

# Tribal Land Alienation and Political Movements



Tribal Land Alienation  
and Political Movements:  
Socio-Economic Patterns from South India

By

Ramdas Rupavath

**CAMBRIDGE  
SCHOLARS**

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P U B L I S H I N G

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**This work is dedicated to  
JYARAM RUPAVATH, SONY  
(FATHER AND MOTHER)**



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## PREFACE

The study examines 'The Pattern of Socio-Economic Development, Tribal Land Alienation and Political Movement in Adilabad and Khammam Districts in Andhra Pradesh'. It focuses upon the process of land alienation going on since the colonial period, the skewed pattern of socio-economic development in the tribal area after independence and the resulting political movements in two districts in A.P. The review of literature shows that most studies on A.P. have focused upon the anthropological aspects of tribal life exploitation or upon the leadership, strategy and tactics of the Naxalite movements, while ignoring the basic underlying causes. This study hopes to fill this gap to establish and interlink age between the socio-economic condition of the tribal population in Khammam and Adilabad districts. The movements have been going on for a long time.

The processes of land alienation due to the entry of non-tribal's, commoditization of land, introduction of cash crops etc., which began under the feudal and oppressive Nizam state in Telangana and continued due to the policies of the colonial state has been examined in detail and provide a background to the post colonial situation. The study shows that after independence the land transfer regulation act and the various developmental programmes introduced into the tribal area have not been able to remedy the situation. A detailed survey of four taluks lying in Khammam and Adilabad districts reveals that landlessness, unemployment, poverty and increasing social alienation from hostility towards non-tribal's is increasing in these regions. It is these factors that underlie the often violent political movement in the pre and post independence movement which have been described in detail. The study concludes that unless tribal lands and economy are protected in future, and a pattern of development better suited to their way of life is introduced, tribal oppression and movements arising from them in A.P. will continue.

I deem it my privilege to express my heartfelt gratitude to my worthy supervisor Professor Sudhapai, Centre for Political Studies, Jawar lal Nehru University, New Delhi. Thanks to Professor I. Ramabrammam, Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Hyderabad.

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I am also indebted to my wife, D. Jayasri, and daughters, Saisrinidhi and Gathriram, and to my brothers and sisters,

To many tribals and non-tribals inhabitants of study of villages. I am grateful to the Government of India and Tribal Welfare Ministry, and to the Director for Tribal Cultural Research and Training at the Institute of Hyderabad. The Government of Andhra Pradesh provided the fellowship for the completion of this research work.

# CHAPTER I

## TRIBAL LAND ALIENATION AND POLITICAL MOVEMENTS: A FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

There have been many uprisings by the tribal population of Andhra Pradesh both in the colonial and postcolonial period. In more recent times, violent clashes between the tribal people and the police have become a major political phenomenon in the tribal belt stretching from the districts of Srikakulam, Adilabad to Khammam in Andhra Pradesh. The present study is an attempt to analyze the tribal movement in Adilabad and Khammam in its most recent phase. While many tribal revolts have taken place since colonial times in this area, the present movement is a well-organized movement in which the large number of the tribal population has taken part for the first time. Hence, the study focuses on the underlying causes, nature as well as strategies of mobilization used by the leadership. A brief attempt has also been made to analyze the achievements of the movement.

The existing literature on this movement — both journalistic and academic — describes it either as a naxalite or peasant movement. However, such characterization does not explain its underlying causes or its specific nature. The basic hypothesis underlying this study is that it is the very pattern of development adopted since independence which triggered these revolts. Government policies towards the tribal population have resulted in social alienation, backwardness, land alienation, exploitation and extreme poverty. Hence it is to the socio-economic factors that the causes of tribal movements are traced. Although political factors, such as mobilization by leftist political groups, left ideology and left organisation are undoubtedly important, those movements could not have succeeded in the absence of the socio-economic factors mentioned above. The study shows that the movement was directed both against the feudal landlords and contractors, i.e. non-tribals in the districts as well as the state.<sup>1</sup> As Chapter five shows, in its violent phase, it even became, for a short period, an attempt to overthrow the existing system through armed

struggle. The movement did not succeed in bringing about any dramatic change in the existing political and economic conditions of the tribals. But as Ranga Rao has pointed out, “it brought about significant change in the traditional distribution of power in Agrarian Relations<sup>2</sup>”.

