Chapter – I
Introduction
It is apt to say that India as a ‘Melting Pot’ of races and tribes considering the terrible nature, magnitude and complexity of the problem. It is really difficult task for the pre-historians and anthropologists to arrange the people and cultures of India in the chronological sequence of their appearance on this sub-continent Fuchs (1973) rightly states that even their subsequent history well up to the Aryan invasion is shrouded in obscurity\(^1\).

Though stone implements of prehistoric man have been found in various sites dating back to the lower Paleolithic period, so far no skeletal finds have been made of these earlier times. And the human fossil finds of later periods are too few and insignificant to enable us to draw any definite conclusions as to the racial history of India in prehistoric times. But it has now become an established fact that the aboriginal tribes in India are in most cases, survival from the later prehistoric groups. Some tribes may even have degenerated from a higher technological level due to adverse circumstances, it is now pretty clear that the aborigines of the Indian sub-continent do not form a uniform race entering India various directions and from various regions of Asia, they also belong to different races. It has not yet been possible to arrange the aboriginal tribes of India in to definite racial groups.

Efforts were made by Risley, Guha, Majumdar, etc. But so far they have not been very convincing. Hence, more anthropological research is necessary before radial and cultural history of India original population can
be presented in a definite perspective. Though our knowledge is vague, about
the origin and subsequent history of the numerous original tribes of India in
the absence of sufficient archaeological and paleontological data, yet a story of
their glory and decline may be arranged as far as historic period is concerned.
The historical data do shed some light on their life and we start picking up
threads of reliable proofs instead of clinging to the conjectural schemes of
things. This has become possible only due to the invention of script and
commencing of written records.

Earliest historical phase small tribals pockets were subjugated by
invaders or indigenous imperial powers ajtasatru destroyed the tribal
Republic of vaisali. Alexander wiped out tribal pockets on the north-western
border. The Arthashatra refers to Atvikas who were looked upon as potential
trouble shooters. Ashoka threatens worth-western tribes with dire
consequence in uprising assuring forest tribes in his dominion and
compassion.

Sharma (1961) dwells the social structure of the period. He states the
Dharmasutra (600 to 300 BC) and the Manusmiriti (200 to 200 AD) continued
the old process of fusion and integration. The concept of mixed castes in only
a fanciful and convenient, Brahminical way of explaining this trend mixed
castes were the supposed progeny of male begotten on the woman of another
caste. A few of these probably Brahminised tribes labelled as mixed castes
were Nishada who lost during this period their earlier positions and lived by
hunting, medas, andhras, madigas and chenchus hunted animals, Kshalas,
urgas and pukkasas who caught animals and birds, ayogavas warbled in wood, Dhigvana and ‘Karquvas’ in leather. Pandusopake in cane, Margavas were boatmen, versa played on drums and sarendhas acted as servants and skilled dressers. The chandals a tribe, were absorbed in Hindu society and assigned the task of removing dead bodies of animals and human beings, whipping and chopping off the limbs of criminals the process in continues. The tribes were not leading an isolated and alienated existence is born out by the act the many of them participated in the sub-puranic and epic traditions of myths and folk loves the impact of epic heroes like Rama, Sita, Lakshmana, Ravana, Bhima etc., on some of the tribes in central India is evident from their treasures of myths and lovers. Gond calls themselves children of Ravan. Manu is another puranic figure who has deeply exercised the tribes and mandas call themselves manoakos.²

Sanskrit literature is replete with a description that Panchatantra and Kathsarit Sagar present them in a romantic and friendly perspective. Vishnu Purana describes them as ‘Dwarfish with flat nose; in Kadambari and Harshcharita, Bana presented detailed description of the saora chief.

The feudal period (400-100 A.D) saw a greater opening of tribal areas and Hindustan of tribal chiefs. The Brahmin priests prepared suitable puranic genealogy for them and ruling Brahmin class spearheaded the process of sanskritisation or Brahminisation of tribal’s. Subsequently in the wake of Muslim invasion in the 11th and 12th centuries, these followed the in fluxes or Rajputs who did not submit into the tribal areas and the destruction of tribal’s
pockets. Thus parmar rajputs expelled cheros from shahbad and the chandel
replaced Bhuinya in south monghyr district of Bihar.

The Muslim rules (12th 18th century) witnessed a new phenomenon. The turko-Afghan and Mughal rulers mostly secured a mere formal allegiance of tribal chiefs or of Hindu rulers in tribal areas of central India and Bihar. In 1585 and 1616 A.D. Muslim armies marched into chotanagar and subjugated the Raja of Khukra. Similarly the tribal areas of Assam were also subjugated by atoner Muslim general.

One, Daud Khan subjugated the cheros of palamau around 1616 A.D during this period the conversion of tribal’s in to north-west frontier region to Islam took place. Some Muslim saints worked and preached on the fringes of tribal areas, like prisyed shah kamal who worked among the Nats and prisyed Mohammed who worked among the kols.

Some streams of Hinduism like Bhakti Movement also affected the tribal’s such as Munda, Oraon etc., Chaitanya Mahaprabhu passed through Jarkhand and Vaishnava preedhers like Binand Das working on Munda area converted many tribal’s. The bhjuinays were completely Hinduised and lost all their tribal traits.

The roots of subsequent Bhagat movements among the tribal’s could be traced to the Baishnava influence nothing illustrated more eloquently than the conversion of the homes in Assam Suresh Singh, 1964. The British condition lists with their modern technology new approach and vested interests.
The advent of British rules Meant opening up of tribal area along the sea coast and in Bihar and Bengal. The construction of grand trunk road through tribal pockets accelerated the influence of aliens such as merchants; money lenders and land grabbers from outside. Further move the pressure of growing population and the ruthless exploitation and appreciation by zamindars facilitated migration of presents and artisans to in accessible tribal areas. The Christian mission also got their pound of flesh.

The monumental endurance and patience of the tribal’s exhausted in the wake of the breakdown of tribal order in tribal areas in the 18th century. Paharia uprising towards the end of the 18th century, Munda uprising (1789-1901) and insurrection (1855-56) the Bhil rebellion (1879-80) Baster uprising (1901-11) and Gond rebellion (1940) are some of the examples of the new awakening among the tribal’s of India.

