LAND ALIENATION AND OCCUPATIONAL CHANGES AMONG ADIVASIS IN INDIA

Land Alienation and Occupational Changes among Adivasis in India

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Economics of the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

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PhD Programme in Economics

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CENTRE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES,
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Certificate

I hereby affirm that the work for this Thesis, **Land Alienation and Occupational Changes among Adivasis in India,** being submitted as part of the requirements for award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Economics of the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi was carried out entirely by myself. I also affirm that it was not part of any other programme of the study and has not been submitted to any other University for the award of any Degree.

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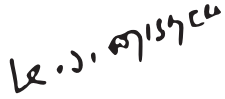
Certified that this study is the bonafide work of John Kujur carried out under our supervision at the Centre for Development Studies.



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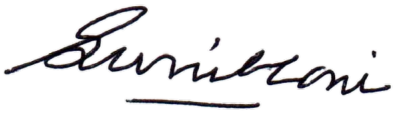

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Dedicated to

My parents

&

Indigenous people of India

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John

Abstract of the Thesis

Land Alienation and Occupational Changes among Adivasis in India

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Adivasis in the past were a landholding class and were having land-linked occupations such as settled cultivation, shifting cultivation, pastoralism, hunting and gatherings etc. Over the period, however, their landholdings and access to common property resources declined due to the growing land dispossession by industrialisation and urbanisation. The land alienation among them occurred both in the Colonial as well as in the post-colonial period. During the colonial period, the forest policies limited their access to the traditional source of livelihood which turned them into landless labour and subsequently led to change in their occupation in some parts of the country. However, the land alienation among them was intensified during the Nehruvian regime as the lands were acquired at a large scale for the state-run industries, and later under the neoliberal regime, acquired for private industries and special economic zones. The Indian state, throughout its post-colonial history, adopted policies that focused more on industrialisation, urbanisation, and mechanisation of agriculture for mass production. Such policies, however, resulted in two major processes: a) the social means of subsistence and production of adivasis were turned into capital for the state as well as for the private corporates, and b) adivasis, who were immediate producers and controlled resources, were turned into wage labourers. This brought about a shift in their occupational patterns. Although industrialisation and urbanisation generated ample employment opportunities, they could not absorb them in large numbers and even if some could be absorbed, remained limited to the lowest rung of the employment hierarchy. Such transformation has intensified their vulnerability in employment exacerbated in contemporary India as they are mostly reduced to rural and urban workers, and shifting from main workers to marginal workers.

Against this backdrop, the current study attempts to explore the complex processes involved in the occupational changes among adivasis in the context of land alienation.

Many studies attempted to address this issue; however, the paucity of data on land alienation restricted it to field survey-based case studies. The issue of land alienation and occupational changes among adivasis is not specific to any specific region rather it is universal all across the country. So, to fill this gap, the current study uses the land-related information collected in the Employment and Unemployment Survey (EUS) by National Sample Survey Office to analyse the landholding and occupational changes among them. The study primarily focuses on three broad issues such as land vulnerability, intergenerational occupational mobility and occupational changes among adivasi women. To address the three distinct concerns and to draw inferences from the data, the study primarily uses simple descriptive statistics, segregation index and transition matrix approach. The transition matrix analysis in this study is restricted to male members of the households since EUS does not identify the married women who live in their spouses' home and also constitute a majority of the female working population, and their parental household.

The study evinces that although adivasis occupy a better position in terms of landholdings, the rate of increment in vulnerability in landholding is higher among them. That is, the proportion of adivasi households in the zero landholding category has been increasing over time. The urban living adivasis on the other hand have turned out to be more vulnerable in terms of landholding. The growing land vulnerability among them has a bearing on their occupational pattern over time. More than one-third of the adivasi workforce is involved in precarious occupations. The inter-generational occupational mobility among them on the other hand, has been to a large extent characterised with immobility that is the continuation in the preceding generation's occupation by the current generation of worker. In the rural area, occupational immobility is relatively worse in the precarious occupation i.e. agricultural labour and unskilled manual labour. Moreover, a sizable proportion of the current generation has witnessed downward occupational mobility to agriculture activities that is cultivation and agricultural labour from the higher paid occupations such as salaried, and skilled and semi-skilled occupations. Conversely, in the urban area, where landlessness is significantly high, immobility is higher in the higher paid occupations and lower in the precarious occupations. Perceptibly, the upward mobility particularly from the occupation of agriculture labour is relatively greater in urban areas. On the other hand, the downward mobility from the salariat occupations and cultivation is equally

noticeable among the urban living adivasis. Consequently, the immobility in these occupations amongst them has become lower than that of the rural living adivasi households.

Apart from this, the study also sheds light on the gender aspect of occupational change in the context of change in landholding patterns. The study confers that adivasi women's likelihood of being in the labour force with reference to their non-adivasi counterpart has worsened in both rural and urban regions over time. On the other hand, landlessness has forced more adivasi women into domestic duties than that of women in general. Moreover, adivasi women owning a larger amount of landholding have a better chance to move to higher-paid occupations, particularly in urban regions. Conversely, the lower landholding adivasi women in urban areas are more likely to be employed in precarious occupations. Unlike the overall scene for women, the share of cultivators among adivasi women has increased in rural regions.

The above findings conclude that land alienation has an immense impact on the occupational patterns of adivasis. Although a mixed impact i.e. positive as well as adverse impact on the occupational transition among male adivasis is observed, female counterparts seem to be more adversely affected owing to land alienation. On the whole, nearly 40 per cent of the adivasi population continues to depend upon precarious occupations for their livelihood. At last, this analysis on adivasi and land alienation suggests that there is a need to tighten and redesign the laws and policies related to the possession of indigenous land and also reformulation of policies with a gendered lens to minimise the adversities of land alienation on female Adivasis. A suggestive evidence on land alienation and its consequential derivative on occupational patterns of males and females calls for greater caution as regard land relations and livelihood.

Keywords: *Adivasis, land alienation, occupational mobility, Adivasi women*

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Abbreviations

BCCL	Bharat Coking Coal Ltd
BSY	Balika Samridhi Yojana
CAMPA	Compensatory Afforestation Fund Management and Planning Authority
CFR	Community Forest Rights
CPR	Common Property Resource
DDU-GVY	Deen Dayal Upadhyaya Grameen Vikas Yojana
EUS	Employment and Unemployment Survey
FRA	Forest Rights Act
FYP	Five Year Plan
GER	Gross Enrolment Ratio
GoI	Government of India
HER	Higher Education Reports
HH	Households
IQ	Intelligence Quotient
ISST	Institute of Social Studies Trust
JFM	Joint Forest Management
KGBV	Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya
LAA	Land Acquisition Act
LFPR	Labour Force Participation Rate
MGNREGA	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
MGNREGS	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme
MHRD	Ministry of Human Resource Development
MoRD	Ministry of Rural Development

MSMEs	Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises
NCO	National Classification of Occupations
NFP	National Forest Policy
NPEGEL	National Programme for Education of Girls at Elementary Education
NSDC	National Skill Development Corporation
NSIGSE	National Scheme of Incentive to Girls for Secondary Education
NSSO	National Sample Survey Office
OBC	Other Backward Caste
PESA	Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Area
PLFS	Periodic Labour Force Survey
PMKVY	Pradhan Mantri Kaushal Vikas Yojana
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
RFCTLARRA	Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act
RSP	Rourkela Steel Plant
RTE	Right to Education
SC	Scheduled Caste
SRRA	Society for Regional Research and Analysis
SSA	Sarva Siksha Abhiyan
ST	Scheduled Tribe
TAC	Tribal Advisory Council
UPS	Usual Principal Status
USA	United States of America
UTs	Union Territories

Chapter I

Introduction

1.1 Background

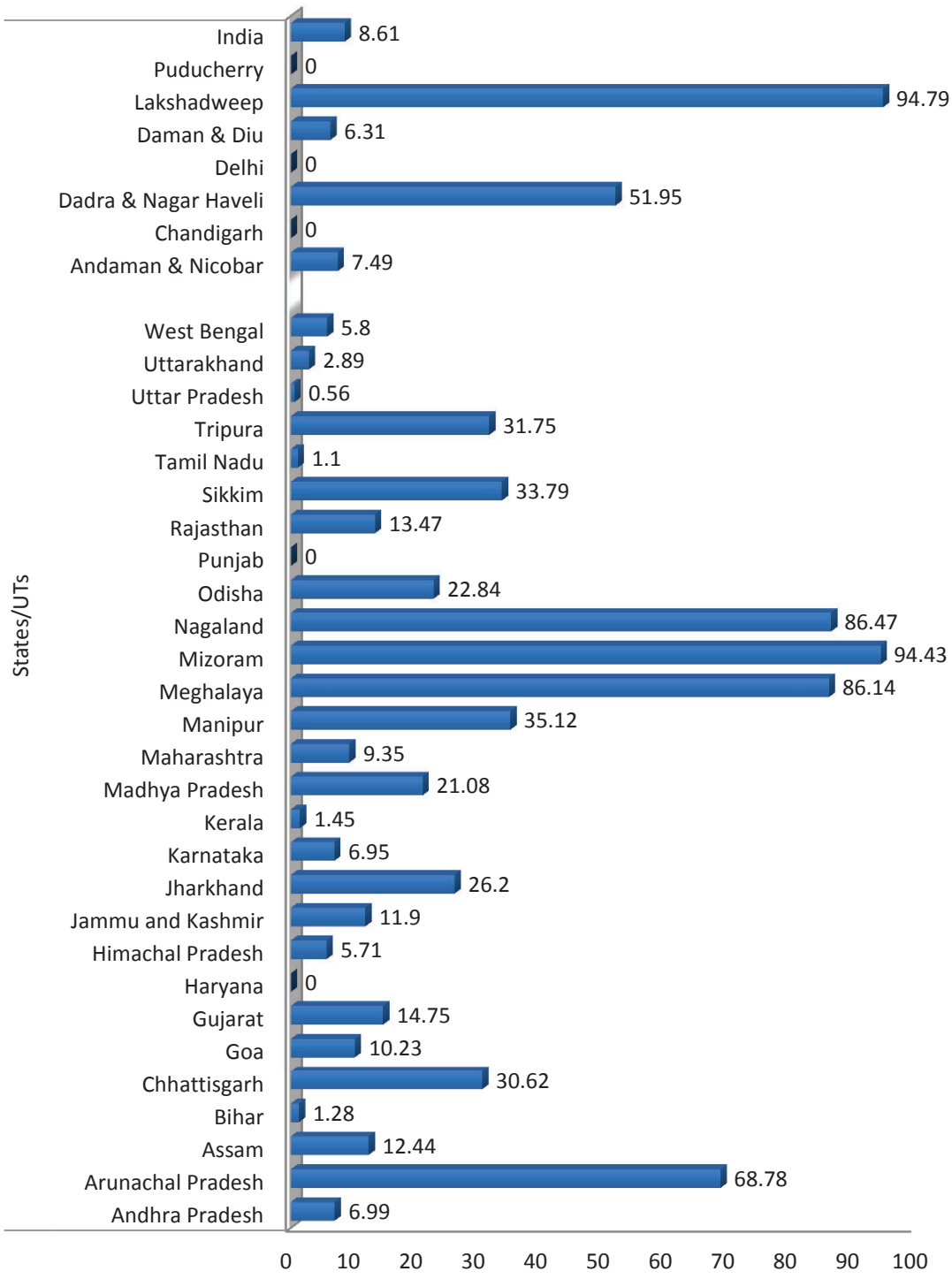
1.1.1 Adivasis in India: Basic Situational Overview

As per the Census of India, 2011 the population of adivasis[1] is 10.45 crore which constitutes 8.6 per cent of the country's population. The states/Uts with highest share of indigenous population are Lakshadweep (94.8%), Mizoram (94.4%), Nagaland (86.4%), Meghalaya (86.1%) and Arunachal Pradesh (68.8%). As against this, while Haryana, Punjab, Chandigarh, Delhi and Puducherry do not notify any indigenous communities, the states/Uts of Uttar Pradesh (0.56%), Tamil Nadu (1.1%), Bihar (1.28%), Kerala (1.45%) and Uttarakhand (2.89%) have the lowest share of indigenous population (Fig 1.1). In terms of the size of indigenous population, the central-eastern states such as Jharkhand, Odisha, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, West Bengal, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh possess about 50 per cent of the indigenous population. The state of Madhya Pradesh ranks first which contains 14.7 per cent of the adivasi population in the country, followed by Maharashtra (10.1%), Odisha (9.2%), Rajasthan (8.9%), Gujarat (8.6%) and Jharkhand (8.3%) (Census of India, 2011).

The size of the indigenous population in India has increased sustainably. In 1961, the share of the indigenous population to the total population was 6.9 per cent which has increased to 8.6 per cent in 2011 (Fig 1.2). In absolute terms, the population has increased from 30 million to 104 million in the corresponding period. The growth rate of the urban living adivasi population is higher than that of the rural living adivasi population (Fig 1.3).

