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### DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF SCHEDULED TRIBES IN TELANGANA STATE



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**Abstract :** *Telangana is the only south Indian state with a tribal population of 9.34% out of its total population as per the 2011 Census. The presence of tribal communities is more in and around the river valleys and forests of Telangana. The present paper focused on the demographic profile of scheduled tribes in Telangana State.*

**Keywords:** *Demography, lifestyle, Agricultural patter, Land Holding.*

#### Introduction

In Telangana state, there are very rich varieties of cultures. The primitive people Chenchus lived in the Stone Age; the Gonds similar to the status of Chenchus, Andhs and Bhils a group of backward people and lastly Koyas and Konda Reddis engaged in shifting cultivation do prevail. Chenchus prefer to live on the roots, tubers and other forest produce. They maintain their own dialect. The dependent communities of Pardhans, Thotis and Kolams are the dwellers of the highland of Adilabad. Konda Reddies are found in Karimnagar, Warangal and Khammam districts. In the deep south at the Nallamall Plateau of Mannanur and Farahabad of Mahabubnagar, he can find Chanchus and in the northwest district of Adilabad, nine tribes declared as Scheduled Tribes in erstwhile Hyderabad with the assent of the President of India.

In exercise of the powers conferred by Sub-Paragraph (1) of Paragraph 6 of the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution of India, the President was pleased to make the Scheduled Areas (Part 'B' States) Order, 1950, (Published in the Gazette of India,

New Delhi, 7<sup>th</sup> December, 1950) declaring several villages in Mahaboobnagar (Achampet Taluq), Adilabad, Warangal and Khammam as Scheduled Areas within the erstwhile State of Hyderabad.

**Table 1**  
**Scheduled Areas in Telangana**

Sl. No.	Name of the District	No. of Scheduled Villages	The area in SqKm	No. of Non-Scheduled Villages	Total Villages
1	Adilabad	412	6138.5	164	576
2	Mahbubnagar	25	1191.9	2	27
3	Warangal	177	3122.46	77	254
4	Khammam	889	6899.92	8	897
	Total	1503	17352.78	251	1754

**Source:** Tribal and Tribal Areas of Andhra Pradesh (Basic Statistics); TCR & TI, Tribal Welfare Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad-2004.

Table 1 reveals the scheduled areas in Telangana State. There are four ITDAs are working in Telangana State viz., Adilabad, Mahbubnagar, Warangal, and Khammam. Among the four ITDAs majority of the scheduled villages are constituted in Khammam district (59.14% total scheduled villages) and it is followed by Adilabad district (27.41%), Warangal about 11.77%) and Mahbubnagar is 1.66%. While areas occupied in the districts is 17352.78 sq. km. Out of the majority of the total area of the areas occupied in Khammam (39.76%) and it is followed 35.37% by Adilabad, 17.99% by Warangal District and 6.86% by Mahbubnagar District.

**Table 2**  
**Distribution of Areas in Telangana According to Tribal Areas/Non-Tribal Areas**

Sl. No.	Name of the Area	Covered Area
1	Gondu-Kolam Area	TAs in Adilabad District
2	Koya-Konda Reddi Area	TAs of the Godavari River Bank of Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam.
3	Chenchu Areas	TAs of Mahbubnagar, Nalgonda.
4	Plain Areas	Yanadi, Yerukala Banjara or Lambada or Sugalis is the major tribal population living in this area. These three tribes are identified as tribe science 1956-1977. After 1977 these three tribes are identified as a scheduled tribe in entire Telangana

**Source:** Ibid.

According to the majority of the areas in Adilabad District has covered by Gondukolam area; Koya-Konda Reddy Area is covered in Godavari River Bank of Karimnagar, Warangal and Khammam districts. Chenchu Areas are covered in Mahbubnagar and Nalgonda districts. Finally, the plain areas are covered with Yanadi, Yerukala and Lambada tribes.

**Table 3**  
**Major STs as District-wise in Telangana**

Sl.No.	Name of the District	Major STs
1	Khammam	Koya, Konda Reddis, Lambada
2	Warangal	Koya, Lambada, Yerukala, Nayak Poda
3	Adilabad	Gond, Kolam Pardhan, Thoti, Lambada, Naik Poda, Andh
4	Mahbubnagar	Lambada, Chenchu.