The historical journey of the Indian tribal’s is the status of the three major religious in India, while Hinduism and Islam had stopped short at the fringes (in most of the cases), Christianity penetrated deep into the tribal areas under the patronage of British rulers. This led to revitalization of movements among the tribal’s like Kherwar movement (1871-80), the Sardari movement (1881-1995), the Birsa movement (1895-1901), the Bhagat movement (1920-35) and a host of others, the agrarian-cum-cultural movement threw up politico religious leaders of stature who deeply influenced the tribal’s thinking.

The scheduled tribes in general have a socio-political system of their own which they have largely retained. The tribes have their own customs and
regulations. Nearly, all marry within their restricted local groups, and are sometimes guided by their own elders or political chefs in their internal and external affairs. Except in regard to a very small fraction, there is little difference between the economic life of the tribal’s and that of their neighbouring rural folk. Yet, as the tribes have, more or less, retained their separate social identity and, on the whole, are comparatively isolated and economically, educationally and politically backward, they have been placed under the category of scheduled tribes.

The political life of the tribal’s of India in general reflects a paradoxical situation in which one finds co-existence of democracy and authoritarian systems. Every head of a community at different levels like clan, village and territory is generally honoured, obeyed and accepted as the head of the group. The office is hereditary. The supreme and final authority is in the hand of a single person. The Nagas of northeast Himalaya have chieftainship. Every tribal has a share in the political management of the village and the region, which exist for the majority. The tribal leader governs the community only because he is backed by the majority or the whole of the group. When there is any dispute the elders of the groups along with the chief may try to mediate. The tribal’s have clearly demarcated territorial boundaries. As a rule, the tribal’s living in small groups, are united by kinship, marriage and frequent inter personal contact and for them it is difficult to distinguish political affairs from personal ones.
In the most of the tribal community each village has a panchayat (village community of elders). The village community has some social control over its people. The moral pressure exerted by casual criticism on an individual is much greater in a tribal village, where all or most of the villagers are fellow tribesman, than it is in a non-tribal village which is composed of heterogeneous elements. In a tribal village the behaviour of every tribesman is a matter of public concern and a man or a woman can gauge the effect of his or her behaviour by watching the reactions of the village community. Talking of tribal India as a whole, one finds that by the introduction of British rule tribal solidarity was disrupted.

A word about the relationship of the tribal’s with the external power system will not be out of place here. Caste has been considered as the most important locus of power in traditional India with ascription as its key-note of the payer structure. This was particularly true of tribal India. A largely deudal society like, that of Rajasthan and elsewhere, emphasized tradition the rule or elders and the dominance of high castes. The subordinates like the tribal’s could not even stand erect before their masters because that was not only considered unbecoming but also because it would be a refutation of superordinate, sub-ordinate relationship which was considered necessary, for pattern maintenance. With the earning of independence, however, the nature of power structure has changed considerably. Qualitative, as well as quantitative changes in the power structure to took place. For the tribal’s the new era was highly conducive ensure, their participation in the
institutionalized political structure. The reservation of seats for scheduled tribes in the state legislature and union parliament, legal provision for their representatives in the statutory panchayats, municipalities and other institutions made them important as wielders of power, at least in principle.

**Panchayats Impact on Political Participation**

In the post independence period the inauguration of statutory panchayats also gave a set back to the traditional tribal panchayats. The introduction of community development programmes had already changed the situation to a great extent. Persons close to the officials thereby found ample opportunity to become local leaders. Educational programmes in the tribal areas increased the number of educated youth who started taking an interest in village politics. Elections on all India level also affected them and the result was the growth of factions and parties in the villages, (and tribal villages were no exception), formation of regional parties and so on.

The notions of general election, community development programmes, panchayat election etc. were entirely new to the tribals. A few intelligent and newly educated individuals tried to utilize every opportunity to push themselves to get into leadership positions and thus competing politicians emerged as new village leaders, posing a threat to the traditional authority structure in tribal India.

The local political system in India has thus undergone significant, changes since 1947. The constitution enlarged restricted franchise and introduced universal adult franchise. This made 'tremendous impact on
village India. The rural masses, including tribal’s suddenly became a significant determinant of Indian politics, leading in turn, to the politicization of Political sections of the Indian community which can be regarded as an index of a major social change. This does not, mean that by the mere introduction of adult franchise the traditional village society has been democratized.

**Scheduled Tribes of India**

The term "ST" describes an administrative and legal category. The politico-administrative category of ST includes relatively isolated and backward people. This term is of recent origin, coming into being with the birth of the republican constitution of India on January 26, 1950. Prior to that, the colonial administration identified tribal people with a variety of different names, such as "Animist" (Census Report of 1901), "Tribal Animists" or "people following tribal religion" (Census Report of 1911), "Hill and Forest Tribes" (Census Report of 1921), "Primitive Tribes" (Census Report of 1931), "Backward Tribes" (Government of India Act, 1935) and "Tribes" (Census Report of 1941) (Verma, 1990). There was also a debate in the Constituent Assembly on using the term "ST". Jaipal Singh, the tribal representative in the Constituent Assembly, favored the use of the term "Adivasis" instead of ST. But the concept of "ST" was unanimously accepted, and the reason given by Dr B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Indian constitution, was that the word "Adivasi" is really a general term which has no specific legal de jure connotation, whereas "ST" has a fixed meaning
because it enumerates the tribes (Saksena, 1981). The term was used mainly as a mark of identification and differentiation, that is, to mark out a group of people different in physical features, language, religion, custom, social organization and so on (Ambagudia, 2007). However, the terms "ST," "tribes," and "tribal people" are used interchangeably in this paper.