## **Review of Literature**

Much work has been done on both the conditions of the tribal population and various tribal movements in A.P. and other parts of India. However, very few of them focussed on Adilabad and Khammam districts. Two types of writings can broadly be identified in the literature on the tribals of Andhra Pradesh. Some scholars like Van-Furer Haimendorf described the culture, life style and economic conditions of the Gonds, Koyas, Lambadis, Chenchus and other tribals in Andhra Pradesh<sup>3</sup> in his pioneering anthropological work. His work shows exploitation of tribals by landlords and illegal occupation of large areas of their land by non-tribals.

In a case study of three villages in the tribal area of Warangal district, Janardhan Rao found large-scale manipulation of land by local feudal landlords, which the state government was unable to check<sup>4</sup>. A study of the politics of exploitation of the tribals leading to their poverty and backwardness has also been attempted<sup>5</sup>. Most of these anthropological works focus on loss of agricultural land and forest, which have traditionally provided livelihood to the tribal population.

Other works social sciences have in contrast focused upon various tribal revolts since the colonial period. Some writers such as A.R. Desai have viewed tribal movements as part of the peasant struggles taking place during the colonial period against feudal oppression<sup>6</sup>. Raghavaiah identified at least ‘eighty tribal revolts during the colonial period including the Rampa rebellion in East Godavari District (1778-1947) and other parts of Andhra Pradesh. He has pointed out armed insurgency in parts of India since independence. The movements in Naxalbari and Srikakulam<sup>7</sup>, he points out, helped to share the tribal movement in Adilabad in the 1970s. The movements after independence are directed against both non-tribals directly exploiting the tribals and against the existing power structure of the state.

P. Sundaraiah identified the tribal movement started by the Koya tribe against the Razakars and non-tribals in Khammam during the period of the Telangana armed struggle<sup>8</sup>. A survey of tribal movements by Anthropological Survey of India towards the end of 1976 identified thirty six on going movements<sup>9</sup>. R.S. Singh has pointed out that an important

aspect of these movements is that they are expressed in secular terms and do not bear the messianic quality of their movement, nor charismatic leadership as important. He found that land alienation and loss of control over forest of what were two common factors underlying these movements. The Gonds of Adilabad, he points out initiated a movement in 1970 for their right to land. Hence the emergency of economic factors is important in the present context<sup>10</sup>.

Studies by the Anthropology Society of Bombay, the Gujarat Research Society, Bharatiya Adimajati Sevak Sangh, New Delhi and its branch in Nellore and Tribal Cultural Research Training Institute Library in Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh have also traced the causes to socio-economic problems.

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, through informative on the aspects covered, fails to highlight the agricultural problems in the tribal areas with an integrated perspective.

Das Gupta<sup>11</sup> explains the Naxalite movement of 1970 in detail and discusses its socio-economic goals and their attainment. He describes the socio-economic conditions of the Santal tribals of Naxalbari and Sawaras 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<sup>12</sup>. Sethu Madhava Rao 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 tribal lands from 'their community cultivation' the chieftains system, to Mokasadar to Deshmukh system of land holdings and the ruination of Gonds life.

B.D.Sharma<sup>13</sup> in his writings elaborately deals with various aspects of tribal development. Both his administrative and academic pursuits provide an insight into various problems of tribal development.

Ramaiah<sup>14</sup> in a recent study on "Tribal Economy of Telangana" specifically deals with Warangal Koyas. The study furnished factual information related to tribal indebtedness and their family budget formation. The study also focuses upon the land problem. However, very little literature exists on Adilabad and Khammam districts, which make the present study worthwhile. Moreover very few works have tried to present a link between the pattern of development in post independence India, the resulting tribal land alienation and the tribal movements in recent years.

