenders evolved various ingeneous methods through which the tribal land is alienated¹¹. The figures given in the table 6.23 reveals that the scheduled caste farmers lost 18.15 percent (5.80 acres) of land and scheduled tribe cultivators lost 81.94 percent (26.18 acres) of land due to debt and bad harvest. The total land lost for this reason was 31.95 acres.

The forward caste land owners lost 11.84 percent (41 00 acres) and Backward Caste peasants lost 88.16 percent (305.15 acres) of land due to fear of protective land transfer regulation acts framed to protect the tribals from the exploitation of non-tribal money lenders and also from land-lords. Nearly 346.15 acres of land were sold by forward caste and backward caste farmers, sensing the threat of protective LTRs framed in favour of scheduled tribe farmers.

The political disturbance like Girijan movement in Srikakulam district and Naxalite movements in the telangana region created the situation of insecurity to the large land owners and many forward, Backward Caste, rich peasants disposed some part of their lands, and shifted their stay from the village to district head-quarters for safety and security. The forward caste peasants sold 20.39 percent (73.00 acres) of land and Backward cultivators sold 79.60 percent (284.85 acres) of land due to political disturbances. In that hurried situation they sold huge chunk, i.e. 357.85 acres of land.

In this study village which consists tribal and non-tribal population for the sake of our analysis, the change of ownership right on land from the tribal to non-tribal through illegal and benami transactions, is viewed as land alienation. The concept of alienation has been applied to the problem of land lost by tribals through illegal methods adopted by non-tribals. Similarly, in this study village, in the case of our sample households the land lost by scheduled caste peasants through illegal and benami transactions, encroachments, collusive civil proceedings etc., in which land remains to be in the name of the original owners, who are reduced to the level of share - croppers viewed as land alienation^{1*}.

The land sold by non-tribals to the non-tribals and tribals of our sample study village is viewed as 'land transfers.' In the same way when tribal households transact his land through market procedures then it is also viewed as land transfer for our analysis. The scheduled communities continue to be the most marginalised section. They still seem to suffer from disabilities, despite the introduction of several programmes aimed at their upliftment¹³

The sample households of scheduled caste of our study lost 17.35 percent (16.80 acres) through alienation and the scheduled tribe peasants, particularly Gond and Naikode farmers lost 82.65 percent (80.00 acres) of land through alienation. The total area alienated from both caste peasants was 96.80 acres during the period 1960-61 to 1970-71. Out of total land lost by all caste peasants i.e. 864.10 acres, 96.80 acres (11.20 percent) lost through alienation, and 769.30 acres (88.80 percent) lost through land transfers.

In the name of protecting the interests of the tribals, stringent law are enacted by the government under popular pressure but there are always loopholes in these

legislations and thus there is room for the well-to-do non tribals to continue to exploit the tribals and scheduled caste peasants¹⁴.

2. The land lost by different castes due to various reasons during the period 1970-71 to 1980-81 (in acres).

The information given in table 6.23 shows that backward caste peasants lost 18.41 percent (5.45 acres) of land out of total land lost by all castes groups i.e. 29 acres, due to the reason of food requirements i.e. borrowing food grains from rich farmers, who owning much land and huge stock of food grains, by mortgaging his land, the tribal peasants lost 81.59 percent (24.15 acres) of land out of total land lost by all castes that i.e. 29 acres, for the purpose acquiring food grains from rich peasant for their domestic needs i.e. food requirement. The total land lost for this sole purpose was 29.60 acres. The same sample tribal households lost 36.00 acres land due to medical expenses i.e. to meet the expenditures incurred for better diagnosis of disease by expert doctors, for operations, and for purchasing high quality medicines. Drink (Alcoholism) is the main cause of pauperisation of tribals. 86.58 percent (105.50 acres) of land lost out of total land lost by all castes i.e. is 121.85 acres by tribal households to meet the expenditure incurred due to heavy consumption of liquor sold in their own village by arrack contractors¹⁵. In the same way 13.38 percent (16.30 acres) of land lost by backward caste peasants due to alcoholism (addiction to liquor), making the quantum of land lost through addiction to liquor, was 121.85 acres. 7.67 percent (6.25 acres) of land sold by backward caste farmers for debt servicing (re-paying interest and principal amount back to the money lender) and also due to bad harvest and the tribal households lost 92.45 percent (75.35 acres) for the same reason, taking total land lost due to this reason to the tune of 81.50 acres.

Out of the total land lost during the period 1970-71 to 1980-81 i.e. out of 268.00 acres 104.25 acres (39.02 percent) of land lost by tribal households through land alienation process and 163.42 acres (60.98 percent) of land lost through land transfers.

Comparatively the total land lost by all caste respondents were less in quantum (i.e. 268.00 acres) during the period 1970-71 to 1980-81, compared to the period 1960-61 to 1970-71 (i.e. 864.10 acres). The political disturbances which were ceased to some extent (i.e. Agrarian unrest) through government's strict law enforcement-activities and also through development, poverty alleviation programmes taken by Intergrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDA) Utnoor, Adilabad district, also influenced land transfers and alienation.

All protective land transfer regulations in the tribal area of Andhra Pradesh not only showed internal legal contradictions but also has clearly a bias towards the vested interests of different exploiting classes. The classes, particularly non-tribals were helped to grab the tribal land, further, by numerous legislative lapses and administrative lacunae¹⁶.

3. The land lost by the Peasants of different caste due to various reasons during the period 1980-81 to 1990-91

Table 6.23 reveals that, Backward caste land owners sold their land to the extent of 10.00 acres (100.0 percent) during this period, as they were not able to return back the grains (Jawr and Paddy) borrowed from the rich farmers for their food requirements. The tribal peasants lost 9.00 acres of land due to huge amount of medical expenses, and also lost 18.00 acres of land to meet the expenditure,

expended to celebrate their festivals, performing rituals, and other customary functions as per their social, ancestral customs. The learning process of education, which is basic right of the citizen and development of the educational institutions, and spread of literacy, is one of the foremost duties of the government, gradually commercialised. Not only forward caste and backward caste farmers sending their children to prestigious, standard, private, teaching and coaching institutions but also, the tribal farmers venturing to admit their kith and kin in the private, public schools and also sending for private coaching study-circles, to make their son and daughters equipped with all types of knowledge to face academic challenges in the competitive world, even though the governments are running many residential schools, colleges for the children of scheduled caste and tribes. The tribal house-holds lost 9.00 acres of land due to educational expenses.

The forward caste households lost 12.73 percent (12.40 acres) of land, and Backward caste peasants lost 30.80 percent (30.00 acres) and the scheduled tribes lost 56.46 percent (55.00 acres) due to the habit of addiction to liquor, through which they lost totally 97.40 acres of land. 32.00 percent (8.00 acres) of land lost, by Backward caste cultivators due to the reason of debt servicing and bad harvest. Similarly 68.0 percent (17.00 acres) lost by scheduled tribe farmers due to debt servicing (re-payment of principal amount, along with interest to the money lender) and bad harvest.

Out of total land lost i.e. 168.40 acres, 22.56 percent (38.00 acres) of land was alienated from tribals to non-tribals and 77.38 percent (130.40 acres) of land was transferred among all castes of the sample study village.

CONCLUSSIONS

The analysis of the data, related to the reasons for land transfer and alienation, reported by households (caste-wise) and the area of land (Quantum of land) alienated and transfered during the period 1960-61 to 1990-91, exhibits the picture that, how, and how much of land they lost due to various reasons. The land lost trend during the period, between 1960-61 to 1990-91 signifies that out of total land lost i.e., 864.10 acres, major portion of it i.e., 40.05 percent (346.15 acres) transfered due to fear of protective LTRs framed for the protection of scheduled tribe farmers, and 41.41 percent (351.85 acres) of land transfered due to political disturbances like Girijan movement backed by Naxalites and also spread of naxalite movement in the Telangana region during 1967 to 1969.

Alcoholism (consumption of liquor) is main feature of the rural economy 10.24 percent (88.55 acres) of land lost by different caste farmers, for meeting the expenditure incurred due to addiction to liquor 3.69 percentr (31.95 acres) lost due to debt servicing and bad harvest, 1.99 percent (17.25 acres) due to medical expenses, 2.66 percent (23.00 acres) due to food requirments. The land lost spectrum during the period 1970-71 to 1980-81, focuses that out of total land lost i.e., 268.00 acres addiction to liquor share major part of it 45.46 percent (121.85 acres) lost due to addiction of liquor. 30.46 percent (121.85 acres) of land lost due to debt servicing and bad harvest, 13.43 percent (36.00 acres) lost due to medical expenses, 11.4 percent (29.60 acres) lost due to procuring food requirements. During this period due to alcoholism, many peoples particularly tribals and backward caste farmers, of our study, lost huge chunk of their owned lands.

During the period 1980-81 to 1990-91 major portion of total land lost, was shared by the reason, addiction to liquor, 57.98 percent (97.40 acres) of land lost

due to addiction to liquor (i.e., consumption of arrack), 14.88 percent (25.0 acres) of land lost due to debt servicing and bad harvest, 10.71 percent (18.00 acres) of land lost due to the expenditure incurred for performing rituals and other customary functions, ceremonies, 5.94 percent (10.00 acres) of land lost due to food requirements. 5.35 percent (9.00 acres) of land lost due to ill health and medical checking. 5.35 percent (9.00 acres) of land lost due to huge educational expenditures.

Regarding total land alienated and total land transferred, table 6.23, shows that, out of total land alienated i.e., 239.05 acres during the thirty years of our study (1960-61 to 1990-91) 40.49 percent (96.80 acres) of land alienated during 1960-61 to 1970-71, and 43.61 percent (104.25 acres) of land alienated, during, 1970-71 to 1980-81 similarly 15.90 percent (38.00 acres) of land alienated, during the period 1980-81 to 1990-91.

In the same way out of total quantum of land transferred during the three decades of time 72.31 percent (767.30 acres) of land transferred between the years 1960-61 to 1970-71, and 15.40 percent (163.42 acres) of land transferred during the period 1970-71 to 1980-81, and also 12.28 percent (130.40 acres) of land transferred during the gap period of between 1980-81 to 1990-91.

Out of total land lost during the period of 30 years 1960-61 to 1990-91 i.e., out of total 1300.17 acres of land, 66.46 percent (864.10 acres) of land lost during the period 1960-61 to 1970-71, 20.61 percent (268.00 acres) of land lost during the period of 1970-71 to 1980-81, and 12.95 percent (168.40 acres) of land lost during the period 1980-81 to 1990-91. The major significant occurrence was in the period of 1960-61 to 1970-71, land transfers were rampant in this study village, and large quantum of land transferred, due to different reasons analysed above, compared with the periods of 1970-71 to 1980-81 and also 1980-81 to 1990-91.

Reasons for land lost (alienation and transfers of land) reported by house holds (size-wise) and the area of the land (in acres) alienated and transfered during the 30 years of period i.e.,1960-61 to 1990-91:

For an agrarian society like India, where about 90 percent of the population lives in the country side most of them are the tribals, the land less, the small and marginal peasants, the artisans and rural poor, the land irrigation sources have unique role to play in the context of a highly integrated land, live-stock, vegetations systems of the economy.¹⁷

With the concentration co-efficient of the population onland being very high, the land-labour ratio is consequently quite low. However, there is considerable difference in the land-labour ratio with regard to the different size groups of farmers. This ratio is very low in thelowest size groups (0.5 acres) constituted by the small and marginal farmers and the ratio tends to rise as the size of holdings increases. This is because the bulk of the farmers belong to the smallest size and the result therefore is that the volume of unemployment and under employment of labour in this size of farmers in the highest. As the size of farmers increases it tends to fall and in the highest size (10 acres and above) it is eigher non existent or quite low¹⁸.

A. The land lost by the peasants of differents of different size class due to various reasons during the period 1960-61 to 1970-71

The information depicted in the table 6.24 reveals that marginal farmers lost 43.47 percent (10.00 acres) of land and small farmers lost 56.53 percent (13.00 acres) of land due to food requirement. The total land lost due to this reason was 23.00 acres.

Due to medical expenses, small farmers lost 2 19 percent (19.00 acres) of land out of total land lost. Addiction to liquor made many peasants to dispose their land and remit the amount to the arrack dealer. 13.34 percent (11.85 acres) of land lost by marginal farmers, 31.51 percent (28.00 acres) of land lost by small farmers, and 55.15 percent (49.00 acres) of land lost by medium farmers due to alcoholism. 3.37 percent (29.20 acres) of land out of total lost land, lost by small farmers due to debt servicing and bad harvest. In the same way 4.62 percent (16.00 acres) of land lost by medium farmers due to fear of protective LTRs framed for protecting tribals from the exploitation of non-tribals. 95.31 percent (330.25 acres) of land lost due to the same reason by large farmers, like this the total land lost due the fear of protective LTRs for scheduled tribes, mounted to 346.25 acres. Due to political disturbances like naxalite movements, tribal movements, and other disturbances, 41.41 percent (357.85 acres) of land out of total land lost, transferred from large farmers to other category peasants of the study village.

During this period out of total land (864.10 acres) lost, 11.20 percent (96.00 acres) of land was alienated to non-tribals from tribal households, and 88.80 percent (767.35 acres) of land transferred among all caste and size class peasant of the sample study village.

B. The land lost by the peasants of different sizes class due various reasons during the period 1970-71 to 1980-81 (in acres)

The analysis of the data related to land lost by the different sizes, which furnished in the table 6.24 shows that small farmers lost 11.04 percent (29.70 acres) of land due to food requirement, 13.43 percent (36.00 acres) of land lost by medium farmers due to medical expenses. 7.76 percent (20.80 acres) of land out of

TABLE 6.24

REASONS AND QUANTUM OF LAND LOST (TRANSFER AND ALIENATION) REPORTED BY HOUSEHOLDS (SIZE-WISE)
AND THE AREA IN ACRES ALIENATED AND TRANSFERRED DURING THE PERIOD 1960-61 TO 1990-91 (DANTAMPALLY VILLAGE)

Per- iod	Size-group of land holdings	Food require- ment	Medi- cal expe- nses	Rituals & other customary expenses	Educa- tional expe- nses	Addi- tion to liquor	Debt servicing & bad harvest	Legal expe- nses	Fear of protec- tive LTRs of ST's	Political disturbances (Naxalite Movement)	Produ- ctive purp- ose	Ignorance of protective laws	Total land alienated and %	Total land tran- sferred and %	Grand total of lost land in acres
1960-61 to 1970-71	Marginal	10.00 (43.47)	-	-	-	11.85 (13.34)	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.80 (7.02)	15.05 (1.96)	21.85 (2.52)
	Small	13.00 (56.52)	19.00 (100.00)	-	-	28.00 (31.51)	29.20 (100.00)	-	-	-	-	-	80.00 (82.64)	9.20 (1.19)	89.20 (10.32)
	Medium	-	-	-	-	49.00 (55.15)	-	-	16.00 (4.66)	-	-	-	10.00 (10.33)	55.00 (7.17)	65.00 (7.52)
	Large	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	330.25 (95.34)	357.85 (100.00)	-	-	-	688.05 (89.66)	688.00 (79.62)
	Total	23.00 (100.00) (2.66)	19.00 (100.00) (2.19)	-	-	88.85 (100.00) (10.24)	29.20 (100.00) (3.37)	-	346.25 (100.00) (40.05)	357.85 (100.00) (41.41)	-	-	96.80 (100.00) (11.20)	767.35 (100.00) (88.80)	864.10 (100.00) (100.00)
1970-71 to 1980-81	Marginal	-	-	-	-	9.95 (6.01)	8.05 (50.15)	-	-	-	-	-	12.00 (11.51)	6.00 (3.66)	18.00 (6.71)
	Small	29.70 (100.00)	-	-	-	27.30 (16.50)	8.00 (49.85)	-	-	-	-	-	50.25 (48.20)	14.75 (9.00)	65.20 (24.25)
	Medium	-	36.00 (100.00)	-	-	25.00 (15.10)	-	-	-	-	-	-	42.00 (40.28)	19.00 (11.60)	61.00 (22.76)
	Large	-	-	-	20.80 (100.00)	103.20 (62.36)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	124.00 (75.72)	124.00 (46.26)
	Total	29.70 (100.00) (11.04)	36.00 (100.00) (13.43)	-	20.80 (100.00) (7.76)	165.50 (100.00) (61.75)	16.05 (100.00) (5.99)	-	-	-	-	-	104.25 (100.00) (38.89)	163.75 (100.00) (61.10)	268.00 (100.00) (100.00)
1980-81 to 1990-91	Marginal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Small	4.50 (100.00)	-	-	-	18.10 (18.58)	25.00 (100.00)	-	-	-	-	-	30.00 (78.94)	17.60 (13.49)	47.60 (28.26)
	Medium	-	14.50 (100.00)	-	7.00 (38.89)	28.65 (29.42)	-	-	-	-	9.00 (100.00)	-	8.00 (21.06)	51.05 (39.44)	59.05 (35.06)
	Large	-	-	-	11.00 (61.11)	50.75 (52.10)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	61.75 (47.36)	61.75 (36.66)
	Total	4.50 (100.00) (2.67)	14.50 (100.00) (8.61)	-	18.00 (100.00) (10.68)	97.40 (100.00) (57.83)	25.00 (100.00) (14.84)	-	-	-	9.00 (100.00) (5.34)	-	38.00 (100.00) (22.56)	130.40 (100.00) (77.44)	168.40 (100.00) (100.00)

(Note : Figures in the brackets refers to percentages) Source : Household survey.

total lost land, lost by large farmers for meeting expenditures incurred for their kith and kin educational purposes, 6.01 percent (9.95 acres) of land lost by marginal farmers due to addiction liquor, similarly 16.50 percent (27.30 acres) of land lost by small farmers and 15.10 percent (25.00 acres) of land lost by medium farmers and also 62.36 percent (103.20 acres) of land lost by large farmers due to alcoholism in their own village, which available in large scale, without scarce at reasonable rates. Thus total land due to addiction to liquor 165.50 acres, during this period.

Due to debt servicing (re-payment back, interest in principal amount to the money-lender) and bad harvest marginal farmers lost 50.15 percent (8.05 acres) of land, similarly small farmers lost 49.85 percent (8.00 acres) of land for the same reason, making total land lost for this reason, to the extent of 16.05 acres.

Out of total land lost by different size class peasants, due to different reasons i.e. out of 268.00 acres, 38.89 percent (104.25 acres) of land was alienated to non-tribals from the tribal households, where as 61.10 percent (163.75 acres) of land transferred among different sizes of farmers of the village under study.

C. The land lost by the different categories farmers due to various reasons during the period 1980-81 to 1990-91 (in acres)

The small farmers lost 2.67 percent (4.50 acres) of land out of total lost land, for food requirement aspect, and in the same way medium farmers lost 8.61 percent (14.50 acres) of land, out of total land lost for medical expenses. Educational expenses caused medium farmers to transact 38.89 percent (7.00 acres) of land, similarly 61.11 percent (11.00 acres) of land lost by large farmers for the same reason, making total land lost for this reason to the tune of 18.00 acres.

Addiction to liquor or alcoholism imposes heavy financial burden on the economic situation of the peasant in the rural areas, particularly in tribal villages. 18.58 percent (18.10 acres) of land disposed by small farmers, and 29.42 percent (28.65 acres) of land lost by medium famers, similarly 52.10 percent (50.75 acres) of land sold by large farmers during this ten years of period for meeting the expenditures caused, due to alcoholism. In this way the total land lost was 97.40 acres for this sole reason

Debt servicing (re-paying back interest and part of the Principal amount) and bad harvest circumstances, made the small farmers to dispose 14.84 percent (25.00 acres) of land, out of total land lost in this period. The medium famers lost 9.34 percent (9.00 acres) of land out of total land lost, due to productive purpose, (i.e. re-investing in trade, machinery, estates, building constructions etc.) in this village between 1980-81 to 1990-91.