According to the 2001 census, the ST population in India is 8.43 crore (84.3 million), which is about 8.2% of the total population. The population of tribes had grown by 24.45% during the period 1991-2001. Except Haryana, Punjab, Delhi, Pondicherry, and Chandigarh, all states and union territories have tribal populations. They are unevenly distributed in different states in India. More than half of the tribal people of India reside in the states of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, and Gujarat. They are drawn from 701 communities with many communities overlapping in more than one state. Their number was 212 in 1950, 314 in 1967 and 427 in 1981. The largest numbers of STs are in the state of Orissa, where there are 62. Some of the large tribal communities are distributed over wide regions and often profess varied occupations. Tribal communities live in about 15% of the country's area, in various ecological and geographical conditions ranging from plains and forests to hills and inaccessible areas. They belong to different racial stocks, speak languages of different families, and show considerable variations in their basic economy. Tribal groups are at different stages of social, economic and educational development.
UNRESOLVED ISSUES AND PERSISTING PROBLEMS OF SCHEDULED TRIBES

Tribal communities continue to be vulnerable even today, not because they are poor, asset-less and illiterate compared to the general population; but often their distinct vulnerability arises from their inability to negotiate and cope with the consequences of their integration with the mainstream economy, society, cultural and political systems, from all of which they were historically protected by their relative isolation. The requirements of planned development brought with them the dams, mines, industries and roads, all located on tribal lands. With these came the concomitant processes of displacement followed by a conflict between development and protection of and interests. Tribal institutions and practices were forced into uneasy co-existence, paved the way to market or formal State institutions. Also, the tribals found themselves at a great disadvantage in the face of an influx of better equipped outsiders into tribal areas. The repercussions for the already fragile socio-economic sustenance base of the tribals were devastating ranging from the loss of livelihoods and land alienation on a vast scale to hereditary bondage.

As the tribals grapple with these tragic consequences, a small clutch of bureaucratic programmes could do little to resist the precipitous pauperization, exploitation and disintegration of tribal communities. As a result of this, the tribals continue to suffer and bear with a number of 'Unresolved Issues' and 'Persisting Problems', which require immediate attention of the Government.
Displacement of Tribals

Displacement or forced/voluntary eviction of tribals from their land and their natural habitats and subsequent rehabilitation has been a serious problem that remains to be addressed by the Government. As per the information readily available, a population of 21.3 million have been displaced between 1951 and 1990 in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Orissa. Of whom, 8.54 million (40 per cent) are tribals and of those only 2.12 million (24.8 per cent) tribals could be resettled, so far. Displacement took place mainly on account of development projects, which include -large irrigation dams, hydro-electric projects, opencast and underground coal mines, super-thermal power plants and mineral-based industrial units. In large mining projects, tribals lose their land not only to the project authorities, but even to non-tribal outsiders who converge into these areas and corner both land and the new economic opportunities in commerce and petty industry. The incomplete rehabilitation of the displaced tribals has further compounded their woes as they are pushed into a vortex of increasing assetlessness, unemployment, debt bondage and destitution. Women and children as ever are the worst affected.

Tribal Land Alienation

Land is not only the most important productive resource base for the tribals, but also occupies an important place in their psyche as the mainstay of their social and religious practices. Over a period of time, this resource base of the tribal communities has tended to get eroded not only through acquisition
for public purposes but also through fraudulent transfers, forcible eviction, mortgages, leases and encroachments. As per the information available with the Ministry of Rural Development, as many as 4.65 lakh cases of alienation of tribal land covering an area of 9.17 lakh acres were registered in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Rajasthan and Tripura in January 1999. Against this, only 2 lakh cases were disposed of in favour of 1.56 lakh tribal families covering an area of 5.31 lakh acres. Of these, the states affected by large scale tribal land alienation include Andhra Pradesh (2.79 lakh acres), Madhya Pradesh (1.58 lakh acres), Karnataka (1.30 lakh acres), and Gujarat (1.16 lakh acres). Various studies have pointed out that the lack of political and administrative will continues to be the cause for perpetuation of the problem of land alienation amongst the tribals as reflected in the reluctance to amend legal provisions and plug the existing loopholes and swift administrative action to identify alienated land, and restoring it to the tribals with delivery of possession.

**Indebtedness**

The problem of indebtedness amongst tribals is not only an indication of their poverty but also reflects the wider economic malaise, i.e., lack of education, low purchasing/bargaining power and lack of resources for engaging in gainful activity and meeting emergent expenditure. Therefore, the problem continues to persist with increasing menace as the indebtedness pushes the tribals further into extreme conditions of poverty and forces them
to dispense with their meager resources, including the small bits and pieces of land to payoff the loans at exorbitant rates of interest. The initiation of commercial vending of liquor in tribal areas has started impoverishing the tribal population, making them victims of indebtedness and exploitation. Although the States and UTs have broadly accepted the Guidelines (relating to the Excise Policy in Tribal Areas, 1975, issued by the Ministry of Social Welfare), effective follow-up action is not taken for their implementation. Under the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution, the Governors of states with Scheduled Areas were given powers for making regulations and for placing restrictions on money lending activities in the Scheduled Areas. Relevant Laws/Regulations exist in 16 TSP states/UTs to regulate the business of money-lending and to give debt-relief. However, the legal measures to curb the activities of money-lenders and traders have failed to have much impact on the severity of the problem due to the ineffective enforcement machinery and lack of alternative sources of credit for meeting the tribals' consumption and productive needs. Lack of a sound policy to support consumption credit to tribals has tended to make them dependent on usurious money-lenders, resulting in debt-bondage. The problem of tribal indebtedness often gets aggravated and compounded with the government subsidy-cum loan schemes which further lead the tribals into deep indebtedness.

**Shifting Cultivation**

Shifting Cultivation, which is not ecologically sound, is still being practised by the tribals living on the higher slopes of hilly areas of the country.
As estimated, more than 6 lakh tribal families in the North Eastern states, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh practise shifting cultivation on a continuous basis. This shifting cultivation is integrally linked to the tribal economy in the areas where it is practised and their social and economic activities and rituals are also centred around this practice. The problem of shifting cultivation is a very complex one, involving economic, social and psychological aspects of the tribal communities. Although shifting cultivation is one of the prime sources of living for the tribals, yet the same has been severely restricted. The Ministry of Agriculture has been implementing a scheme for control and transformation of Shifting Cultivation in the North Eastern states, but the pace of its implementation has been very slow.