## **The concept of Alienation**

The problem of land alienation in tribal areas has not been adequately dealt with by researchers. It is not a mere structuralist – legalist problem, but a much more deeply connected phenomenon full of contradictions related to the existing socio-economic order. The separation of land from tribal communities can be understood in a more scientific substantive manner with the help of the theoretical formulation of the concept of alienation. As Satyadeva has pointed out, alienation is inherent in exploitative relations of production and its nature varies with that of exploitation. Hence also differ among societies based on slavery and serfdom<sup>15</sup>.

The discussion on alienation is presented here in two parts. The first part looks at the process of land alienation in tribal areas, and the second, at the forms and effect of land alienation. In tribal communities, this can be given with land alienation concept. The land holding system, which is a network of human relationship pertaining to the control and use of the land, has everywhere been a major factor conditioning the socio-economic and political order of the day. Land being the major source of livelihood of the vast majority of the Indian peasantry, it assumes great importance in their lives. But in an economy dominated by private property relations, concentration of land in the hands of a few would be net result. This creates an artificial scarcity of land and a land hungry majority. Land at this stage becomes a commodity where it also becomes a source of exploitation, which necessarily results in perpetuation of many kinds of inequality among the people. The level of production and ownership over the means of production and the way in which the products are distributed among the different classes of society as a whole. Land concentration, particularly in the hands of few, results in structural inequalities, which would further engulf the land disparities. It is this context of the boarder spectrum of land disparities that exist in the Indian society<sup>16</sup>. The structural changes that have been on land occurring in the plains areas of India since the colonial period have invariably affected the neighbouring forest region where large masses of tribal communities reside.

The process of land alienation has manifested itself mainly in large-scale migration of tribal communities from fertile plain areas to the neighbouring forests. The structural changes occurring in the plain areas have been responsible for this shift and they have also affected the lives of tribals living in the forest.

These changes introduced rapid capital penetration, irrigation facilities, railway and communication facilities, sale and purchase of lands and

creation of certain land systems like Zamindari, Ryotwari systems etc. These pre-independence changes were later on supplemented by the changes in the post independence period which led to the pauperization of the Indian peasantry, which in its turn, leading to numerous peasant struggles led by different political parties, individuals for different reasons at different times, which led the Indian state to adopt a policy of enactment of various land laws<sup>17</sup> and land reforms

In the period various developmental institutions came into existence in the form of credit network to counter the rural indebtedness and to reduce the role of moneylenders such as small farmers Development Agency<sup>18</sup>. These and other allied changes in the post-independence period should be taken as variables of a larger agrarian scene while viewing the tribal situation and land alienation question.

The land question is not just the result of the existing situation. Its origin may be traced to the periods of deprivation of tribal lands or to periods of withdrawal of their rights to exploit forests<sup>19</sup>. It is being realized that the tribal has always had a craving for land. It is for land that in last few years Tribes has fought and had been killed<sup>20</sup>. His feeling for it is something more than that of mere possessiveness. During the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the more advanced groups forced the tribals either to retreat to the nearest jungles or to become landless labourers. As land is the only source of their livelihood and their other assets being extremely meager, tribals were deprived of their way of life<sup>21</sup>. This has become much more acute in the present stage of commodified marketised economy.

The statistics related to the landholding pattern of the tribals are, however, not available, and in the absence of definite data it is difficult to present the exact nature of inequalities in land. This information gap was admitted by the National Commission on Backward Areas, which states that in the absence of land holding data for years, the occupational qualifications in the census can be used to get an idea of the status of land holdings and alienation of lands in the tribal areas<sup>22</sup>. According to 1961 census report, 29% of the scheduled tribal households have land holdings of less than 2.4 acres compared to 34.5 percent in the general population. The percent of S.Ts. having holdings between 2.5 to 4.9 acres was 25.6% or those having 10 acres or more were 20.8% compared to 22.8% and 21.2% households in the general population respectively.