During this period major chunk of land lost due to alcoholism in this village. The total land lost by different categories of farmers, was 168.40 acres, out of which 22.56 percent (38.00 acres) of land was taken away (alienated) from tribals through illegal transactions, by non-tribals and remaining 77.44 percent (130.40 acres) of land changed the controls (hands) of different categories of farmers through market sale proceedings.

Conclussions

The land lost stream, due to various reasons by the different categories of farmers, of the Dantanpally village, during the period 1960-61 to 1990-91 manifests, that, in the starting period of our study i.e. during 1960-61 to 1970-71, 2.66 percent

(23.00 acres) land lost, for food requirement, and 2.19 percent (19.00 acres) of land lost due to medical expenses, 10.24 percent (88.85 acres) of land lost due to addiction to liquor 3.37 percent (29.20 acres) of land lost due to debt servicing and bad harvest, major chunk of land lost i.e. 40.05 percent (346.25 acres) of land due to fear of protective legislations framed and implemented by Government of Andhra Pradesh to protect the tribals from land alienation by non-tribals, and also to restoration of alienated land to the tribals. Similarly 41.41 percent (357.85 acres) of land lost particularly by large farmers of this study village, due to naxalite violence, in this district and also in periphery of this study village.

Out of total land lost by all sizes farmers i.e. out of 864.10 acres, 11.20 percent of land (98.80 acres) gone in to the hands of non-tribals, from the tribals jurisdiction, by way of illegal transactions, and 88.80 percent (767.35 acres) of land lost due to transfers through legal deeds, collective or joint agreements.

During the second phase of period of our study i.e. between 1970-71 to 1980-81 huge chunk of cultivable land lost (disposed) due to alcoholism. 61.75 percent (165.50 acres) of land out of total land lost, has been disposed at different market rates to meet the expenditures originated, due to consumption of liquor by the respondents. 5.99 percent of land (16.05 acres) lost of debt servicing (paying back interest and principal amount to money lender) and bad harvest.

The total land lost by all size farmers was 268.00 in which 38.89 percent (104.25 acres) of land was alienated and 61.10 percent (163.75 acres) was transferred.

Land transfers and land alienation is continuously occurring phenomenon, in view of increasing market value of land, productivity of land, social prestige to the

land owner in the rural economy. During the period 1980-81 to 1990-91, 2.67 percent (4.50 acres) of land lost due to food requirement, and 8.61 percent (14.50 acres) of land lost due to medical expenses, 10.68 percent (18.00 acres) of land lost due to educational expenses. Larger portion i.e. 57.83 percent (97.40 acres) of land lost due to addiction of liquor, and 14.48 percent (25.00 acres) of land disposed for debt servicing and bad harvest similarly 5.34 percent (9.00 acres) of land lost for productive purpose (re-investing in trade machinery estates, building construction etc.) in this village.

Out of total and i.e. 168.40 acres, lost due to various reasons, by different size of farmers, 22.56 percent (38.00 acres) of land grabbed by non-tribals, from tribal's ownership and 77.44 percent (130.40 acres) of land was transferred through systematic land transfer procedures, during this period.

LAND TRANSFERS AND ALIENATION, LAND LOST AND LAND GAINED, (CASTE- WISE) AREA AND PERCENTAGE IN TOTAL LAND, PURCHASED/ SOLD DURING THE PERIOD 1960-61 TO 1990-91.

The land, power, and people, are grass-root empirical variables and offer clues to the understanding of the dynamics of the agrarian social structure in general, and the rural elites and the agrarian power structure in particular²⁷.

As late as the 1940's most Gond villages were dominated by headman who provided real leadership and enjoyed a considerable measure of authority. Land holdings and settlement were then still flexible. It was still relatively easy to obtain land for cultivation on temporary tennure. Hence mobility was considerable. A strong and popular village headman would attract new settlers, and with the growth

of the village his prestige and influence would increase conversely. **The** village of an inefficient or unfair headman would shrink as the villagers could move away, and find-land, elsewhere. At that time it was still possible to establish new villages, and the man taking initiative in the finding of a village, automatically became the headman of the group of families which had joined in the venture²⁸.

In this Dantanally village of our sample study Kapus, Komaties, Gowds, Muslims, Kunbis, Bangaras owning much land - during the base period the study i.e. in the year 1960 -61. Their land holding were changed at different periods due to transaction of land for different reasons. They uses to sell their wet and dry land holdings to their own caste-farmer or to the tribal cultivator without considering the impact and incidence of land transfer regulations (LTRs) framed for the sake of tribal farmers, prevalent at that time in these scheduled areas.

During the three decades of period (30 years) Komaties sold 0.45 percent (8.00 acres) of land to Kapus (Table 6.25) and gained 0.28 percent (5.00 acres) of land from Gonds and Naik podes tribal farmers. The Kapus (Backward caste) peasants sold 15.31 percent (269.0 acres) of land, Out of 269.0 acres, 150.0 acres to their own caste peasants, 44.0 acres to Hatkar caste farmers and 75.00 acres to Kunbi-cultivators, Similarly Kapus gained 42.84 percent (752.30 acres) of land, out of total purchased land i.e. out of 752.30 acres of gained land 8.00 acres from Komaties, 150.00 acres from same Kapu caste, 30.80 acres from Gowds, 100.0 acres from Perikas, 7.00 acres from Hatkars, 54.0 acres from Muslims, 10.80 acres from mahars, 100.00 acres from Kunbis, 180.00 acres from Banjaras, 27.00 acres from Gonds, 25.0 acres from naik-podes, 60.00 acres from Marathas.

The Gowds (toddy tapper, Backward caste) community lost 3.54 percent (62.30 acres) of land and gained 13.69 percent - (240.50 acres) of land. Out of

Table 6.25

**LAND TRANSFERS (CASTE-WISE) LAND GAINED AND LOT (AREA AND PERCENTAGE) IN TOTAL LAND PURCHASED / SOLD
FROM 1960-61 to 1990-91 (30 YEARS)**

Castes	Komatias	Kapus	Gowds	Perikas	Hatkars	Muslims	Mahars	Kumbis	Banjaras	Gonds	Naikpods	Marathas	Total Area
	FC	BC	BC	BC	BC	FC	SC	BC	ST	ST	ST	BC	
Komatias	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.0 (2.08)	2.00 (1.01)	-	5.00 (0.28)
Kapus	8.00 (100.00)	150.00 (55.76)	30.80 (49.43)	100.00 (52.63)	7.00 (21.21)	54.00 (29.10)	10.80 (27.83)	100.00 (51.50)	180.00 (51.72)	27.00 (18.75)	25.00 (12.59)	60.00 (70.58)	752.30 (42.84)
Gowds	-	-	25.6 (41.09)	60.00 (31.57)	5.00 (15.15)	42.40 (22.86)	2.00 (5.15)	25.00 (12.88)	32.00 (9.19)	20.00 (13.88)	18.50 (9.31)	10.00 (11.76)	240.50 (13.69)
Perikas	-	-	-	20.0 (10.52)	-	-	2.00 (5.15)	-	10.00 (2.87)	15.00 (10.41)	62.00 (31.23)	5.00 (5.88)	114.00 (6.49)
Hatkars	-	44.00 (16.35)	-	5.0 (2.63)	2.00 (6.06)	-	-	4.00 (2.06)	-	7.50 (5.20)	6.00 (3.02)	-	68.50 (3.90)
Muslims	-	-	-	-	-	69.10 (37.25)	22.00 (56.70)	15.00 (7.73)	-	23.00 (15.97)	22.00 (11.08)	3.00 (3.52)	154.00 (8.76)
Mahars	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kumbis	-	75.00 (27.88)	6.00 (9.63)	5.00 (2.63)	19.00 (57.57)	20.00 (10.78)	2.0 (5.15)	50.00 (25.77)	10.00 (2.87)	30.00 (20.83)	51.00 (25.69)	-	268.00 (15.26)
Banjaras	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	88.00 (25.28)	3.00 (2.08)	-	-	91.00 (5.18)
Gonds	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Naikpods	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Marathas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28.00 (8.04)	16.00 (11.11)	12.00 (6.04)	7.00 (8.23)	63.00 (3.58)
Total area	8.00	269.00	62.30	190.00	33.00	185.50	38.80	194.50	348.00	144.00	198.50	85.00	17.56
Sold	(0.45)	(15.31)	(3.54)	(10.82)	(1.87)	(10.56)	(2.20)	(11.04)	(19.81)	(8.20)	(11.30)	(4.84)	(100.00)
	(100.00)	(100.00)	(100.00)	(100.00)	(100.00)	(100.00)	(100.00)	(100.00)	(100.00)	(100.00)	(100.00)	(100.00)	(100.00)

N.B: Vertical columns = Castes of Sellers; Horizontal columns = Castes of Buyers; Area in Acres only.
(Note : Figures in the brackets refers to percentages) Source : Household survey.

240.50 acres purchased (gained) land, 25.60 acres bought from their own - community peasants, 60.00 acres from perikas, Hatkars sold to them 5.0 acres, 42.4 acres, from Muslims, Mahars - sold their owned land of 2.00 acres, from Kunbis 25.00 acres, 32.00 acres from Banjaras, from Gonds they purchased 20.0 acres, 18.5 acres from Naik-podes, and 10.0 acres from Marathas. Out of total land lost 62.30 acres, 30.00 acres to Kapus, 25.6 acres of Gowds, 6.00 acres to kunbi peasants. The perika caste farmers (Backward caste) lost 10.82 percent (190.00 acres) of land and purchased 6.49 percent (114.00 acres) of land. Out of purchased land - 114.00 acres, 20.0 acres from same caste fellow-men, 2.00 acres from mahar, 10.00 acres from Banjaras, 15.00 acres from Gonds, 62.00 acres from Naikpodes and 5.00 acres from Marathas.

Out of lost land 190.00 acres, 100.00 acres to Kapu peasants, 60.00 acres to Gowds, 20.00 acrest to same caste peasants, 5.00 acres to Hatkars and 5.00 acres to Kunbi farmers.

Out of lost land 33.00 acres, 7.00 acres to Kapus, 5.00 acres to Gowds, 2.00 acres to same caste peasants, 19.00 acres to Kunbis.

Out of purchased (gained) land 68.50 acres, 44.00 acres from Kapus, 5.00 acres from perikas, 2.00 acres from own caste farmers, 4.00 acres from Kunbis, 7.5 acres from Gonds and 6.00 acres from Naikpodes.

During this period, muslims farmers gained 8.76 percent (154.00 acres) of land and lost 10.56 percent (185.50 acres) of land. Their financial urgencies, other reasons, compelled them to transact their owned land. Out of total land sold 185.50 acres, 54.00 acres to Kapus, 42.40 acres to Gowds, 69.10 acres to their own caste

peasants, 20.00 acres to Kunbis. Similarly out of the total land purchased, **154.00** acres, 69.10 acres from their own caste peasants, 20.00 acres from mahars, 15.00 acres from Kunbis, 23.00 acres from Gonds, 22.00 acres from Naik-podes, 3.00 acres from marathas. In the case of Mahars (scheduled caste) peasants, they lost 2.20 percent (38.80 acres) of land and gained no land during the thirty years of period (Table 6.26).

Out of lost land 38.80 acres, they lost 10.80 acres to Kapus, 2.0 acres to Gowds, 2.00 acres to perikas, 22.00 acres to muslims, then 2.00 acres to kunbi-farmers. In the case of scheduled caste peasants the note-worthy thing was they did not gained single piece of land - during the period 1960-61 to 1990-91. The higher percentage of landless households found among the scheduled caste compared to the rest of the population. In the absence of acces to land as either owners or protected tenants the scheduled caste are forced to eke out a living mostly by working on the land of others as agricultural labourers on daily wages, by attaching themseleves to landlords, of cultivators, and as bonded labourers and partly by pursuing their traditional unclean and socially low occupations²⁹

It is also found that the land lost by scheduled caste peasants were not through legal, market procedures, but through illegal transaction and alienated from them by forward and backward caste peasants.

The Kunbi caste farmers lost 11.04 percent (194.00 acres) of land and gained 15.26 percent (268.00 acres) of land. Out of total land lost i.e. 194.00 acres, they lost 100.00 acres to Kapu community, 25.00 acres to Gowds, 4.00 acres to Hatkars, 15.00 acres to muslims, and remained 50.00 acres to their own caste peasants. Similarly out of gained land 268.00 acres, they gained, 75.00 acres from Kapus,

TABLE NO. 6.26

LAND TRANSFERS (PURCHASED/SOLD) IN DANTANPALLY VILLAGE FROM THE YEAR 1960-61 TO 1990-91 (IN ACRES)

Caste	Land owned in 1960-61 (In Acres)	Land owned in 1970-71 (In Acres)	Total land Acquired in 1970-71	Land owned in 1980-81 (in Acres)	Total Land Acquired in 1980-81	Land owned in 1990-91	Total Land Acquired in 1990-91	Net Land Purchased (4+6+8)
Komatis	38.00	30.00	(-)8.00	30.00	00.00	30.00	00.00	(+)8.00
Kapus/Telegas	489.00	220.00	(-)269.00	400.00	(+)180.00	450.00	(+)50.00	(-)19.00
Gowds	105.00	62.50	(-)43.50	108.00	(+)46.50	211.00	(+)103.00	(+)144.00
Perikas	90.00	10.00	(-)80.00	105.00	(+)95.00	5.00	(+)100.00	(-)95.00
Hatkars	28.00	10.00	(-)18.00	22.50	(+)12.50	26.50	(+)4.00	(-)1.50
Muslims	124.70	30.00	(-)94.70	151.40	(+)121.40	139.00	(-)12.40	(+)15.00
Mahars	16.80	-	(-)16.80	-	-	-	-	-
Kumbis	200.00	50.00	(-)150.00	150.00	(+)100.00	205.00	(+)55.00	(+)5.00
Banjaras/ Lambadas	437.00	440.00	(+)003.00	200.00	(-)240.00	92.00	(-)108.00	(-)345.00
Gonds	46.00	-	(-)46.00	-	-	-	-	-
Naikpods	34.00	-	(-)34.00	-	-	-	-	-
Marathas	90.00	12.00	(-)78.00	50.00	38.00	75.00	(+)25.00	(-)15.00
Total	1697.50	864.50	(-)833.00	1216.50	(+)352.00	1233.50	(+)17.00	(-)463.15

Sources: House-hold survey.

6.00 acres from Gowds, 5.00 acres from perikas, 19.00 acres from hatkar caste, peasants 20.00 acres from muslims, 2.00 acres from mahars, 50.00 acres from same caste peasants, 10.00 acres from Banjaras, 30.00 acres from Gonds, 51.00 acres from Naik-podes. During this period (1960-61 to 1990-91) Banjaras (Lambadis) lost 19.81 percent (348.00 acres) and gained 5.18 percent (91.00 acres) of land. Out of total land lost by this caste farmers i.e. out of 348.00 acres, 180.00 acres to Kapu farmers, 32.00 acres to Gowds 10.00 acres to perikas, 10.00 acres to Kunbis, 88.00 acres to same caste peasants, 28.00 acres to maratha peasants. Similarly out of total land gained by this community i.e., 91.00 acres, 88.00 acres from same community peasants and 3.00 acres from Gond peasants.

In case of Gond (Aboriginals of Adilabad district) they lost 8.20 percent (144.00 acres) of land, and gained no land during three decades of period. Out of total land lost by Gonds, during the period 1960-61 to 1990-91, 3.00 acres gone to Komaties, 27.00 acres to Kapus, 20.00 acres to Gowds, 15.00 acres to perikas; 7.50 acres to Hatkars, 23.00 acres to muslims, 30.00 acres to Kunbis, 3.00 acres to Banjaras/Lambadis 16.00 acres to maratha farmers³⁰.

. A dramatic change in the peaceful co-existence in the Adilabad district, occurred when improved communication opened up previously in-accessible tribal area and rapid growth of the Indian population led pressure on the land - resources. In the past fifty years, most of tribal societies, have come under attack by economically, more advanced, and politically more powerful ethnic groups, who infiltrated in to tribal regions, in search of land and new economic possibilities. These population movements triggered a struggle for land in which the aboriginal tribesmen were usually the losers, and deprived of their ancestral land, turned in the impoverished landless labourers.

The Indervelli incident, which took place on April 20, 1981, indicates the emotional attitude of Gonds towards the attachment with their lands, and also the protest to the alienation of their land and harassment by non-tribal exploiters.

If we have a glance, the land alienation trend before 1960-61, during 1954-55, in the Telangana region especially in the scheduled areas of Adilabad district, tribal, lands were transferred in favour of non-tribals by the Revenue authorities (Tahsildars) during the compilation of Khasra-pahni, even though they have no revenue Jurisdiction in the scheduled areas under the rule 42 of the notified tribal areas rules. The Tahsildar did not bother to obtain the permission of the Agent or the Assistant Agent, who were vested with revenue Jurisdiction in these areas under the Rule 42 of the notified tribal areas (scheduled areas) rules, before effecting transfers of lands of tribals in favour of non-tribals. Thus innumerable transfers of land were made during 1954-55 and even prior to that, ignoring the law prevailing at that time in respect of tribal lands in the scheduled areas in the name of non-tribals on the basis of ordinary sale agreements and in some cases for forceful occupation of tribals-lands, by non-tribals, on account of mortgage, lease, tenancy etc. But all such unauthorised and inadmissible documents were accepted during Khasra-phani compilation and transfers of land in favour of non-tribals were effected³¹-

This trend re-occurred after 1963-64 in this Adilabad district with cease, for short span of time i.e. from 1960 to 1963, and reached peak stage, during 1965 to 1975.

The transfer of Government land from one cultivator to the other was the order of the day during the year 1940 and also after. 1963s, and every year many tribals were evicted from the land, which they had been cultivating on Siwa-i-

Jamabandi tenure only, because of an affluent non-tribal able to bribe the revenue sub-ordinates and non-tribal had been given preference over the tribal cultivator³²

In the case of Naik-pode tribes, of this village, they lost 11.30 percent (198.50 acres) and gained nothing. The Naik-pode tribes, who are less in number comparatively with Gonds in population were not Rajas like Gonds, as Gond Raja enjoyed political power and ruled the Gondwana State which was part of the central India) during moghul and British period, and they, called themselves as Raj Gonds. Naik-podes are at lower step of ladder, comparative with gonds, in respect, land control, customs and also in financial aspects. Out of total land lost i.e. 198.50 acres, 2.00 acres were taken by Komaties, 25.00 acres are lost by naik-podes and acquired by Kapus, 18.5 acres to Gowds, 62.00 acres to perikas, 6.00 acres to Hatkars, 22.00 acres to muslims, 51.00 acres to Kunbis and 12.00 acres to marathas, during the 30 years of period. Eventhough as per our sample study, the sample households of Gonds, and Naik-podes lost land was only 80.00 acres, the additional quantum of land lost by Gonds, Naik-podes (Scheduled Tribes) and also by mahars (Scheduled castes) indicates that the other caste farmers except these three categories got cultivable land from Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribes, farmers of this village, who are out of sample study purview. As such the total land lost by Scheduled Castes, and Scheduled Tribes, showed in the table, reveals that these quantum of land include the actual quantum of land lost by sample Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribes households and also lost by SC,ST households of the village, who are out of sample, of our study, and whose land were taken away by non-tribals of the same village.