Source: Tribal and Tribal Areas of Andhra Pradesh (Basic Statistics); TCR & TI, Tribal Welfare Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad-2004; Director for Census Operations, Government of India, Hyderabad, 2011.

Table 3 explores the major STs in Telangana State in four districts. The Khammam district covered by the Koya, Konda Reddies, and Lambada tribes. While in Warangal district covered by the Koya, Lambada, Yerukala and Nayak Poda tribes. In Adilabad district by the Gond, Kolam, Pardhan, Thoti, Lambada, Nayak Poda and Andh tribes. Lastly, the Mahabubnagar district covered by the Lambada and Chenchu tribes.

**Table 4**  
**Scheduled Tribe Population in Telangana (2011)**

Sl. No	Name of the District	Total Population			Scheduled Tribe Population			Percent to Total Population		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1	Adilabad	2741239	1369597	1371642	495794	24747	248322	18.09	18.07	18.10
2	Nizamabad	2551335	1250641	1300694	192941	95679	97262	7.56	7.65	7.48
3	Karimnagar	3776269	1880800	1895494	106745	53495	53250	2.83	2.84	2.81
4	Medak	3033288	1523030	1510258	168985	86574	82411	5.57	5.68	5.46
5	Hyderabad	3943323	2018575	1924748	48937	25556	23381	1.24	1.27	1.21
6	Rangareddy	5296741	2701008	2595733	218757	112768	105989	4.13	4.18	4.08
7	Mahbubnagar	4053028	2050386	2002642	364269	187035	177234	8.99	9.12	8.85
8	Nalgonda	3488809	1759772	1729037	394279	203876	190403	11.30	11.59	11.01
9	Warangal	3512576	1759281	1753295	530656	268976	261680	15.11	15.29	14.93
10	Khammam	2797370	1390988	1406382	765565	378532	387033	27.37	27.21	27.52
Total		35193978	17704078	17489900	3286928	1659963	1626965	9.34	9.38	9.30

Source: Census of India 2011, Andhra Pradesh, Directorate of Census Operations, Hyderabad.

Above table explores about the ST population in Telangana. Among the ten districts, the majority of tribes are constituted in Khammam with 27.37% and it is followed by the Adilabad about 18.09%, 15.11% of in Warangal, 11.30% of Nalgonda respectively. While Nizamabad, Karimnagar, Medak, Hyderabad, Rangareddy and Mahbubnagar Districts are constituted below 9% ST population i.e., 7.56%, 2.84%, 5.68%, 1.27%, and 4.18% respectively.

**Table 5**  
**Scheduled Tribe Population by Area**

Sl.No	Name of the District	ST Pop. to Total Pop.	Rural ST pop. to total ST pop.	Urban ST pop. to Total ST pop.
1	Adilabad	18.09	93.40	6.60
2	Nizamabad	7.56	96.04	3.96
3	Karimnagar	2.83	86.79	13.48
4	Medak	5.57	92.79	7.21
5	Hyderabad	1.24	-	100.00
6	Rangareddy	4.13	61.20	38.80
7	Mahbubnagar	8.99	94.81	5.19
8	Nalgonda	11.30	92.90	7.10
9	Warangal	15.11	91.59	8.41
10	Khammam	25.18	91.52	8.48
	Total	9.08	89.05	10.95

Source: Ibid.

Table 5 reveals about the areas-wise population of the Scheduled Tribes in Telangana State. According to the data, it may be observed that the among the total ST total population, the majority of the STs are residing in rural areas (about 89.05%) and 10.95% in urban areas. Among the all districts majority of them i.e., above 61% are residing in rural areas except Hyderabad district.