Thus, the inference that may be drawn from the data shows that a majority of the scheduled tribes have small sized landholdings. The data also shows a gradual deterioration of land ownership among the STs. According to census, there were 84.18 lakh cultivators and 48.32 lakh agricultural labourers amongst the scheduled tribe workers who constitute

about nine-tenths of the total working population<sup>23</sup>. 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 and high incidence of landlessness on the other get reflected between different regions. However, in many regions with the development of communications and intermixing of population the situation has further 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% of the total land area<sup>24</sup>.

The migration of non-tribal communities and land acquisition by them has also led to the decrease of the tribal land holdings. This phenomenon was as dominant in the 1980's as it was in the 1960s and prior to that. After the 1960s land alienation took a different turn, where it was accompanied by the much renewed industrial activity, which has established the contractual co-existence of industries. Thus, both the increasing industrial activity backed by the alien capital on one side and increasing disparities in the country side which has been progressively resulting in the impoverishment of small-middle class peasantry in the plains on the other forced the non-tribals to look for alternative lands. This alternative source was available in the forest lying in the tribal areas. This process therefore, resulted in the depeasantisation of the tribal communities in Andhra Pradesh in particular and India in general.

### **The major objectives of the study**

The focus of the study is on the causes and impact of land alienation, leading to political movements in the selected areas. It tries to probe the reasons for land evictions and resultant political movements in the tribal areas, which underlie the under-development pauperization of these communities. The major objective of the study is hence to portray the factors that have a crucial bearing on the process of land alienation in scheduled tribal areas. In addition an attempt has also been made to understand the impact of the implementation of the Transfer Regulations since the 1930 as an instrument to counter the rapid depeasantisation process occurring in the tribal communities of these areas.

### **Methodology**

The study is based on both primary and secondary data. The primary data has been collected by fieldwork conducted in four taluks in Khammam and Adilabad districts. These taluks were chosen on the basis



of purposive random sampling technique, based upon the following criteria: 1) The taluk should have predominantly tribal population 2) It should have been included in the scheduled area 3) It should also have a sizable number of non-tribals who possess more than fifty percent of the total land in the village 4) Intensity of the land problem in the village and identification of the cases of the illegal land transfer by the government 5) Intensity of Tribal Movement 6) Extensive rapport of the researcher with the study villages. In accordance with the above guidelines the taluks of Bhadrachalam, Ashwaraopet district of Khammam, Utnur, Lakshettipet of Adilabad district of Telangana in Andhra Pradesh has been chosen for this study.

For the collection of the required data, different questionnaires were served to both the tribal and non-tribal peasants of the selected villages. The questionnaire comprises of several dimensions and factors related directly or indirectly to the problem of land alienation and Tribal movements. This information has been supplemented by conducting informal interviews and discussions with a cross section of society in the scheduled villages. Officials such as patels, teachers, revenue staff at the district headquarters and the agency area have also been interviewed on this subject. Informal meetings were also held with the village elders or tribal chiefs. Hence, an intensive monographic study of the selected areas was undertaken which has yielded insights into the problem, which sampling techniques alone cannot provide. Much of the data has been collected by the researcher after much persuasion of the tribal peasants, which required intensive interaction with them.

The secondary data was collected from the reports from the office of the Commissioner for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes, the reports of various government departments and different political parties and from daily news papers, books and periodicals.

The researcher has also visited libraries of Jawaharlal Nehru University, Teen Murthi Nehru Memorial Library and IIPA, New Delhi, Osmania University Library, Sundaraiah Grandhalaya Samstha, and Tribal Research and Cultural Centre, Hyderabad. Though the study is limited to an analysis of the problem of the four taluks an attempt has been made to observe social phenomenon both from its specific historical back ground, and to integrate it with the overall social system of which tribal societies are a part. The conclusions drawn are of relevance for tribal areas situated in other parts of India, which face similar problems.

## Chapterisation

I. The first chapter presents a framework of analysis. Besides providing a general introduction, it also includes review of the existing literature on tribal land alienation and political movements, objectives of the study, and methodology.

II. Chapter two describes the policies of the colonial and post-colonial state and resulting land alienation in tribal areas in A.P. It provides a background to the third chapter.