If the land gained by the Gonds and Naik-podes of our sample study focused, it reveals that they did not gained a tiny piece of land from non-tribals during this 30 years of period.

Many studies made in the land issue of tribals revealed, that the tribals always land loser (deprived - off their owned land) but not land gainers. Similarly in the case of the Gonds and Naik-podes of the study village, particularly our sample households, they remained as land losers but not gained (purchased) a single cent of land from non-tribals and also from their own community fellowmen (tribals) during the period of 30 years (i.e., 1960-61 to 1990-91).

The Maratha caste cultivators, who were migrated to this tribal district of Adilabad, from the place like yeotmal, Nanded, parbhani, Akola, of Maharashtra area, and settled in this district, and also, in this study village, lost 4.84 percent (85.00 acres) of land and gained 3.58 percent (63.00 acres) of land during the period of 1960-61 to 1990-91.

Out of total land lost by maratha peasants i.e. out of 85.00 acres, 60.00 acres lost to Kapus, 10.00 acres to Gowds, 5.00 acres to perikas, 3.00 acres to muslims, 7.00 acres to their own caste fellowmen (Marathas). Analogously, out of total land gained i.e. 63.00 acres, 28.00 acres from Banjaras, 16.00 acres from Gonds, 12.00 acres from Naik-podes, 7.00 acres from their own caste peasants, respectively.

Conclusion

The land lost and gained spectrum by different caste peasants of the village of Dantanpally during the period 1960-61 to 1990-91, focuses on the problem of land transfer and alienation between tribal to non-tribal and also between non-tribal to non-tribal, eventhough many legislations, Regulations, acts, were framed to prohibit the land transfers and alienation and also to prohibit money lending, exploitation by non-tribals, in the scheduled areas of Andhra Pradesh, particularly in the Adilabad

district. During the study period of 1960-61 to 1990-91 the land lost-spectrum, by different castes, framed in the table 6.25 illustrates that, Komaties were lost 8.00 acres (0.45 percent), Kapus lost 26.90 acres (15.31 percent), Gowds lost 62.30 acres (3.54 percent), perikas lost 190.00 acres (10.82 percent), Hatkars lost 33.00 acres (1.87 percent), Muslims lost 185.50 acres (10.56 percent), Mahars lost 38.80 acres (2.20 percent), Kunbis lost 194.00 acres (11.04 percent), Banjaras lost 348.00 acres (19.81 percent), Gonds lost 144.00 acres (8.20 percent), Naik-podes lost 198.50 acres (11.30 percent), Marathas lost 85.00 acres (4.84 percent). This trend or stream of land lost by different caste during the 30 years of period indicates that Banjaras were lost huge chunk, highest among all castes 348.00 acres (19.81 percent) Kapus were lost 269.00 acres (15.31 percent) second position after Banjaras, and third rank goes to Naik-podes, who lost 198.50 acres (11.30 percent) where as fourth position in land lost quantum wise goes to kunbis, they lost 194.00 acres (11.04 percent), finally least quantum (Table 6.26) and percent of land losers, were Komaties. The land gained wave (speed) by different castes, during the period 1960-61 to 1990-91, throws in to the light that, the Kapus were the highest land gainers among all castes of our sample study of this Dantanpally village. The Kapus were gained major portion of total land lost by all castes, i.e. 752.30 acres (42.84 percent) of land. The second number in land gainers were kunbis who gained 268.00 acres (15.26 percent) of land, Gowds were third position in land gainers, who gained 240.50 acres (13.69 percent). The fourth rank in land gainers row occupied by the muslims who lost 154.00 acres (8.76 percent).

Among all castes of land gainers, least-gainers were komaties, and nil (zero) gainers were Mahars (scheduled caste peasants), and Gonds and Naik-podes (Scheduled tribes peasants). The scheduled caste and scheduled tribe peasants of our sample study did not gained single tiny piece of land during the 30 years of period (i.e., 1960-61 to 1990-91).

The scheduled communities (SCs, STs) continue to be the most impoverished, marginalised section. They still seem to suffer from disabilities despite the introduction of several programmes aimed at their upliftment³³

THE LAND TRANSFERS SINCE 1960-61 (1960-61 TO 1990-91) (LAKKARAM VILLAGE)

In the case of Lakkarm village comprising five hillock hamlets, purely inhabited by Gonds, the spectrum of land holding and distribution reveals that no land transfers and alienation among single caste (i.e., Gond only) peasants, except six land transfers between tribal peasants (Gonds) only as per the legal procedures stipulated in the Gond society during the period 1960-61 to 1990-91. There is no other caste except Gonds in these hamlets. When the land gained and land lost by the Gonds analysed there are only six marginal farmers who lost 10 (ten) acres of dry land to their own caste peasants of medium size group during the period 1970-71 to 1980-81. No land transfers of same kind continued after 1980-81.

Thus these five hillock-hamlets purely inhabited by the aboriginals (Gonds) not exposed to developmental programmes, market forces and also to modern civilized competitive world not affected with large-scale land transfer and no alienation of lands during the thirty years period (1960-61 to 1990-91).

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Tribal of India (the struggle for survival) Oxford University press, 1988, p.57
2. See, Land transfer and family partitioning by Rajasekhar, Oxford Univesity press 1985p-26.
3. C.V.F. Haimendrof Tribes of India, (struggle for survival) Oxford University press, 1988, p-247.
4. A.P. Desai Agarian struggles in India, Oxford University press Delhi 1986, p-226.
5. A development which has caused decline in living standards for a substantial percentage of Gond families is the loss of land to non-tribal settlers. In the 1940's the great majority of Gonds were independent farmers who then, they held their land on patta or not where as today many have no land and no possibility of cultivating government land on temporary tennure. Their our way of maintaining themselves is to work as farm servants or causal labourers on the land of non-tribal settlers who have displaced the original tribal population. **This** is a phenomenon not peculiar to Adilabad District or even to Andhra Pradesh alone but it is found in many parts of India. Thus a comparison of the data contained on the census reports of 1961 and 1971 shows that during the relavant decade the percentage of independent tribal cultivators fellll from 68 percent to 57.56 percent while the number of agricultural labourers went up from 28 percent to 33 percent largely no doubt, owing to the mounting land alienation and evication of tribals from their land. (Haimendorf C.V.F. P.109 Tribes of India).

6. **The** scheduled communities continue to be the most marginalised section. They still seem to suffer from disabilities despite the introduction of several programmes aimed at their upliftment EPW Vol XXVII No. 26 June 27, 1992 Page A-55.
7. When the elections were held to the State Assembly of Andhra in 1955. When it was generally felt that the communist party of India, which advocated radical land reforms in the state would come to power -although this did not actually happen, such a fear among the substantial land-owners had hastened the process of land transfers especially benami transfers. (Land transfers and family partitioning by D. Rajasckhar Oxofrd University Press. 1985, p.26).
8. The market forces aided by the technocratic green revolution strategy for agricultural growth, which had a dramatic impact on Punjab agriculture, helped the large holdings in punjab to exert pressures in the lease market to achieve enlargement of their operational holdings. It is likely that the large owners withdrew the tenants land leased out by them to the small also influenced the small owners to lease out their land to them (to large holders) rather than self-cultivate it. It is known that the green revolution technology irrespective of its theoretical neutrality to scale, was far more accessible to large holdings than small. (EPW, Vol XXVII No.26, June 27, 1992 pg.56.)
9. a) Since the days of planned economic development several organised attempts have been made to change the rural scene the community development programme, land reform legislation irrigation project rural electification schemes, rural indistrialisation, the high yielding varieties programme, co-operatives and a host of other credit and support institutions have been among the many and varied efforts of the past to get the rural areas to change. Surely not all of this

could have been wasted efforts. They must have resulted in some dynamism, some movements (Dynamics of rural transformation A study of Tamil Nadu 1950-1975 by C.T. Kurien orient longman limited 1981. P-144.

b) The development processes of the past have generated growth and affluence for the few and poverty and insecurity for the many. These must then be taken as two sides of the same coin (Ibid p-145).

10. Drink (alcoholism/Alcohol) is the main cause of Gond's downfall, who has also led to the downfall of Gond rajas, mokashis and other leaders (C.V.F. Haimendorf's Tribes of India Oxford University press, 1988, p-157).
11. Land transfers and family partitioning by Rajasekhara Oxford University press, 1985 p-44.
12. Konda Reddies in Transition, Tribes of India (Struggle for survival C.V.F. Haimendorf, Oxford University Press 1988, P-272).
13. EPW, Vol, XXVII No. 26 June 27, 1992. Page A-51.
14. R.N. Tripathy Technology, Farm output and Employment in Tribal region, Mittal Publication, Delhi, 1988, p-123.
15. Dynamics of Rural Transformation A study of Tamilnadu 1950-1975 by C.T. Kurien orient longman limited, 1981, New Delhi, p-145.
16. D. S. Chauhan, studies in utilization of Agricultural land, Shialal Agarwala & Company, Educational Publishers, Agra - 3, 1966, p-97.

17. Land Alienation in Tribal areas by B. Janardhan Rao, Kakatiya school of Public Administration, 1987, Warangal, p-203.

18. Food requirement means, when the scheduled caste, scheduled tribe, backward, forward poor peasants consumes more quantity of paddy or jowar than what they reaped from their fields as yield then they approach rich farmer to lend some bags of corn (In telugu it is called Nagulaku Dhanyamu) for their food requirements. When they won't give back the borrowed paddy or jowar, the rich farmer takes away the land from the debtor.

19. The following methods of lending are prevalent in the all tribal economics of Andhra Pradesh by which non-tribals alienated the tribals land.

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Kandagutta | 5. Tanaka |
| 2. Payida | 6. Nannu |
| 3. Thrimanam Kaulu | 7. Guddula Bank |
| 4. Thrimanam | 8. Kaulu |

B. Danam Land Alienation and Registration in Tribal Communities in India, p-74.

20. B.J. Rao, Land Alienation in Tribal areas Kakatiya School of Public Administration, India, Waranagal, 1987, p-41.

21. Economic Political weekly, Vol. XXVII, No.26, June 27, 1992, Page A-55.

22. a) The definition of Hill tribe is the main loop hole. Under this act, any non-tribal who was resident in the agency tracts could acquire land from a member of hill tribe. Many money lenders and itinerant merchants from the plains migrated to the agency and settled there to carry on their business.

b) The land transfer Regulation which equipped with stringent provision its simple implementation has been further hampered by the frequent filing of writ petitions in the court by the affected non-tribals. When eviction notices were served to them, many non-tribals filed petitions under article 226 of the constitution challenging the constitutional validity of the Regulation on the ground that the section 3(1) of the Regulation was in violation of the fundamental rights, guaranteed to them under article 19, and 31 of the constitution and that it is violative of the provision of the rule of law contained in Article 14 of the constitution (see A paper prepared by TCRTI, Hyderabad and submitted to the planning commission 1989-90, p. 13)

23. It has become tradition and also a demonstration effect in the villages that, all caste, size class peasants go to the area where toddy sold by toddy-tappers (Gowds), pay huge amount for good quality, tasty, toddy and also consume alcohol in the arrack dealer's house to get kick i.e. intoxication and opt to take meal with costly, tasty chicken, mutton, fish curries through harassing their wives.
24. In his order dated 13.9.93 in a writ petition filed by a non-tribal of Chincholi a scheduled village in Boath taluk of Adilabad district seeking stay of the eviction order. The judge observed that regulation 1 of 1959 does not confer any power on the government to issue such a notification, which had the effect of virtually nullifying the provisions of regulation 1 of 1959. In view of above Judgement of High court government has taken necessary steps for withdrawing the executive order (see A paper on Implementation of land transfer Regulations in tribal areas, of Andhra Pradesh An Overview submitted by K. Mohan Rao Director TCRT Hyderabad HYDERABAD, p-12).

25. R.N. Tripathy, Technology, Farm output and Employment in Tribal region, Mittal publications, Delhi, 1988, p-120.
26. Ibid, p-121.
27. Rajendra Singh's Land Power and People (Rural elite in Transition (1801-1920) age publications, New Delhi : 1988 p-11.
28. C.V.F. Haimendrof Tribes of India (The struggle for survival) Oxford University Press 1988, p-152.
29. Radha Krishna P. OP it
30. Enquires by various agencies were revealed that despite the regulations, protective acts, the exploitation of tribal people has been continuing unabated and and alienation perpetuating ceaselessly. There is a lot of evasion of the reuglations and legisaltions the money lenders and the rich non-tribals have taken very little notice of the restrictions imposed on their land-grabbing operations. These type of worst consequences of poverty indebtedness, illiteracy in this village, indicates that the ignorance, illiteracy, poverty of Gonds tribes are much more deep rooted.

- Nadeep Hasnan's Tribal India Today, Harnam Publications, 1988, p-104.
31. A paper prepared by Tribal culture Research and Training Institute, and submitted to the planning commission 1992, p-23
32. Ibid p-24.
33. EPW Vol. XXVII No.26, June 27, 1992, Page A-55.

CHAPTER - VII

CAUSES OF LAND TRANSFERS AND ALIENATION AND FACTORS AFFECTING SHIFTS IN LAND OWNERSHIP FROM 1960-61 TO 1990-91 [An Aggregate Analysis]

An attempt is made in this chapter to examine most important social, economic, political, and other factors that were responsible for the land transfers that took place between tribal and non-tribal communities during the last 30 years, in Dantanpalli and Lakkaram villages. Dantanpalli village, predominantly (during 1960-61 to 1990-91). Non-tribal village, with presence of few tribal families, and also characterised, primarily, by the presence of rich peasantry who wield both economic and political power. While another village Lakkaram, which consists of five hillock-hamlets, is tribal village comprises of a single caste, Gonds. To recapitulate the land problem and tribals problems in Andhra Pradesh a brief narration of problem is inevitable.

Andhra Pradesh is the traditional home of nearly 33 tribal groups, and most of these communities are inhabiting the border areas of Andhra Pradesh, in the North and North-East. Identical tribal groups are found in the border areas of Maharashtra state in the North and Madhya Pradesh and Orissa states, in the North-East. Out of 33 recognised scheduled tribes in Andhra Pradesh, 30 groups are found, living in more than 6,200 villages, situated in sprawling 30030 sq. km. scheduled-areas in the districts of Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Khammam, Warangal, Adilabad and Mahaboobnagar. The scheduled area in the state, which is the chief habitat of tribal groups of Andhra Pradesh constitutes 11% of the total geographical area of the state. The density of population is 125 in scheduled areas as against 194 in the non-scheduled area per sq. km.¹. The forest and mountainous tracts which are the traditional moorings of

the pre-literate societies are considered as placid places from times immemorial. But these tribal areas have been turned into virtual places of disturbances in the last two centuries. Most of the rebellions in our country arose primarily due to illegal deprivation of their rights on the lands. The Rampa-rebellion in East Godavari district in 1879 and series of revolts in tribal areas of Visakhapatnam in 19th century was due to exploitation by Muttadars and zamindars. The Gonds rebellion (Babijhari movement) in the Adilabad district in 1940 was, against transfer of lands from Gonds to non-tribals and extension of forest reserve boundaries over their ancestral land. The central figure of the Babijhari tragedy was Kumaram Bhimu, whose home village was Sankapalli, near Asifabad. There most of the land had fallen into the hands of Brahmins and Komatis (non-tribals) and Bhimu had failed to obtain cultivable land in any other village though at the same time Hindu and Muslim new comers were being granted patta on large scale, Bhimu was an able young man who could read and write but all his applications for land were fruitless. He organised numerous other frustrated tribals against the government and the result was the uprising what is popularly known as Babijhari uprising. The tribals lost the battle in Babijhari, but they succeeded in focussing attention of the government at their problems. It paved the way for making special laws on land transfer in tribal area of Hyderabad state. The tribal unrest leading to police firing at Indervelli in Utnoor taluk, had its roots in land problem².

In order to protect the tribals from exploitation of money lenders and landlords many protective measures are adopted and many Land Transfer Regulations (LTRs) were passed, since 1917 onwards. The Governments of concerned state had been amending the Transfer Regulation from time to time in order to tighten the grip of the Regulation on the unscrupulous money-lenders and land lords settled in tribal areas.

Despite the above protective measures taken by the Government from time to time the tribals have been losing their land. The reason for this state of affairs

are obvious. One of the most important is the lack of adequate knowledge of the real conditions in the tribal areas on the part of the authorities. The tribal is still at the mercy of unscrupulous money lender who mostly come from outside and who have no interest in maintaining the tribal social structure or improving the tribal economy. The second reason is complicated legislation. Formerly the tribal panchayats settled all disputes, thus avoiding recourse to endless litigations in costly law courts.

The proceedings of which, are totally, incomprehensible to the tribals. In a mixed population the tribal panchayats cannot work. The main reason however is lack of alternative source of credit. This keeps him under the thumb of money lenders. Usurious money lending in the scheduled areas is the main cause of large scale land alienation³.

Many administrative steps were taken to protect the tribal cultivators from exploitation by outsiders. But "these reforms and administrative steps, however, more or less remained on paper as the tribals were totally uninformed about them and even if they knew they were too isolated to take an advantage of them⁴. The protective legislations has so far remained on the statute book only⁵.

There are many devised dubious ways of land-alienation, among them the following are, affected the land ownership of tribal peasants. They are :-

1. Land alienation through money-lending.
2. Land alienation through marital-relations.
3. Land alienation through traditional friendship.
4. Land alienation through tribal servants.
5. Land alienation by producing bogus tribal certificates.
6. Land alienation through adoption of non-tribal children.

Factors responsible for the decline of the scheduled tribes dominance over land : [Dantanpally Village]

- I. The development of Roads, communications and heavy influx of non-tribals in to the tribal areas of Utnoor.
- II. An usurious money-lending and mortgaging of tribals land.
- III. Declaring Forests as - Reserved Forest area.
- IV Many Protective measures, Administrative steps, taken by the governments, however, more or less remained, on paper as the tribals were totally uninformed about them and even if they knew they were too isolated to take an advantage of them.
- V. The impact of Green-Revolution.
- VI. Inclusion of Banjaras (Lambadis) in the scheduled tribe list during the year 1976-77.

I. The development of roads and communications and heavy influx of non-tribals in to the tribal areas of Utnoor

The main concentration of the Gonds in Adilabad, a region which, until less than a hundred years ago, was rich in forests poor in communications and of little economic and political importance. There can be no doubt that the larger part of the district was then inhabited almost exclusively by oboriginals among, whom kolams, Gonds were probably the oldest population.

But a major change in the tribals position seems to have occurred only in the first years of the twentieth century with the improvement of communications between Mancherial and Rajura on the eastern side, of the district, and between Nirmal and Adilabad on the Western side. Along these two lines non-tribal populations flooded the district both from the southern from the north and occupied such land as it became easily accessible⁶.

The villages of this district became attractive to experienced cultivators like Kunbis and Marathas, Lambaras Mathuras from Yeotmal, Nander and Parbhani districts of Maharashtra and became valuable to non-cultivators like Muslims, Brahmins and Komatis living in Adilabad, Asifabad and Nirmal towns⁷.