[1] The term 'Adivasi' or 'indigenous people' has been in use in India for a long time. Internationally this term was adopted in recent past. The term is widely used to refer to the tribal people. The term 'Adivasi' is a mark of identity that provides a feeling of self-esteem and pride contrast to the sense of denigration and inferiority often tagged with the terms like tribe and tribal. Moreover, the idea of 'indigenous people' was increasingly articulated by the tribal people to assert the prior claim over the natural resources when they were denied their rights and privileges by the dominant sections of the Indian society. For more details visit Xaxa, V., 1999. Tribes as indigenous people of India. Economic and Political Weekly. 34 (51), 3589–3595. In this study the terms Adivasis, indigenous people and Constitutional term "Schedule Tribe" (ST) have been used interchangeably.

Figure 1.1: Percentage of Adivasi Population in Different States/Uts



Source: Author's calculation from Census of India (2011)

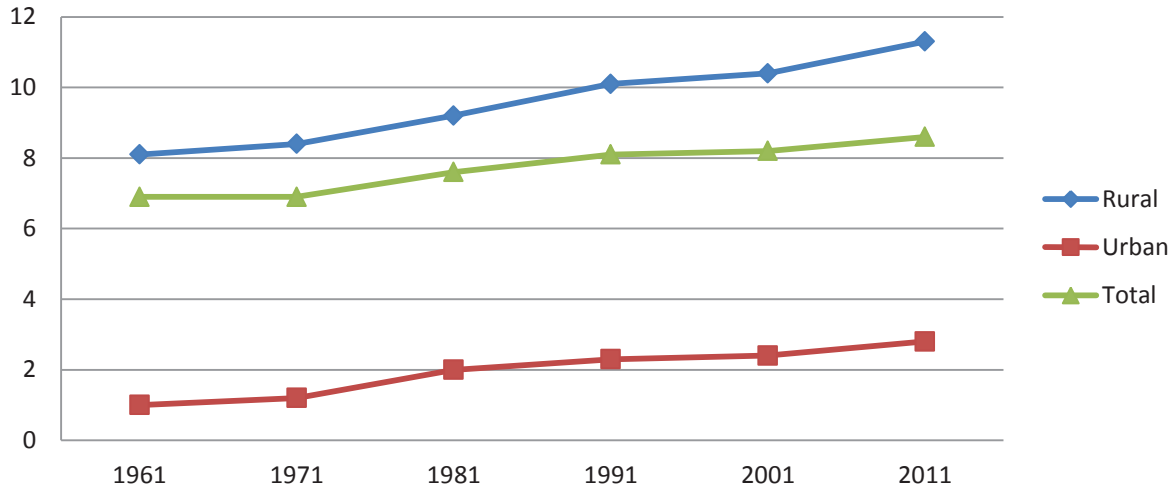
In 1961, only 2.56 per cent of the adivasi population lived in urban areas, while in 2011 it has increased to 10 per cent. This increment in the urban living adivasi population demonstrates the possible development of industrialisation and urban agglomeration in

the adivasi dominated regions or migration of adivasis to the urban areas in search of employment. Indubitably, the phenomenal increase in the size of adivasi population in the country is attributed to population growth, but the increment is largely driven by the recognition of more indigenous communities by states over time. The first census of independent India in 1951 recognised 212 ethnic communities as Scheduled Tribes (indigenous communities). The number of indigenous communities increased to 427 and 432 in the census 1961 and 1971 respectively. In the latest census, 2011, the number of ethnic communities notified as Scheduled Tribes has increased to 705. Furthermore, many ethnic communities are notified as Scheduled Tribes in some states/Uts but they are enumerated in the other social groups in other states/Uts. For instance, the Banjara community is recognised as indigenous community in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana, but in the neighbouring states of Maharashtra and Karnataka, they are included in the Other Backward Castes (OBCs) and Scheduled Castes (SCs) category respectively. To address such anomalies many corrective measures were taken several times in the past. This also adds to the cause of increment in the size of adivasi population as well as number of communities. Still, many communities are appealing to get Scheduled Tribe status on various grounds and this may further change the size of the population and number of communities in future (Xaxa et al, 2014).

The indigenous communities are diverse and heterogeneous as regard population size, language, culture, region and livelihood. In terms of population size, the communities like Bhil and Gond have more than 10 million population; and Santhal, Mina, Naikda, Oraon, Sugalis, Munda, Naga, Khond, Boro and so on have more than one million population. As against this, the communities like Sentinelese, Great Andamanese, Onge, Birjia have the lowest population size that stands at less than 200.

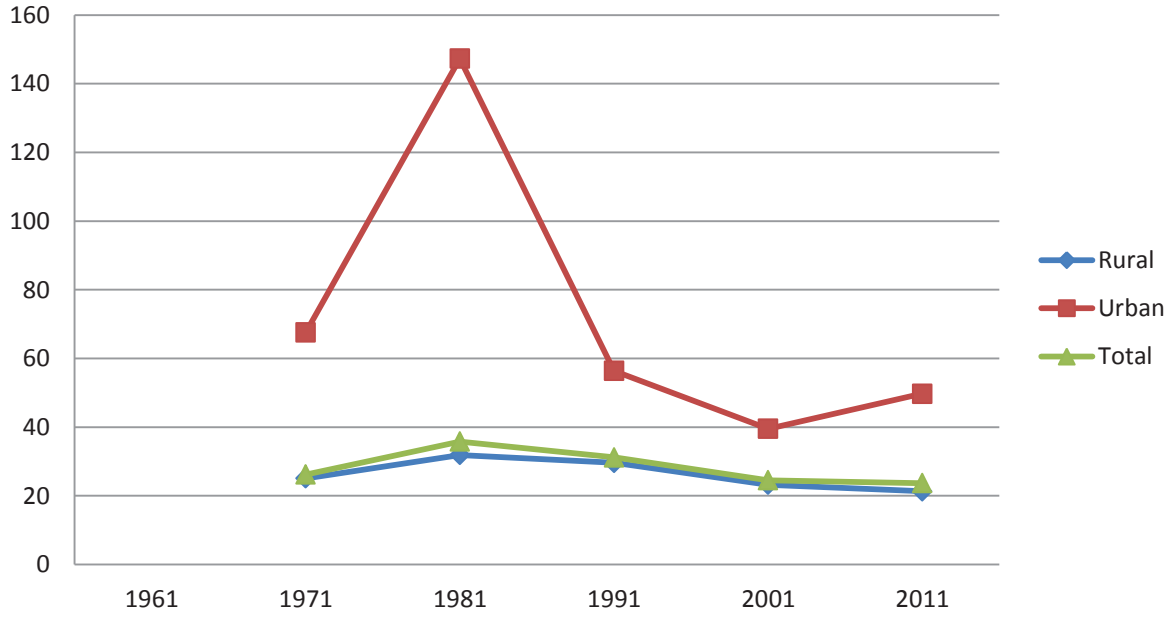
In terms of language, adivasis majorly fall into three linguistic families viz. Austro-Asiatic, Dravidian and Tibeto-Burman, the sub-family of Sino-Tibetan languages. About one per cent adivasis which include Bhil and Halbi adivasi communities speak Indo-European languages- the languages spoken by about three-fourth of the population in the country. The indigenous communities like Santhal, Munda, Ho speak Austro-Asiatic languages. The Gond, Oraon, Koya, Toda and Khond adivasis fall in the Dravidian linguistic family, while the indigenous communities of Himalaya and Northeast India speak Tibeto-Burman languages.

Figure 1.2: Percentage share of Adivasi Population to Total Population



Source: Author's calculation from various rounds of Census of India

Figure 1.3: Decadal Growth Rate of Adivasi Population



Source: Author's calculation from various rounds of Census of India

Indigenous people reside in about 15 per cent of the country's geographical area (Xaxa et al, 2014), and in terms of their residing area, they can be classified into five regional groups based on ethnicity, administration, ecology: Himalayan region which has three sub-regions viz. central Himalayan regions, north-eastern Himalayan regions and north-western Himalayan regions; Middle region constituted by the states of Jharkhand, Bihar, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Odisha; Western Region includes the

states of Gujarat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Goa, Dadra and Nagar Haveli; Southern region includes Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka; and Island region is mainly constituted by Andaman & Nicobar and Lakshadweep.

They can be categorised into different occupational groups based on the livelihood practices. Indigenous people are mostly termed as agricultural communities. Over 80 per cent of them are engaged in the primary sector (Bijoy et al, 2010; Xaxa et al, 2014). Within the primary sector, they have been distributed in the occupations like pastoralism, hunters and gatherers, nomadic herders, settled cultivators, shifting cultivators, collectors of forest produce, artisans etc. (Bijoy et al, 2010; Kela, 2006). Since the nineteenth century, the indigenous communities have been going through a transformation in their occupational pattern. The share of cultivators amongst them is declining drastically while the share of labouring class (both agriculture and non-farm labour) is increasing persistently which signifies the increasing landlessness amongst them over time. Between the censuses 2001 and 2011, about 3.5 million indigenous people have shifted to the informal labour market from agriculture and agriculture-related activities (Xaxa et al, 2014).

1.1.2 Relocating Adivasis' Socio-economic Condition

Presently adivasis have turned out to be the most marginalised community in India in particular and the world in general. The marginalisation of adivasis can be well explained through the political economy perspective rather than attributing it to just policy ineffectiveness. Although the deprivation and marginalisation of adivasis began in the pre-British era through the process of land grabbing, the discussion on their miserable condition in the post-colonial era holds much importance, as the state declared itself as the welfare and democratic state.

Although in independent India the states were formed based on ethnicity and language, the idea of and demand for adivasi states particularly in central India was not realised. The Gondwana kingdoms, Bhil's kingdom and Chhotanagpur (greater Jharkhand) existed in and pre-colonial period, however, these adivasi kingdoms were not given the status of the state. Instead, these were divided into many parts and annexed into the non-adivasi dominated states. As a result, adivasis turned out to be the minority community in those states (Bijoy et al, 2010). Although adivasis were granted political democracy in those

states, their representation was absorbed by the non-adivasi dominant political structure. As a result, their fight for rights, existence, dominance and self-determined development process was diluted and fragmented, and gradually they became submissive to the dominant understanding and ideology of development and social structure. This process never allowed adivasis to be part of decision making and thus could not convince the state to understand the adivasi development. Consequently, the economic (land alienation) and socio-political exploitation of adivasis was never taken a pause.

Furthermore, the Indian state continued to uphold the colonial exploitation in the post-independence period and thus evolved as the neo-colonial state. That is the power-relation or the colonial production system and exploitation continued in the post-British regime (Sartre, 1964 & 2005). In the colonial period, indigenous people were turned into cheap or indentured labourers through alienation from the immediate means of production and living. In the neo-colonial regime also the land alienation or alienation from means of subsistence is increasingly taking place amongst adivasis through various means with systematic state patronage. Consequently, they are being converted into bondage labourers or indentured labourers for the capitalist mode of production (Breman et al, 2009; Pattenden, 2016; Mosse et al, 2010). Illaiah (1990 & 1994) calls it as the enslavement of adivasis particularly by the state system to produce a surplus for the dominant sections of the society.

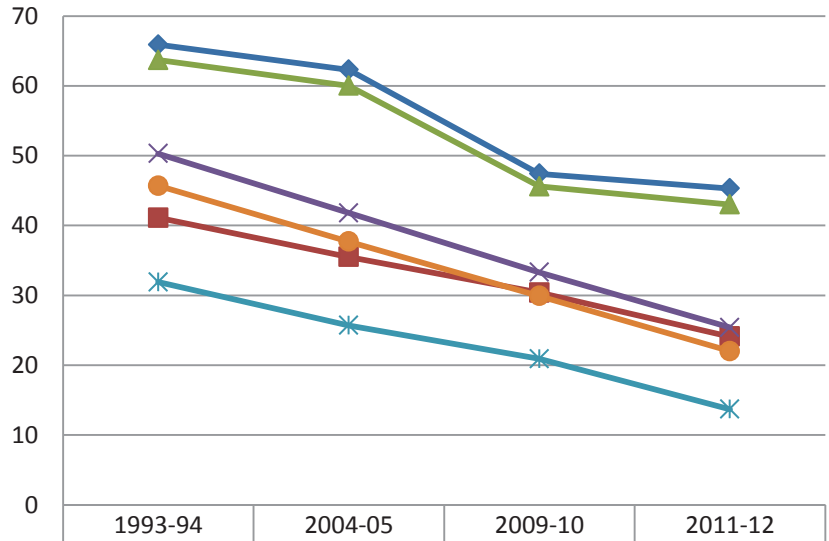
The entrenched unequal power relation or unequal economic and political apparatus has resulted in the persistence of poverty amongst the marginalised communities, particularly amongst adivasis (Mosse, 2010; de Han, 2007 & 2011). The percentage of adivasi population living below the poverty line has consistently remained much higher than that of the overall population (Fig 1.4). The states with higher percentages of SCs and STs have witnessed a sluggish decline in the poverty rate. Moreover, in the states of Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Bihar and Maharashtra more than 50 per cent of the indigenous population in rural areas fall below the poverty line (Table 1.1). The larger section of adivasi population who falls below the poverty line lacks the access to sustainable employment and is landless (Bijoy et al, 2010).