**Table 6**  
**Literacy Rate among Scheduled Tribes in Telangana (2013-14)**

Sl. No	Name of the District	Total ST Population	No. of Literates			Literacy Rate		
			Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1	Adilabad	495794	130838	89084	219922	61.44	41.37	51.35
2	Nizamabad	192941	47085	28752	75837	57.97	34.25	45.92
3	Karimnagar	106745	28820	20090	48910	60.85	42.19	51.49
4	Medak	168985	40976	22146	63122	56.92	32.04	44.73
5	Hyderabad	48937	16659	12641	29300	76.09	62.08	69.34
6	Rangareddy	218757	62588	41495	104083	65.73	45.87	56.05
7	Mahbubnagar	364269	83464	45555	129019	53.71	30.44	42.29
8	Nalgonda	394279	104938	59065	164003	59.96	35.56	48.08
9	Warangal	530656	136361	90593	226954	57.81	38.96	48.45
10	Khammam	765565	200493	150974	351467	59.75	43.67	51.59
	Total	3286928	852222	560395	1412617	59.49	39.44	49.51

Source: Educational Statistics (Telangana 10 Districts 2013-2014), Commissioner & Director of School Education, Hyderabad, Telangana.

Table 6 shows the literacy rate among the STs in Telangana State. Among the ten districts, the majority of the literates reported from the Hyderabad and remaining districts are constituted to less than 57%. Out of the total literates, 59.49% are male and 39.44% female, while among the male literate's majority are reported in Hyderabad and below 54% in Mahbubnagar district, while in the female category, majority literates are reported in Hyderabad (62.08%) and 30.44% are in Mahbubnagar district.

**Table 7**  
**Distribution of Scheduled Tribes Main Workers**

Sl. No	District	Main Workers	Cultivators	% of MW/C	Agricultural Labourers	% of Agr/MW	Household Industries	% of HHI/MW	Others	% of others /MW
1	Adilabad	211230	109026	51.61	75898	35.93	4542	2.15	21764	10.30
2	Nizamabad	82653	37045	44.82	35041	42.40	3280	3.97	7287	8.82
3	Karimnagar	47211	14165	30.00	23197	49.13	1552	3.29	8297	17.57
4	Medak	70634	28731	40.68	31850	45.09	1134	1.61	8919	12.63
5	Hyderabad	13574	196	1.44	285	2.10	329	2.42	12764	94.08
6	Rangareddy	80793	21510	26.62	23860	29.53	2005	2.48	33418	41.36
7	Mahbubnagar	166482	67720	40.68	67372	40.47	2906	1.75	28484	17.11
8	Nalgonda	180454	51889	28.75	102372	56.73	2130	1.18	24063	13.33
9	Warangal	245877	111405	45.31	107598	43.76	1944	0.79	24930	10.14
10	Khammam	358922	98071	27.32	224041	62.42	2348	0.65	34462	9.60
		1457830	539758	37.02	691514	47.43	22170	1.52	204388	14.02

Source: Ibid.

Above table gives a clear picture of the main workers in Telangana State. Among the main workers, the majority of the main workers are found in Khammam District



about 24.62% and lowest in 0.93%, in cultivator's category 20.63% are found in Warangal and lowest in Hyderabad about 0.03%. Among the main workers, Agricultural Labours majority are found in Warangal about 32.39% and lowest in Hyderabad about 0.04%. In household Industries category, the majority are found in Adilabad 20.48% and lowest in Hyderabad about 1.48%.

**Table 8**  
**Distribution of Scheduled Tribes Marginal Workers**

Sl. No	District	Marginal Workers	Cultivators	% of MWC	Agricultural Labourers	% of Agr/MW	Household Industries	% of HHI/MW	Others	% of others /MW
1	Adilabad	56364	6037	10.71	38633	68.54	2330	4.13	9364	16.61
2	Nizamabad	16713	1103	6.60	13153	78.70	633	3.79	1824	10.91
3	Karimnagar	9357	406	4.34	7103	75.91	319	3.41	1529	16.34
4	Medak	14530	1152	7.93	11374	78.28	337	2.32	1667	11.47
5	Hyderabad	4621	185	4.00	98	2.12	228	4.93	4110	88.94
6	Rangareddy	18479	1934	10.47	8362	45.25	895	4.84	7288	39.44
7	Mahbubnagar	24005	2286	9.52	16024	66.75	920	3.83	4775	19.89
8	Nalgonda	31565	2515	7.97	24099	76.35	686	2.17	4265	13.51
9	Warangal	42506	5055	11.89	31891	75.03	681	1.60	4879	11.48
10	Khammam	75054	6829	9.10	59281	78.98	1263	1.68	7681	10.23
		293194	27502	9.38	210018	71.63	8292	2.83	47382	16.16

Source: Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 2011.