The movement of non-tribals into the tribal areas of Utnoor, reached its climax between 1965 and 1975 and not stopped even up to 1980. It coincided with widespread illegal felling of forest, which resulted in the almost complete deforestation of most of the land along the road between Gudihatnur and Utnoor⁸. Thus the Utnoor village and its periphery villages, in large number, completely transformed by the presence, of innumerable settlers most of them emigrants from Maharashtra, while telugu cultivators like Velema, Kapu, Perika, Goud were migrated from neighbour districts like Karimnagar, Nizamabad, Warangal.

Thus village under present study was more affected by this large scale infiltration of non-tribal into the Adilabad district. During 1970 and 1980 there was lot of discontent in the minds of tribals particularly in the minds of Gonds on the ground that the non-tribals from out-side settled in their tribal villages, forcing them to a position of dependants. In other words tribals who had cleared off the forest-tracts, for cultivation purposes, no longer will be the masters of those pieces, of land but the newly entered one takes them over.

This type of process and its consequences, lead for loss of land, and thousands of tribals turned into impoverished landless agricultural labourers, in scheduled districts and their number has been increasing over the successive census. According to 1981 census more than 40% of scheduled tribe population in scheduled districts are agriclutlural labourers.

II. An Usurious money-lending and mortgaging of tribal lands

Most of the land alienation cases originate due to indebtedness. Generally non-tribals who settled in the scheduled area advance petty loans to tribals with the

motive of grabbing the lands. The innocent tribals in turn, mortgage their lands with possession to sahkars (money-lending caste). The lands will be in possession to sahkars (money-lending caste) or the lands will be in possession of the land lords, till the tribal completely re-pays the amount borrowed. In this type of money lending the sahkars do not charge interest but they cultivate the lands in lieu of interest. They cultivate their lands through benami transfers and whenever arises a question, the poor tribals are made to state that the lands are in their possession and they are only cultivating the lands. The land-lords cum money-lenders (Sahkars) threaten the tribals with serious consequences if the latter tell the truth. In this way many tribals of Dantanpally village which was purely tribal village during the years 1916-17, were ousted from their choice tract of land by outsiders before 1960 and after this year also. Many tribal families emigrated in to the hills for search of land and also to live with their tribesmen and relatives, who accommodate them in their hamlets.

III Declaring Forests as Reserved Areas

The forest and mountainous tracts which are the traditional moorings of the pre-literate societies are considered as placid places from times immemorial. In almost all the scheduled area villages, of Utnur block, before the declaration of the forests as Reserved area, huge chunk of land been usurped by the non-tribal rich peasants and the land-grabbing had been done on a large scale, thereby depriving the tribal peasants of their means of living, In every case the tribals were asked to clear the forest and were allowed to cultivate those lands till they became fertile. When they became fertile the creators of those lands were asked to go deep in to the forest and settle there. This dislocation continued ever, to the benefit of the non-tribal landlords. After declaring the forests as reserved forests large, scale evacuation of Gond villages occurred in 1920 and mopping up operations continued creating an atmosphere of unending insecurity.

IV Many Protective Measures, Administrative steps taken by the Government, However more or less remained on paper

1. In order to protect the tribals from exploitation of money lender and land-lords "The Agency tracts interest and land transfer Act 1917 (Act 1 of 1917)" was passed. The main objective of this Act was to control the rate of interest and to check transfer of land from tribals to non-tribals.

2. After formation of Andhra Pradesh a comprehensive and stringent regulation viz. the A.P. scheduled Area Land Transfer Regulation was passed in 1959. Unlike, Madras Act of 1917, A.P. Regulation No.1 of 1959 is an exclusive Regulation which deals with prohibition of land alienation in scheduled area.

This Regulation deemed to be application with retrospect effect from 1917 in Agency tracts of Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, East and West Godavari districts, but it is extended to scheduled area in Adilabad, Warangal, Khammam and Mahaboobnagar districts with effect from 1-12-1963.

3. In spite of good safeguards provided in the Regulation the shrewd land lords and moneylenders managed to cultivate the lands belonging to tribals. In order to plug certain loopholes in Andhra Pradesh (scheduled areas) Land Transfer (Amendments) Regulation 1970 areas passed with more stringent provisions.

Sailent features of the amending Regulations are as follows:

1. Transfer of Land in the scheduled areas is absolutely prohibited to non-tribals, whether it is from a tribal or non-tribal except in case of partition or success.
2. A statutory presumption is made that until contrary proved any immovable property situated in the Agency tracts and in possession of non-tribal is presumed to have been acquired by such person or his predecessor, through a transfer, made by member of scheduled tribe, section 3 (b).

3. If any person whether tribal or non-tribal intends to sell his land he has to sell it to tribals only. In case no member of scheduled tribe is willing to purchase the land on the terms offered by such person, government takes over the land after paying compensation as per rules and then assign the same land to member of scheduled tribe.

The landlords settled in Agency tracts challenged in batch of writ petitions the validity of Regulation 1 of 1959 and a Division Bench of High Court upheld the validity of Regulation 1 of 1959 by a Judgement dated 17-9-1969.

Similarly the validity of Regulation 1 of 1970 was challenged again through a batch of writ petitions but their Lordships the then chief justice K.V.L. Narasimham and Justice Alladi Kupuswami in their Judgement dated 24-9-1971 while upholding the constitutional validity of the Regulations 1 of 1970 stated that the Amending Regulation is not retrospective but it has to be applied only prospectively. Aggrieved by the above decision of A.P. High Court the non-tribals filed civil appeals No.2299 and 2300 of 1970 to the Supreme Court of India. The Supreme Court of India also upheld the constitutional validity of the Regulation of 1970.

In view of stringent provisions contained in Land Transfer Regulations the implementation of Land transfer Regulation has been further hampered by the frequent filing of writ petitions in the court by the affected non-tribals. When eviction notices were served to them many non-tribals filed petitions under Article 226 of the constitution challenging the constitutional validity of the Regulation on the ground that the section 3(1) of the Regulation was in violation of the fundamental rights guaranteed to them under article 19 and 31 of the constitution and that it is violative of the provision of the rule of law contained in Article 14 of the constitution⁹.

Thus in the light of these lapses the government of A.P. once again in 1971 amended the Regulation of A.P. (scheduled area) land transfer Regulation (Amendment) 1 of 1970.

4. Regulation 1 of 1971 was passed amending section 3 of the Regulation 1 of 1970. According to provisions of the Regulation 1 of 1971 one can mortgage/without possession any immovable property situated in the Agency tracts to any co-operative society including Land Development Bank or any commercial Bank or financial institution approved by State government. In case of default of payment, the said property has to be sold only to a member of a scheduled tribe. Further it prohibited lawyers from representing the non-tribals without the permission of the Agent. Though the Regulations appears to be very stringent in its formulation, in practice, it gives again a free hand to the non-tribal to put the tribals in legal and civil litigations which involves a lot of expenditure. The poor tribal cannot afford to spend such amount.

5. The Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Areas Land Transfer (Amendment) Regulation 1978 was framed with the objective of making land Transfer Regulations more effective by amending the LTR 1 of 1971. This LTR 1978 completely prohibits the registration of documents in favour of non-tribal acquires immovable property in contravention of the provisions of this Regulations or continues in possession of such property after decree or ejectment is passed such person can be punished with rigorous imprisonment for one year, with a fine of two thousand rupees or with both. Provision is also made in this Regulation to pay any part of the fine to the member of scheduled tribe who is a transferee as compensation.

All these exercises finally culminated in the declaration of a Government order (G.O. Ms. No.129) of Andhra Pradesh, which allowed the non tribal land holdings in the tribal areas as justified with certain limitations.

6. G.O. Ms. No. 129 (August, 1979)¹⁰

In the period between 1971 and 1979, certain developments were noticed in the tribal areas of Khammam and Warangal. The cleavage between the tribals and non-tribals has been widening day by day on the crucial land issue. A move

initiated by the District collector of Khammam in 1979 to evict the non tribals holdings (lands) in the scheduled areas had led to the promulgation order by the government. The government has issued this order on the basis of a resolution adopted by the zilla parishad which pleaded for the exemption of non-tribal land owners owing up to five acres of wet and 10 acres of dry land from the process of eviction from lands in tribal areas¹¹. The government of Andhra Pradesh has passed the order (G.O. Ms. No.129 SWD, dated 13-8-1979) protecting the interest of non-tribal landless poor settled in this areas. According to this all non-tribal landless poor in occupation of lands in the scheduled areas up-to 5 acres of wet land or 10 acres of dry land should not be evicted for the present¹². Meanwhile the commissioner of Land Revenue instructed all the Special Deputy collectors (Tribal welfare) to book fresh cases of land transfer from tribals to non-tribals on suo-moto basis so that all such cases could be considered on disposed immediately after the execution instructions were withdrawn (vide Le. Rc. No.85/1327/82, 16-6-1982¹³.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Jeevan Reddy in writ Petition, miscellaneous petition No. 10057 of 1983 questioned the propriety of government to issue order exempting non-tribal from being evicted from tribal land in scheduled areas. In his order dated 13-9-83 in a writ petition filed by a non tribal of chincholi a scheduled village in Both Taluk of Adilabad district seeking stay of the eviction order the judge observed that Regulation 1 of 1959 does not confer any power on the government to issue such a notification which had the effect of virtually nullifying the provisions of Regulations 1 of 1959. In view of above judgement of High Court government has taking necessary steps for withdrawing the executive order¹⁴.

The village Dantanpally under present study was more affected by the Andhra Pradesh (Scheduled areas) Land Transfer Regulation 1959 and of the Regulation 11 of 1963 and also by the APLTR, 1 of 1970.

During 1963-1970 there was a sense of threat to the land holdings of rich non-tribal peasantry. Many large farmers holding large areas of wet and dry lands, sold some part of them, and purchased, house-sites, in the urban area like at Adilabad, Mancheri, Luxettipet, Nirmal towns. Many non-tribals reinvested the amount acquired from their land-sales in Business ventures and accumulated lot of wealth, which again siphoned back in to their village to acquire more lands.

V THE IMPACT OF GREEN-REVOLUTION

The Green Revolution¹⁵ refers to the leap forward in Indian agriculture, as a result of the adoption of the "New Agricultural strategy" in 1964-65. The new strategy aims at raising farm output through the use of high yielding varieties (HYV) of seeds, chemical fertilizers, agricultural credit and suitable price for farm product.

The HYV programme has been characterised on "one of the authentic marvels of our time".

Parthasarthy, who studied an IADP district of Andhra Pradesh (West Godavari) in the year 1968-69 opined that the benefits of new technology in agriculture sector are high (more) to the owners of land and capital and low to the labourers. According to him even PED and Agro-Economic centre studies show that the rates of participation of small cultivators in HYV paddy were low compared to big cultivators. Thus the increase in productivity is purely technological phenomenon with the institutional frame work remaining constant¹⁶ Ladojinsky Wolf estimated the impact of Green Revolution in Punjab state and opined that the real sharing in the progress is restricted to relatively few perhaps 10 and surely not more than 20 per cent of the farm house-holds of Punjab¹⁷.

Pranab Brahdan stated that new agricultural strategy followed by the Government is effectively subsidising and promoting agrarian capitalism in India¹⁸.

And Utsav Patnaik who undertook a study of big framers in five stages held that a new class of capitalist farmers is emerging in every operation with varying intensity.¹⁴

All the developmental activities undertaken by the Government to uplift the poor section of the tribal and non-tribal communities had benefited the rich peasants and landlords of the non-tribal community only, others who were profitted were traders and pyraveekars (middlemen).

The Green Revolution also named as Grow more food campaign compiled many farming community of rich peasants to encroach upon tribal lands and also made them to change dry land into wet land through extending water-source irrigation to the fallow-waste lands.

specifically after 1975 when the developmental activities undertaken by the government expedited then many non-tribals, who were sold their own lands at native villages of plain areas at higher rates, effective with Green Revolution, ventured to encroach upon tribal lands to acquire in larger chunk, at lower rate for raising commercial food crops with higher yeilds by the provisions of Green-revolution. That is why many non-tribals occupied tribals land with connivance village patwari (Karnam) and also with lower revenue forest, excise officials. Similar trend occured in Dantanpally village. Many tribals lost their lands in these type of invasion (encroachments).

VI INCLUSIION OF BANJARAS (LAMBADIS) IN THE SCHEDULED TIRBE LIST DURING 1976-77

In Adilabad district, the Banjaras are among the most recent immigrants. Their homeloand is undoubtedly North India and in physical characteristics, language, and traditional dress, they are akin to the population of Rajasthan, originally they

were engaged both in cattle breeding and in the transport of goods on the backs of their pack bullocks and it was in their capacity as carriers that they served the Mughul armies and moved in their wake as far South as the Deccan. When modern means of transport outstripped the Banjaras bullock, Caravans, many of them took to farming with particular emphasis on raising of live-stock.

In this district the settlement of Banjaras is of very recent date and in the 1940's there were still many old Gonds who remembered the time when the first immigrants arrived with their carts and cattle from the neighbouring district of Berar. They first settled in the taluks of Kinwat and Adilabad but when no more land was available in the riverian plains south of the penganga they pushed in to the high lands and ultimately occupied a great deal of land in the heart of the Gond country. Generally more dynamic than easy going Gonds, hard working and shrewd they succeeded in displacing the indigeneous tribals (Gonds) in many villages of utnur taluk and in the early 1940, there were already Banjaras, who owned several hundred acres of land but cultivated only a small part themselves hiring out the rest at high rents. In their relations with Gonds they were on the whole oppressive and employed their greater business sense, and their powerful physique to bully and intimidate their Gond neighbours. Once Banjaras gain a foothold in a village, it is generally loss to Gonds or Kolams. By the year 1976 numerous old Gond villages had been taken over by Banjaras and the acquisition of Gond land by new Banjaras settlers progressed at a steady pace, when special revenue officers probed into cases of alienation of tribal land it was found that many of them involved the illegal acquisition of Gond land by Banjaras.

However in 1977 a decision by the government of Andhra Pradesh removed one of the most important safeguards against the transfer of tribal land to *now* settlers. In that year the Banjaras also known as Lambadas were also given them all the privileges hitherto enjoyed only by the truly aboriginal tribes of Andhra

Pradesh. The reason **for** this move **on the part** of the government **was** basically, political, for Banjara leaders had been pressing for some time **for** their inclusion **in the** list of scheduled tribes and as some 600,000 votes were at stake, the political party in power finally yielded to this pressure. The Indian parliament **endorsed** the proposal made by the government of Andhra Pradesh even though in the neighbouring state of Maharashtra the Banjaras do not have the status of a scheduled tribe.

After the notification of the Banjaras as a scheduled tribe the land Transfer Regulation could no longer be invoked to restore such land to the rightful Gond owners and it can be clearly foreseen that more and more tribal land will pass in **to** the hands of Banjaras.

In the case of road-side village Dantanpally village, land-hungry Banjaras were moved long back and occupied larger areas of cultivable lands and became most privileged community in the district.

In addition they now endowed with the right of occupying seats in the legislative Assembly reserved for tribals and two tribal Assembly seats, previously held by Gonds, have been gained by Banjaras for some time and at present both seats **are** represented by Gonds only.

Factors Responsible for the influx of non-tribals and emerging as rich and landed gentry (Except Scheduled Caste Cultivators)

There were several factors which helped the non-tribals (particularly Backward Castes) to rise in the economic ladder supersedes the aboriginal Gonds and also Forward caste farmers.

1. The Gonds practice, of frequently shifting their fields.
2. The Government policy to open up the district to encourage the influx of new settlers **and to** grant them "Patta" free of charge for as much land **as they** could make arable while no patta right to tribals.

3. Perpetuation of Watandar system and origin of Patwari and Patel system in tribal economy.
4. Oppressive attitudes of Non-tribals to evict and eliminate the indigenous tribesmen (Gonds) from their owned lands.
5. The old maqta and Jagir estates of Gond rajas were resumed by government and **mokashi**, **Deshmukhs** of Gonds community were lost their right in the land.
6. The permission to cultivate **Kharij Khata** and **Parambhpok** land denied to the Gonds by the girdwars and patwaris but accorded more by the same to non-tribals.
7. The failure of aboriginals to obtain land even on **Siwa-i-Jamabandi** tenure and more allotment of land to non-tribals on Siwa-i-Jamabadi tenure by Tahsildars.
8. Poverty, illiteracy, ignorancy and isolation conditions of the Gonds in this district.
9. Legislative factors.

They may be classified in to the following six heads :-

1. Ethnographic and settlement factors of tribal community.
 2. Sociological factors.
 3. Economic factors.
 4. Administrative factors.
 5. Political factors.
-
1. Ethnographic and Settlement factors of Tribal Community

In the Indian context diversity of ethnic groups and cultural conditions is great among tribal communities.

Different individual tribal (sect) group having different ethnic problems like their habitation, the cult of the clan deities, ritual activities celebration of different festivals, different ceremonies.

These ethnographic problems lead the tribal communities to waste their time **and** resources on these unproductive activities and to confine the same, instead interacting with advanced non-tribal groups of plains for acquiring up-to-date technical knowhow. The primitive life-style of these autochthonous societies, paved the way for the mounting influence of economically advanced and politically powerful groups of plains through which these primitive life styled peoples like Gonds, Naikpods, Kolam, of Adilabad district lost large chunk of their cultivable land to non-tribal.

Their settlement pattern and housing of tribal groups also causes for alienation of lands. Many tribals were used to keep on shifting their settlements after every couple of years. They make small conical thatched huts with the leaves touching the ground. These huts have such a small entrance that one has to stoop very low to enter it. Most of the chench settlements contain two to fifteen houses with individual families occupying them. For a new settlements they prefer hill-slopes or high ridges so that the enemies may be sighted from some distance and they have ample time to escape. Invariably these settlements are located away from the water source to avoid wild animals which will also be coming to drink water from the same source.

In the case of Gonds of Adilabad district they used to adopt the same pattern in the line of chenchus and many Gonds desired to inhabit on the slopes of the hills.

2. SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS

The Gonds were enjoyed the leadership of their own feudal chiefs, for centuries, and some of them had risen to positions of political power comparable, to

that, wielded by Hindu Rajas ruling over minor states of Middle India. The Gond Rajas of chanda and Garha-Mandla were not only the hereditary leaders of their Gond subjects but also held sway over substantial communities of non-tribals who recognised them as their feudal lords. In the middle of the eighteenth century large parts of the Deccan came under Maratha rule and chanda was annexed by the Bhonsle Kingdom. However, Maratha district did not last for more than half a century and in A.D. 1773 the region was ceded to the Nizam of Hyderabad. Even then there was little interference with the feudal system of Gond rajas and until end of nineteenth century Gond cheif remained the effective rulers of those regions, where Gonds constituted the dominant population with the establishment of a district administration, modeled on the British system by the Nizams government, the power of Gond Rajas waned.

The sociological factors again classified in to the following three groups.

- a) The Gonds practice of frequently shifting their fields.
 - b) Perpetuation of Watandar system and creation of Patwari and Patelki system in tribal economy.
 - c) The old maqta and jagir estates of Gond Rajas were resumed by government and Mokashis, Deshmuks of gond community were lost their right in the land.
- a) The Gonds practice of frequently shifting their fields and sometimes also their settlements was appropriate to a situation in which they were virtually the only inhabitants of large expanses of cultivable land and forest and there were no other claimants of land temporarily abandoned by Gond cultivators. But as soon as agricultural populations from neighbouring areas moved into Adilabad district the Gonds habit of cultivating their land in rotation became a source of weakness for fields, left fallow with the intention of resuming cultivation after a number of years could easily be occupied by new settlers who then managed to obtain title deeds for the occupied land.

b) The history of the development of predatory landlords in the **eastern plains**, **began** with the large-scale granting of title deeds to land which was either vacant or cultivated by tribesmen, whose ownership was not documented. This took place when the Nizams of Hderabad's government decided to maximise land-revenues in the areas. Grants of land known as Watan were offered to anyone with political influence who would undertake to extend cultivation and raise revenue and such Watandar also had the right to appoint patel and patwari. Subsequently some of the remaining land was auctioned by government usually in a manner which gave the local tribesmen no opportunity to obtain title deeds to the land they were cultivating changes in the right to land were often kept secret by those in locally powerful positions. Many non-aboriginals have secured the Watans, not of single villages but of more villages, occasionally even of whole taluk.

c) Some of the Gond Rajas seem to have still been able to maintain a style commensurate with their position within the tribe.