To reduce the incidence of poverty amongst them various poverty alleviation programmes were launched, however, these programmes failed to meet the intended objectives. Moreover, the programmes entrenched the bureaucratic control over the adivasi socio-

economic system and depoliticised and demystified the issues of power-relation or the politics of existence (Corbridge et al, 2005).

The policy-makers who predominantly belong to non-adivasi communities have little understanding of the socio-economic problem and the social and political system of adivasis. On the other hand, their dominance in governance endows the state with the power to exploit the natural resources that adversely affects adivasis. Furthermore, in the execution and implementation of the policies about 80 to 90 per cent of the fund is spent on maintaining the administrative structure and just a meagre amount reaches the adivasis (Brass, 1996; Bhowmik, 1988; Padel, 2012; Khera, 2008; Srivastava, 2014)). Resultantly, the poverty alleviation schemes remain meagrely effective in uplifting adivasis from poverty (Radhakrishna, 2009).

Figure 1.4: Percentage of Adivasi Population vs. Overall population Living Below the Poverty Line (Tendulkar Method) (1993-94 to 2011-12)



	1993-94	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12
Adivasis (Rural)	65.9	62.3	47.4	45.3
Adivasis (Urban)	41.1	35.5	30.4	24.1
Adivasis (Rural+Urban)	63.7	60	45.6	43
All (Rural)	50.3	41.8	33.3	25.4
All (Urban)	31.9	25.7	20.9	13.7
All (Rural+Urban)	45.7	37.7	29.9	22

Source: As estimated by Panagariya and More (2014), pp.6

Table 1.1: Percentage of Adivasi Population Below Poverty Line during 2011-12 (Tendulkar Method)		
States	**Rural (2011-12)**	**Urban (2011-12)**
Andhra Pradesh	24.1	12.1
Assam	33.4	15.6
Bihar	59.3	10.3
Chhattisgarh	52.6	35.2
Gujarat	36.5	30.1
Himachal Pradesh	9.5	4.0
Jammu & Kashmir	16.3	3.0
Jharkhand	51.6	28.7
Karnataka	30.8	33.7
Kerala	41.0	13.6
Madhya Pradesh	55.3	32.3
Maharashtra	61.6	23.3
Odisha	63.5	39.7
Rajasthan	41.4	21.7
Tamil Nadu	36.8	2.8
Uttar Pradesh	27.0	16.3
Uttarakhand	11.9	25.7
West Bengal	50.1	44.5
All India	**45.3**	**24.1**

Source: Annual Report (2020-21), Ministry of Tribal Affairs, pp. 40

The ineffectiveness of the development measures is attributed to a certain kind of development approach pursued that mainly sought to assimilate them into the larger Indian society. This approach is in contrast to the view of Varrier Elwin the main architect of 'five principles of tribal development' propounded by Jawaharlal Nehru (1953). He was of the view that adivasis' deplorable and impoverished condition is primarily because of their interaction with the larger dominant society that has made them subject to various kinds of exploitation such as indebtedness, alienation from forest and forest lands etc. The five principles that were advocated to be followed in the process of development of adivasis are:

- People should develop along the lines of their own genius, and the imposition of alien values should be avoided.
- Tribal rights in land and forest should be respected
- Teams of tribals should be trained in the work of administration and development.

- Tribal areas should not be over administered or overwhelmed with a multiplicity of schemes.
- Results should be judged not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the human character that is evolved (Mishra, 2017).

The Constitution also enshrined separate administrative provisions viz. Fifth and Sixth Schedule[2] and Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Area (PESA) Act[3] for the development of them and safeguard and protection of their interest. However, the development paradigm of the state paid minimal regard to their protection and safeguard. In the larger part of the adivasi areas, the state has been persistently endeavouring to pursue their development through assimilation instead of integration. As a result, their interest and rights over land and other natural resources are being undermined and overshadowed by the dominant development paradigm shaped by the idea of higher economic growth (Menon and Bijoy, 2014). This has inhibited the smooth process of development of adivasis.

1.1.3 Adivasis, Land Alienation and their vulnerability in labour market

The contours on the relationship between adivasis and land evolved and has been gaining strength since the colonial period when resentment was increasingly seen among adivasis on the issue of alienation from land and other natural resources. Since then the economic, social and cultural importance of land particularly for adivasis is being discussed largely. The economic importance of land and natural resources for adivasis is more or less found similar to that of the other forest-dwelling communities or communities living in remote areas. Their socio-cultural life, however, differentiates them from the other communities, living in both remote and plain areas. Unlike non-adivasis, for them, land is a community property and thus cannot be exchanged. Communal ownership helps them to foster

[2] The administration of the sixth schedule areas comes under the jurisdiction of the governor of the state. The ministers have also no right to advise the governor in the matters of administration. However, both provincial and central governments have the legislative power, but the governor might direct that any act shall apply to the said areas subject to such modifications and exceptions as the governor might decide. The four north eastern states contain the tribal areas which are technically different from the Scheduled areas. In the case of fifth scheduled areas, the legislature has the right to discuss their affairs. The provincial government also has full discretion to apply or withhold any new enactment in these areas. However, the governor might direct that the law shall apply or shall not apply subject to such modifications and exceptions as the governor might decide. The Tribal Advisory Council (TAC) plays important role in the administration of scheduled areas. The duty of the TAC is to advice the governor of the state in the matter pertaining to welfare and advancement of the scheduled tribes in the state.

[3] Provision of PESA Act, 1996 is a law enacted by the Government of India for ensuring self-governance through traditional Gram Sabhas for the people living in the Scheduled Areas of India.

egalitarian values in their society. Their cultural practices which are rooted in nature, for instance, the earth festival of the Koya community, contribute towards establishing a spiritual relationship with the land (Ekka, 2012; Bhukya, 2012).

The existence of such differences between adivasis and non-adivasis is because the latter are the migrant communities who gradually lost the novelty of ancestral traditions and culture due to the hybridisation of different cultures and society over time. The indigenous society on the other hand, since the long past, have tried to keep their society away from the hybridisation process. That is the reason in the present world the indigenous community largely reside in the rural belt i.e. remote regions mostly unreachable for the non-indigenous communities. Over time non-adivasis migrated to the adivasis' land and it led to cultural assimilation and loss of pristine land among them. Alienation from the subsistence was most visible during the colonial rule as well as in the post-independence period and it has an overall impact on their livelihoods. The colonial forest policy which limited their access to the traditional source of livelihood turned them into landless community and subsequently led to change in their occupational pattern in some parts of the country[4]. The land alienation amongst them was intensified during the Nehruvian regime as part of the land acquisition for state-run industries, and later under the neoliberal regime that acquired land for private industries and special economic zones. The Indian state, throughout its post-colonial history, adopted policies which focused more on industrialization, urbanization, and mechanization of agriculture for mass production. Such policies, however, resulted in two major processes: a) the social means of subsistence and production of adivasis were turned into capital for the state[5] as well as for the private corporates, and b) adivasis, who were immediate producers and controlled resources, were turned into wage labourers. These processes were antithetical to the indigenous way of life because they harmed their economy and society (Kujur, 2017; Padel and Das, 2008; Fernandes, 2008; Nayak, 2015).

One of the main reasons for why adivasis are most affected by the industrialization process is the abundant and cheapest availability of the natural resources in the adivasi populated regions that incentivized the state to concentrate its industrial and allied activities in those areas. As industrialization flourished in the adivasi regions, it generated

[4] Due to landlessness many adivasis from Chhotanagpur division migrated to tea gardens of Assam and West Bengal as indenture labour (Bhowmik, 2016).

[5] During the Nehruvian regime land acquisition was done mostly for the public sector industries and other projects (Levien, 2015).

ample employment opportunities which attracted non-adivasi people from across the country. However, adivasis became ghettoized in the employment process due to the lack of social capital and politics of identity (Struempell, 2014). In other words, the proletarianisation of the adivasis was mainly a result of the escalation of land acquisition and exploitation of natural resources for the 'developmental projects' across the country.

The politics of identity and the lack of social capital, a product of the politics of identity, pave the way for discrimination in the labour market. Adivasis alike other subordinate groups of the society have been the major victims of this discrimination in India (Struempell, 2014; Thorat & Newman, 2007). Worrisomely, adivasis' vulnerability or discrimination in employment is being exacerbated in contemporary India as they are mostly reduced as rural and urban workers; and shifting from main workers to marginal workers due to confiscation of their land and habitat (Prasad, 2014). While they are getting absorbed by the public and informal sectors, their lack of social capital, and functional literacy for skilled and semi-skilled jobs in the urban accompanied with their identity reproduce them as unskilled manual labour or casual labour in the lowest rung of the employment hierarchy (Heuze, 1996; Kela, 2012; Parry and Struempell, 2008).

Since most of them are employed as casual labour, they face job insecurity. The job insecurity coupled with low earnings compels most members of the households to engage in the labour market in many forms. Specifically, this particular feature is strongly reflected through the lens of gender. Historically, female workers, in general, were either entitled to lesser wages than the male workers or forced to work longer hours or both (Majumdar, 1973; Sen, 1999; Fernandes, 1997; Chatterjee, 2001). Adivasi women who enjoyed relatively equal status in their society are also now beset by social prejudices and stereotypes in the urban labour market (Shah, 2010). The probability of discrimination in employment and payment of wages based on identity in the informal and private sectors, is very high since these sectors are least regulated by the state. Trade unions also do not provide membership to the labourers employed in these sectors, which makes their status and the nature of employment more precarious in the urban settings (Fernandes, 1997).

Against this background, the current study has attempted to do a status verification of land alienation among adivasis followed by its differential impacts with regards to occupational changes across generations. In addition, the study has analysed the gender

aspect of the changing occupational status due to land alienation in relation to adivasi women.

1.2 An Overview of Literature

The literature review here is organized under three themes: land alienation among adivasis, changing occupational status of adivasis, and casual labour and socio-economic marginality.

1.2.1 Land Alienation among Adivasis

This section largely deals with the land alienation among adivasis. The section tries to analyse various forms of land alienation both in the colonial as well as post-colonial period in the country.

There are various drivers of land alienation such as war, climate change, displacement, and individual sale etc. The most prevailed form of land alienation is expropriation of people from their lands by the dominant groups or by the state itself.

There are many theories on the land alienation, mainly as an alienation from the means of production. The primitive accumulation theorized by Marx (1867; 1974) is the process of divorcing the producers from the means of production, transforming the social means of subsistence and of production into capital and the immediate producers into wage labourers through the forcible usurpation of common property that is through individual acts of violence and eventually the parliamentary form of robbery (Glassman, 2006). David Harvey (2003) states that under the neoliberalism, the accumulation by dispossession has become the predominant mode of accumulation or expropriation of the people from their land and natural resources. Building on Harvey, Michael Levien (2015) explains different ways through which the people are dispossessed from their land mainly by the state machinery. He observes that the state dispossesses people from their land mainly through two means: use of coercion or forced displacement, and persuasion of the people by legitimising the expropriation of land in the name of "public purpose" or "national interest."

Adivasis in India are mostly affected by two forms of land alienation: land alienation due to displacement by the state and by the sale of their land, often forced or unfair terms to others. Since independence, more than 30 million people have been affected by the land

alienation. Adivasis who constitute 30-40 percent of the land alienated in the country, are the most affected (Fernandes, 2008). Apart from this the continuation of colonial forest policy and commercialization of forest in independent India also severely curtailed their traditional rights over forest lands and forest produce (Guha, 1983; Malekar, 2014).

During the colonial as well as post-colonial period the non-adivasis appropriated the adivasi land through various methods. A few of them are, transfer to non-adivasis in the form of lease or mortgage, benami transfer, transfer in the name of concubines, marital alliance with female adivasi for the sake of transfer of land in her name, transfer in the name of adivasi servants who may work as bonded labourers, transfer of unregistered or unrecorded adivasis' land in lieu of loan, encroachment of adivasis' land by force etc. (Joshi, 1997; Tripathy, 1997; Bhowmik, 2016; Xaxa, 2014).