Table 8 reveals about the distribution of marginal workers among the Scheduled Tribes in Telangana State. Among the ten districts, the majority of the marginal workers reported in Khammam district with 25.59% and lowest in Hyderabad about 1.57%. Among the cultivator's majority of scheduled tribes find in Khammam district and lowest in Karimnagar i.e., 24.83% and 1.47%. Regarding agricultural labourers, the majority of reported in Khammam district 28.22% and lowest in Hyderabad about 0.04%. Total marginal workers in household industries, the majority of the workers are reported in Adilabad and lowest in Hyderabad with 28.09% and 2.74%.

**Table 9**  
**Distribution of Scheduled Tribes Total Workers**

Sl. No	District	Total Workers	Cultivators	% of MW/C	Agricultural Labourers	% of Agr/MW	Household Industries	% of HHI/MW	Others	% of others /MW
1	Adilabad	267594	115063	43.00	114531	42.80	6872	2.57	31128	11.63
2	Nizamabad	99366	38148	38.39	48194	48.50	3913	3.94	9111	9.17
3	Karimnagar	56568	14571	25.76	30300	53.56	1871	3.31	9826	17.37
4	Medak	85164	29883	35.09	43224	50.75	1471	1.73	10586	12.43
5	Hyderabad	18195	381	2.09	383	2.10	557	3.06	16874	92.74
6	Rangareddy	99272	23444	23.62	32222	32.46	2900	2.92	40706	41.00
7	Mahbubnagar	190487	70006	36.75	83396	43.78	3826	2.01	33259	17.46
8	Nalgonda	212019	54404	25.66	126471	59.65	2816	1.33	28328	13.36
9	Warangal	288383	116460	40.38	139489	48.37	2625	0.91	29809	10.34
10	Khammam	433976	104900	24.17	283322	65.29	3611	0.83	42143	9.71
		1751024	567260	32.40	901532	51.49	30462	1.74	251770	14.38

Source: Ibid

Above table gives a clear picture of the total workers among the Scheduled Tribes in Telangana State. Among the state, the majority of the total workers are reported in Khammam district and lowest Hyderabad about 24.78% and 1.03%. Among the total workers, there are 32.39% belongs to cultivators. Among the cultivators, the majority of them are reported in Warangal and lowest in Hyderabad 20.53% and 0.06%. Out of the total workers, 51.48% are belonging to agricultural labours. Among the agricultural labour, the majority of are reported in Khammam and lowest in Hyderabad i.e., 31.22% and 0.04%. Out of the total workers 1.73% are belonging to household industries, among the total household industries workers majority are found in Adilabad about 22.55% and lowest in Hyderabad (1.82%).

**Table 10**  
**Pattern of Land Utilization from 2010-11 to 2014-15 (Area in Hectors)**

Sl. No	Category	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15
1	Forests	2742856	2742856	2742856	2540101	2540101
2	Barren and un-cultivable Land	617061	616731	616731	607445	607430
3	Land put to Non-agricultural uses	870917	881905	885844	880458	884596
4	Culturable Waste	166596	164885	173917	176870	182511
5	Permanent Pastures and other Grazing Lands	302640	302438	302377	300008	298597
6	Land under Miscellaneous Tree Crops & Groves not included in Net Area Sown	113922	113922	113922	112420	112180
7	Current Fallows	1397150	1236047	1203604	950656	1400669
8	Other Fallow Lands	780445	825912	790899	716813	805150
9	Net Area Sown (including Fish ponds)	4492513	4599404	4653950	4923039	4376576
10	Area sown more than once	1375349	1102497	1036139	1320752	938793
11	Total Cropped Area	5867826	5701865	5690053	6243755	5315333
Total Geographical Area		11484100	11484100	11484100	11207810	11207810

Source: *Statistical Year Book, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Telangana, Hyderabad, 2016*

Table 10 explores the pattern of land utilization in Telangana State. According to the table, the forests area is gradually decreased from 23.88% to 22.66% from 2010-11 to 2014-15. The barren and uncultivable land is increased by 5.37% to 5.41%. The land put to non-agricultural uses is increased from 7.58% to 7.89%. Culturable Waste is increased from 1.45% to 1.62%. The Permanent Pastures and other Grazing Lands is decreased from 2.63% to 2.66%. Land under miscellaneous tree crops and a grove not included in the net area sown area are increased from 0.99% to 1.00%. The current fallows increased from 12.16% to 12.49%, while other fallow lands are increased from 6.78% to 7.18%. Finally, the total cropped area is decreased from 51.09% to 47.42%.