The Raja Lingai Hanumant Rao was held a maqta for the paraqans Haveli (i.e, Utnur), Sirpur, and Indraveli paying an annual revenue of Rs. 600/- as late as hundred years ago. His jurisdiction in tribal matter extended over an area which comprises now Utnur taluq and part of the Adilabad and Lakshetipet taluqs whereas the Rajura and Asifabad taluqs stood under the tribal jurisdiction of the Chanda Raja. Each Raja directly administrated the area nearest his residence but the rest of his territory was divided among hereditary mokashi and deshmukhs who held estates of from ten to forty villages. A few of the mokashis still hold their estates as maqta but most have lost their right in the land and today they act only as tribal headmen.

The Utnur Raja, unlike his prosperous relatives like Chanda Raja and the Ahiri Zamindar has also lost his estates. For the maqta of then Utnur, Sirpur and Indraveli paraqanas last held by Raja Isru Jangu, was confiscated by Government in 1272 fasli.

Pursuing a policy of opening up the district and raising its revenue, Government encouraged the influx of new settlers and granted them patta free **of charge**, for as much land as they could make arable. At this time many of the old maqta and Jagir estates of Gond Rajas and Mokashis were resumed by Government and the Gonds who until then had lived and cultivated on the land of their feudal lords, were suddenly forced to fend for themselves and to secure land of their own. Thus, the Gonds were lost larger chunk of their owned land and paved the way for smooth influx of non-tribals in the purely tribal dominated primitive economy. Similarly, the Backward caste people, who occupy higher position in the social ladder above the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe and found in large number in all the districts of Andhra Pradesh much endowed with political and economic power, which help them to build-up relations with government agents and playing power politics with the administrative machine through expensive and time consuming legislative channels, ousted many tribals from their own lands. Their caste dominance in the neighbouring and own district made them to venture for grabbing the Gonds lands, with the connivance of karnam and lower revenue, forest officials. Their caste also provided them greater access to the rural markets.

Economic Factors

During the Nizam's rule to increase the revenue of H.E.H. Nizam's exchequer, and also to meet the additional expenditure for the maintenance of the British troops in his domain and also to repay the huge debts, that were accumulated, due to the scandalous mismanagement of the State Finances by his minister Chandulal²⁰, then the Nizam started opening up new avenues both in the land revenue and in leasing-out of the few areas to the British colonial trade interests especially in the forest regions of Adilabad, Warangal and Khammam, where raw material was abundantly available. All this process had facilitated for the penetration of the colonial capital in to the forest region (or in other words, into the tribal areas) of Adilabad (the forest

border of his domain) Warangal and Khammam districts of Telangana, and also served the purpose of linking the market centres of Delhi, and central India, to South India.

Economic factors played crucial role in large scale transfers and alienation of tribal lands to non-tribals. Important among them are as follows:

- a) The Government policy to open up the district to encourage the influx of new settlers for as much land as they could make arable. By this system many non-tribals entered in this tribal economy and through regular payment of land taxes, they made the revenues of State Government to rise.
- b) The Khariikhata and Parambhok lands in the periphery of the villages, gudems, were allotted to non-tribals, while tribals were the right choice for occupying them, as per the Government norms. Owing to their greater wealth and influence, non-aboriginal land-owners do often succeed in acquiring rights on fallow lands and also occupying the Khariikhata, Parambhok lands with the connivance of girdawars and patwaris.
- c) Many non-tribals occupied fallow lands on Siwa-i-Jamabandi tenure, whereas, tribal were denied such rights by tahsildars. Similary large tracts of area owned by tribals on Siwa-i-Jamabandi tenure are withdrawn from them and allotted again on Siwa-i-Jamabandi tenure to non-aboriginals. There are many cases in the Adilabad district particularly in Utnur taluq, that without giving any reason Tahsildar, withdrew the lands from the Gonds and allotted it also on Siwa-i-Jamabandhi tenure to many Lambadas, Marathas, Mathuras, Kunbis and telugu speaking kapus, Perikas, Gowdas and to other castes. In addition to these eclipsical shadows which darkened the aboriginals survival, the advanced and cleverly planned enterprising, the backward caste cultivators shifted from the traditionl, low yield food crops, to the spectrum of

high yielding varieties like raising commercial crops and venturing **for poultry and** dairy which adds much income to their accumulated wealth already. This stability in economic condition stimulated them to acquire more lands in the tribals economy. Thus the solidarity, superiority of Backward castes, established in the tribal belt and they emerged as not only a powerful political segment, superseding the tribal-advancement, but monopolised the lands of the villages.

As per our study many non-tribals were enriched their economic position after green-revolution. The tribal who cleared the land and made arable became alien to this own land.

Administrative Factors:

After India became free (1947) and even though the State of Andhra Pradesh was formed in 1956, but it was only in 1970, that a special Institution known as the "Special Deputy Collector for Tribal Welfare" had been created in almost all the predominantly tribal districts to redress the grievances of the tribals and to put an end to the illegal transfer of tribals' land to non-tribals. The Special Deputy Collector (for land restoration) is assisted by one Tahsildar and other few administrative assistants. The district Collector, as the Agent of the State at the district level, has to send the annual reports to the Directorate of Tribal welfare, who is responsible to look after this task at State level. At the central level, a joint Secretary of the Home Ministry heads a separate tribal cell and looks after the tribal affairs and co-ordinates the regulatory and development activities.

But the present administrative set up having many legal loopholes and also found to be weak in the implementation of the land transfer regulations and also been suffering from many other institutional difficulties. The limited and inadequate personnel, unsympathetic and anti-tribal bias of the officials negative role of the

revenue officials, judicial delays and cumbersome and complicated **procedures are** a few of the legal and administrative lacunae. The problem of land alienation in tribal areas has further been aggravated due to these policy and administrative lapses.

This is a replica of the Indian social system at large and special features in tribal areas, where the landlords and rich peasants have not been able to tolerate any sort of dissent from the poor tribals, who lost their lands and to whom the constitution provides exceptional guarantees²¹.

Due to this the bureaucracy works in tune with the "pressure" and "influence" of the higher ups, they take up only the cases of non-tribal small farmers and ignores the larger interests of the tribals. All protective legislations were confined to offices and remained on paper, without effecting any changes in the tribals primitive, poverty-stricken life. The problems of land alienation in tribal areas has further been aggravated due to these policy and administrative lapses.

Thus, the ineffectual administrative machinery and the legalisation process engulfed with many loopholes were responsible for the ever-increasing dispossession of lands belonging Adilabad aboriginals.

5. Political Factors :

The Indian National Congress even before independence of India, stressed **the** need for shaping the policies of land reforms as a means to solve the food scarcity problem due to population explosion. It was felt that the Zamindari, Jagirdari, Mahalwari, Inamdari, Watandari systems of absentee Landlordism should be replaced by "tiller to the land" system and all the tenants should be freed from the tyrannies of absentee-landlordism, and must be given ownership rights.

After the dawn of independence, the Government of India attached much importance to agriculture realising that agriculture was the backbone of Indian economy. The Government had also undertaken a number of developmental activities to improve the living conditions of rural poor. The democratic ideals spread by the national movement had inculcated a sense of equality among the rural poor also.

In the case of Adilabad district the political developments like Babijheri incident, occurred in 1940, and Indravelli massacre, which took place in 1980-81 has shown some impact on the land problems.

a) The root cause of the Babijheri trouble concentrated around the resentment felt by all Gonds that any outsiders whether Brahmin, Muslim, Komati or Rohilla can get patta land but only Gond cannot obtain Patta rights.

The leader of the Babijheri was Kumra Bhimu, whose home village was Sankapalli about 5 miles from Asifabad. He was an intelligent young man who could read and write. From his home village where most land had fallen into the hands of non-aboriginals, he went first to live in Susdapur, a village of a Muslim pattadar and from there to kakarghat where he stayed for 3 years, ultimately he settled in Babijheri and lived there for about five years²²

When the lines of the Dhamora state forest were drawn Babijheri like, so many villages was not established as an enclave, and the inhabitants, who had no pattas were told that they must vacate the village. As they had not left by the fixed date, all their houses were burnt by the forest guards. Many Kolams and Naikpods dispersed and went into the Rajura Taluq, but the Gonds and nine households of Kolams got permission to settle in Joreghat, a site east of Babijheri. There were continuous threats from forest official to the Gonds of the Joreghat, sensing the threat, Bhimu and other gonds decide to resist evacuation from their village by

police and collected several hundred malcontent Gonds to support them. The negotiations between the Taluqdar and the aboriginals led by Bhimu were failed as Bheem made extravagant demands and he himself unfortunately refused to come to the Taluqdar's camp.

When Bheem finally refused to give himself upto the police the police party advanced into the hills where he and his followers had gathered, and when Bheemu fired a shot the police opened fire, killed eleven Gonds on the spot and wounded many more. Eventhough the Gonds consider Bhimu a Martyr and tribal hero all those who knew him personally, speak highly of his intelligence and character and blame the forest officers and particularly the chaukidar involved in the Deopur affair for his death. This feelings is strengthened by the behaviour of the forest subordinates themselves, who are now in the habit of using Babijheri as their most effective threat wherever a Gond or Kolam fails to satisfy their demands, for in such a case they simply tell them that unless they comply with their wishes or pays a certain sum of money their fate will be the same as that of Bhimu²³. Thus, this type of psychological phobia in the minds of Gonds made them to relinquish their lands (patta lands) sometime and also the village attachement by which non-tribals got clear-cut-way to occupy the relinquished (fallow) land of Gonds.

b) When communist and Naxalite ideology percolated into this district in 1975 many of the tribals began to clear new forests land in an area of some hundred of acres which the landlords were used for grazing to their cattle, to stop this process, the landlords took the advantage of the conditions which at that time had been created by the Maintenance of Internal Security Act passed by the Government of Mrs. Indira Gandhi to trump up against the household heads false accusations of holding political meetings and inciting the villagers. False charges of Naxalite adherence were produced, and only after one year in prison and considerable efforts by concerned tribal supporters were the tribals released with charges against them dropped²⁴.

c) The Indravelli incident in which many aboriginals (Gonds) were shot dead by police have been compared with massacre at Jalianwala Bagh which has a place in Indian folklore has an example of the ruthless display of state. Violence meant to terrorise a population into total submission.

In 20 April 1981 when a crowd of unarmed Gonds were fired on by a force of police, assembled to prevent a meeting of Gonds who had gathered to protest the alienation of their land and harassment by non-tribal exploiters²⁵.

This incident shocked the tribal economy, which made the tribal to confine to their huts, instead of demanding for their lostland which was occupied by non-tribals and made patta in favour of them.

Socio-Economic conditions of Scheduled tribes between 1960 & 1990

As one reads the above analysis one gets the doubt as to why the scheduled tribes, especially the Gonds, who enjoyed the status of Rajas, feudal lords, Mokhasis and Deshmukhs, and ruled the Central India (Gondwana) before Moghul power established in Central India, failed to strengthen their hold on the land as the Forward Castes and Backward Castes did during and soon after the exit of the Gonds from the land. The scheduled tribes who owned only about 38.48 percent in total land in 1960-61 could share only 7.45 percent in 1990-91.

There were several factors that might explain this situation. Some important factors are explained hereunder.

1. Economic Factors:

In 1960-61, there were not many agricultural landless labourers from scheduled tribe community, because at that time no acute land problem in the Utnoor mandal

in general, and in the Dantapally village in particular. And this period happened to be pre-green revolution period where pressure upon irrigated lands is not high.

As the average land holding in the case of scheduled tribe peasants was very low compared to the Backward Caste and Forward Castes average landholdings, the surplus from yields was also low for re-investment on their land. Similarly they did not possess necessary capital for investing on the lands and hence the yield on their lands were very low.

Scheduled tribe land-owners were also discouraged by the market forces from business community as there is no much demand for commercial crops from the business community, in this area ,and tribals confined only to the growing Jowar, and Cotton-crops, instead Chillies, Tobacco, Turmeric, Groundnuts, Sunflower crops.

In the credit market also the scheduled tribes were at a disadvantage. They did not have any source of credit from their relatives as they were also equally poor. They were forced to take money from money-lenders who used to charge higher rate of interest. Since most of the scheduled castes and tribes were landless labourers, they suffered from acute poverty, during off-seasons.

Many scheduled tribe landless labourers, who are working as labourers under non-tribal land-lords, did not get the higher wages even though they use to work 15 hours per day in the fields of land lords. It is heartening to note that the tribals who cleared the land to make arable and real owners of the land, compelled to work on their cleared land, occupied by non-tribals as labourers.

Since the scheduled tribes did not have any capital-assets in the village, and market forces are not gainful to them, they could not go for any gainful secondary

occupations like dairying, sheep-rearing etc., which their non-tribal, counterparts, could pursue. All that the scheduled tribes landless labourers along with their unemployed wives, pursue, were some menial occupations, like, collecting, minor forest, products like Mahua flowers, for brewing liquor, tamarind, tubers, gum, betels, firewood, and fruits like veduri kummulu, palleru, kura in addition to their work at his master's field²⁶. The earning from these all menial occupations not at all adequate even for their bare subsistence during slack season. Addition to these, the housewives collect Beedi leaves (Tendu leaves) in the summer and sell them at collecting centres, run by contractors of urban areas. After 1989, all these tendu leaves collecting centres were brought under the jurisdiction of forest department to wean out the tribals from naxalite influence and also to prevent the collecting the money by naxalites, from the contractors.

From 1989 onwards, forest department themselves running these tendu leaves collecting centres, and purchasing tendu leaves at reasonable rates.

Many old women, regularly carries (every day) heavy load of fire-wood bundles, on their head to sell them in the nearby trading centres to procure rice, oil, salt, kerosene oil and other essential commodities for their food needs.

Added to this, the scheduled tribes were, by tradition habituated to a peculiar type of living, wherein drinking occupies the position next only to food. In many places and in many cases the non-tribals tricked the Gonds, by entertaining them, with beer and food, when they were drunk made them, to sign and take away their lands. Drink is the main cause of the downfall of not only small, medium and rich farmers of Gond community, but also for the downfall of their Rajas, Mokashis and other leaders²⁷. It was also reported that the people do not hesitate even to borrow at higher rates of interest, just to satisfy their conspicuous consumption habits. They also spend lavishly during marriages and death ceremonies.

Their caste deities (persapen) are thought to have acted as the protectors of the members of each clan throughout its long history, and the ability of the Gonds to win their battles, with various other ethnic groups, justified their faith in the power and benevolence of these deities. To perform of the rites to honour, the clan deities, they have to sacrifice the animals like goat, sheep, and the earth near the shrine of the clan deities was soon soaked with their blood, and afterwards part of the flesh was cooked and then offered to the deity. Remained flesh of the goat or sheep, was consumed by the worshipers, combined with taking wine. Sheep and Goats also used to be sacrificed at funerals and memorial rites, and their flesh was an essential part of the meals prepared for the many mourners, who had to be fed on such occasions . Similarly, Keslapur Jatra the most popular religious event in Adilabad district where the ritual focal point of the entire celebration was a simple Sati Shrine erected on a mound close to a huge banyan tree and made of non more permanent building materials, than a few wodden posts and a low roof thatched with grass. Near this shrine, animals were sacrificed throughout the night and the blare of shaws and the roll of drums accompaigned each climax of a sacrificial rite. Thus, these type of lavish consumption made them to mortgage their lands for borrowing the money from money-lenders, who were taken away their land with usurious methods after sometime.

Social and Psychological Factors

Due to their long isolation, away from civilized society, in the interior forest areas, and also to their age-old suppression, the scheduled tribes, were forced to believe that they were poor and socially degraded as per the doctrine of Karma (Raata). Hence, they were satisfied with their lower socio-economic position and had never made any serious attempts, to improve either their economic status or their social status. They feel shy, and get fear, when any higher officials, educated persons, go to their villages or hamlets. They are mild and non-risk bearing and

avoid confrontaton with non-tribals, who deprived them of their rights **on** their **owned** land. Each and every Gond, prefers, to live with, their own Gond community, people in every circumstances, even in sorrows, and also in prosperity, but never leave them, and won't venture to settle in the locality of non-tribals. Under these circumstances they did not have any motivations to improve their economic status, before the attainment of Independence, while there are some changes, visible in their attitude and altitude at present due to expansion of education.

Isolation, Illiteracy and Ignorance

Isolation, Illiteracy, and Ignorance have caused, the scheduled tribes, to keep them at the lowest possible socio-economic position. Their settlements which are situated at very distant places from the developed towns, made them isolate, illerate. Illiteracy and poverty compilled them to live in isolated hamlests or gudems and due to illiteracy they were ignorant of their land particulars like area owned, patta rights, siwa-i-jamabandi tenure, and kharijakhata/parambok lands.

All the protective legislation, made to protect the tribals from the exploitation of money lenders, land-lords arenot clearly known to them, due to illiteracy, and they were not acquainted with rules in view of their ignorance.

Causes of Land Transfers and Factors - Affecting shifts in Land Ownership in the Lakaram-hamlets during the years 1960-61 to 1990-91

In the case of Lakkaram Village, Comprising five hillock-hamlets, purely inhabited by aboriginals (Gonds), [where as these hamlets situated at different corners away from the main village, Gram panchayat office and developed town Utnoor, which is centre for trading and also old taluq centre, mandal head - quarter, having ITDA Head - office, Sub - Collector's office, police station Andhra Pradesh

Residential Junior College, Government Junior Collage, Guest house for VVIPs, Horti culture, Sericulture centres run by ITDA and also old well established Christian Missionary Church, Big Masjid near high - way road, and Big temple of Hanuman at the centre of the village is 4 kilometers away from all those hamlets] are not fallen in the vicious trap of land-grabbers, of the advanced villages, and also of Utnoor town, in view of their location, in the hillocks, sorrouned by forests and not linked with motorable roads and - communication.

The spectrum of land holding pattern in all the hamlets of Lakkaram village indicates, that a similar - situation of the base year 1960-61 perpetuates in view of the isolated location of the tribal hamlets except Six cases of legal land transfer cases who sold their land as per norms laid down in their tribal (Gomd) society; along with procedures, to other tribal families, to meet the expenditures required to get jobs like Watchman, AUender in the offices locateed at Utnoor head - quaters and also in Saudi Arabia (oil producing contries like Kuwait, Yemen, Bubai) demanded by Pyraveekars.

No other factors like social, political, legislative, Administrative, psycological, effected theland-ownership in this pure tribal economy, (hamlets of Lakkaram village) except economic factor like poverty, and meeting the expenditures to get Jobs in Govenment sector.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX 7.1

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY THROUGH SAMPLE RESPONDENTS

In this village, the following findings are emerged, during the field study, and same things are also recorded in paper as per the versions of sample respondents, through interviewing the sarpanch and former patwaris who are well acquainted with the village affairs, since long.