**Deprivation of Forest Rights**

Forests and Tribals share a symbiotic relationship. Tribals continue to live in forest areas, though in isolation, yet in harmony with environment. Recognizing this dependency, the National Forest Policy, 1988, stipulated that all agencies responsible for forest management should ensure that the tribal people are closely associated with the regeneration, plantation, development and harvesting of forests so as to provide them gainful employment. Despite these special safeguards, tribals continue to struggle for mere survival as they face formidable problems and displacement due to development of national parks and wild-life sanctuaries and other environmental restoration projects, lack of development in forest villages etc. The protection of rights of tribals in forests is key to the amelioration of their conditions.
While the 'Un-resolved Issues' need to be attended to on a priority basis, the on-going efforts along with new initiatives for empowering the tribals will continue simultaneously with added thrust so as to mitigate the 'Persisting Problems' in the critical areas of education, health, livelihood, poverty, vulnerability, violence, unrest etc. so as to accelerate the process of empowering STs towards accomplishing the task of raising their status on par with rest of the society.

Despite the programme of Universalisation of Primary Education, which has been in effective operation since 1986, the literacy rate of STs remained as low as 29.6 per cent, while the general literacy rate reached 52.2 per cent in 1991. Similarly, the female literacy rate of STs stood at 18.2 per cent which is also much lower in comparison with 39.3 per cent in respect of general category.

CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS

Recognizing the special needs of STs, the Constitution of India made certain special safeguards to protect these communities from all the possible exploitation and thus ensure social justice. While Article 14 confers equal rights and opportunities to all, Article 15 prohibits discrimination against any citizen on the grounds of sex, religion, race, caste etc; Article 15(4) enjoins upon the State to make special provisions for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes; Article 16(4) empowers the State to make provisions for reservation in appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens, which in the opinion of the State, is not adequately
represented in the services under the State; Article 46 enjoins upon the State to promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and, in particular, ... the STs and promises to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. Further, while Article 275(1) promises grant-in-aid for promoting the welfare of STs and for raising the level of administration of the Scheduled Areas, Articles 330, 332 and 335 stipulate reservation of seats for STs in the Lok Sabha and in the State Legislative Assemblies and in services. Finally, the Constitution also empowers the State to appoint a Commission to investigate the conditions of the socially and educationally backward classes (Article 340) and to specify those Tribes or Tribal Communities deemed to be as STs (Article 342).

IMPORTANT LANDMARKS IN TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

Recognizing the special needs and problems of tribals, a special niche was accorded to tribal development in the country's Development Agenda from the very beginning of the Plan Era. Some important landmark achievements in Tribal development are as below:

- Programmes were designed with a special focus on STs (1951)
- Adoption of 'Panchsheel' - the five Guiding Principles of the process of Tribal development (1956)
- Opening of Multi-Purpose Tribal Development Blocks for intensified development of STs (1961)
• Introduction of Special Strategies of TSP and SCA to TSP to ensure flow of population proportionate funds from other developmental sectors for tribals (1974)

• Poverty alleviation programmes for at least 50 per cent of tribal families to cross poverty line and expansion of infrastructural facilities in tribal areas (1985)

• Setting up of special financial institutions viz. Tribal Co-operative Marketing Development Federation (1987) and National Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation (1989)

• Ensure participatory development of STs at the grass root levels involving PRIs and Gram Sabhas as per the 73rd and 74th Amendment of the Constitution (1993) and the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) PESA Act, (1996)

• A major shift in the approach from 'Welfare' to 'Development' and to 'Empowerment of Tribals' (1997); setting up of an exclusive Ministry of Tribal Affairs (1999) and instituting a separate National Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation (2001).

Majority of the scheduled tribe population in Gulbarga division is relatively backward in socio-economic, education and political areas. Naturally, the political leadership of these tribes are dependent on the upper castes, though this tribe consist of more number of population, but politically divided. As the political awareness increased, the scheduled tribe people to
face potent started to demand political leadership within the party increasingly belong.

In the division of Gulbarga, Raichur, Koppal, Bellary and earth while Yadgiri districts the scheduled tribe population is more. Before the delimitation of constituency (2008). The representatives belonging to these tribes working in panchayta raj with the fair. But after delimitation of constituency near MLA constituency all 2 parliamentary constitution have same work for scheduled tribes.

It is also the important factor to note that in the present politics, the role and involved of scheduled tribes particularly in Gulbarga division attracted the attention of state and cultural political carrier. The population of STs are allied behind the political parties of Congress and Janta Dal. Now they are identified with Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). As these major population supported to BJP, majority of seats won by BJP in this division. This was possible due to the emerging political leadership among scheduled tribe in Gulbarga division.

At present in Gulbarga division, the total scheduled tribe population consists of 5,77,186 male and 5,65,496 female in total the ST population in the division is 11,42,682.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Tribal and Dalit representatives are found in large number at all the levels. They are from different social and demographic background. Some are illiterate, aged and poor and the others are rich, educated and influential.
Their level of education is generally low. However, in spite of similarity, reasons of their entry in the politics, style of functioning, achievements and the process of empowerment may be different due to different cultural context. Some tribal representatives have attained commendable job, the others could not? They have different experience and perceptions. Why this variation? In order to search answer to these questions various studies have been conducted.

However, in spite of being limited in number and scope, these studies provide a comprehensive picture of panchayat – Dalit and tribal interface. Some of the studies reviewed here are the following.

Murthy (1969)\textsuperscript{7} found that if Sarpanch, who holds a key position in executing the schemes for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, is directly elected by the people and not indirectly by the members of the panchayat, then the interests of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes can be secured better. He has made another important observation with regard to the utilization of resources: the specific funds allotted for the amelioration of SCs and STs under the jurisdiction of Panchayat Samitis have usually been merged with other funds and directed for different purposes.