III. In the third chapter, Alienation of Tribals and its impact.

IV. Colonial and post colonial state policies. Land alienation and political movements a background.

V. Chapter four reports the results of the fieldwork undertaken in the four selected taluks. It reveals large-scale alienation of land and a fairly extensive political movement in this region.

V. Conclusion: The conclusion both summarizes the major findings of the study and discusses the future path of development for the tribals of A.P.

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## CHAPTER II

# SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF TRIBALS AND RESULTING SOCIAL ALIENATION

Since Independence many development schemes and protective measures have been attempted by the central and state governments for the tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh. However, the conditions of the majority of the tribals have deteriorated. While exploitation and backwardness are found in many communities and social groups in India, it has resulted in social alienation among tribes. The existence of a distinct culture and lifestyle make the problems of tribals different from those of other deprived groups in India. In this chapter, an attempt has been made to focus upon social alienation in Adilabad district, while specific economic problems such as land alienation have been dealt with in the next chapter.

### **Tribal Society and Culture**

The tribals of this area belong mainly to the Gond tribe. They form a socially dominant section among the rest who belong to tribes like the Bhil, Koya, Kolam, etc., and are much fewer in number. Their mother tongue is Gondi. Tribal life among the Gonds exhibits unique symbiosis of man and nature, their culture being an outcome of living with nature and learning from it. Traditionally Pujaris, also called 'Kolams', were a priestly class who performed rituals and were the medicine men and story tellers of the tribe. They enjoyed social prominence together with the tribal chiefs. Tribal spiritual life was rich with creative mythologies and religious stories. Each clan member even today possesses the house deities of the tribe though there is a village priest called the "Devari" and clan priest (Kalotra) and a village seer (Bhaktal). There is no discrimination among the Gonds on the basis of sex. Women traditionally had an important position within the family and society. The Gonds even today have their district folk dances and music. However, they celebrate the main "Hindu" festivals of Diwali, Dussehra etc.<sup>1</sup>

Since independence Gond society has been profoundly influenced by the twin process of 'Sanskritization'<sup>2</sup> and modernization. Due to this the social and economic life of the Gonds has undergone change. For example, change has taken place in the position given to women and the rituals associated with marriage. Gond women traditionally were very independent and took part in both cultivation of land, setting of produce. Today, due to cultural contact women are secluded. While earlier marriages were simple affairs, today the custom of dowry has penetrated into tribal life forcing many into the hands of local moneylenders. Non tribal intrusion has created an unequal social fabrication and mentality.<sup>3</sup> Non-tribals in order to sustain their economic exploitation and hegemony over the tribals have attempted to propagate the Hindu religion as superior to the tribal god who is described as 'evil spirit'. The backwardness of tribes is described as an outcome of religious beliefs and practices. This has led to the breakdown of the social fabric and adoption of Hindu practices such as pilgrimages to Tirupati. Animist practices such as free worship have been replaced by temple workshop. The establishment of institutionalized religion has made temple surroundings place of commercial activity useful to the non-tribal trading classes. Haimendorf records that the 'Khelaspur Jatara,' a tribal festival has been replaced by a temple, which has been used as a platform by politicians during election campaigns. Temple offerings (amounting to Rs. 1911 in 1977) have attracted Hindu priests, and have treated disputes within the tribe.<sup>4</sup> A court order however, returned the control of the temple to the tribal population.

The Gonds still practice traditional method of agriculture. They are dependent upon the rains for irrigation. Jowar is the main crop cultivated, but is available for only three months in the year. Rest of the time they survive on forest produce. The dependence of tribals on nature has led to most of them living close to starvation. Of the 35 lakh tribals population only 6.6 percent are literate in Adilabad.<sup>5</sup> Table 1 shows that very few tribals have managed to get even a few years of schooling. The first attempt to educate the Gonds was made in the 1940s by the Nizam's government.<sup>6</sup> Books were published in the language of the Gonds, however this did not have any impact. In the post independence period the government of Andhra Pradesh has not taken any keen interest in educating the tribals. The Gonds consider children a source of income and are reluctant to send them to school.<sup>7</sup> In recent years due to increasing pressure on land and resulting protests the state government has tried to introduce schools and increase literacy and vocational training. In 1989, the Andhra Pradesh government introduced 451 tribal hostels and 12