Finding - 1

Siwa-i-Jamabandi : The majority of the tribals of the village Dantanpally Village, then cultivated according to a system of land tenure known as Siwa-i-Jamabandi. The land they tilled remained government land and although they had permission to cultivate and annually paid the land revenue, they were not registered as owners (pattadas) in the village. The allotment of land on Siwa-i-Jamabandi tenure was with in the powers of the tahsildars, who normally endorsed the actions of patwari and Revenue-inspector without investigating the rights or wrongs of individual cases¹.

Almost all land-owning tribal respondents of this Dantanpally Village, are very much keen to get patta (ownership) certificates from Mandal Revenue Office as at present they are having only "Ryotu Pass Book"² like Khasra-pahani³ of the past. Many tribal farmers, who have been cultivating their lands since long, were not given patta rights so far, and still continuing the cultivation on Siwa-i-Jamabandi tenure, where the landless poor-labourers, who got recently their share in the Parambok or Kharijkata land distributions, under the 20 -point programme and also

ITDA's welfare programmes, were given pattas to their marginal holdings, through the occasions like minister's visit or MLA's visit, or any other important functionaries visit to thier village and also at the occasions of 15th August, 26th January celebrations.

Under Tribal Areas Regulation 1359 Fasli, all the powers relating to settlement of land disputes were vested in the Agent and Assistant Agent and no court of law or Revenue Authorities had any Jurisdiction in the notified tribal areas of Telangana region. This Regulation came into force on 1-10-1949, and notified tribal areas rules 1359 F, were issued on 16-11-1949. The Rule 5 of the said rules debars the Revene Authorities from exercising revenue Jurisdications in notified tribal areas. Under Rule 42 of the notified tribal areas rules the revenue Jurisdiction is vested in the Assistant Agent and the Panchayat, if any in the notified tribal areas⁴

In the scheduled areas of Telangana region especially in Adilabad district tribal lands were transfered in favour of non-tribals by the Revenue Authorities (Tahsildar) during the compilation of Khasra Pahani during 1954-55, even though they have no revenue Jurisdiction in the scheduled areas under the rule 42 of the Notified tribal Areas Rules. The Tahsildar did not bother to obtain in permission of the Agent or the Assistant Agent, who were vested with revenue Jurisdiction in these areas under the Rule 42 of the notified Tribal areas (Scheduled Areas) Rules, before effecting transfers of lands of tribals in favour of non-tribals. Thus innumerable , transfers of land were made during 1954-55 and even prior to that ignoring the law prevailing at that time in respect of tribal lands in scheduled areas in the name of non-tribals on the basis of oridnary sale agreements and in some cases forceful occupation of tribal lands by non-tribals on account of mortgage, lease, tenancy etc. But all such unauthorised and inadmissible documents were accepted during Khasra-Phani compilation and transfers of land in favour of non-tribals were effected⁵.

The transfer of Government land from one cultivator to the other was the order of the day during the years 1940s, and every year many tribals were evicted from land, which they had been cultivating on Siwa-i-Jamabandi tenure, only because of an affluent non-tribal, able to bribe the Revenue sub-ordinates, had cast his eye on the same land and had been given preference over the tribal cultivator⁶.

At present, there are no transfers of owned land from one tribal cultivator to another non-tribal cultivator of this village on Siwa-i-Jamabandi tenure but the tribal cultivators cultivating their lands on siwa-i-jamabandi tenure still are not given patta rights so far; These patta certificates facilitate them to apply for loan at the Nationalised Banks, and at other state, central financial institutions.

The system of siwa-i-jamabandi tenure which by definition allowed a great deal of flexibility, provided the lower revenue staff with incomparable opportunities for enriching themselves by the shuffling of land from one cultivator to another, and even when government began allotting patta to Gonds and Kolams, large areas of land continued to be cultivated on siwa-i-jamabandi tenure⁷.

What one could say from this is that, it is every hard to break the landed interests of the big farmers of non-tribal category. Their strangle on the land is as powerful as that of the older Zamindars and Jagirdars.

Finding - 2

Usurious Money Lending

The non-tribals employed usurious money lending as an effective tool for grabbing the tribal lands. They evolved various ingenious methods through which

the tribal land is alienated. The following methods of lending are prevalent in the all tribal economies of Andhra Pradesh, by which non-tribals alienated the tribals lands⁸.

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------|--------------------|
| 1. Kandagutta | 2. Payida | 3. Thirmanam Kaulu |
| 4. Thirmanam | 5. Tanaka | 6. Nannu |
| 7. Guddula Bank | 8. Kaulu. | |

The non-tribals who came in search of livelihood, with limited means, advanced **money, food** grains, and clothing, to the tribals in the times of need without insisting on any security. In the beginning the needy tribals respected and regarded the non-tribals-immigrants as "friend in need". But it did not take long time for the tribals to learn that the immigrants had trapped them in a cycle of perpetual borrowing and repayment. The ignorant and illiterate tribals could not seek protections from the legislation. The impoverished and illiterate tribals were kept divided by the shrewd non-tribals, so that tribals could not approach the courts.

In Dantanpally Village, there are 178 scheduled tribe households as per 1981 census, in which 128 households are land owning peasants and remaining 50 **are** landless labourers. By the year 1990-91 their number including land-less labourers has gone up to 190, including Gonds, Lambadis, Naikpodes.

Chronic indebtedness among tribals is an universal phenomenon. Indian tribals too, seem to accept indebtedness as an inevitable and inescapable aspect of **their** existence. The reasons of this state of affairs may be enumerated as following

1. Uneconomic holdings
2. **Poor** soil
3. Primitive technique of cultivation

4. Lack of irrigation facilities
5. Lack of credit facilities for the so called unproductive purposes
6. Lack of alternative economic avenues in their immediate vicinity
7. Lack of mobility and awareness
8. Presence of strong cultural values of honesty and truthfulness which does not allow them to disown any debts howsoever old.

Almost all tribal inhabitants of this village are in the trap of debt bondage, including rich, medium peasants of this community. When monsoon advances, and raining commences occurs and also at the commencement of Kharif seasons, each and every tribal farmer procure high yield varieties (HYV) seeds from the merchant who given the HYV seeds bag on loan, similarly at the time of sowing seeds, transplantations of paddy, chillies, cotton, they require fertilisers on loan basis, pledging that, either product may be given to the money-lender at the market rate, of that period, or they will pay back whole amount with exorbitant interest rate, charged by the money lending class. Among tribals not only marginal and small but also medium, large farmers uses to borrow from the money lenders. As per the version of two tribal rich peasants of Dantanpally village named Lavudya Bhilaya naik (60 years) and Madavi Gangaram (48 years) about borrowing from the money lenders. They says that "A chettuku Aa Gali" (larger the tree higher it will be affected with wind-blowing, smaller the tree iower do it will be affected whith wind blowing, telugu proverb) means not only poor but rich also required money for investment and meeting other expenditures, as rich has many promises and problems to meet, than poor peasants, addition to their addictions to liquor and toba-co.

Where as in the case of Backard caste and Forward caste incidence and impact of borrowing will be less, and not affective, as they are very planned and

borrow from their relative and banks at lower interest rates instead pledging mortgaging their land, gold, silver ornaments.

In this village Backward Caste people control means of production, and accumulated wealth through their surplus, from their agricultural higher-yields. Actually they were migrated to this village from other advanced village where they had their relation circle which provides credit source at the time of urgency to meet the emergency needs. More over, number of educated and employed from this community is more, who stands with their own community cultivators as supporting and stimulating source in the financial crisis. Similarly huge amount of dowry (including cash and Jewellery) to their kith and kin also relieves them from financial crunch.

Barring certain areas in the north eastern region, which were closed to the middlemen and contractors during British rule, indebtedness is quite wide-spread among almost the entire Indian tribes.

Consequences of Indebtedness among tribals : Since most of the tribal people are illiterate, they have no idea of what is being entered in the account books of the money lender. They put their thumb-impression very submissively, wherever desired by the money-lender and that seals their fate forever. In this village similar trend going on and as a result, many tribals lost lands, and also migrating to the interior forest areas where they can collect minor forest produces, firewood, work with forest contractors and also clearing the forest land for occupation and podu-cultivations. This type of cases were existed, in this village which are out of sample study. As per the version given by 50 years old Atram Nagubai w/o Atram Maru during 1950s (5 families) left to Kallurgudam, an interior forest hamlet for search of land and livelihood,

after losing complete land in this village (These five families are out of our sample households).

In this modern era, even though Banking Institutions were spread to all corners of the country, still, money lending with usurious-methods continuing in this village. Particularly tribals are falling in this trap due to their poverty, illiteracy, ignorance.

Even though, various state governments have promulgated and enacted various laws and Acts. the exploitation of tribal people has been continuing unabated. The following legislations are in force in Andhra Pradesh.

1. The Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Areas Money Lenders Regulations 1960 (extended to Telangana area in 1963).
2. The Andhra Pradesh (Andhra Aras Scheduled Tribes) Debt Relief Regulation 1960 (extended to Telangana area in 1963)
3. The Agency Debt Bondage Abolition Regulation, 1964.
4. The Hyderabad Money lender's Act, 1938¹⁰.

Enquiries by various agencies are revealed that despite the regulations, the exploitation of tribal people has been continuing unabated. There is a lot of evasion of the regulations and legislations and money lenders have taken very little notice of the restrictions imposed on their operation. The Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission and Planning Commission Report of the Study Team on Tribal Development programmes, support such findings¹¹. These type of worst consequences of indebtedness, and poverty - stricken conditions in this village,

indicates that the illiteracy, ignorance, poverty of the scheduled tribes are much more deep-rooted, than one could imagine. They were wilfully suppressed and **oppressed** through social and exploitative methods. And hence their overall development requires special programmes more carefully and rigorously than the present programmes.

Finding - 3

Collective Utilization of Tank-Bed:

The majority of the tribal households, who sustain on marginal subsistence Largely depend on locally available building material for their dwellings, whose purpose **is** more of utilitarian than decoration. Common property Resources have been assuming increasing importance in the present strategies of development. In the context of dry regions of rural India, Common property Resources include, village pastures, community forests, Waste lands, common threshing grounds, Waste dumping places lands, common threshing grounds, Waste dumping places, Watershed-drainages, village-ponds, tanks and tank-beds, rivers, rivulets and river-beds etc.¹². Their nature varies from region to region. In some areas it may be forests, in some other areas watering points and irrigation tanks, in other areas waste-lands and community pastures. But in the arid and semi-arid areas they constitute a significant proportion of total land resources.¹³

For an agrarian society like India where about 70 percent of the population lives in the countryside, most of them are the tribals the landless, the small and marginal peasants, the artisan and rural-poor, Common Property Resources have a unique role **to** play in context of a highly integrated land live stock-vegetation systems of **the** rural economy. These traditional sources of livelihood directly **or**

indirectly play an important role in sustaining the income, employment and resource base of rural communities.

In Dantanpally Village, Common Property Resources, particularly Tanks and Tank-beds are the major source of income. the local forests, which fall under the Jurisdiction of Forest areas, are the major source of construction materials like stones, clay (mud), quality timber and bamboo and wild straw, and leaves for thatching. And many of their needs for domestic and agricultural, implements, like bullock-carts, ploughs, digging-sticks, baskets and mats are met by the forest-growing, in the surroundings of the village. But the Forest Department Officials won't allow the tribals and also to non-tribals, to enter in to these forests to acquire the forest items, for their need.

In the case of fishing in the local tank of this village, the system prevailed up to the end of the year 1989, was, that, every household in the settlement would be informed about the fishing event, so that no body will be deprived. And every body joins for fishing on certain day and takes his booty as per his choice and luck. But now system has been changed and fishing in the local tank has been handed over to the co-operative society of fisherment of Utnoor town. From this onwards, co-operative society of fishermen, are not allowing to any body except their own fishing community men, in the tank for fishing.

Similarly local tank-bed is utilized for raising crops after exhaustion of water (i.e., when tank dried-up). The crops like Black grams, corianders, Jute etc. Whole area under tank-bed uses to be shared by all community cultivators through fragmentation of the tank-bed and each allowed to raise their own crops as per their choice, with higher-yields, before advancement of monsoon.

The farming community, who owns wide tracts of dry and wet lands also uses the black-clay (Regadi matti in telugu) of the tank bed as manure for their lands. When tank dries up they arrange through their own bullock carts, to shift this fertile black clay of the tank-bed to their dry and wet lands, to make them fertile for higher yield of different crops. Actually this black-clay of tank-bed is most fertile-one, as it forms, when tank receives water through floods from hillocks, plains, fields, along with fertile layers of the soils, eroded by speedy flow of floods.

Finding - IV

Occupation and Change in Cropping Pattern

There are about 190 households of scheduled tribes in Dantanpally Village during the year 1990-91 of which 42 are landless. During this year (1990-91), out of 33 sample-land owning-households 2 households are having more than 10 acres, 3 are owning more than 5 acres and remaining 28 households owned less than 5 acres.

A fundamental change in the agricultural pattern of the Gonds occurred in the first half of the twentieth century. Until then the Gonds had mainly cultivated the light, reddish, soils on the high plateaus and gentle slopes on which they grew monsoon crops during the so-called, Kharif Season. As these soils could not be cultivated year after year, periods of fallow, had to alternate with the periods of cultivation. So long as there was ample land available, this system of frequent-fallows, allowed the Gonds to grow adequate crops on light soils and to leave the heavy, black-soils, in the wooded-valley-bottoms largely uncultivated.

The reservation of forests and the shrinkage of the tribals habitat caused by the incursions of non-tribal-settlers, compelled most of the Gonds to abandon the

practice of frequent fallows and to take more and more of the heavy, black soils under cultivation.

The man whose land consists mainly light, reddish soil has no other choice than to depend mainly on kharif crops, whereas the owner of heavy black-soil must inevitably concentrate on rabi crops

Another change occurred after sometime and at present in existence is production of costly crops like-cotton, tobacco, chillies instead of foodcrops like sorghum, rice, maize, red gram green gram.

The availability of novel commodities displayed in the newly established shops-created among the tribals, a craving for such goods, the only way of satisfying this craving was the production of crops of high cash value within the span of few years, the entire cropping pattern of Utnur taluk underwent a dramatic change. High prices paid for cotton and the possibility of speedily moving large quantities of this crop by lorry to the cotton market and railways at Adilabad transformed a food producing area into a region, concentrating on the growing, of cotton. The availability of this valuable commodity brought increasing number of merchants some from other states as distant as Gujarat, to a region which thirty years earlier has been a tribal backwater. One of the new commercial centres owing its rapid growth to the cotton boom is Jainur on the Utnur-Asifabad road and Gudi-Hatnoor on Hyderabad-Adilabad road. Until 1940 this localities were a deserted sites in the midst of forest, and was then resettled by a few Gond families, who had moved there from such near by villages as maralvai, Ragapur, Adilabad, Yeotmal. Utnur, within the past thirty years both were turned into a flourishing market centres inhabited by numerous Hindu and Muslim merchants. The tribals are spread in the whole Adilabad district

particularly the tribal groups like Gonds, Banjaras are found in large number, while Naikpodes, Kolams, pardhams, Thotis found at smaller pockets in small number. The Gonds, Lambadies and Naikpodes are settled cultivators, where as Kolams continuing shifting-cultivation in larger and settled cultivation in lesser area. Pardhans and Thotis are basals to the Gond community, and also owning small patches of land for cultivation. in lesser area. Pardhans and Thotis are basals to the Gonds community, and also owning small patches of land for cultivation. New technology which assured more farm employment through multiple cropping provided not only higher production but also higher incomes. There is no much change in the occupation of the Gonds of this village as their occupation (cultivation) still without any shift continuing. The Lambadis, Naikpodes engaged not only in cultivation but in trading also. Kolams are completely confined to podu and dry land cultivation, near hillock slopes. Pardhan and Thotis beg the amount from rich Gond and Lambadis, and also ventured into the Government services, for the jobs like attendars, operators, electricians, mechanics, teachers, drivers, conductors etc. As economic dependents, both Pardhans and Thotis frequently take cooked food from Gonds.

Finding - V

CHANGES IN POLITICAL POWER AND PEOPLE OF THE VILLAGE

The land, power, and people, are grassroot of empirical variables and offer clues to the understanding of the dynamics of the agrarian social structure in general and the rural elites and the agrarian power structure in particular ¹⁴.

For centuries the Gonds have enjoyed the leadership of their own feudal chiefs, some of whom had risen to positions of political power comparable to that wielded by Hindu Rajas, ruling over minor states of Middle India. The Gond rajas of Chanda and Garha Mandal were not only the hereditary leaders of their Gond

subjects, but also held sway over substantial communities of non-tribals, who recognised them as their feudal lords.¹⁵

As late as the 1940's most Gond villages were dominated by headmen, who provided real leadership and enjoyed a considerable measure of authority. Land holdings and settlements were then still flexible, for only a minority of Gonds had title deeds (pattas) to land and it was still relatively easy to obtain land for cultivation on temporary tenure. Hence, mobility was considerable. A strong and popular village headman would attract new settlers, and with the growth of the village, his prestige and influence would increase conversely, the village of an inefficient or unfair headman would shrink as the villagers could move away and find land elsewhere. At that time it was still possible to establish new villages, and the man taking the initiative in the founding of a village automatically became the headman of the group of families which had joined in the venture.

After dawn of Independence and also before the introduction of 3-tier panchayat system, in the villages of India, there were caste panchayats. According to this system every caste got its own panchayat and it was headed by an elder from that caste. They exercised unquestionable power to punish the culprit (within the caste panchayat rules). Over the above there was a head of the village, who was necessarily a Kapu. He has the right to punish any caste person if he violates caste rules. With the introduction of 3-tier panchayat raj in 1961, the leadership of the village was passed on to the elected panchayat with Sarpanch as head. Since Kapus are dominating in this village a Gond was elected as the village Sarpanch for the first time. For the second time also he was elected. Later a medium peasant from Gond community was elected to this post, due to Gond peasants' unrest in the district as Gond community has given priority even though post was not reserved

for scheduled tribe. He continued till 1982 panchayat elections. In 1982 and 1988 panchayat elections the village president post was occupied by Gond community and still God president of Telugu Desam party continuing. But the Mandal (Utnur Mandal) Praja Parishad Chairman post reserved for Scheduled Tribe and tribal incumbent of Telugu Desam Party. heading it and the Assembly seat reserved for Scheduled Tribe, Congress-I M.L.A. and the Minister of Tribal Welfare in Present Cabinet of A.P. Government holding this seat.

There are no strong rival-groups of political feuds, rival groups clashes, bombthrowing, etc. Who ever may be president from any party, this tribal economy having political tranquility still, in these days of violent-politics.

Major agrarian reforms and democratic decentralisation of power did bring about significant changes in the countryside. But only for the few, the powerful rural elites, who controlled much land, and who maintained the system of caste heirarchy continuing to control the system evey today¹⁶. The ownership of land in a society is treated as the mainstay for respectful living, those who have most of it, secure maximum respect from the peasants and the people. This is the present situation in Dantanpally.

Professionals and other committed congress party workers, who rose to become MPs and MLAs and who in their way initiated the process leading to the abolition of the Zamindari system in 1952, have shown a tendency to become a second class Zamindars, rather than the Vanguards of a new agrarian social order. Thus, the force which could have been a formidable agent of agrarian change has instead lent support to the age-old traditional agrarian practices of country side ¹⁷

FINDING OF THE STUDY

(Lakkaram Village)

In the case of Lakkaram Village, in which Jurisdiction hillock hamlets, like, Rampur (K), Durgapur, Muthadiguda, chinna-suddu guda, pedda sudda Guda, of our study falls, the following important things related to their agriculture, culture, literacy, borrowing, availment of ITDA and other benefits, are main features found in this economy.