Parvathamma (1975)\textsuperscript{8} analyzed the impact of PRI on weaker sections. One of her observations is that political representation has not helped to bring about the desired level of development among the SCs. She contends that there are built-in drawbacks which present the people of these categories from becoming vocal and assertive and much less to mobilize. To quote her
“Poverty, ignorance, illiteracy, the near total dependence on upper castes and above all the lowest ritual rank which makes them a constant source of pollution to caste Hindus certainly scholarly from social sciences have conducted general studies to identify the political leadership or political participation of downtrodden traders in the induce context. These studies focused on the use of constitutional benefits. He can identify these kinds of studies after the 73rd constitutional amendment Act. As this Act provided ample opportunities to the people belong to SC, ST, OBC and women. Thus, most of these studies looked in the working of upper representatives in the multinational of panchayat raj with the focuses of these sections development. However, these are limited studies conducted on the scheduled tribe leadership. In view of this the present studies has its allowance.

The study Sharma B.K. (1980)\textsuperscript{9} states that Government of India has not only failed to encourage the development of tribal’s but has actively maintained their under development. It tried to focus attention on the existing weak socio-cultural and economic linkages and also a solution there to, through a general settlement and linkages plan keeping in view of the different economic activities that might be acceptable to people and suitable for the tribal area. He also emphasized that frictions are likely to increase in economic spheres, particularly in recruitment and trading activities.

Pradeep Kumar Bose (1981)\textsuperscript{10} observing stratification pattern among Indian tribes on the basis of caste hierarchy or division on class basis it is really valid one. He justified class as a valid principle for studying Indian
tribes. The data were collected from seven districts of Gujarat through survey. Bose identified four districts classes, rich peasant, middle peasant, poor peasant and agricultural labour in tribals.

Jaganathapathy (1981)\textsuperscript{11} analyzed classes and class relations in three villages of Orissa and considered the particulars models of production and operations of them. Finally the study concluded that economically constituted class does not lead to the self-conscious class.

The Ramaiah (1981)\textsuperscript{12} studied the economy of 408 Koya tribal families from 51 villages in Andhra Pradesh. He studied the problems of agriculture, forestry and indebtedness of tribal’s. The author critically discussed several approaches to the multidimensional development of Indian tribes. The study suggested that planners should not forget the basic characteristics of the tribal economy and the government policies should not create feeling of isolation among the tribal’s.

Makhan Jah (1982)\textsuperscript{13} is an anthropological study which concentrated on cultural change and analyzed the socio-economic and cultural dimensions of the overall tribes in Orissa. He examined the interrelationship among the economic organization, social structure, the life cycle, the religious beliefs and practices of Ollar tribes residing in the area Koraput, Jeypore, Pottangi, Lamatpet etc.

Pachuri (1983)\textsuperscript{14} the study is significant to the tribal development of the entire country it makes a special study of Srikakulam districts of Andhra Pradesh, itself uniquely in the 1970’s. Here a tribal revolt motivated by
communist and Marxist elements in Srikakulam districts created a serious law and order situation, and the government put efforts to rectify and ameliorate the living condition of the girijans.

The study Bhagat (1983)\textsuperscript{15} identified to quantify some of the socio-economic factors determining the difference in the adoption of improved agricultural practices in tribal’s area in Bihar. It is a primary data study the multiple regression method has been used for examining and explaining the variation in, economic status, education, value orientation and family size are considered as important variables. The study revealed that the economic factors are more important that the socio cultural in the case of tribal found to different among constraints in the development of agriculture.

The study conducted by Shah B (1990)\textsuperscript{16} observed that the tribal’s in India were unique. She emphasized the different problems associated with the tribal education promotion programmes. She explained the difficulties and disparities in educational attainment of tribes, which are having the features of social-cultural, religious, economic and ecological situation.

Verma R.C. (1990)\textsuperscript{17} identified the different dimensions of the tribal society through the ages in India.

A survey by Khare (1991)\textsuperscript{18} examined the impact of economic development on socio-economic conditions of the Munda tribe of Bihar and Jarkhand states. The study identified a gap between the tribal welfare plans and their implementation. The study suggested that the formation of the autonomous body for tribal development.
The study conducted by Sivaramaiah (1991) analyzed the tribal development programmes in Adilabad district. The study shows endeavour is to improve the socio-economic conditions of the tribes duly protecting their cultural heritage and district identity of Adilabad.

Chowdary Budhadeb (1992) conducted a macro level study on tribes. The dimensions of socio-cultural, religious and economic changes are highlighted in the study. The interrelationships among the different social dimensions are examined. The study also analyzed the socio-economic and ecological development issues of tribes in India.

Herdia, Rudolf E. (1992) has explained the isolation of the tribal community from the mainstream society is a large issue in which education as an agency of socialization is one of the important dimension. He advocated the need for promotion of non formal education for the promotion of education in the interior tribal area.

The study conducted by Bhange (1993) reviewed the recommendations of the different tribal commission and committees appointed by the Government of India for tribal development.

Mohan Rao K. (1993) reviewed the different dimensions of socio-cultural, profile of tribes of Andhra Pradesh. The study examined the overall change in tribal’s expectable.

A study by Syam Prasad Rao (1993) examined the changing tribal picture both in prospect and retrospect with reference to North Costal in Andhra Pradesh for the period 1950-90.
Surya Kumara (1990) explain about the impact of financial institutions on the development of tribal’s in the Vishakhapatnam districts. The findings of the study reveal that a large proportion of the institutional credit system is used for financing productive expenditure in the tribal areas of Vishakhapatnam districts. The farm borrowings are influenced by the factors like amount of loan outstanding, fertilizer expenditure, fixed capital expenditure, expenditure on consumption and other non-farm activities of tribal’s.

Pulla Rao (1995) analyzed the impact of ITDA programmes on the tribal development with reference to Vishakhapatnam district.

The study Devendra Thakur and D.N. Thakur (1995) identified the tribal development and planning in India. They studied depth that has been made for the socio economic development of the tribal people by the Government. Also the study suggested so many policy implications for future planning for tribal development in India.