Table -2.1: EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF THE SCHEDULED TRIBES IN ADILABAD DISTRICT, 1981

Total Tribals	Matriculation				Higher Secondary / Intermediate		Non-technical Diploma or		Technical Certificates		Graduate & above	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Gond Rajgonds, Naikpod	704	33	422	21	92	3	-	-	19	1	33	1
Sugalis Lambardar	564	26	152	4	42	-	-	-	11	-	13	1
Yerukal	10	5	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kolam Manana Varlu	21	2	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Konda doras												
Konda reddy	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bhil												
Koya												
Yenadis	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	84	4	4	16	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1384	70	580	25	134	3	-	-	19	1	46	2

Residential schools. However, such facilities have been utilized only by the children of a few rich farmers and according to the Gondwana Sanrakshna Samiti, such schemes do not benefit the tribal population. The first attempt to educate Gonds was made in the 1940s by the Nizam's government<sup>11</sup> and are merely to fill the quota of education seats set aside to schedule tribes. Most of the tribal students in the scheme were unable to pass the matriculation examination. Training for provision of skilled or semi skilled jobs would be far more beneficial. For example, after the violent incident in Allampali Taluk where 12 policemen were killed in a land mine explosion the Telugu Desam Government announced that 1000 teacher's posts would be reserved for scheduled tribe candidates. However, very few of the tribal population had the required certificates and qualifications.<sup>8</sup> Thus lopsided development policies and schemes introduced by the Government have not been of much use and had some vested interests.

### **Changing Local Structures of Powers**

In the pre-independence period in Andhra Pradesh there were 37 tribal chiefs some of whom bore the title of 'Raja' 'Mokashi' or 'Deshmukh'. They had political power within their jurisdiction and exercised varying degrees of feudal oppression. They were assisted by village headmen in solving tribal problems. In the 1940s these traditional structures of power were removed by the Nizam's government in spite of resistance by the tribals.<sup>9</sup> The Nizam's government succeeded in abolishing the old system and replacing it by a village headman nominated by the village Panchayat who settled dispute and had judicial authority. Thus before independence itself the old tribal structure had begun to disintegrate.

There was further erosion of local authority after independence with the passage of the Hyderabad Tribal Regulation Act in 1963.<sup>10</sup> According to this the village headman came under the control of the district bureaucracy. In the new Panchayat System members are elected in each block, who in turn elected the Sarpanch. In some cases it is reported that non-tribals have been able to manipulate the system and become a sarpanch, a position that gives it holder considerable patronage and power. Sarpanch has the power to grant licenses for shops and collect some local taxes.<sup>11</sup> They however have power to settle disputes. Some villages in the blocks have village headman who help the local tribal population to dig wells, plant trees etc.

The erosion of local autonomy has had an impact on the social and economic life of the tribals. Under the traditional tribal structure outsiders



had to gain permission from the village headman to reside in the area. Massive demographic increases after 1951 and the opening up of tribal areas due to the process of modernization and inclusion of tribal areas in States propelled non-tribals into tribal territory. In Adilabad this has led non-tribals from the coastal area establishing factories cement mills, paper factories shops etc. The labour in these factories also consists of non-tribals; hence modernization has not provided employment to the local tribals. It has led to establishment of liquor shops or increased prostitution. Commercialisation has led to breakdown of the traditional systems of authority within the tribal system.<sup>12</sup>

Table –2.2: STRUCTURAL OF POWER AT THE GRAM TALUK AND DISTRICT, LEVELS ESTABLISHED IN 1983 BY TRIBAL LEADES

Rai Centres		
Gram Sabha	Taluk level	District level
1. Napapal: Village headman	1. Sri Medial : the President	1. Zill mall: President
2. Sar Pathal : Additional village head man	2. Rai Medial : General Secretary	2. Bpa Mandal : Vi. President
3. Raipatal : Asst. Villay head man	3. Geeta Medial: Joint Sec.	3. Zilla Rai : Gen. Sec. Medial
4. Geeta Daralal: Maintaining the records.	4. Ghat Medial : Accountant	4. Khaajandhar: Accountant
5. Gatilal : Accountant	5. Raipatals: Advisors to sir medials.	
6. Devari: In charge of religious Rituals		
7. Hawaldar : Messenger.		