Finding - 1

Cultivation of Hill - Slopes And Dry-Lands

Lands: The Aborigines (Gonds) of Adilabad district, who have been settled on the land since, time immemorial and subsisted principally on agriculture, not shifted, so far, to other occupations like traders, Craftsmen, artisans, musicians, entrepreneurship etc.¹⁸

The Gond themselves, both from their mythology and from ruined-sites of past civilization in the area, realise that they are not the first people to have lived here. But the fact remains that they see themselves as the people who cleared the forests, and, along with the other aboriginal groups, have first claim to be the original occupants ¹⁹.

The Gonds of these five hamlets cultivate only hill slopes and dry lands not a single cent of wet land found in these hillock hamlets, due to lack of irrigation sources like, tank, well, canal, borewell, check dam, and so on, more over their poverty stricken conditions are not conducive to sink well in their own dry lands, to convert in to wet. Neither the Government nor the ITDA has planned to construct

tank or check dam, to facilitate all tribal farmers for their cultivation. Even though a water stream (Vagu) flowing through the forests, touching Durgapur, Rampur (K) Muthadiguda, hamlets, but not useful to this tribal belt, as no chek dam constructed on it. The food crop like jawar and cash crop like jawar and cash crop like cotton are two important crops raised in these dry lands. Where hill-slopes are, only suitable for Jawar crops, and there was no danger of water-logging in the hill-slopes.

Many Gonds of these hamlets, uses to reap sufficient grain crop like jawar (millet) to meet their domestic needs, through out the year. Food grain was rarely sold, and for cash requirements, such as the money needed for paying land revenue and buying clothes oil were met by the sale of cash crops, usually grown only in small quantities previously oil seeds and castor were the main cash crops to the Godns, where as large scale growing of cotton is a relatively recent phenomenon (In Gond myths and epics there is no mention of cotton, whereas millet and rice both figure prominently Haimendorf, tribes of India p.98).

The reservation of forests and the shrinkage of the tribals habitat caused by the incursion of non-tribal settlers in neighbouring villages located at road side compelled most of the Gonds to abandon the practice of frequent fallows, and to take more and more of the heavy, black-soils under cultivation, eventhough these dry lands seems fertile without re-fertiling them with fertilizers, except, cowdung-manure, and leaves of trees. No Gond raises other crops like Tobacco, chillies, wheat, Sugarcane, Sunflower, Vegetables except jawar and cotton. some part of the dry land and hill-slopes, spared for cattle grazing particularly for cows, calves and bullocks.

Finding - 2

No Impact of Green Revolution and Market Forces:

All these five hamlets purely inhabited by Gonds, remained out of green revolution's impact. All the respondents are cultivating the same plots, of land for the same crop. They are accustomed to raise food crop like jawar and cash crops like cotton, Redgram, green gram for last twenty years, but not shifted to other crops.

They are not fully aware about the use of chemical fertilisers at the time of sowing seeds and transplantations. Similar response from all the respondents about the use of pesticides and Insecticides to control pests and other insect affected diseases to the standing-crops.

The isolated location of their hamlets, in the hillocks deprived them-off, the benefits of green revolution.

It is the general phenomenon that market forces are one of the factors for change in cropping pattern and occupations. But these hamlets are not effected so far, with any type of market forces, and confined to their traditional, primitive, cultivating system, raising same crops. The market surplus of the farmer remains low, due to low-yield of food grains and cash crops, by which marketing of their products won't take place, and their income level and standard of living would not improves. Still, all these Gonds living in the houses built of wood and bamboo and thatched with grass, having a free standing cylindrical grain -bins which are made of wattle and covered with a mixture of mud and cow dung in front of their houses. Recently (1990-91) ITDA has sanctioned some amount for purchasing tiles to their owned houses to cover the roof of their wooden and bamboo-built houses, instead of grass, which is fire prone.

Finding - 3

No Money Lending And No Borrowing:

It is noteworthy thing that this tribal economy situated in the hillocks, not witnessed the money lending and Borrowing activities, by the virtue of exclusively, purely Gond-habitation. Even among Gonds also, borrowing and lending-trend not developed much, each and every Gond respondent, responds that, they won't approach to any money-lender (Sahukar) of the near-by Utnoor town, for borrowing, the money, to meet their necessities like buying clothes, tobacco, and also for celebrating the marriages of their kith and kins, and also for performing rituals, attending jattras and shandies. They are accustomed to their traditional life, content with meagre they possess and meeting all the expenditures with the money they received after sale of the part of their food grain and complete cotton produce, at lowest market rate, fixed by the commission agents of the market of Utnoor town.

As per the version of a teacher, who works in Durgapur, The Gonds of these hillock hamlets live with eating tubers edible leaves of the trees, fruits, roots, and also by eating the meat of rabbit, deer, peacock and fish but not venture for borrowing in their utter failure of conditions of ripening the food crops and also cash crops.

The non-exposure to advanced civilization, culture and also influence of Green-revolution, market forces, made them not to resort to borrowing from non-tribals as well as from their own community members during their economic crisis.

Actually the tribals face difficulties from the social environment with the entry of non-tribal traders, money-lenders, forest and excise officials ²⁰. The absence of

all type of outsiders, made these hamlets, to remain with tranquility, without any land transfers and alienation.

Finding - 4

Presence of Atram Gond Raja:

In this Lakkaram (main) Village, situated near Utnoor town, Atram Dev Shah, eldest son of Jagapai Rao, the last Utnoor Raja, still live in with owning large tracts of wet and dry lands, and also large house in this main lakkaram village. The presence of the Gond Raja, Atram Deo Shah in this village, completely closed the doors of this village for non-tribals and also for money lenders to enter and for encroaching on the tribal lands.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. See **C.V.F.** Haimendrof, Tribes of India (struggle for survival) Oxford University Press, 1988, p-55.
2. See B.J. Rao's Land Alienation in Tribal Areas, Kakatiya School of Public Administration, 1987 p-270.
3. A Paper prepared by TCATI, Hyd, (By Ramchandra Raju, Deputy Director) 1992, p-19.

Pass Book: Under section 38E of the amendment to the Andhra Pradesh Land Transfer Act of 1950 all protected tenants were given the Pass Book (equal to patta certificate) to their land suo moto or automatically by the government. This system was started during 1987-88 when NT. Rama Rao was the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.

Khasra-Pahni: Under the Records of Rights ACT 1950, All the tenants were able to get protected-tenancy-certificatees.

Khalas Diwani: Lands that come under Government land revenue system.

Sarf-i-Khas: Nizam own direct estate or crown lands

Mufawwaza-j-Diwani: Reference to the certain parts Nizam's Sarf-i-Khas, which had been handed over for purposes of administration to the state (Diwani) were called Mufawwaza-i-Diwani.

4. A paper prepared by Tribal cultural Research and Training Institute and submitted to the planning commission 1992, p-23.
5. Ibid p-24.
6. C.V.F. Haimendrof Tribes India (The struggle for survival Oxford University Press, 1988, p-55.
7. Ibid p-55-56.
8. B. Danam, Land Alienation in Andhra Pradesh Tribal areas, in Land Alienation and Restoration in Tribal communities in India. p-14.
9. Ibid. p-18.
10. Nadeem Hasnaina's Tribal India Today, Harnam Publications, 1088, p-104.
11. Ibid. p-104.
12. Jodha N.S. 1986, Common property resource and rural poor in dry region of Inida, Economic and Political weekly Vol. 21, No. 27 pp-1169, -81.
13. Studies says that excluding major irrigation system the arid and semi-arid areas of India are spread over 31700 Kms (Krishna 1977) and 1,700,000 Kms (Rayon etc. 1974) respectively, and together they account for more than 61 percent of the total area of the country.

14. Rajendra Singh's Land Power and people (Rural elit in transistion (1801-1920) sage publications, New Delhi. 1988, p-11-12.
15. C.V.F. Haimendrof Tribes of India (The Struggle for survival) Oxford University Press 1988, p-151.
16. Ibid p-232.
17. Ibid p-232.
18. C.V.F. Haimendrof's Tribes of India (The struggle for survival) Oxford University Press, 1988, p-214.
19. Ibid p-215.
20. V.S. Ramamani Tribal Economy (Marketing of produce in Tribal Areas-A case study) paper submitted at A.P. Economic Association, Conference papers, 1991 P-78.

CHAPTER - VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Land and Water are the precious gifts of nature and the very basis of existence of mankind. Land is the prime source of income in the World. Most countries of the third world, have, between one half ($1/2$), and three quarters ($3/4$), of their working population engaged in agriculture, and a very small proportion in industries, transport and commerce. In a country like India, 70 percent of the population lives in the countryside, most of them are the tribals, the landless, the small and marginal peasants, the artisans, and rural poor, the development of agriculture requires special attention. The tribal people constitute an important segment of the Indian Society next to Africa. India has the largest concentration of Tribal population.

In the tribal economy, the land, and forests, are of great significance to tribals. Economic-heritage and social status, among the tribal is measured in terms of land ownership, particularly, possession of hereditary land. With the exception of some small communities of hunters, and food gatherers, all the tribal people of India, mainly depend on agriculture for their subsistence. For centuries they had free access to land and it was only at the beginning of the 20th century, tribal communities encountered the competition of materially more advanced population infiltrated into the areas which had previously been the preserves of such tribes.

According to the agricultural census of operational holdings of 1981, among marginal holdings, the share of the scheduled castes was 13.8 percent, and in the case of large holdings their share was merely 4.4 percent. Similarly for scheduled tribes, it was 5.4 percent and 10.8 percent, while that of other communities was, as high as 84.8 percent. It may be further observed that whereas the proportion of the scheduled castes in the rural population in the country was 17.34 percent, their share in the total number of operational holdings was only 11.3 percent, similarly the scheduled tribes had 7.7 percent of the total number of holdings though their proportion in the rural population was 9.54 percent. Nearly 69 percent of the land

holdings of the scheduled castes are marginal i.e., below one hectare. While in the case of the scheduled tribes this percentage is 39.8 percent. Infact the inadequacy of agricultural land is a common feature and general problem of the Indian peasants which is more severe among the tribals.

Tribals in a large part of India have been passing through a crisis due to large scale land alienation, indebtedness, and erosion of forest rights. They are losing their lands along the new arteries of communication, and being incessantly pushed back, from wherever new opportunities are arising. They are being squeezed out, or forced, to flee on their own, firstly as their lands are acquired by new establishments and then in the face of successive waves of migrants, who began to pour into these area and spread out. A dramatic change in the peaceful co-existence of tribal economies occurred when improved communications opened-up, previously inaccessible tribal areas, and rapid growth of the Indian population led to pressure on the land resources. In the past fifty years, most of the tribal societies have come under attack by economically more advanced and politically more powerful ethnic groups, who infiltrated into tribal regions in search of land, and new economic possibilities. These population movements triggered a struggle for land in which the aboriginal tribesmen, were usually the losers, and deprived of their ancestral land, turned into impoverished landless-labourers.

The forest and mountainous tracts are the traditional moorings of the pre-literate societies, are considered as placid places from time immemorial. But these tribal areas have been turned into virtual places of disturbances, in the last two centuries. Most of the rebellions in our country arose, primarily due to illegal deprivation of their rights, on the lands. The Rampa rebellion in East Godavari district in 1879, and series of revolts in tribal areas of Visakhapatnam in 19th century was due to exploitation by Muttadars and Zamindars. The Gond rebellion (Babijhari movement) in the Adilabad in 1940, was, against transfer and alienation of lands from Gonds to non-tribals, and extension of forest-reserve boundaries, over their ancestral lands. The tribal unrest leading to police-firing at Indervelli in Utnoor taluk had its roots in land problem.

The laws prohibiting the acquisition of tribal land by non-tribals, were obviously ignored, otherwise it would have been impossible for all the immigrants to acquire housesites and arable land at the expense of Gonds, who lost all or most of their land within span of a few years. The lack of patta rights to Gonds, and allotment of all type of lands to non-tribals on Siwa-i-Jamabandi tenure, deprived the Gonds, from the source of owning-tiny piece of land. The deprivation, continues, despite the many laws, enacted to protect tribals. Even the measures designed for their welfare, are sometimes used against them, alienation of tribal land has continued unabated, notwithstanding, enacted of a bevy of laws, and promulgations, of regulations of regulations for protecting the same.

The studies made by the colonial administrators and anthropologists and many liberals from the British academic circles, during the British rule were purely anthropological studies, but not economic and political dimension oriented. After independence several studies were undertaken. All these studies, are mainly concentrated on the matters like arrangement of constitutional safeguards, creation of welfare institutions, impact of industrialization, inducement of technology in agriculture, the cultural influx, the migration-trends, administrative efficiency, indebtedness, money-lending, forest- polices and bonded-labour problems in tribal society. Many policies were implemented by the government on the basis, of these studies. But the socio-economic positions of scheduled tribes in rural India, were not improved significantly. Land problem though recognised as the basic problem of tribal economy, much coverage has not been given to the problem of land transfers and alienation.

Hence there is need for studying the problem of land transfers, process of land alienation, in tribal economy in a more detailed way, with special reference to the position of scheduled tribes. The present study attempts in a modest way to study the tribal problem with special reference to land transfers and alienation.

OBJECTIVES

The major objectives of the present study are:

1. To examine the direction, and magnitude, of land transfers and alienation during the period, 1960-61 to 1990-91, with special reference to scheduled tribes in two villages.
2. To study the causes and process of land alienation, and transfers in the selected villages.

Two scheduled villages, namely Dantanpally and Lakkaram of Utnoor mandal, Adilabad district, in Andhra Pradesh have been selected for this study. The road-side village Dantanpally, was subject to significant shifts in land owned by different caste groups, while hamlets of lakkaram village in hillocks, were subject to lesser shifts in land owned during the last 30 years i.e. from 1960-61 to 1990-91.

SOURCE OF DATA AND METHODOLOGY

For the collection of data, different questionnaires are served to both the tribal and non-tribal peasants of the selected villages. The questionnaire comprises of items, related directly or indirectly to the problems of the land-alienation and transfers in both villages. Both the villages under study have been chosen purposively. The number of sample of house-holds taken for study are 300, from both villages, 150 house-holds from Dantanpally village which is situated close to the motor-road, and another 150 house-holds from the hillock hamlets of lakkaram village, not connected with any type of roads and purely inhabited by Gonds (tribals) only.

In the case of Dantanpally village the criterion applied for selecting the sample households was "Land gained and Land Lost" in huge quantum, comparatively with other households, of the village, while in the case of Lakkaram village it is similar features of all the hamlets, purely inhabited by Gonds. The Raja of Lakkaram, Atram Deoshah of Gond caste who is owning more than 200 acres of land not taken as sample household. Out of these 300, households, the tribal households are 225 and non-tribal households are 75 (including scheduled caste households).

All the sample households are grouped under four broad caste groups namely Forward- caste, Backward-caste, Scheduled-caste and Scheduled-tribes. Here the term tribal includes Gondas, Naikpods, Lambadis (Banjaras) caste. The Mahars are categorised as scheduled castes (constitutionally they come under scheduled castes only). The term non-tribal is used in a very broad sense which includes caste groups like Backward caste and Forward caste respondents of our sample study. Similarly the Backward caste group includes sub-castes Kapus, Gowds, Perikas, Hatkars, Kunbis, Marathas, whereas forward caste group comprises sub-castes komatis and Muslims. Interviews with elderly people and village karnams were of much help in this context. The changing political and economic conditions of Gonds, Since inception of village has been carefully examined and the political disturbances like militant-

movements of tribals in Srikakulam, Khammam districts and their impact in the Adilabad district particularly in both villages during the period of 1960-61 to 1970-71 are also taken into account.

STATISTICAL TOOLS USED

The data on land ownership with reference to caste, size, and different factors affecting to land transfers and alienation are carefully tabulated. The Lorenz curve and Gini concentration ratios are used to find the degree of inequality in the distribution of land. Simple averages are also used to find average land holdings.

CHAPTERISATION

In the first chapter the problem is posed, relevant literature is reviewed and methodology is also spelt out. The second chapter explains the concepts of alienation and transfer of land in tribal economy. The third chapter deals with history of the land problem and problem of land alienation in Adilabad district. The fourth chapter deals with the profiles of Adilabad district, Utnoor mandal and two selected villages. The fifth chapter provides the information about the analysis of primary data on direction and magnitude of shifts occurred in respect of land owned by different caste groups, size groups between 1960-61 to 1990-91, in two villages. An attempt is made in sixth chapter to study magnitude and direction of the land-transfers, with reference to caste and size, and from 1960-61 to 1990-91. The seventh chapter deals with detailed analysis of causes of land transfers and alienation and also factors affecting shifts in land ownership in both villages. Eighth chapter presents summary and conclusions.

MAIN FINDINGS

(DANTANPALLY VILLAGE)

An analysis of the caste-wise land-holding pattern during the year 1960-1961 reveals, that 58.96 percent (1001.00 acres) of total land (i.e., 1,697.50 acres) is owned by 47.86 percent (56 households) of Backward Caste farmers, out of 117 total land owning households, with an average size holding of 17.65 acres. Similarly 10.25 percent (12 households) of Forward Caste farmers owning 9.58 percent (162.70 acres) of total land with an average size holding of 13.55 acres. 0.98 percent (16.80 acres) of the total land, was owned by 3.42 percent (4 households) of Scheduled Caste farmers, of total land owning households, with an average size holding of 4.20 acres.

In the case of scheduled tribe farmers, 30.48 (517.55 acres) of total land was owned by 38.46 percent (45 households) of tribal land owning households, out of 117 total land owning households, with an average size of 11.49 acres.

The average size holding of the Backward Caste farmers is not only more than the average size holdings of other castes, but also higher than the average size of total land owning sample households (i.e., 14.50 acres). Among Backward Caste farmers (which includes sub-castes like Kapus, Gowds, Perikas, Hatkars, Kunbis, and Marathas) the Kapus who constitute 15.38 percent (18 households) of total land owning households and 32.14 percent of Backward Caste - land owning, households, are owning larger area than all other sub-Casters owned i.e., 28.80 percent (489.00 acres) total land and 48.85 percent of the land owned by total backward caste farmers.

The average size holding is 27.16 acres which is more than all average size holding of other sub-castes, and also higher than that of total sample households (i.e., 14.50 acres). Similarly 1.70 percent of Hatkars Caste of total holdings and 3.57 percent of backward caste land owned households are owning smallest area among backward caste farmers i.e., 1.64 percent (28.00 acres) of total land, and 2.79 percent of backward caste owned total land, with an average size holding of 14.00 acres.

Among Forward Caste Farmers, the Muslims are owning higher proportion of land. They constitute 8.55 percent (10 households) of farmers of total land owning households and 83.34 percent of forward caste land owning households, and owning 7.35 percent (124.70 acres) of total land and 76.64 percent of total land owned by forward caste farmers, with an average size holding of 12.47 acres. Similarly 1.71 percent (2 households) of farmers of total land owning households of all castes, and 16.66 percent of forward caste land owning households belonging to Komati caste are owning lowest land among forward caste farmers i.e., 2.23 percent (38.00 acres) of total land and 23.36 percent of forward caste's total land with an average size holding of 19.00 acres.

The average size land holding of Scheduled Caste farmers is 4.20 acres, which is lowest among all average holdings all Caste land owning households of our study.