During the colonial period, the local chieftains and local elites patronized the penetration of the non-adivasis such as traders, educated elites, and capital holders in the adivasi lands who easily expropriated their land and usurped other properties through trickery. The imposition of taxes, bad harvest and unfair prices of the agricultural products also forced them to surrender and sale away their lands (Venkati, 1994). Apart from the appropriation of adivasi land by non-adivasis, the notorious laws of the British had also serious impacts on the adivasis and their traditional livelihoods. Savyasaachi (2016) in his discussion of land alienation among adivasis in British India, delineates that the directive principle of primitive accumulation in colonial India legitimized the territorial sovereignty of the state, that is all land known or unknown, used or unused belongs to the state. The land which did not generate revenue for the state was declared as wasteland. The teleology of this declaration was to convert wasteland into revenue land. Eventually, all the forest and land (*anabadi* land/forest land) used for subsistence by the forest dwellers were classified as wasteland. Such primitive accumulation by the colonial state was realized in the period between mid-eighteenth century and the mid-nineteenth century when commercial forestry and large-scale single crop commercial agriculture were introduced.

To provide a continuous supply of timber for constructing railway tracks, developing the ship-building industry, making furniture, and for firewood, the British government introduced centralized forest management policy such as Indian Forest Act (1865) which was further modified in 1873-74, 1878, and in 1924. The teleology of this policy was to

create ‘reserves of nature’ or ‘reserve forest’. This policy extremely curtailed indigenous communities’ access to forest produce, mainly timber products. The notorious Permanent Settlement Act (1793) had also disastrous effects-rack renting, resumption, and subletting on them. Due to the introduction of this act, the class of zamindars crept into adivasis’ hinterlands. Consequently, adivasis lost their ancient tillage rights and a series of taxes were imposed upon them by the landlords and the East India Company. They were even forced to pay tax on *mahua* tree which they consider as nature’s gift (Guha, 1983; Bhowmik, 2016).

The entry of commercial and industrial capital created differentiation of peasantry and also resulted in the emergence of commercial industrial class within the indigenous communities (Pathy, 1982; 1984). However, this claim is not only the falsification of the reality but also mystification of the conditions of adivasis. In fact, the entry of the private capital as well as the outside population ruined their subsistence livelihoods and reduced them to a subservient position by alienating them from their traditionally inherited lands and natural resources.

1.2.2 Changing Occupational Status of Adivasis

This section analyses the literature on transition in the occupational status of indigenous people in the context of land alienation.

Adivasis are recognised as agricultural community. Historically, they owned forest lands and lands nearer to their settlement as they cleared the forest and turned it into agricultural land. Therefore, it is not unusual to enounce that adivasis own comparatively a substantial amount of land than the other social groups in the country. However, over the past centuries, they lost a sizable amount of land to non-adivasis who migrated to their land in search of pristine land and as traders (Arnold, 1982; Bandyopadhyay, 1999; Bhukya, 2012; Kujur et al, 2020). Consequently, a large section of them turned into agricultural labour. Over time, their dependency on agriculture labour for sustenance, however, is shifting particularly to non-farm unskilled labour and skilled & unskilled labour. This decline in agriculture labour is mainly attributed to the contraction of bonded labour and increment of personalised forms of labour relation over the past century supplemented by growing mechanisation of the agriculture sector (Breman, 2007; Lerche, 2011). Switching to the non-farm sector, on the other hand, would not relieve

them from bondage as they were often subject to 'neo-bondage' wherein they were tied to a particular employer for a shorter period in lieu of advances (Breman et al, 2009; Pattenden, 2016). On the other hand, due to lack of social capital and identity discrimination their participation in the higher paid occupations is very less and thus they have been largely concentrated in the precarious occupations (Parry and Struempell, 2008; Shah, 2010).

1.2.3 Casual Labour and Socio-Economic Marginality

This section deals with the labour in the informal sector in the country and analyses the precarious condition of indigenous labour in the labour market.

Informal economy comprises the economic activity of firms or individuals that is not registered for the purpose of taxation and regulation by the state (Harris-White, 2003). However, the informal sector does not escape from the state surveillance, that is the environmental inspections and issues of licensing also affect this sector. For the workers, informal sector employment means casual labour, with little or no job security, and job (in)stability that is more determined by the market demand than by any sort of (written) contract. The job stability or volatility also refers to the worker's reliance on different employers. In the informal sector, the instability of the job is compounded by the absence of social security. The social security is not guaranteed by the state rather only partly or haphazardly by the employers. All these features of the informal economy affect the labour activity and politics as well as the worker's social identity. The informal economy is the largest employer in India employs not less than 90 per cent of the workforce of the country (Breman, 1996; 2004). This huge labour group is heterogeneous along caste, gender, religion and age groups. The agricultural labour constitutes the larger part of this workforce. The informal economy expanded massively and rapidly under trade liberalization. This informalisation of economy absorbed the increasing number of workers from both the agriculture sector and the so-called formal industrial sector (Joshi, 2003). Jan Breman (1996) calls this the process of 'casualisation.'

In the colonial period, the pool of labour from the rural hinterland for urban industries was not so hard because of pervasive poverty and stagnation of the rural economy. Mostly the landless and land-poor households migrated to the city where they were also exposed to new forms of subjugation and exploitation. In the colonial regime, the

industrialists considered the industrial labour as a commodity and made use of it without being held accountable for the harsh nature of work regime. The reluctance to technological innovation among the mill owners was largely the result of the consistently low cost of labour. In Ahmedabad, on the one hand, the industrial workers were made to work overtime (15 hours a day), and on the other, the mill owners were not satisfied with the heavy work regime and also they never stopped complaining about the inefficiency of their employees. However, intolerable conditions in which they were expected to work and the excessively long working day, the reasons for low productivity among the industrial workers was never considered. Furthermore, their wages were based on work performed rather than time spent at the mill (Gillion, 1968; Shah, 1990). Since the wages from the mill were not enough to sustain, women and children also had to engage in the industrial production process. They were also exposed to new forms of exploitation wherein they were forced to work longer hours as male workers did, however, they were entitled to less wages than male workers. By considering this injustice to female workers, the 1891 Factory Act prescribed that women should work no longer than 11 hours a day. However, it had a reverse impact on women workers. A shorter working day not only meant that they earned less, but they no longer qualified for the skilled jobs they held until then in various departments. The Factory Act also reduced the working hours of boys between 9 and 12 years old to half a day. However, it resulted in no improvement in their working condition; instead, they were made to work in two different mills to circumvent the restriction (Majumdar, 1973).

The demographic characteristics of and discrimination in the labour market of a society with a diversity of identities cannot be understood by considering any particular identity. Class, the largely discussed identity in the labour market is only one of the many ways through which social order is understood and interpreted. There are also many social identities such as caste, race, gender, religion that give meaning and context to the proletarian experience. Based on these identities, the workers experience two forms of discrimination i. e. active and passive discrimination in the labour market (Sen, 2000; Thorat & Newman, 2007). Thus, the politics of labour cannot be explained with giving exclusive importance to any identity rather can be explained by considering the interaction and overlap of diverse forms of social identities. For instance, Leela Fernandes (1997) and Samita Sen (1999) in their studies on Kolkata jute mill workers deconstruct the hegemonic perspective that sees class as a unitary and monolithic entity by showing

how working class itself is constructed through the politics of gender and community. Their studies show that classes have internal hierarchies and fragmented by the gendered notion of skills and sexual divisions of labour which reinforced gender inequality in the shop floor.

1.2.3.1 Indigenous Labour

The indigenous labour is generally comprehended as migrant labour to the urban as well as to the rural. The migration of adivasis as labour can be traced since mid-nineteenth century. Due to de-peasantisation, adivasis, particularly from Chhotanagpur plateau, migrated to the tea gardens of Assam and West Bengal. However, in the neoliberal period adivasi migration to the tea gardens particularly to the tea belts of the Western Ghats, Kerala is also pervasive. Adivasis in the tea gardens were considered as cheap labour as most of them were employed as indentured labour without any rights and welfare incentives reducing the cost of production of the companies (Bose, 1954; Griffiths, 1969; Bhowmik, 2016; Raj, 2018).

The industrialization process that intensified land alienation and de-peasantisation produced indigenous labour. Adivasis either migrated to the urban or employed in the industry. Their employment in the urban and industry apart from due to their de-peasantisation was also incentivized by the failure of timely rain or failure of cultivation, late payment for labour work under Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS), and advance payment as interest-free cash which they desperately need to grow the rain-fed crop (Thakur, 2018; Gare, 1971). However, the casual and unskilled manual nature of employment has been pervasive among the industrial and urban adivasi workers (Gare, 1971; Mahapatra, 1990; Parry & Struempell, 2008; Kela, 2012; Struempell, 2014; Mishra & Sarkar, 2018; Rajan et al, 2018).

Their migration to the urban as labour or employment in the industry has also many socio-economic impacts in their life. For some adivasis, it brought enormous changes in their socio-economic life i. e. economic improvement, change in expenditure pattern, adoption of mixed occupation, improvement of status of women in the household, disappearance of cross-cousin marriage, shifting from joint family to nuclear family, relief from exploitation of the rural *sahukars* and moneylenders etc. (Gare, 1971; Dasgupta, 1973; Mahapatra, 1990).

However, majority of adivasis being industrial or urban worker did not see mobility in their socio-economic status. Most of them even after switching to non-agricultural activities remained as proletariats. Their proletarianisation continued because of various reasons. Most of the adivasis' employment in the urban or industry is linked to the long-term indebtedness. Their migration to the urban is accompanied with advanced payment and cost of migration. These factors hindered them to generate net cash from the labour work in the urban and industry (Mosse, 2005; Mosse et. al, 2010; Mishra & Sarkar, 2018; Padhi et al, 2021). Further, they could aspire no or a little high earnings through employment in lucrative jobs. Being a marginalized community, they faced discrimination in employment in the labour market (Heuze, 1996; Kela, 2012). The lack of educational qualification, functional literacy, social network and social capital also placed them as casual or unskilled manual labour in the urban or industry (Nath, 2008; Parry and Struempell, 2008; Struempell, 2014). Moreover, they also became part of what Jan Breman (1996) called as 'footloose labour'.

Adivasi women on the other hand encountered a different kind of impairments in the labour market due to de-peasantisation, industrialization and urbanization. Due to loss of traditional livelihood, adivasi women's migration as labour was witnessed in both colonial as well post-colonial period. In recent decades, many adivasi women, largely from Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Odisha, and Assam, reported having migrated to the urban centres to work as domestic worker (Kasturi, 1990; ISST, 2009; Neetha, 2003). They are also largely concentrated in three sectors, namely agriculture, brick kilns, and construction (Mazumdar, 2016). Besides, land alienation and urban life also created non-workers (reduction of the workforce participation) among them and confined them to housewives alone (Sahoo, 1996; Nath, 2008; Kujur, 2017).

1.3 Research Gaps

Following research gaps are identified based on the literature discussed above.

I. Most of the studies on land and adivasis focus on the dispossession and displacement which are basically case studies. Land alienation among them is happening not in the any corner of the country, it is taking place across India. Capturing it seems impractical due to paucity of data. However, it is also not impossible to analyse the land alienation at macro level from the nationally represented data sets where some land related information is given. There are

very rare attempts have been made to analyse land alienation among them at national level although numerous case studies can be found on it. The current study seeks to fill this gap by providing a macro map of land and adivasis in India.

II. The indigenous labour has been studied as part of general workforce or within the category of class, not as 'indigenous labour.' How their socio-ethnic background as adivasis who are alienated from their land informs their status as precarious casual labour is understudied. Majority of adivasis and their forthcoming generations in the post-land alienation period involve in unskilled manual labour mostly in the urban space. The reasons behind or the factors responsible for it, remain to be unexplored. Even if selected studies have concentrated on the economic factors behind it; social factors have received limited attention.

III. The whole family used to be employed in the agricultural practice of adivasis and the women used to enjoy relatively better position. Many studies have focused on how the relative egalitarian gender relation of adivasis was disrupted due to land alienation. However, how adivasi women find themselves in the middle of the non-farm economy ruled by gender division of labour and gendered norms of work is underexplored. The analysis of gender division of labour fosters further study on whether gender discrimination is sector specific or grade specific (hierarchy in employment gradation) or it is specific to the different landholding class.

1.4 Research Questions

I. What is the extent of land vulnerability among adivasis? What are the nature and process of land alienation among them? How far the legal provisions have been successful in checking land alienation among them?

II. How does the land alienation affect the occupational status of adivasis? What is the nature of occupational diversification among them after land alienation?

III. How far their shift to non-farm occupations has helped in their occupational mobility?

IV. What is the nature of gendered division of labour in the labour market with reference to adivasi women? How has the land alienation affected the occupational status of them?

1.5 Research Objectives

I. To analyse the extent and patterns of land alienation among adivasis in the country.

II. To analyse inter-generational occupational mobility among adivasis in the context of land alienation.

III. To analyse occupational changes among adivasi women in the context of change in the landholding pattern of the household.