**Table 11**  
**The pattern of Land Utilization by Districts 2014-15 (Area in Hectors)**

Sl. No	District	Geographical Area	Forest Area	Barren and Uncultivable land	Land Put to Non-agricultural Uses	Culturable Waste	Permanent Pastures and other Grazing Lands
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Adilabad	1610500	689517	43920	61786	18797	14234
2	Nizamabad	795600	169343	46833	97733	12524	19780
3	Karimnagar	1182300	250410	95963	96249	24253	41283
4	Medak	970000	91390	52444	75997	18815	28860
5	Hyderabad	21700	-	-	21700	-	-
6	Rangareddy	749300	73075	27084	113294	25102	31662
7	Mahbubnagar	1843200	255596	87562	100163	28479	17560
8	Nalgonda	1424000	83073	121336	128360	29106	64238
9	Warangal	1284600	371014	51363	72256	12086	44911
10	Khammam	1326610	556683	80925	117058	13399	36069
	Total	11207810	2540101	607430	884596	182511	298597
		Land Under miscellaneous tree Crops and Groves (not included in Net Area Sown)	Current Fallows	Others fallow Lands	Net, Area Sown (including Fish & Prawn Ponds)	Area Sown more than once	
		8	9	10	11	12	
1	Adilabad	8504	115829	100149	557764	43283	
2	Nizamabad	1540	98139	59671	290037	159660	
3	Karimnagar	10770	125386	26974	511012	188606	
4	Medak	3684	172819	53254	472737	798912	
5	Hyderabad	-	-	-	-	-	
6	Rangareddy	6176	151468	92070	229369	25983	
7	Mahbubnagar	6466	301248	180122	866004	112319	
8	Nalgonda	7392	265544	141777	583174	146744	
9	Warangal	49165	96316	127015	460524	135483	
10	Khammam	18483	73920	24118	405955	46874	
	Total	112180	1400669	805150	4376576	938793	

Source: Ibid

**Table 12**  
**The area under Food and Non-Food Crops by Districts (2014-15)**

Sl. No	District	Food Crops	Non-Food Crops	Total
1	Adilabad	183212	417835	601047
2	Nizamabad	299395	150302	449697
3	Karimnagar	452453	247165	699618
4	Medak	385156	167472	552628
5	Hyderabad	-	-	-
6	Rangareddy	176449	78853	255302
7	Mahbubnagar	556699	421588	978287
8	Nalgonda	404968	324950	729918
9	Warangal	340162	255845	596007
10	Khammam	269292	183537	452829
	<b>Total</b>	<b>3067786</b>	<b>2247547</b>	<b>5315333</b>

Source: Ibid

Table 12 showing the area under food and non-food crops in Telangana State. According to the data, 57.71% of the land is utilizing under food crops and the remaining 42.28% is under non-food crops. Out of the total food crops, the majority of the land utilizing in Karimnagar district (14.74%) and lowest in Rangareddy 5.75%. While the non-food crops are found a majority in Mahbubnagar (18.75%) and lowest in Rangareddy 3.50%.

**Table 13**

**Number and Area Operated by Scheduled Tribes in 2010-11 by Size Classes in Telangana**

Sl. No	Category of Size Class (Hect)	Number In 2010-11	Area (Hect) In 2010-11	Average size In 2010-11
1	Below 0.50	210902	60106	0.28
2	0.5-1.00	183586	135772	0.74
	<b>Marginal</b>	<b>394488</b>	<b>195878</b>	<b>0.50</b>
3	1.0-2.0	174794	243485	1.39
	<b>Small</b>	<b>174794</b>	<b>243485</b>	<b>1.39</b>
4	2.0-3.0	64863	151786	2.32
5	3.0-4.0	18650	63916	3.43
	<b>Semi-Medium</b>	<b>83513</b>	<b>214446</b>	<b>2.57</b>
6	4.5-50	10177	44527	4.38
7	5.07.5	6517	38906	5.97
8	7.5-10.0	1744	14808	8.49
	<b>Medium</b>	<b>18438</b>	<b>98241</b>	<b>5.33</b>
9	10.0-20.0	1006	13054	12.98
10	20.0 and above	188	5577	29.66
	<b>Large</b>	<b>1194</b>	<b>18631</b>	<b>15.60</b>
	<b>All</b>	<b>672427</b>	<b>770681</b>	<b>1.15</b>