Among the Scheduled Tribe farmers the Lambadis (Banjaras) farmers are owning larger proportion of land (i.e., 437.00 acres) out of total land owned by all Scheduled Tribe Farmers. They constitute 29.05 percent (34 households) of total land owning households of all castes and 75.56 percent of Scheduled tribe land owning households, and owning 25.74 percent (437.00 acres) of total land and 84.44 percent of the land owned by Scheduled Tribe farmers, with an average size holding 12.85 acres. Similarly 3.42 percent (4 households) of Naikpod peasants own 2.00 percent (34.00 acres) of total land which is lowest among Schedule Tribe farmers with an average size holding of 8.5 acres.

When the land holding pattern in the year 1960-61 analysed size - wise, it is found that out of total 117 land owning households, 20 percent of (34 holdings) of large farmers are controlling 70.65 percent of the total land. Similarly 27.35 percent (32 holdings) of medium farmers controlling 18.40 percent of the total land. 29 percent (34 holdings) of small farmers, controlling 9.72 percent of the total land, and 14.50 percent of marginal holdings (17 holdings) are owning 1.21 percent of the total land.

The Gini concentration ratio is found to be 0.48 in the year 1960-61. It is also interesting to note that all the land holdings of 10 acres and above belonged to back-ward Caste, forward caste and scheduled tribe farmers (particularly Lambadi farmers only) but not to Gond and Naikpod Tribes, and also Scheduled Caste farmers in 1960-61.

The Caste-Wise analysis of land transfers and alienation in Dantanpally village reveals that the total quantum of land lost by all castes except scheduled tribes particularly Lambadi caste farmers, during the period 1960-61 to 1970-71 was 833.00 acres, as the total land owned by all castes declined from 1697.50 acres (1960-61) to 864.50 acres in (1970-71)- The caste groups like Backward Caste, Forward Caste farmers lost some part of their land, but not gained any single cent of land, except scheduled tribe farmers particularly Lambadi caste farmers, in view of the significant changes in the land owned by different castes groups. The farmers of scheduled and schedules tribes (particularly Gonds and Naikpods) lost their complete owned land, where as Lambadis acquired 3.00 acres additionally during the transition period of 1960-61 to 1970-71. similarly 11.20 percent (96.80 acres) to total lost land was alienated and 88.00 percent (736.30 acres) of total lost land was transferred due to different reasons during the period 1960-61 to 1970-71.

The size-wise analysis of land transfers and alienation in Dantanpally village reveals that 72.25 percent (603.35 acres) of total land was sold by large farmers; 16.28 percent (140.50 acres) of total land was lost by medium farmers, 9.28 percent (77.50 acres) of total land was lost by small farmers and 1.29 percent (9.65 acres) of total land was lost by marginal farmers, during the period of one decade period (i.e., 1960-61 to 1970-71).

Out of total land 864.50 acres owned by total land owning sample household of the Dantanpally village in the year 1970-71, 6.94 percent (60.00 acres) of total land was owned by 12.5 percent (12 households) of Forward caste holdings, of total land owning households, with an average size holding of 5.00 acres. Similarly 42.16 percent (364.50 acres) of total land was owned by 54.16 percent (52 households) of Backward caste farmers of total land owning households, with an average size holdings of 7.00 acres. 50.89 percent (440.00 acres) of total land, was owned by 33.33 percent (32 households) of scheduled tribe farmers, of total land owning holdings, with an average size holding of 13.75 acres. The scheduled caste peasants are not owning a single cent (piece) of land, as they stripped -off whole land by non-tribals, between 1960-61 to 1970-71. The average size of the land holding of forward caste is 5.00 acres, which is less than that of Backward caste farmers (7.00 acres) and much lesser to the average size of scheduled tribe farmers, (particularly of Lambadi peasants) whose average holding is 13.75 acres.

This shows that scheduled tribe farmers (particularly Lambadi farmers) had good control over land (i.e., 440.00 acres out of total land 864.50 acres), Backward Caste farmers occupied middle position and Forward Caste occupied lower position, in the year 1970-71.

Among Forward Caste-group farmers, Komati farmers are having good control over the land (i.e., 30.00 acres out of 60.00 acres owned by all forward caste peasants). They constitute 2.08 percent (2 households) of farmers of total land owning households, and 16.66 percent of forward caste land owning households, and owning 3.47 percent (30.00 acres) of total land and 50.00 percent of total land owned by forward caste farmers, with an average size of 15.00 acres.

Among Backward Caste farmers, Kapus are owning huge chunk of land. They constitute 18.75 percent (18 households) of total land owning households, and 34.62 percent of Backward caste total holdings, are owning 25.44 percent (220.00 acres) of total land of all castes and 60.36 percent of the total land owned by Backward Caste with average size of 12.22 acres. Similarly 5.20 percent (5 households) of total land owning households, and 9.62 percent of Backwards caste total holdings, belonging to Periks Caste are owning smallest area among backward caste farmers i.e., 1.15 percent (10.00 acres) of total land, and 2.75 percent of backward castes total land, with average size of 2.00 acres only.

Among Scheduled Tribe farmers Lambadi farmers are owning larger portion of land (i.e., 440.00 acres) out of total land owned. They constitute 33.33 percent (32 households) of total land owning households are owning 50.88 percent of total land owned by all castes, and complete total land, owned by scheduled tribes only with an average size holding 13.75 acres. Other tribes like Gonds, and Naikpods of our study lost their owned land completely, and became landless-labourers by 1970-71, and similar case with scheduled caste peasant of our study by the year 1970-71. The average size of the land holding of Komatis and Lambadis, found higher than the average holdings of all castes, which focuses that Komatis and Lambadies (Banjaras) are having comfortable control over the land in 1970-71.

When the land holding pattern in the year 1970-71 size-wise analysed, it is found that, out of 96 land owning households of all size groups, 30.20 percent (29 holdings) of all size groups, of large farmers controlling 68.94 percent (695.00 acres) of total land, in the same manner 25.00 percent (24 holdings) of medium farmers, accounting for 19.89 percent (172.00 acres) of total land. 30.20 percent (29 holdings) of total land owning households, falling in the range of small farmers category accounting for 10.12 percent (87.50 acres) of total land, 14.58 percent (14 households) of total households of marginal farmers category controlling 1.04 percent (9.90 acres) of total land. The Gini concentration ratio is found to be 0.46 in the year 1970-71 which is less than of 1960-61 (0.48). It is also remarkable that, all the land holdings of 10 acres and above belonged to Backward Caste, Forward Caste, and also to Lambadi Caste farmers.

The Caste-wise analysis of land transfers and alienation in this village reveals that, Backwards caste farmers gained more land, among them particularly Kapus *are* gained 29.36 percent (180.00 acres) of total gained land. Among Forward Caste farmers, particularly Muslim farmers gained more land i.e., 19.80 percent (121.40 acres) of total gained land. The Scheduled Tribe farmers, particularly Lambadi farmers are major land - losers, they lost 39 15 percent (240.00 acres) of total land lost, during the period between 1970-71 to 1980-81.

The size-wise land transfers and alienation analysis throws light upon that, large farmers gained 45.87 percent (161.25 acres) of total land gained, medium farmers gained 38.12 percent (134.00 acres) of total land gained, small farmers gained 15.78 percent (55.50 acres) of total land gained, and marginal farmers gained 0.21 percent (0.75 acres) of total land gained, during the period of one decade (i.e., between 1970-71 to 1980-81). Except Lambadi caste large and medium farmers, all other caste large, medium farmers gained huge chunk of land. 38.39 percent (104.25 acres) of total lost land was alienated and 6.11 percent (163.75 acres) of total lost land was transferred due to different reasons.

Out of total land 1216.50 acres owned by land owning sample house holds of the Dantanpally village in the year 1980-81, 26.88 percent (25 households) of Scheduled Tribe farmers to total land owning households, owning 16.44 percent (200.00 acres) of total land owned by all Caste-groups, with an average size holding of 8.00 acres, 60.21 percent (56 households) of Backward Caste farmers to the total land owning households, owning 68.63 percent (834.90 acres) of total land owned by all Caste-groups, with an average size holding of 14.90 acres. Similarly, 12.90 percent (12 households) of Forward caste, out of total land owning households owning 14.91 percent (181.60 acres) of total land, with average size of 15.12 acres. The scheduled caste peasants are not owning any amount of land during this period. The average holdings of forward caste and backward caste are more with the average holding of scheduled tribe farmers. It reveals that the Backward caste cultivators having much control over the land, as major share (834.90 acres) of total land (i.e., 1216. 50 acres) was owned by them.

Among scheduled tribe farmers, only Lambadi peasants were found with owning the land to the extend 200.00 acres. They constitutes 26.88 percent (25 households) of total land owning households and owning 16.44 percent (200.00 acres) of total land, and complete total land owned by (particularly) schedule tribe farmers, with an average size of 8.00 acres.

Among Forward Caste farmers, Muslim farmers are owning larger share (i.e., 151.00 acres) of total land owned by total forward caste farmers, while Komaties are owning smallest area among forward farmers.

Among Backward caste farmers Kapus are owning more that 1/4th of the total land owned by all castes. The average size holding of Kapu farmers is higher to all caste peasants and they are controlling larger part (400.00 acres) of total land owned by total backward caste farmers of the year 1980-81. They constitutes 32.14 percent (18 households) of total backwards caste holdings, and 19.35 percent of total land owning households and owning 32.88 percent (400.00 acres) of total land and also 47.90 percent of total land owned by backward caste peasants with an average size of 22.22 acres. Similarly 2.00 percent (2 households) of total land owning households, and 3.57 percent of total backward caste holdings of Hatkar Sub-Caste, are owning smallest area among backward caste farmers i.e., 1.84 percent (22.50 acres) of total land, and 2.69 percent of the land owned by backward caste farmers only with an average size of 1.84 acres..

The land ownership particulars of the year 1980-81 when analysed size-wise it manifests, that out of 93 land owning households of all size -groups, 26.88 percent (25 households) of large farmers are controlling 62.24 percent (757.25 acres) of total land, similarly, 36.56 percent (34 households) of medium farmers, controlling 25.18 percent (306.40) acres) of total land, 31.18 percent (29 households) of total land owning households of small farmers are controlling 11.75 percent (143.00 acres) of total land. 5.37 percent (5 households) of total land owning households of marginal farmers, are owning 0.80 percent (9.75 acres) of total land. The Gini concentration ratio is found to be 0.40 which is much less than that of 1970-71 (0.46) by which it is found that there is a decline in the degree of inequality distribution of land in the year 1980-81. It is also to be noted that all the land holdings of 10 acres and above belonged to backward caste, forward caste and scheduled tribe (mainly Lambadi caste) farmers.

The caste-wise analysis of land transfers and alienation in Dantanpally **village**, reveals that between the years 1980-81 to 1990-91. among backward caste farmers Kapus gained 27.02 percent (50.00 acres) of total gained land of all castes, similarly Gowds gained 55.55 percent (103.00 acres) of total land, other sub-castes like Perikas, Hatkars, Kunbis, Marathas were not gained huge quantum of land like Kapus, **and** Gowds. Among four major caste groups - Forward, Backward, Schedule Caste and Scheduled Tribe, of the sample study during the period 1980-81 to 1990-91 the backward farmers were major gainers in the land transfers and scheduled tribe farmers of Lambadi caste were major losers where as forward caste farmers lost smaller part of their owned land.

The size-wise analysis land transfers and alienation in the Dantanapally village, exhibits that large farmers gained 15.50 percent (28.75 acres) of total gained lands by all size group farmers. Medium farmers lost 15.14 percent (25.50 acres) of total land lost by all size group farmers, similarly small farmers gained 3.24 percent (6.00 acres) of total land gained by all size groups. 4.45 percent (8.25 acres) of total land acquired by marginal farmers of the sample during the period 1980-81 to 1990-91. During this period large farmers gained huge chunk of land, out of total gained land out of total land lost (168.40 acres) 22.56 percent was due to land alienation and the remaining 77.44 percent was due to the land transfers.

In the year 1990-91 out of total land owned 1233.50 acres, by all caste and size-groups farmers, of the Dantanpally village, 32.67 percent (33 households) scheduled tribe peasants of total land owning household i.e., (101 households) controlling 7.29 percent (92.00 acres) of total land, with an average size of 2.78 acres, similarly 55.44 percent (56 households) backward caste farmers, of total land owning households, are owning 78.75 percent (971.50 acres) of total land with an average size-holding of 17.34 acres. 11.88 percent (12 households) of Forward caste farmers of total land owned households, are possessing 13.78 percent (170.00 acres) of total land under their control, with an average size holding of 14.16 acres. The average size holding of Backward caste is higher to all other caste average holdings, and also the total land, owned by Backward caste is more (i.e., 971.50 acres) to all other caste total land holdings, by which, it emerges the Backward caste cultivators having huge quantum of land under their possession.

Scheduled tribe farmers, own 92.00 acres of land with an average size holding of 2.78 acres. They constitute 32.67 percent (33 households) of total land owning households and owning 7.46 percent (92.00 acres) of total land held by all tribals. All these lands belong to the only tribal farmers of Lambadi caste as other tribals lost their owned land by the year 1970-71.

Among Backward caste farmers Kapus are owning major share i.e., 450.00 acres of land in the year 1990-91 with an average size holding of 25.00 acres. They constitute 17.82 percent (18 households) of total land owning households, and 32.14 percent Backward Caste land owning households, owning 36.48 percent (450.00 acres) of total land owned by all castes, and 46.32 percent of backward caste total land holdings. Similarly 4.95 percent (5 households) of total cultivators and 8.93 percent of backwards caste total farmers, belonging to Perika sub-caste, are owning, 0.40 percent (5.00 acres which is lowest among backward caste farmers) of total land and 0.03 percent of backward caste farmers owned total land.

Among forward caste farmers Muslim farmers are having larger area (i.e., 139.00 acres) under their control with an average holding of 13.90 acres. They constitutes 9.90 percent (10 households) of total farmers and also 83.33 percent of farmers of forward caste land owning households owning 1.26 percent (139.00 acres) of total land, and 11.27 percent of total land owned by forward caste farmers, whereas Komaties are owning smallest area i.e., (30.00 acres) under their control.

The land holding pattern in the year 1990-91, when analysed, size-wise, it revealed that, out of 101 land owning households 19.80 percent (20 households) large farmers controlling 63.72 percent (786.00 acres) of total land, owned by all size groups farmers, similarly 28.71 percent (29 households) of total land owning households, of medium farmers category, are owning 22.74 percent (280.50 acres) of total land. 33.66 percent (34 households) of total farmers, of small farmers size-group, are controlling 12.07 percent (149.00 acres) of total land. 17.82 percent (18 households) of total land owned households, of marginal farmers, are owning 1.45 percent (18.00 acres) of total land. This shows that large farmers are controlling major share, and owning huge chunk of total land in the year 1990-91. The Gini concentration ratio is found to be 0.54 which is higher than that of 1980-81 (i.e., 0.40). It is found that there is rise in the degree of inequality in the distribution of land in the year 1990-91. It

is also to be noted that, all the land holdings of 19 acres and above belonged to backward caste, mainly of Kapu and Gowada castes only.

From the foregoing analysis of Dantanpally village it can be concluded **that** **the** shifts in the land owned by different caste groups took place in favour of backward castes farmers who were migrated to this villages long time back and settled here. The forward caste farmers control over land fluctuated in different periods and they lost some part of their owned land. Throughout the period particularly in 1960-61 it is found that the relative share of scheduled castes in the total land is very meagre and it has further deteriorated, they lost (alienate of) their control completely, over their land and joined in the pool of landless agricultural labourers. It is mainly because of no alternative avenues except agriculture.

But in the case of scheduled tribes, particularly Gonds their poverty, illiteracy, ignorance, simplicity, isolated nature, came in the way of their access to get even Kaharikkhata and Parambhpok land by Girdawars and Patwaris and also land on Sivai-Jamabandi tenure. Similarly the scheduled caste engulfed with the same problems in this village.

The important factors which were responsible for the transfers and alienation of the land, owned by different caste groups and size-groups in Dantanpally village found to be:

1. The impact of land transfer Regulation 11 of 1963 and the militant movements of the tribals backed by extremist group of communist party of India, in the case of non-tribals, while in the case of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes it is poverty, addiction and debt servicing.
2. Change in attitude, motivation of the farmers after 1970-71, increase in cost of input in agriculture and also medical expenses, educational expenses in the case of non-tribals, and in the case of tribals it is poverty, addiction debt-servicing etc.
3. Impact of the economic situation, and tempo of developmental programs, after the incident of Indravelli massacre (20 April 1981), development of skill of entrepreneurship, among non-tribals. The awareness about education exposure to modern civilization, addiction in the case of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

The scheduled tribes of this village particularly the Gonds (Aboriginals of Adilabad district), their relative share in the total land is very meagre in our sample study in the year 1960-61 and during the period between 1960-61 to 1970-71, their lands were taken by non-tribals through illegal procedures (alienated their lands) and they have been thrown into the pool of landless agricultural labourers. It is mainly because of their isolation, illiteracy, ignorance, poverty, binding to superstitions, performing religious rites, to honour their clandeitites, and mostly due to addiction. Besides they remained unentreprising, throughout their life, mainly due to illiteracy, ignorance, isolation, poverty and also by exploitative attitude of non-tribals and negligent behaviour of bureaucracy. Still the poor Gonds, Naikpods, and also Kolams of the Adilabad district are struggling for their survival and the role of development institutions and other input markets, sales markets are not adequate to uplift them from the vicious circle of poverty, and also from the trap of money-lenders of this tribal economy.

In the case of Lakkaram village comprising five hillock hamlets purely inhabited by aboriginals (Gonds) the spectrum of land holding pattern indicates that a similar situation (status-quo) of the base year 1960-61 perpetuates in view of the isolated location of these tribal hamlets except six case of legal land transfer cases, who sold their land as per the norms stipulated by elders of their Gond society, along with proper procedures to other tribal families of sample study to meet the expenditures required and demanded by pyraveekars to get jobs like watchman, attender in offices located at Utnoor-headquarters and also in Saudi-Arabia (OPEC like Kuwait, Yemens and Dubai).

No other factors like social, political, administrative , environmental, legislative, affected the land-ownership in this backward tribal economy except economic factors like poverty and meeting by expenditures to get jobs in government sectors through pyraveekars. The Gini concentration ratio remained the same (0.17) for the period 1960-61 to 1970-71. Similarly the Gini concetration remained same (0.15) for the period of 1980-81 and 1990-91. As such while making policies for the development of tribal areas the tribals should not be deprived but should be protected.

Thus the study establishes that land transfers and alienation are of higher magnitude in a village which is more exposed to the forces of development than interior village which is not exposed to the forces of development.

This shows that the opening of the tribal economy to the outsiders and more exposure to the forces of development programmes without any limits lead to proletarianisation of the tribals.

The study suggests to take the following measures in view of the problems existed in the sample study villages:

- 1) Since development of roads and communication lead to huge influx of non-tribals into the tribal economy causing land transfers and alienation of tribal lands, as such migration of non-tribals into the tribal regions has to be controlled through strict measures.
- 2) The attitude, motivations were not changed despite many developmental activities in the case of tribal peasants, while non-tribals prospered much, in this regard, educating the tribals about the benefits of the all developmental activities should be made.
- 3) Many administrative steps which were taken to protect the tribal cultivators from exploitation not implemented properly . in view of this future policies should aim not only for protection of tribals from exploitation of non-tribals but also poverty allevative-one , ensuring proper implementations.

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