In other study in the past Aziz (1994) found more or less the same phenomena. While dealing with the relationship between local level traditional power structure, Panchayati Raj and the Dalits he said, “attempt made to access power to weaker sections by reserving seats and executive positions have altered hitherto the credit of the makers of law to have given scats and executive positions to the extent of 18 percent to SC and ST candidates and 33.3 percent each to backward communities and women. However, since most of the elected representatives are first generation politicians there is a need for providing training to them.
Sachchidananda (1972)\textsuperscript{29} discusses the pace of change and the role played by leadership in the tribal societies and the resistance encountered from traditional leadership. The problem varies from one area to another but there is a general picture of apathy, if not sullen resentment against the leadership. One of the basic ideas behind the introduction of Panchayati Raj was to give an impetus to people’s participation in schemes for their own development. Government at the state and district levels felt that the schemes would easily be pushed through by elected representatives of the people. This hope has been belied as people do not faith in the programme or in the intentions of the Mukhia and his colleagues. Though they are their elected leaders, they do not enjoy the people’s confidence. Thus, almost everywhere, there is lack of popular enthusiasm for development work. The author suggests some possible remedies. He stresses the need for leaders of a new kind who would not be rivals to either the traditional leaders or the elected leaders of the statutory Panchayats, but will be leaders in the field of agricultural cooperation, education, etc. thus people with different qualities and inclinations will come up to fill up new roles in the community. There is a need to build up functional leadership in the different fields the new leaders should be looked for from among the younger generation which is eager and curious to imbibe new ideas and influences, and is respective to innovations.

Naidu (1972)\textsuperscript{30} explains the tribal situation in the Parvatipuram agency of Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh and attempts to explain some of the
causes of their violent revolt. The factors responsible for the recent tribal revolt in the agency may be divided into two broad categories: internal and external. The internal factors are those that are responsible for the deep-seated frustration and hatred felt by the tribals, which made them restive. Exploitation and harassment by moneylenders and forest and revenue officials. Political domination and monopoly of agency trade by non-tribals and non-existence of sound administration at the grass-roots may be considered as contributing to the internal factors. The external factors is that which instigated them to revolt members of a social system may perceive discontentment and frustration as problem but may be able to resolve it lack of internal leadership. In such a situation leaders from outside the system may step in and direct the surging masses. The emergence of communist leadership in Parvathipuram is the external factor, where a non-tribal was able to provide leadership to the tribals by totally identifying himself with them and instigate them to revolt. Though, the Government is likely to treat the revolt as a closed and casual saga of history on account of the temporary lull in the revolutionary activity, the danger of reactivisation of the tribal revolt cannot be ruled out. So long as the tribals are alienated from the land, deprived of decent living, and subject to barbarous slavery, the key power of revolt can be ablazed at any time.

It is significant since the tribal electorate in Bihar is far different from the areas inhabited predominantly by non-tribals in the sense that the former are leading a life which is at a different rung of economic development.
They are also very different from non-tribal communities in matters of standard of living, thinking and ideological persuasion. Thus for a country committed to carrying out planned social change through democracy, it is important to know what impact electoral behaviour makes on the political development in tribal areas.

Sinha S.P. (1977)\textsuperscript{31} discusses the geographical formation and ethnological variety which go to make the personality of the people of tribal Bihar. Next he examines the condition of 30 groups of scheduled tribes 21 groups of scheduled castes in this area. He reviews the election scene in tribal area of Bihar on the basis of data collected as participant observer and through questionnaire. This issue involved in the 1977 parliamentary elections analyzed. Looking at the 15 parliamentary constituencies, he finds that over and above the Janata wave and Janata manifesto, which were national phenomena, local and even parochial issues were also at stake which helped the Janata party candidates and Janata–supported candidates to win. Finally, some broad observations are made and prospects for the legislative assembly elections are discussed.

John Macdongall (1977)\textsuperscript{32} attempts to describe and explain the differences in the two different types of social movements that occurred among some adivasis (indigenous) people of Bihar in the period 1858-95. These were the Sardar and the Kherwar movements. The former was confined to members of the Munda and Oraon tribes who lived in Ranchi district, whereas the latter involved members of the Santal tribe living in Santal
Parganas district. Based on material presented in the author’s Ph.D. thesis (1974) a tightly-controlled comparative analysis is made, having control for ‘key’ variables such as the nature of pre-British economy, social structure and culture in two independent cases. The Sardar movement is shown to be agrarian, employing institutionalized means of protesting an seeking social change. In contrast, the Kherwar movement was mainly concerned with religious revitalization and frequently repudiated institutionalized means of attaining goals. Particular attention is laid on why, given the changes in Munda, Oraon and Santal society as whole under British rule, movements like the Sardar and Kherwar ones might have been expected as societal responses to those changes. It is argued that in both these districts, certain powerful forces impinged on the three adivasis societies, turning them into peasant societies. But those forces did not completely peasantize Munda, Oraon or Santal society. In addition, these forces competed with other powerful forces emanating from non-adivasi and non-peasant social systems, which operated on larger scales than the systems affecting the adivasis before British rule. By comparing with tribes in other parts of India which did not undergo experiences like those of the adivasis of Bihar, the author concludes that peasantization and previous experience of resistance seem to be necessary conditions for contemporary adivasis movements.

Ranajit K. Bhadra (1977) analyses this socio-logical significance of the revitalization movements among the Gond. The Gond, a Dravidean tribe, numbering about three million, occupy the Eastern and South-Eastern parts of
Madhya Pradesh. The society and its agrarian system have been affected by aliens and since the mid-nineteenth century the Gond have reacted to this infiltration of alien Hindu culture though a series of movements. Due to the socio cultural and economic exploitation, the Gond sometimes came in direct confrontation with the aliens. Through these contacts they have attempted to establish their old cultural norms and customs, in place of the old ones that have been destroyed. It is in the cultural process of the mingling of little and great traditions that the revitalization movements act as mediation. Through this process they have helped in the evolution of a social system of which both the Hindus and the tribals are parts.