1.6 Data Source and Methodology

To analyse the above objectives, data is drawn from secondary source that is Employment and Unemployment Survey (EUS) conducted by National Sample Survey Office. The study uses six rounds of Employment and Unemployment Survey- 43rd round (1987-88), 50th round (1993-94), 55th round (1999-2000), 61st round (2004-05), 66th round (2009-10), and 68th round (2011-12). The study does not consider the Periodic Labour Force Surveys, since it relegates the land-related information. The study also draws data from various secondary sources such as Census of India, various annual reports, and various scholarly articles etc.

The study primarily addresses three broad issues such as land vulnerability, inter-generational occupational mobility and occupational changes among adivasi women. The crux of the framework of the study is the adivasis' shifting from the agricultural activities to the non-farm activities in the urban regions. Therefore, the study largely focuses on the sectorial analysis. Analysis could be possible on the ground of different kinds of heterogeneity such as region, language, population size, ethnicity etc. but the limitation of the Employment and Unemployment Survey data on the ground of sample size compel us to confine our study to sectorial perspective at all India level. EUS is the only survey in India that collects a detail and comprehensive information on the landholding and

employment[6]. However, it does not take into consideration the various kinds of heterogeneity amongst adivasis except percentage of population in different states/Uts. The less sample size particularly of adivasis has been also a hindrance for the regional analysis. A restricted sample has been created by omitting the non-working population, and taking into consideration the age-constraints and gender aspect. This further reduced the size of the sample. The sectorial analysis of employment of adivasis holds importance since it demonstrates the transformation in the employment patterns amongst them. However, the size of adivasi population in urban areas is very small in different states/Uts. Therefore, the sectorial analysis of employment aspect of different regions (or by pulling some number of states into group) makes it not feasible due to very low sample size.

On the other hand, adivasis' rural-urban transformation bestows more or less a similar process in most of the adivasi populated states. The mining and industrialisation; dam projects and other infrastructural projects have either turned the adivasi areas into urban settlements or forced adivasis to migrate to urban areas in search of employment as a result of loss of livelihood. Therefore, instead of regional analysis, the pan-India sectoral analysis on land alienation and employment aspects resolved the issue of sample size and is able to provide a feasible analysis.

To explore the proposed objectives and to draw inferences from the data, we primarily use simple descriptive statistics, segregation index and transition matrix in the current study.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

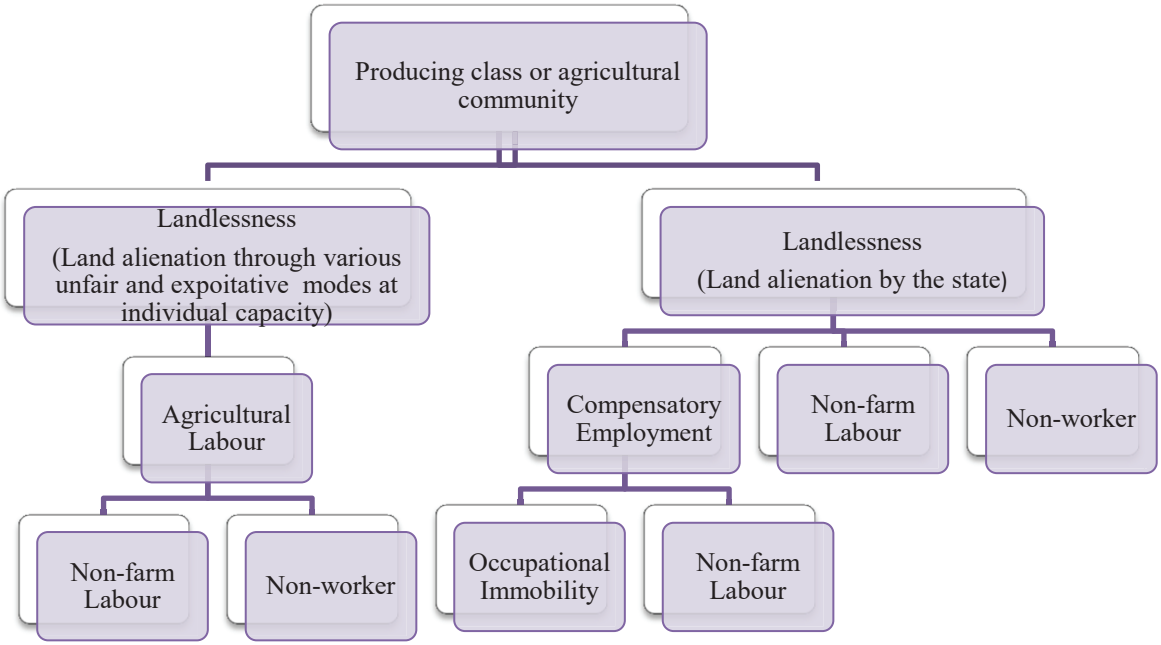
Historically adivasis resided in the fringes of the forest and they had established their control over the forest and forest resources. They also reclaimed the forest land as per their needs since they did not require any permission from the administration as their regions were unreachable for the government officials. Therefore, even today, adivasis are relatively in a better position as compared to other social groups in terms of landholding (Xaxa et al, 2014). Due to better access to the land, they are mostly engaged

[6] For more information on the relative advantage on using EUS data see Rawal (2008 & 2013), Bakshi (2008), Cain (1983) and Ramachandran (1980)

in agriculture and related activities. Therefore, they are traditionally termed agricultural communities.

Adivasis, since long past even before the colonial regime, have been continuously facing the problem of land alienation. This land alienation process amongst them is taking place primarily through two methods viz. formal and informal methods of agreement, propounded by Marx (1867). Firstly, in the informal method of agreement, the usurpation of adivasi land by non-adivasis takes place at individual capacity through various means such as transfer to non-adivasis in the form of lease or mortgage, *benami* transfer, transfer in the name of concubines, marital alliance with female adivasi for the sake of transfer of land in her name, transfer in the name of adivasi servants who may work as bonded labourers, transfer of unregistered or unrecorded adivasi land in lieu of loan, encroachment of adivasi land by force etc. (Joshi, 1997; Tripathy, 1997; Bhowmik, 2016; Xaxa, 2014; Basha, 2017). Secondly, in the formal method of agreement, enclosure of land takes place through the parliamentary act. i.e., the state acquires the private or common land through enacting law that empowers it to do so.

Figure 1.5: Transition of Adivasis from Cultivating Class to Labouring Class



Source: Author's own creation

These two types of land alienation bring about different transition processes in their occupational status. In the informal method, adivasis lose their land, but do not receive any compensation in lieu of their land; instead, they are turned into bonded agricultural labourers. It is because after being alienated from the land they become more vulnerable to indebtedness that turns them into bonded labourers in the farmland of the shylocks. However, over time they shift to the non-farm sector. The shift from agricultural labour to non-farm labour is attributed to two factors. Firstly, the mechanisation of the agricultural sector in the wake of industrial development reduces the demand for agricultural labour. Secondly, the personalised form of labour leads to the withdrawal of labour from the agricultural sector and shift to the non-farm sector (Breman, 2007; Lerche, 2011). Adivasi women, on the other hand, cease to be the economic assets as they are mostly confined to domestic duties (Fernandes & Raj, 1992; Sahoo, 1996; Nath, 2008; Kujur, 2017). The decline in adivasi women labour force is largely attributed to the gender-based discrimination in the new workplace, and the emulation of gendered norms of the dominant sections of the society by them.

In the formal method, adivasis are entitled to some kind of compensation by the state in lieu of their land. However, the compensation meagrely benefits them as compensation policy often fails to address their post-land alienation problems (Fernandes, 2008). The 'employment for land' compensation is rarely attained. It is because the migrant project managers and contractors who overwhelmingly belong to non-adivasi communities skew the recruitment process to their own countrymen i.e. same language speaking and people from their regions (Heuze, 1996; Parry & Struempell, 2008; Kela, 2012). Besides, the lack of appropriate skills, required in the non-farm sector, amongst most of the adivasi population reduces their prospect to be employed as high-skilled and higher-paid employees. Therefore, only a handful of them manage to get employment in the upper strata of the employment hierarchy and a large section of them end up as unskilled manual labour in the urban labour market. Adivasis who manage to be employed in the higher paid occupations witness mostly either inter-generational occupational immobility or downward occupational mobility. While immobility is determined by the family background (household income, parents' occupation), downward mobility is attributed to politics of identity and lack of social capital and networks in the labour market (Struempell, 2014; Haldar & Abraham, 2015; Kujur, 2017). Besides these, a large section of adivasi women ends up being confined to domestic duties as the adivasi society

gradually emulates the gendered norms of the dominant sections of the society in the process of their interaction with non-adivasi society (Fig 1.5).

This process of land alienation and adivasis' shifting from producing class to labouring class reflects David Harvey's (2003) primitive accumulation, Michael Levien's regimes of dispossession, Sartre's (2005) Colonialism as system, and Mies' (1987) analysis on the creation of working class.

1.8 Chapter Scheme

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter provides a background of the thesis through discussing various literatures on land alienation and occupational changes among adivasis. From the existing literature, research gaps were derived and to bridge these gaps research questions were framed. These research questions have been addressed in the following three chapters.

Chapter 2: Land Vulnerability among Adivasis in India

This chapter discusses the land alienation among adivasis in India. The chapter attempts to trace the land alienation and also explores the nature and modalities of land alienation among them. Since no direct data is available on land alienation, an analysis of change in landholding pattern has been carried out and the issue of growing land alienation among them has been substantiated.

Chapter 3: Inter-generational Occupational Mobility among Adivasis

This chapter maps out the changes in inter-generational occupational mobility among adivasis in relation to land alienation. This chapter measures occupational mobility among male members of the household only. The Employment and unemployment survey data do not identify the parents of married women. Therefore, deriving inter-generational mobility of them is unattainable in this study. An urban-rural division has been created for the analysis since adivasis are gradually shifting to urban-based livelihood after land alienation. To bring out a comprehensive and in-depth discussion on inter-generational occupational mobility, quantity occupational mobility and quality occupational mobility have been also explored. This has helped to map the intensity of inter-generational occupational mobility among them.

Chapter 4: Change in Occupational Pattern of Adivasi Women

Since the previous chapter failed to consider the inter-generational occupational mobility among adivasi women, this chapter has exclusively focussed on their changes in occupational pattern. An analysis of adivasi women labour force participation vis-à-vis women belong to other social groups has been explored. Furthermore, a comparison of women in rural areas and urban areas has been undertaken to assess the impact of growing industrialisation and urbanisation on adivasi women.

Chapter 5: Summary and Conclusion

This chapter summarises the findings in the thesis and discusses the emerging issues of adivasis occupational vulnerability in relation to land alienation. Moreover, the chapter discusses the impacts of COVID-19 on the livelihood of adivasis. Finally, a list of suggestions has been derived for effective policy measures for the improvement in their occupational status and subsequently their livelihood.

Chapter II

Land Vulnerability among Adivasis in India

2.1 Introduction

Land serves as a primary means of rural livelihood and is considered as the most vital source of survival for more than two-thirds of the rural population (Sharma, 2007). Besides being a means of economic security, land ownership defines social identity of the household. It also lays out an opportunity for the household members and others to utilise their labour power and reduces involuntary unemployment.

With the outset of the new era of globalisation and industrialisation, non-agricultural activities such as industrial production, real estate sector and infrastructural development have emerged as an alternative to agricultural-based livelihoods. Such a transition distancing from agriculture is gaining salience which has reduced dependence on agriculture and engage in non-agricultural activities. The growing extent of non-farm and non-agricultural activities and their locational concentration paved the way for urbanisation. Further, urbanisation brought about changes in the landholding patterns to configure the urban economy either through state authority or individual transaction. In this process, land rights were brought under state control to facilitate provisioning of land leased out to the industrial or corporate bigwigs to boost the urban economy which turned a large section of mass in the urban into landless (Lobo, 2011; Kujur, 2017; Bandyopadhyay, 1999).

It began during the colonial-era that transformed the purpose of the (non)agricultural use of land from sustainable livelihood to wealth creation influenced landholding patterns. The very process of wealth creation was guided by the idea of accumulation of individual property rejecting the idea of community belongings. Thus, land as a means of livelihood got altered and land accumulation became the norm of defining the economic status. Such accumulation resulted in a skewed distribution of land among the people of different social groups or economic strata (Nancharaiah, 2000; Krishnaji, 2018).