In 1983 in order to help the tribals and grant them greater autonomy to manage their local affairs the Gondwana Sangrashtra Samiti was established by educated tribal leaders.<sup>13</sup> It is a village level council, which solves local problems and helps implement developmental schemes. The various tribal groups in the villages nominate a representative to the Council. It consists of 7 – 14 members. In addition to this tribal leaders have also established developmental or “Rai Centres” patterned on their traditional power structures. These have been set up at the Gram, Taluk, District levels. These help the tribals settle internal problems. Moreover any Government schemes to be taken up at village level must obtain the consent of concerned Gram Sabha / village council.

Contractors are not allowed, nor the Patel or Patwari, in the village council or Rai Centres. The village Council can impose fines between Rs. 50 to Rs.500. (assault, theft, etc.). They are also managing tribal lands and controlling forest produce.

The Samithi also introduced the grain procurement system. Each tribal agricultural family must donate 60 kgs of grains and Rs.50. Those who are not in a position to donate at one time can give in installments. The Integrated Tribal Development Scheme also contributes an equal quantity of grains and cash as government subsidy. They have set up grain banks, which provide advance loans for religious ceremonies and marriages at very low interest rates.<sup>14</sup>

## **Investment by the Government in Tribal Welfare**

Table 3 gives the per capita and total expenditure by the Government of Andhra Pradesh over various Plan periods. It is only from the fifth Plan period that there is a sharp rise in the amount invested. Under the Five Plan the Government has undertaken Schemes to construct pucca houses and cattle sheds. Integrated Tribal Development Schemes have also been formulated under the Tribal Development Agency.<sup>15</sup> A Girijan Cooperative Corporation was set up under it. It was expected to purchase the timber collected by the tribals and thereby eliminate private timber contractors. Primary Societies affiliated to the cooperative were supposed to supply the daily requirements of the tribals, provide credit etc at proper rates. However the cooperative has been giving very low rates to tribals, for example Rs.5-8 per kg of gum while private contractors pay Rs.12 per kg. This led to tribals setting their produce to contractors rather than the co-operative.<sup>16</sup>

Nationalised banks have entered the area. A study shows that 61% debtors are landless holders. A quarter of the loans advanced by the

official and government agencies which comes to 67% are used for consumption purposes. The Andhra Pradesh government introduced a drinking water scheme named Jeevandhara” to provide drinking water irrigation facilities.<sup>17</sup> Under it Rs.15000 were given to each selected family in installments to dig wells on their own. According to the government 10,000 wells for agricultural purposes and 11,000 wells for drinking water have been dug. The Integrated Tribal Development agency had also started new loans to tribals for buying bullocks. However, many tribals have alleged that old and useless bullocks after a considerable period of delay were supplied.<sup>18</sup> Medical facilities under the ITDA are also very poor.

Table 2.3: PER CAPITAL EXPENDITURE AND TOTAL EXPENDITURE DURING PLAN PERIOD IN A.P. FOR SCHEDULE TRIBES

Plan	Period	Per capita Expenditure in (Rs.)	Total expenditure Rs. In Lakhs.
I	Plan	15.05	118.77
II	Plan	18.89	250.25
III	Plan	13.56	178.77
IV	Plan	59.00	977.77
V	Plan	266.00	4,879.85
VI	Plan	750.47	13,598.00
VII	Plan	1,639.16	30,026.00

Source: Statistical Abstracts of A.P. 1960 and 1983, Bureau of economics and Statistics. Government of Andhra Pradesh.