Udayon Misra (1978) examines the historical and sociological basis for the persistent consciousness among the Nagas that they constitute a separate and independent “nation”. The Nagas cannot be regarded as a secessionist group nor merely a sub-national group. Their self determination should not be confused with small nation insularity and xenophobia. Their history shows that they have always enjoyed independence and therefore their demands for an independent Nagaland are genuine. Their 13th century relationships with the Thomas who ruled Assam, and later their association with the British was one of non-interference in their internal affairs. This was the reason why the Nagas detested being included in the Indian administration upon independence. The formation of the N.N.C. was a major step in the consolidation of Naga nationalistic forces. All along, the N.N.C. has as secreted that the union of the Nagas with India should be a
the voluntary one. The author lists in detail the nature of the relationship between the Indian government and the Nagas including Nehru’s policy of integration; the formation of NEFA; and the conclusion of the peace agreement between the peace missions and the federal Government of Nagaland.

The study of relations between the tribals and non-tribals and among tribals themselves. S.L. Doshi (1978) distinguishes between an individual belonging to a tribe and the tribe as an entity and believes that political unification need not imply corresponding unification in social and cultural spheres. For the purpose of understanding the nature and implications of political unification, the author refers to the 4 villages and one urban ward from the two districts of Banswara and Dungarpur in southern Rajasthan. On the basis of proximity to urban centres and ethnic composition of the villages facilitating comparison at various levels—remote, pre-urban and urban, tribal mixed and urban, urban and urban, intra-district and inter-district etc., effort is made to understand the nature of integration of Bhils with wider society through political participation, education, health practices, adoption of social practices of caste Hindus and their cognition about avenues for a better life for their children, health practices, welfare schemes and their relations with caste Hindus. The conclusions reached are that the Bhils have been adjusting themselves with wider society through affiliations with political parties, but at the same time, have maintained their ethnic solidarity and exclusiveness, by noting, to a large extent, as a group, political unification
has not resulted automatically into corresponding unification in social and cultural spheres; there are several levels of unification of tribals with the caste Hindus. On the whole Bhils have unified in some respects, and have not unified yet to a large extent in some other aspects of their life.

Radhaka Ranasubban (1978) attempts to highlight the dilemma of the hitherto isolated tribal society of Nagas. This is a late comer to nationalism. The dilemma was perpetrated by the British when they handed over Nagaland, conquered by them, to the Indian Government, on their departure from India, with which Nagas felt no ethnic or historical affinity. Their demand for a sovereign Naga Nation state has moved from the negotiating table to armed struggle. The understanding of the Naga dilemma is embedded in the history of colonial rule, on the one hand, and in the complex inter-relationships between the four major parties representing the Government of India, the state Government of Nagaland, the underground Naga Federal Government and society. A review of colonial policy shows that Naga territories were fragmented in the economic, political and administrative interests of the British who did little to develop the Naga Hill district. Upon union with India through colonialism, there emerged new national consciousness among the Nagas who became aware of the economic development and modernism outside as contrasted to their own backwardness due to British political expediency and who desired to build a sovereign nation on the foundations of traditional Naga democracy. The Naga dilemma is a historical and structural one. Their national aspirations lacking
the wherewithal to realize an independent nation state, they have been fettered in a relationship governed by the Indian Government’s economic and political interests in this strategic border region rather than by any compulsion to satisfy the democratic aspirations of a national minority.

Kulkarni (1979) describe the transformation of a tribal movement into a peasant movement and its results in the Adivasis movement in Dhule district, Maharashtra. For this purpose, the author recounts briefly the origin and development of the Bhil movement in the Shahada Tahsil of the above district; and the shift from the caste-tribal approach to a class approach, with its effects in Prakasha, a village in the same tahsil. With the founding of the Gram Swaraj Samiti (G.S.S.) by Ambarsing Suratwanti, the Bhil movement started as an organisation of the tribals against various kinds of oppressive practices by the non-tribal (Gujars). Despite ideological differences and personal factors the G.S.S. and the Shramik Saughatama (S.S.) tackled various tribal issues. However, certain features of the economy of Shahada tahsil and the political dimension of the movement which made the inclusion of non-tribal landless labourers imperative caused the tribal movement to cross tribal and caste boundaries and evolve into a peasant movement. Similar was the case in Prakasha, which illustrated the solidarity of the organised poor as a class. Such problems as faced in Shahada are bound to rise in all tribal movements. Class interests do not obey caste boundaries, while purely caste or tribe movements cannot take up economic issues without changing their caste character.
Deb, Sarkar and Dasgupta (1981) attempt to discuss the major reasons behind unrest or revolt among some well known movements in India. By reviewing the various movements in India, it can be said without doubt that the sole cause of all such rebellions movements were centering around land which resulted deep economic depression or instability in socio-economic life. The outburst of the movement came due to exploitation of local zamindars, jagirdars, money-lenders, businessmen etc., who all used to deprive these simple illiterate people. There were many tribal movements in India which began due to defrauded or exterminated from their beloved land such as Rampa unrest in Andhra Pradesh, Bastar movement in Madhya Pradesh, Khasi movement in Assam, Saora unrest in Orissa, Birsa, Tana Bhagat and Bhumiji revolts in Bihar and so many. In 1941 tribal revolt held in Adilabad (Hyderabad) where the primary cause of unrest of unrest was land, which was forcibly occupied by the then British Government. Lastly, it can be said that all such movements arose due to oppression and exploitation of the zamindars against the foreign rule which fostered these elements, at the same time, they also put up their fight to safeguard their honour, to project their cherished freedom and to get redress against the money-lenders, the zamindars and the other parasite elements, who tried to deprive them all along. Their whole socio-economic life was destroyed due to such exploitation. In fact, there was a clash of economic interest and clash of cultures between the tribal and non-tribal. The after effects of all these insurrections were crushing and disastrous to the defeated tribals.
Chandra Mohan Reddy (1981) describes that the tribal communities in India have been undergoing a variety of socio-political changes for the last two centuries. Dealing with tribal movements Edward Roy gives the classification of limited context with respective characterisation of each type such as: (1) Residence movements. (2) Emulative movements. According to Fuchs the Bhil movements are marked by a definite tendency towards Hinduization. Chauhan reports on the religious movements of tribes in Central region of India and it was put down by Military action of the British. The North Eastern region comprising essentially the Naga, the Garo, the Khasis, the Mizo, the Mikir, the Kuku, the Kachari and the Dafla which politically and culturally were more active than the tribes of other regions of India. Political and religious movements seemed to have progressed in this region for the last one hundred and fifty years. After Independence, the demand for autonomy of this region was intensified by the political movements of these tribes. Recent activities of tribals in Manipur, the activities of the underground movements, the People’s Revolutionary Army of Kunglei Pak (PRE PAK) and the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA) have forced the Government authorities to declare the entire State as “disturbed area” and give the army a free hand to restore law and order.