On recognition of this, India embarked upon two major events i.e. land reforms and Bhoodan movement during the post-independence period. Under land reform policy three

measures were undertaken such as abolition of intermediaries, redistribution of land through land ceiling and tenancy reform. Although intermediaries were successfully abolished in many regions, the other two measures were found ineffective as the landed elites influenced over the bureaucratic implementation. Consequently, land reform failed to actualise the equal distribution of land and lagged far behind the target (Appu, 1975; Nancharaiah, 2000; Mohanty, 2001; Sethi et al., 2006). The inception of Bhoodan movement in the wake of the failure of land reform became the alternative adopted by the state. Initially, the movement received an enormous response in terms of donation of lands by the landed elites. The appeal for altruism and equality in the society through donation of lands also to some extent curbed the exploitation of poor cultivators by the landlords and helped to improve the relations between haves and have notes (Church, 1975). However, over time the movement lost its momentum. Nearly 50 per cent of the donated lands on paper did not translate on the ground. The movement is also criticised on the ground that it failed to redistribute the bulk amount of land to the needy despite the collection of an enormous amount of land (Bergmann, 1974; Mohanty, 2001; Mandal, 2015).

Land distribution is characterised by segregation of people on the basis of caste identity in India. The dominant castes hold a lion share of land while the castes groups at the bottom of the social hierarchy hold a meagre amount. The landholding across the caste groups is guided by the idea of property rights. The lower caste groups are typically forbidden to possess the land as they are required to serve manually to the upper castes (Nancharaiah, 2000; Mohanty, 2001; Sharma, 2007). Adivasis in India are not stakeholder of any position in the caste hierarchy. They mostly live in the forest or on fringes of the forests, away from the dominant society, Thus they estranged themselves away from the caste hierarchy and thus do not come under the purview of the caste system. Unswayed by caste, they were largely found as independent agriculturalists across the country. They were otherwise involved in other activities such as pastoralism, shifting cultivation, hunting and gatherings, and the livelihoods uninfluenced by caste decree. That is why they relatively occupy a better position in terms of landholdings (Figs. 2.1, 2.2 & 2.3). Nonetheless, over time, the increasing demands for land by the mainstream society reduced the landholdings among them and curtailed their access to common property resources.

Against this backdrop, this chapter tries to map the land vulnerability among adivasis in India. This chapter also elaborates on different forms of land alienation in the historical context and assesses the legal provisions to protect the land rights of adivasis.

2.2 An Overview of Literature

There are many theories on the land alienation that deals with alienation from the means of production. The primitive accumulation theorized by Marx (1867; 1974) is the process of divorcing the producers from the means of production, transforming the social means of subsistence and production into capital and the immediate producers into wage-labourers through the forcible usurpation of common property that is through individual acts of violence and eventually the parliamentary form of robbery (Glassman, 2006). David Harvey (2003) discerns that under the neoliberalism, the accumulation by dispossession has become a predominant mode of accumulation or expropriation of the people's land and natural resources. Building on Harvey, Michael Levien (2015) explains different ways through which the people are dispossessed from their land mainly by the state machinery. He observes that the state dispossesses people from their land mainly through two means: use of coercion or forced displacement, and persuasion of the people by legitimising the expropriation of land in the name of "public purpose" or "national interest" (Tura, 2018).

Land dispossession among indigenous people is a global phenomenon. Charlene Yates in her study on land rights of the indigenous people in Commonwealth countries discerns that the issue of land expropriation among indigenous people is a Pan-Commonwealth concern which is born out of colonial legacy and is manifested in every colonized territory of the Commonwealth countries (Yates, 2004). In India, the inception of colonialism and the continuation of colonial policies after independence have immensely affected the land rights of the indigenous people in the country. They are mostly affected by two forms of land alienation: land alienation due to displacement by the state and by the sale of their land often forced or unfair terms to others. Since independence, more than 30 million people have been affected by the land alienation, directly related to the developmental and infrastructural projects, and urbanisation. Adivasis who share 30-40 per cent of the land alienated in the country, are the most affected (Fernandes, 2008). Besides, the continuation of colonial forest policy and commercialization of forest in independent India also severely curtailed their traditional rights over forest lands and

forest produce (Guha, 1983; Malekar, 2014). Although the Forest Rights Act was enacted in 2006 to correct the 'historical injustice' and 'strengthening the conservation regime' by recognising the rights of the forest dwellers, the implementation has been uneven and remained inadequate (Lee and Wolf, 2018).

During the colonial as well as the post-colonial period non-adivasis appropriated the adivasi land through various means. A few of them are, transfer to non-adivasis in the form of lease or mortgage, *benami* transfer, transfer in the name of concubines, marital alliance with female adivasi for the sake of transfer of land in her name, transfer in the name of adivasi servants who may work as bonded labourers, transfer of un-registered or unrecorded adivasi land in lieu of loan, encroachment of adivasi land by force etc. (Joshi, 1997; Tripathy, 1997; Bhowmik, 2016; Xaxa, 2014; Basha, 2017). Land alienation under these modes of transfer is also widespread. A report of the Department of Land Resources, Ministry of Rural Development, 2013 evinces that there were 3.75 lakh cases registered by adivasis across the country for the restoration of alienated lands amounting to around 8.55 lakh acres of land (Department of Land Resources, 2013). Such land transfer and alienation has been reflected in the form of disparities in access to land among the different caste groups that persisted over time (Rawal, 2013). That is, the incidence of landlessness is higher among the scheduled caste and adivasi households as compared to other social groups (Sharma, 2007). Furthermore, there has been a sharp rise in the proportion of households who do not own and cultivate any land in rural areas across the country (Rawal, 2013). Adivasis who mostly live in rural areas also experienced a rise in landlessness because of land dispossession (Karat and Rawal, 2014).

Most of the literature (Fernandes, 2008; Kujur, 2011; Reddy & Mishra, 2015) discussing land alienation among adivasis in India deal with 'cause-based' case studies and thus provides region-specific landholding information. Quantitative analysis on land alienation and intensity of land vulnerability at macro level is rare. The derivation and analysis of change in land distribution can be justified as proxy data for the study of land alienation when the country lacks reliable official data on it at the national level. This chapter attempts to provide a national level data on changing access to land by adivasis and substantiate the argument of increasing land vulnerability among them through the analysis of extent of land alienation across the country.

In order to study the land alienation among adivasis, this chapter seeks to explore the following aspects: 1) land vulnerability among adivasis vis-à-vis other caste groups, 2) land distribution and intensity of land vulnerability 3) whether there is an association between urbanization and land alienation, 4) impacts of landlessness on adivasis. This study primarily emphasizes the issue of land alienation among adivasis, because they are relatively more attached to land in terms of their economic, social, cultural and political life. They live a symbiotic life with nature and the land forms the basis of their livelihood and identity. Their perception of land and natural resources as the gifts of god promote community life and thus common ownership of land and natural resources among them. It further fosters egalitarian values, sense of belonging to certain communities and simultaneously ties them up with traditions, way of life and community ethos i.e. to harness and take care of nature. Therefore, land alienation, particularly for them, is not just a loss of a source of livelihood, rather en routes to anomie (Ekka, 2012; Padel & Das, 2008).

2.3 Concepts and Methodology

There are couple of land-related information pertinent to the analysis: land owned, land possessed and land cultivated by the household. As per the NSSO definition, a piece of land is considered to be owned by a household if the permanent heritable possession with or without the right to transfer is endowed by a member or members of the household. The possession of land under perpetual lease, hereditary tenure, long term leases for 30 years or more etc. is also considered as land owned by the household. The land possessed by the household is defined as the aggregate of land owned, land leased in, and land neither owned nor leased in with subtraction of land leased out. Land neither owned nor leased in is defined as a piece of land possessed by the household but lacks title of ownership and has no lease agreement either verbally or in writing for the use of land. Land cultivated is defined as the aggregate of net area sown, and area under orchards a plantation and current fallow used for seeding. For the analysis of landholding patterns among the adivasi households, the current study is largely confined to land ownership and situates land possession and land cultivated as subsidiary analysis. It is because the land possessed and land cultivated by a household may not necessarily provide stability in the employment and income earnings. Yet, the land owned may able to provide the household with security with regard to employment and earnings for a long period, which

in turn guarantees social security and social prestige which plays a pivotal role in determining the position of the household in the societal hierarchy.

Land alienation concerning adivasis is defined as the mortgage and sale of their lands to non-adivasis. Leasing out lands against loans to non-adivasis is also considered land alienation. It is because they are basically unable to redeem the loans due to exorbitant interest rate charged upon it and consequently fail to get back their lands. Furthermore, the loss of land to any public administrative department, private institution and voluntary organisation is also considered alienation of land among them. The loss of public revenue wastelands or forest lands to the forest departments or any private institution is also termed as land alienation since they heavily depend on it for their sustenance (Nazer, 1997). Another concept, 'land vulnerability' is also used in the study and is defined as deprived of land in terms of ownership title, possession and cultivation. Furthermore, to analyse land distribution, the households in terms of landholding size are categorised into landless: 0 hectare, marginal: 0.01-1 hectare, small: 1-2 hectare, semi-medium: 2-4 hectare, medium: 4-6 hectare, and large: above 6 hectare.

To analyse land vulnerability this study uses quinquennial periodic data on landholding among different social groups obtained in the Employment and Unemployment survey conducted by National Sample Survey Office (NSSO). Data on landholding in India are not adequate in terms of accuracy, regularity and other particulars, and have serious limitations[7]. National Sample Surveys of Employment and Unemployment provides relatively consistent database on land distribution since the information was collected systematically in all rounds. In this study, we use household level data from six rounds of surveys: 43rd round (1987-88), 50th round (1993-94), 55th round (1999-2000), 61st round (2004-05), 66th round (2009-10) and 68th round (2011-12). We explore the information using simple descriptive statistics towards making inferences.

2.4 Context of the Study

2.4.1 Nature and Modalities of Land Alienation among Adivasis

Land has been an integral part of the social, cultural, political and economic life of adivasis since time immemorial. They initially resided in the plain regions as

[7] For more information see Rawal (2008 & 2013), Bakshi (2008), Cain (1983) and Ramachandran (1980)

agriculturalists. Nonetheless, over the period; they fled to the remotest regions due to wars, natural calamities and encroachment of their lands. They continued their agricultural activities in the forest and hilly regions and hunting and foraging became their supplementary activities. Their lands were mostly considered less fertile and rain-fed lands which did not attract the mainland non-adivasi agriculturalist. Nevertheless, landholding among them was influenced by the dynamics of social, political and economic apparatus over time.

In the pre-colonial era, not all adivasi kingdoms distanced themselves from non-adivasi kingdoms. The kingdoms of Khasi, Gond, Bhil and Munda participated in transit trade and their trade was sustained by agricultural surplus. To increase the agricultural surplus adivasi kings encouraged the immigration of the agricultural and artisan castes. They also welcomed the Brahmins and officiating castes from Western and Southern India as religious and legal authorities and granted them proprietary rights over sizable land (Pathy, 1984). Despite the migration of non-adivasis, these adivasi kingdoms did not experience a perceptible change in landholding due to adequate availability of land. Instead, till mid-nineteenth century labour, skill and technology were of the primary significance for the increment in agricultural surplus. However, when the Hindu and Mughal rulers expanded their territory to the adivasi regions, they started collecting tributes from the adivasi chiefdoms. Moreover, they introduced the Jagirdari system under which their courtiers and other royal service providers, majorly non-adivasis, were granted a piece of land and villages who later on acted as moneylenders.

During the colonial period, the Zamindari land tenure system was introduced in Bengal, Odisha, Bihar and eastern parts of Central Provinces. The zamindars were granted the ownership rights and the tillers were reduced to tenants-at-will. Another revenue suction mechanism named Ryotwari system was introduced in Bombay, Gujarat and western parts of central provinces. This system recognised the occupancy right of the tillers and reduced the role of the non-cultivating intermediaries in revenue collection. However, the enforcement of the burden of high revenue led to indebtedness among the small cultivators and consequently it compelled them to surrender their lands to the shylocks. The adivasi peasants in particular and peasants in general in these areas were severely affected by these revenue suction mechanisms. Furthermore, the other iniquitous revenue creation mechanism, Indian Forest Act 1878 categorised the large areas of forest into reserved, protected and village forests which diminished the rights of adivasis over the

forest and thus access to forest lands and its produce. For instance, in Thane district of Bombay presidency nearly 401,566 acres of grazing land controlled largely by adivasis for generations was declared as forest (as cited in Lobo, 2011). Similarly, after state formation, the Forest Department in Gujarat by acquiring private forests and taking over the classified government wastelands increased area under its control by almost 4 lakh hectares. Furthermore, about 44 per cent of the land controlled by Gujarat Forest Department is concentrated in 31 blocks where about 79 per cent of the state's adivasi population resides. In some of these blocks, the Forest Department controls up to 57 per cent of the land (Patel, 2011). Thus, due to the inception of the Forest Act, not only their livelihood was compromised, but also the reclamation of waste and forest lands was ceased as their mobility to the new areas became impossible.