Many plans put forward by the government are not relevant to the needs of the tribal areas. Schemes like medium irrigation, small industry, commercial forestry etc which often constitute a sizeable portion of the Tribal sub-plan are often irrelevant or counter productive as far as the local tribal economy is concerned.<sup>19</sup>

### Control over Forests

There is a symbiotic relationship between tribals and the forest. It has been their home for a long time and provided them with many required resources. The forest conservation and regulation act was passed in 1920.<sup>20</sup> These imposed rules on the tribals on collection of forest produce, and many of those were mainly restrictions. This led to conflicts between

the tribals and the government. The tribals required wood to build huts and for their ploughshare.

In the post-Independence period, forest policy has led to hardship in tribal communities. On the one hand, these communities are not allowed to collect forest produce, but on the other hand large-scale deforestation has occurred because of various developmental projects and extension of cultivation by reclamation of land.<sup>21</sup> Instead of the entire community being consulted about the extraction of forest produce, arrangements are often made between chiefs and contractors bypassing the community. As the forest department was interested mainly in the collection of revenue this alliance was encouraged, leading to destruction of forests. This has also led to increase in the wealth of Chiefs and their capacity for graft and duplicity.<sup>22</sup>

In the case of Adilabad, notwithstanding various lambadas and regulations to prevent deforestation, a large part of the forests have been, as reported by a fact-finding committee, continuously “de-reserved” by the Congress Government in 1980 to facilitate private trade. Of the 500,000 acres of forest land dereserved in the last years in the state, more than 150,000 acres are from Adilabad. The net result of this policy has been the progressive alienation of the forest from the tribals. Consequently, they have been reduced to the status of daily wage labourers at the mercy of private contractors and forest officials.<sup>23</sup> Table 2.4 shows the plantation area in Andhra Pradesh in 1983-84.

Table 2.4: PLANTATION AREA UPTO 1983-84

S.No. Species	Total areas (in hectares)	
	Department	Corporation
Teak	76,114	---
Eucalyptus	26,271	20,522
Bamboo	28,139	10,138
Cashew	18,949	16,511
Coffee	130	2,438
Red Sander's	1,913	---
Sandal Wood	2,670	---
Silver oak	8,942	---
Babul	12,415	---
Casurima	13,690	---
Sissoo	1,435	---
Burrara	300	---
Piner	325	---
Other	55,743	---
Miscellaneous		

Source: A.P. Forests at a glance 1983-84 Chief Conservator of Forest A.P. Hyderabad.

Table 2.5: MAJOR WOOD BASED INDUSTRIES IN ANDHRA PRADESH

S.No.	Name of the Company	Present installed capacity in T/Yr.		Variety	Approximate raw material commitment by the forest department in tonnes
1.	A.P. Paper Mills Rajahmundry East Godavari	Paper	75,000	Bamboo Hardwood	1,10,000 75,000
2.	Sirpur paper mills Kagaz Nagar Adilabad	Do	61,00	Bamboo Hardwood	75,000 45,000
3.	Sree Rayalam Kurnool	Do	42,000	Bamboo Hardwood	45,000 45,000
4.	Badhrachalam Paper Boarder	Do	50,000	Bamboo Hardwood	60,000 74,000
5.	A.P. Rayons Limited Yetura nagaram Warangal	Rayon grade pulp	27,000	Hardwood Eucalyptus	75,000 10,000
6.	Novopars India Limited patancheru (Ranga Reddy District)	Particle board	20,000	Hardwood	38,000
7.	Hyderabad Plywood Limited	Plywood	0.018 lakhs sq.mts.	Teak teaknon- teak	700 cm. Mts 1,700

Source: A.P. forests are Glarice 1983-84, Chief conservator of forests A.P. Hyderabad.

It shows that the government of Andhra Pradesh has been concentrated on growing mostly teak, eucalyptus and bamboo, which are needed by the paper industry and the big timer markets in urban areas. This shows growing commercialization of forest areas in the state. Table 5 gives the major wood industries in the state and the raw material supplied to them