Thus, all the above mentioned studies attempted to look into the socio-economic and political scheduled tribe people. But non-of the above studies have not focused on the political participation of tribal people. These studies have also not focused on the pros and cons of political participation of
scheduled tribe people in the working of democratic institutional in India. Therefore, the present in and which including focuses the political participation of scheduled tribe pros and its impact on the welfare of the tribal in region of Hyderabad Karnataka.

**OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The present study on “Political Participation of Scheduled Tribes in Karnataka – Pros and Cons: A Study in Hyderabad Karnataka Region” has the following objectives:

1. To understand the nature of political participation of scheduled tribes in rural and urban areas of Karnataka.
2. To assess the socio-economic political and education status of scheduled tribes in Hyderabad Karnataka region.
3. To examine the factors influencing in the process of political participation of scheduled tribes in Hyderabad Karnataka region.
4. To analyze the views, opinion and commitment of scheduled tribe leaders in the development of their communities.
5. To examine the pros and cons of scheduled tribe political participation in Hyderabad Karnataka region.
6. To identify the problems for the effective political participation of scheduled tribes and to recommend policy implication.
HYPOTHESIS

1. The political participation of scheduled tribes in Hyderabad Karnataka region is very less.

2. Due to illiteracy and ignorance among the scheduled tribes, the tribal political participation is not effective and not making efforts for their development.

3. Due to lack of awareness and knowledge the scheduled tribe leadership is not able to work independently as a result they are not formulating politics for the welfare of scheduled tribe.

METHODOLOGY

The present study was intended to analyze the nature, problems and awareness of tribal leadership in politics in the division of Gulbarga. The impact of political leadership for the welfare of their community in particular and the overall development of the division has been be examined. For this purpose, in the present study the descriptive, historical and analytical empirical methods were employed.

SAMPLE DESIGN

In this study the required data has been collected randomly with the help of stratified random sample technique. Since the research area covers of six districts, i.e., Gulbarga, Bidar, Yadgiri, Raichur, Koppal and Bellary. Only to use the chosen from the three time in institution and all the MLAs and MPs from scheduled tribe were also chosen. The proposed to collect information was also collected in each district randomly from the scheduled tribe leaders working in various political institutions.
SOURCE OF DATA

The present study has been made on the basis of both primary and secondary sources. The macro aspect of the study was based on the published and unpublished works on the scheduled tribes political leadership. Exclusively in this study, speeches, debates, statements, protests in assembly, parliament and is, were the main sources of data. In addition to these sources, primary information has also been collected through interview by the help of questionnaire with a cross section of scheduled tribe people.

DATA COLLECTION AND TOOLS USED IN THE STUDY

For collecting data different methods of social enquiry were adopted. A special tool has been used by the investigator for using scientific process, particularly questionnaire process. The questionnaire consisted of items in all spear over behaviour areas and also to collect personal data i.e., name, sex, age, social, economical, political, educational and cultural backgrounds.

DATA ANALYSIS

The collected data has been analyzed with the help of a computer. The data was transformed into computer code and analysis was made with the help of simple variable or multivariable tables. Statistical tools such as average, percentage, cross sections of variables has been used for data analysis.

NEED, IMPORTANCE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The study has a vast scope in terms of understanding the nature and status of tribal political participation. In a caste dominated society, the political participation of tribal, problems, process, awareness and pros and
cons have been analyzed for the welfare of the area and development of the society and tribal community. The study has its important in understanding the impact of tribal political participation in extending the constitutional safeguards to the people belonging to scheduled tribes. Apart from this, it also aims of the study to make analysis on the socio-economic and political status of tribal community and the nature of tribal political participation on the development of tribes in the study area.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The present study has certain limitations, which must be considered for the purpose of specific study and limited nature of research to be undertaken. The present study has been conducted in Hyderabad Karnataka region. It is going to be focused only on the political participation of scheduled tribes in political institutions in the state of Karnataka. The study has to focused on the impact of political participation on the development of scheduled tribes. Though the study compared to only Hyderabad Karnataka region, but in the looser interest of the research, the information has been collected from the MLA with in the state of Karnataka belonging to scheduled tribes.

CHAPERISATION

This study divided to VII chapters.

Chapter I:

Introduction: which attempt the concept explaining definitions of political participations, review of related literature, objectives of the study, Hypothesis, methodology, is also discusses.
Chapter II:

Theoretical perspective: This chapter narrates in details; the concepts framework such has political participation, political culture and political socialization.

Chapter III:

Constitutional safe guards, welfare scheduled tribes in India. This chapter attempts a details discussion on constitutional safe guards and protection for the welfare of scheduled tribes in India it also discusses programs implementation under the various plans for the overall development scheduled tribes in India and Karnataka.

Chapter IV:

Political history of scheduled tribes in Karnataka, this chapter exclusive concern to identify the history political participation and administration of scheduled tribes in Karnataka.

Chapter V:

Profile of the study area, which deals with the profile of Hyderabad Karnataka region exclusive it also focuses on the analysis participation of scheduled tribes in the various political institutions in the study area.

Chapter VI:

Political Participation of Scheduled Tribes in Hyderabad Karnataka Region: Pros and Cons – Analysis.

This chapter attempts to the deal with profile of the political participation, pros and cons of political representative of scheduled tribes in the study area such as MLA, MP’s ZP, TP and GP members.
Chapter VII:

Conclusion: This chapter focuses on the concluding part of the study along with finding, policy implementation for the effective political participation of scheduled tribes in the region of Hyderabad Karnataka in particulars and in Karnataka and India in general.
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