The land alienation among them was intensified when the modern governance system was extended and the natural resources were discovered abundantly in the adivasi tracts. The modern governance system brought the non-adivasi administrators into these regions who later encroached their lands and became permanent residents in the milieu of the administrative offices. This created non-adivasi settlements in the midst of the adivasi regions. The modern administrative system simultaneously developed the road connectivity and communication facilities to the adivasi regions. This introduced adivasis with a new market for their forest and agricultural products. The road connectivity helped the mainland non-adivasi petty businessmen to access the markets in the adivasi regions. This gave rise to trade and cash economy in the adivasi regions. At the outset, this led to a win-win situation for both parties. Adivasis received the monetary values of their forest products and also could access to other basic necessities imported to their village market from the plain regions by the non-adivasi traders. The non-adivasi traders in return bought the forest produces at a cheaper rate and exported to the mainland at a profitable price. Over the period of time, this trade activity between adivasis and non-adivasis gave rise to small business entities among the non-adivasis in the adivasi regions. Since the adivasis were non-capital holding community and unacquainted with autonomous wealth accumulation; they could not become businessmen. The non-adivasi traders subsequently became brokers and established small business entities in adivasi regions. Eventually, they too encroached upon the adivasi lands for their residence purpose in order to facilitate and sustain trade activities. They mostly resided in the milieu of government offices where already the non-adivasi administrators resided. Their settlements,

government offices and trade entities together developed small semi-urban areas in the adivasi regions. Eventually, these non-peasant castes emerged as moneylenders, shopkeepers, liquor contractors, and timber and non-timber forest produce contractors. Adivasis fell prey to their business and other economic activities and gradually lost their lands and ended up to be tenants and bonded labourers on what was once their own land. Their economic poverty is also one of the major factors responsible for land alienation. As most of them lead a life of subsistence, an economic shock put them into moneylender's trap. Once they borrow money from moneylenders by mortgaging the land it becomes impossible to get back their land, as the loan amount is cumulated with a high-interest rate. A study conducted by Dubey and Murdia (1977) on land alienation among adivasis of three districts of Maharashtra- Thane, Nasik and Dhulia, exemplifies that of the total land transfer cases, 59.38 per cent cases are related to repayment of debt while 35.93 per cent are due to in need of money for various socio-economic reasons and 4.69 per cent land transferred was done because the land was barren. Thus, the non-adivasi migration to the adivasi land is pernicious for them in terms of landholding.

The large scale land alienation among them was witnessed when special economic zones were established and natural resources were extracted at a large scale; industries, dams and other large infrastructural projects were set up; and when urban agglomeration in their regions took place. This not only caused large-scale land alienation among them but also accelerated incursion of big corporates and a sizable non-adivasi population into their lands. This changed their social apparatus and gave rise to a landless class among them (Karat & Rawal, 2014). The large scale land alienation is also termed as 'institutional alienation' as this type of alienation is carried out by the state ostensibly for 'public purposes.' The lands are mostly acquired for the development projects and the infrastructure like roads, housing colonies, bridges, government and non-government offices, and for urban expansion. For this purpose, the state in independent period continued the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 promulgated by the British government meant for oppression, economic control and exploitation (Ekka, 2011). For instance, the government of Gujarat has acquired over 32.22 lakh hectares of land for the purpose of development projects since independence. A study undertaken by Lobo and Kumar (2007) on dam related displacement in Gujarat revealed that adivasis bear the brunt of the land acquisition for the development projects, as they constitute 76 per cent of the displaced population in the state (as cited in Patel, 2011). Moreover, even though adivasis

make up 76 per cent of the dam displaced population, their share in the irrigated cropped area is a mere five per cent in the state (Patel, 2011). The urbanization and industrialization has also a myriad impact on adivasi lives. For instance, in Mumbai, there are 72 hamlets and 152 slum settlements inhabited largely by adivasis. However, due to the expansion of the city through infrastructure, airport, Aarey Milk colony, various recreation centres and industries these adivasi settlements and their lands are being wiped off gradually (Lobo, 2011).

2.4.2 Land Acquisition Laws and Constitutional Safeguards

Starting from the colonial to current period many central and state level land acquisition laws were formulated in India. Currently, there are 102 land acquisition laws (87 state laws and 15 central laws) in the country (Wahi and Bhatia, 2018). Despite the existence of these laws, the expropriation of land is unabated. The laws are either found with exclusionary characteristics or not implemented with true spirit.

2.4.2.1 Land Acquisition Act, 1894

The British era law, Land Acquisition Act, 1894 continued until the first decade of the twenty-first century. The law was based on the principle of 'eminent domain' which provided the state power to own privately owned land. Besides this, the state had also the power to own the not privately owned land through purchase, acquisition, etc. or by default (Desai, 2011). Thus, under the provisions of this law, the state was not required to take consent of the people to be affected for land acquisition. There were also other shortcomings in this law. The law did not provide a precise definition regarding whom to be considered as an affected person. As a result, the indirectly affected people such as encroachers, agricultural labourers, sharecroppers who were also associated with the land were not compensated. Moreover, there was also no explicit formula to calculate the compensation amount. The determination of the market value of the land was based on the price at which the seller and buyer arrive while involving in a transaction in the open market. However, very often the market value of the land was determined despite the absence of voluntary transaction. In remote areas, the people possess less purchasing power and transaction takes place at throwaway prices that results in receipt of a very low rate of compensation under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 (Patel, 1994).

2.4.2.2 Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act (RFCTLARRA), 2013

The Land Acquisition Act, 1894 was replaced by the Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act (RFCTLARRA), 2013. The Act is well-intentioned since it ensures in consultation with institutions of local self-government and *Gram Sabhas* established under the Constitution, a humane, participative, informed and transparent process of land acquisition for industrialization and other development projects. It also ensures a good rehabilitation package and promises higher compensation for land acquisition that is at least four times of market price in the rural area and twice of the market price in the urban area. The Act also mandates consent of at least 80 percent and 70 percent of affected landowners must for acquiring land for private and public-private partnership (PPP) projects respectively. Moreover, the Act ensures that no land shall be transferred by way of acquisition in the Scheduled Areas in contravention of any law (including any order or judgement of a court which has become final) relating to land transfer, prevailing in such Scheduled Areas. However, the law has also severe flaws. Although under this Act, the acquisition of land requires the consent of the stakeholders, the determination of the value of the land is not based on consultative process instead it follows the techniques adopted in the Land Acquisition Act, 1894. The common property resource (CPR) is one of the major sources of adivasis livelihood. However, this Act fails to recognise the importance of CPRs and hence does not provide any compensation for this.

2.4.2.3 Constitutional safeguards and state level Acts

In the post-independence period, almost every state having adivasi population enacted laws to protect the adivasis from land alienation. However, over time in some states the laws were amended and repealed to protect the interest of non-adivasis. For instance, the Andhra Pradesh Land Transfer Regulation, 1959 was amended and The Kerala Scheduled Tribes Act, 1975 was repealed to serve such cause (Xaxa, 2014). Furthermore, in some states, land laws and Constitutional safeguards were time and again flouted in many ways. For instance, for the construction of Rourkela Steel Plant (RSP) the government of Odisha acquired 19,722.69 acres of land displacing 2465 families of 32 villages and similarly for Mandira Dam 11,923.98 acres of land was acquired displacing 941 families of 31 villages in 1950s under the provisions of

Odisha Development of Industries, Irrigation, Agriculture, Capital construction and Resettlement of displaced persons (Land Acquisition) Act, 1948 (Orissa Act XVIII of 1948). However, the acquisition of land under Orissa Act XVIII of 1948 is illegal as per the provision of sub-clause (1) of clause (5) of Part B of the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution of India[8]. The acquisition of land for RSP and Mandira Dam is also the violation of the provision of Clause (6) of Part C of the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution since President of India had not by order directed any area of Sundargarh district in which Rourkela Steel Plant and Mandira Dam are situated shall cease to be Scheduled Areas. The government of Odisha also circumvented the provisions of Sub-clause (2) of Clause (5) of Part B of the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution of India. Instead, the 13,443 acres of surplus land which were to be returned to the original landowners were illegally leased out for the various other purposes, not meant for the upliftment of the adivasis. Leasing out adivasi lands to the private bodies also violates the Clause (5) of Article 19 of the Constitution of India and Orissa Regulation no.2 of 1956 which prohibits transfer of immovable properties of adivasis to non-adivasis (Xaxa, 2010; Kujur, 2017).

2.4.2.4 Forest Rights Act, 2006

The Scheduled Tribes and other traditional forest dwellers (Recognition of forest rights) Act, 2006, also popularly called as Forest Right Act; a key forest legislation was passed in parliament in 2006 to redress the historic injustice perpetrated on the forest-dwelling communities. The Act recognises the community rights to protect, regenerate and manage the forest, and rights over the minor forest produce. The Act also vests the forest dwellers rights to dwell and cultivate forest lands. However, despite recognition of their rights, distribution of forest land to the individual forest dwellers has hardly been achieved. Till June 2011 more than 31.3 lakh claims for tenure security were filed, of which 26.8 lakh claims were disposed of. Out of the total disposed of claims 11.9 lakh land titles were distributed and rest were rejected[9]. Similarly, the restoration of land and allotment of rights over forest land by legal and judicial system is under satisfactory level. A data compiled by Department of Land Resources, Ministry of Rural Development,

[8] Sub clause (1) of clause (5) of Part B of the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution of India deals with the governor of the state may by public notification direct that any particular Act of Parliament or legislature of the state not apply to a scheduled area or would apply subject to such exceptions and modifications as he may specify. The land for RSP was acquired through directly implementing the Acts bypassing the role of governor of the state with regards to the application of the Act in the scheduled area.

[9] Social Sector (Chapter 24 @ para 24.85 page 237), Volume-III, Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012-17) Planning Commission, Government of India

Government of India (2013) regarding land alienation bestows that 3.75 lakh cases of land alienation covering an area of 8.55 lakh acres of land have been registered by adivasis for land restoration so far, of which 1.62 lakh cases covering 4.47 lakh acres of area were disposed in favour of them and rest 1.54 lakh cases covering an area of 3.63 lakh acres were rejected by the courts on various grounds.

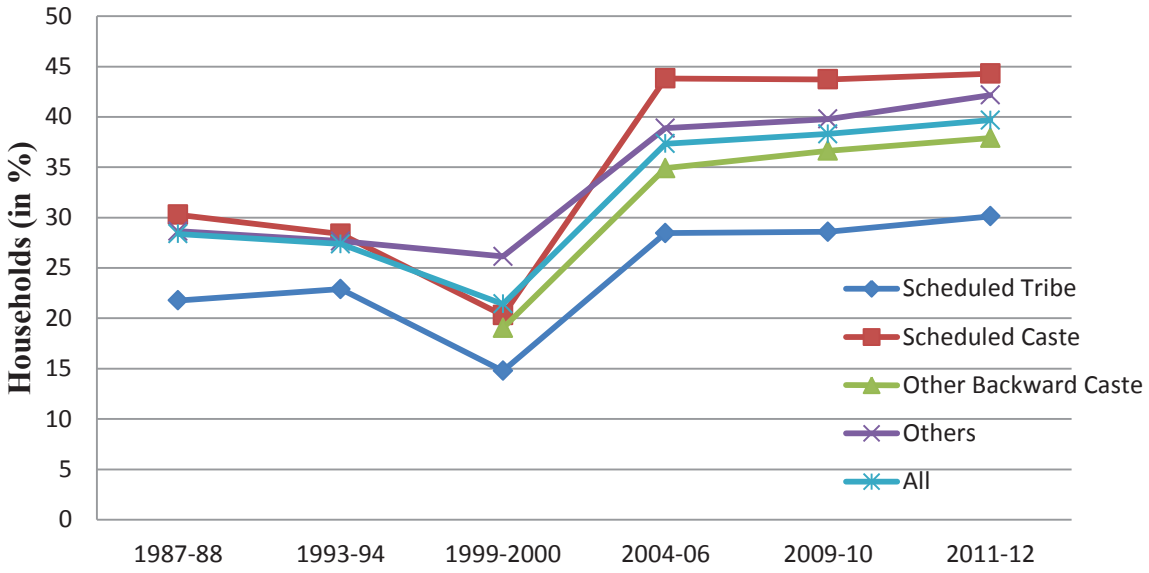
The above data not only demonstrates the intensity of land alienation among adivasis but also presents a picture of poor access to the legal and judicial system by them[10]. The power of eminent domain of the Indian state, on the other hand, has been the greatest threat for them. Adivasis may manage to secure their land rights but they become vulnerable to the eminent domain. According to the report of Twelfth Five Year Plan (FYP) (2012-17) since independence, out of the total displaced by the eminent domain, at least 55 per cent belong to the adivasi community[11].