Source: Report on Census of Land Holding 2010-11, Directorate of Economics and Statics, Government of Telangana, Hyderabad, p.71.

Table 13 gives a clear picture about number and area operated by STs as on 2010-11 by size classes in Telangana. The number of STs belong marginal formers about 58.66% and it was followed by small 25.99%, 12.41% are semi medium, 2.74%, and 0.17% are belong to large.

**Table 14****Distribution of Operational Holdings and Area Operated by Scheduled Tribes in 2010-11 in Telangana**

Sl. No	Category of Size Class	Percentage of Operational holdings In 2010-11	Percentage of Area Operated In 2010-11
1	Below 0.50	31.36	7.80
2	0.5-1.00	27.30	17.62
3	Marginal	58.67	25.42
4	1.0-2.0	25.99	31.59
5	Small	25.99	31.59
6	2.0-3.0	9.65	19.53
7	3.0-4.0	2.77	8.29
8	Semi-Medium	12.42	27.83
9	4.5-50	1.51	5.78
10	5.07.5	0.97	5.05
11	7.5-10.0	0.26	1.92
12	Medium	2.74	12.75
13	10.0-20.0	0.15	1.69
14	20.0 and above	0.03	0.72
15	Large	0.18	2.42
	All	100.00	100.00

Source: Ibid: p.72.

Table 14 reveals the operational holdings and area operated by scheduled tribes in Telangana State in 2010-11. Among the all size class of Scheduled Tribes, it can observe that the majority of the tribes are belonging to the marginal category (58.67%) and only 0.18% of tribes are belonging to large time. Another words majority of the tribes are belonging to a marginal and small category, while the area operated by the scheduled tribes 0.5 to 3.0 hect.

**Table 15****Number and Area Operated By Scheduled Tribes in 2010-11 in Telangana**

Sl. No	Category of Size Class (Hect)	Number In 2010-11	Area (Hect) In 2010-11	Average size In 2010-11
1	Adilabad	111340	174607	1.68
2	Nizamabad	38982	33612	0.86
3	Karimnagar	19332	16651	0.86
4	Medak	35100	36362	1.04
5	Hyderabad	0	0	0.00

6	Rangareddy	29498	32328	1.10
7	Mahbubnagar	90948	97770	1.08
8	Nalgonda	84584	84019	0.99
9	Warangal	106316	102576	0.96
10	Khammam	156327	180118	1.15
All		672427	770681	1.14

Source: Ibid: p.73.

Table 15 shows the number and area operated by scheduled tribes in Telangana state in the year 2010-11. Among the ten districts majority of tribes (in number) about 23.24% of tribes are found in Khammam district and lowest in Karimnagar District i.e., 2.57%. The area operated highest reported in Khammam district about 23.37% and followed by Adilabad and Warangal i.e., 22.65% and 13.30%, while lowest in Karimnagar about 2.16%. The average size of area operated by scheduled tribes in highest in Adilabad about 1.68 and lowest Nizamabad and Karimnagar about 0.86 hectares.

## Conclusion

The economy and livelihood practices of the tribals are closely associated with the ecological factors and habitats which they inhabit. The tribals live in forests and use forest land for cultivation. They collect forest produce which varies from forest to forest to supplement what they grow on land. Land is used for living and livelihood. The lives of the tribals are influenced by their habitat, level of traditional and ancient knowledge, and the skills they possess in using the resources that are available. Land is the main stay of the tribal people. Any discussion on the lives of tribals, irrespective of what aspect is being discussed is incomplete when the issue of land is left out. Not only their economy and livelihoods, but also their social relations, respective role of men and women, nature of struggles their relationship with the state, with non-tribals, their religious rituals, are all closely related to land issues - particularly the land in and around forests.

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