2.5 Land Vulnerability among Different Social Groups

In India, more than half of the population depend upon land directly or indirectly for their sustenance. The landholding communities are in a propitious position in terms of livelihood as they own productive asset and sustainable employment opportunities. On the other hand, the landless communities i.e. who do not own land are dependent on the landholding communities for their income and employment. The dependence on others for livelihood makes them succumb to exploitation and subsequently perpetual poverty. In a caste-ridden society like India, the position of a caste group in terms of landholding determines its socio-economic condition. A caste group with poor landholding is more likely to face perpetual poverty, social injustice and exploitation (Mohanty, 2001). Therefore, it is assumed that land vulnerability is a determinant societal power structure and hierarchy. However, the current study shows that all social groups seem to have suffered from land vulnerability substantially, but unequally over the period.

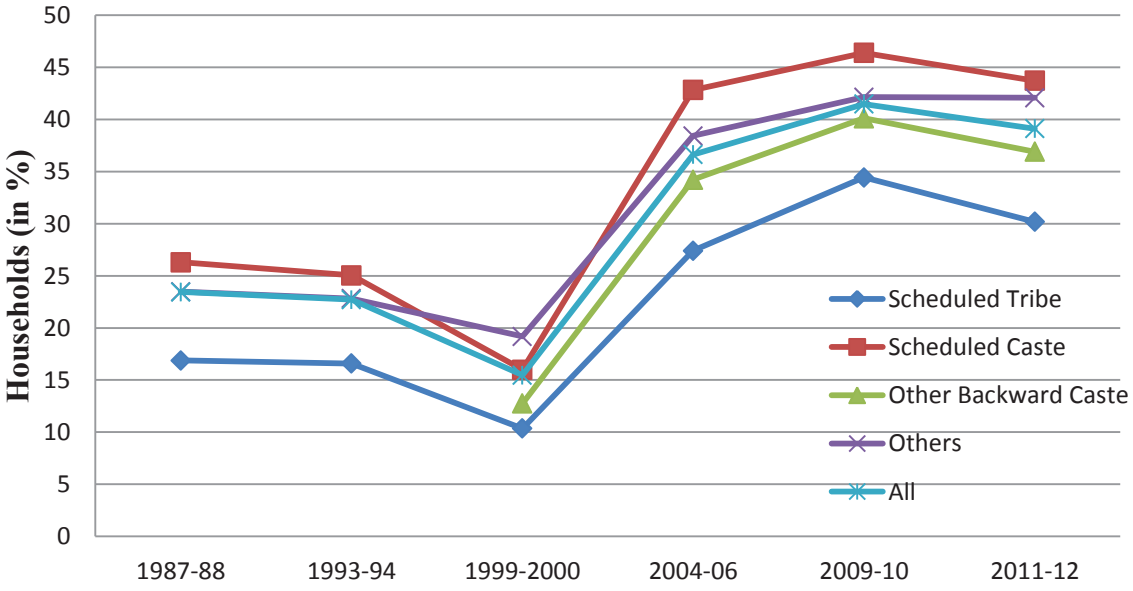
[10] Land and Governance under the Fifth Schedule (2016), Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India
[11] Social Sector (Chapter 24 @ para 24.85 page 237), Volume-III, Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012-17) Planning Commission, Government of India

Figure 2.1: Landless HHs among different social groups (1987-88 to 2011-12)



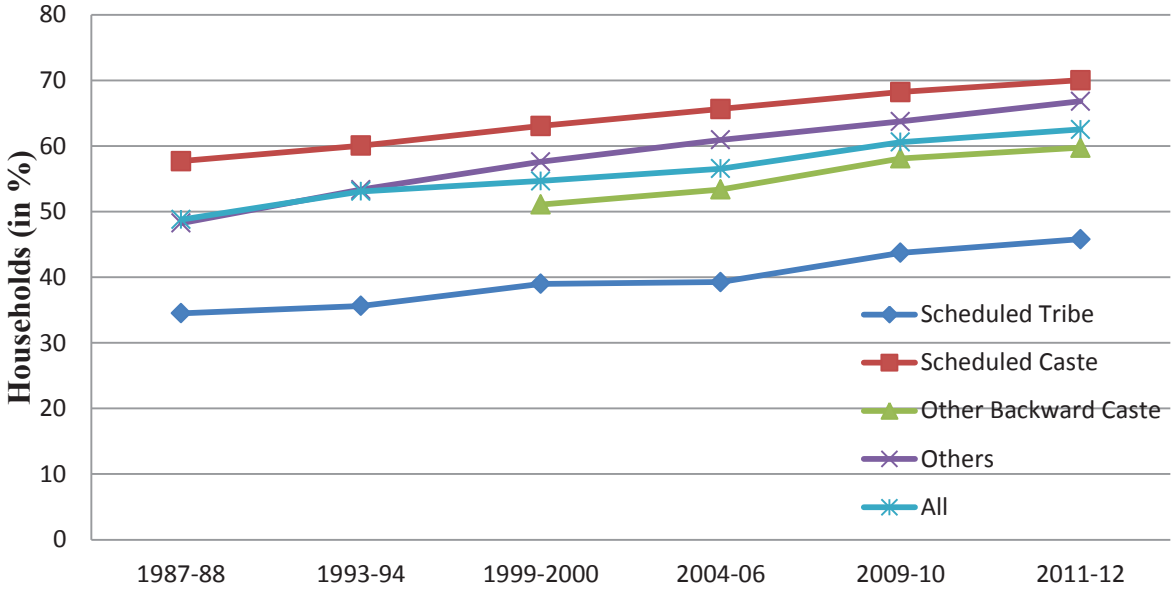
Source: Author's calculation from six rounds of NSSO's Surveys of Employment and Unemployment.

Figure 2.2: HHs who do not possess any land among different social groups (1987-88 to 2011-12)



Source: Author's calculation from six rounds of NSSO's Surveys of Employment and Unemployment

Figure 2.3: HHs who do not cultivate any land among different social groups (1987-88 to 2011-12)



Source: Author's calculation from six rounds of NSSO's Surveys of Employment and Unemployment.

Fig 2.1 apparently shows that the proportion of adivasi households that do not own any land has increased steadily from 22 per cent in 1987-88 to 30 per cent in 2011-12. Their position as compared to other social groups, however, is much better. Moreover, the proportion of landless adivasi households is also much below the national average. The high incidence of landlessness is seen among the Scheduled Caste households. The percentage of Scheduled Caste households that do not own any land has increased to 44 per cent in 2011-12 from 30 per cent in 1987-88 which is above the national average. The proportion of landless household among 'Others' which was equal to the national average in the year 1987-88 has increased to 42 per cent in 2011-12 surpassing the national average. The proportion of landless households among Other Backward Castes[12] has remained slightly below the average landless households over the period (Fig 2.1). There has been also a sharp increase in the proportion of adivasi households that do not possess any land i.e. from 17 per cent in 1987-88 to 30 per cent in 2011-12. Their position, in this case, is also much better than other social groups and much below the national average. The proportion of Scheduled Caste households without land is again much above the national average and also than that of the other social groups. The 'Others' and 'Other

[12] Landholding details among the Other Backward Castes (OBCs) were reported separately for the first time in 55th round (1999-2000). Before that they were included in 'Others' category. Although in the first two rounds OBCs were included in the 'Others' category, we purposefully did not merge them with 'Others' category in the following rounds to assess their relative position in landholdings.

Backward Castes' hold similar patterns as in the case of landlessness (Fig 2.2). Furthermore, if the operational holding is considered, nearly half of the households in the country did not cultivate any land in 1987-88 which increased to 62 per cent in 2011-12. Adivasis' position, however, is much better i.e. in 2011-12 about 46 per cent household did not cultivate any land which is an increment from 34 per cent in 1987-88. The Scheduled Castes, on the other hand, are most vulnerable in terms of cultivation. That is in 2011-12 about 70 per cent of the households did not cultivate any land. They were followed by the 'Others' and Other Backward Castes at 67 per cent and 60 per cent respectively (Fig 2.3). It is to be noted that in 43rd (1987-88) and 50th (1993-94) rounds, homestead land was not included and was considered in the subsequent rounds while calculating land ownership (Bakshi, 2008). Therefore, the proportions of the household that do not own and possess any land have declined substantially in the 55th round (1999-2000), however, it did not add up to net area sown.

In order to analyse which community was affected most in terms of land loss over the period, the rate of change in land vulnerability (land owned, land possessed and land cultivated) among different communities needs to be drawn. Tables 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3 present the growth rate of vulnerability in terms of landholding for different social groups. From the tables, it can be deduced that adivasis are worst affected. Between 1987-88 and 2011-12 the overall increment rate of the proportions of the household that do not own, possess and cultivate any land are 40 per cent, 67 per cent and 28 per cent respectively. Except in the landless category, the rate of increment in the proportions of the adivasi household that do not possess and cultivate land are higher than the overall rate and that of Scheduled Castes. The incremental rates among the 'Others' however are much higher than the overall rates and also that of Scheduled Castes and adivasis (Table 2.1). This is because the 'Others' group is an amalgamated category wherein the 'Other Backward Castes' was not counted separately. This is explicitly seen in Table 2.3 wherein 'Other Backward Castes' was separated from the 'Others' category. In terms of decadal changes, adivasis seem to be worst affected. The consideration of homestead land in the calculation of land ownership has an impact on the changes in the proportion of household that do not own and possess any land i.e. the proportions of the household that do not own and possess any land have declined by 25 and 34 per cents (Table 2.2).

Table 2.1: Change land vulnerability among social groups (1987-88 to 2011-12)			
Social Groups	**Change: 1987-1988 to 2011-12**		
	HHs that did not own any land	**HHs that did not possess any land**	**HHs that did not cultivate any land**
Scheduled Tribe	38.55	78.79	32.69
Scheduled Caste	46.27	66.26	21.37
Other Backward Caste	-	-	-
Others	47.19	79.17	38.41
All	39.78	66.74	28.09

Source: Author's calculation from various rounds of NSSO's Surveys of Employment and Unemployment.

Table 2.2: Decadal change in land vulnerability among social groups (1987-88 to 1999-2000)			
Social Groups	**Change: 1987-1988 to 1999-2000**		
	HHs that did not own any land	**HHs that did not possess any land**	**HHs that did not cultivate any land**
Scheduled Tribe	-32.11	-38.62	12.98
Scheduled Caste	-32.93	-39.18	9.29
Other Backward Caste	-	-	-
Others	-8.79	-18.31	19.31
All	-24.52	-34.03	12.03

Source: Author's calculation from various rounds of NSSO's Surveys of Employment and Unemployment.

Table 2.3: Decadal change in land vulnerability among social groups (1999-2000 to 2011-12)			
Social Groups	**Change: 1999-2000 to 2011-12**		
	HHs that did not own any land	**HHs that did not possess any land**	**HHs that did not cultivate any land**
Scheduled Tribe	103.79	191.31	17.44
Scheduled Caste	118.07	173.36	11.05
Other Backward Caste	99.21	189.33	16.95
Others	61.38	119.34	16.01
All	85.2	152.75	14.34

Source: Author's calculation from rounds of NSSO's Surveys of Employment and Unemployment.

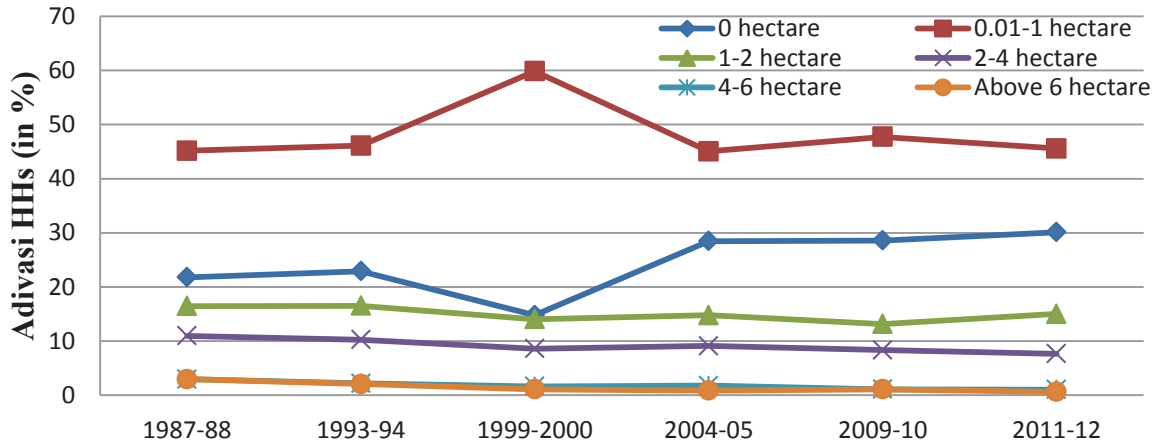
The above graphs and tables indicate that adivasis occupy a better position in terms of landholdings even though the rate of increment in vulnerability in landholding seems higher among them. However, it does not mean that they possess adequate productive

assets for their sustainable livelihood. In fact, a large section of adivasi population reside in remote areas[13] and own unfertile hilly lands (Nanchariah, 2000). According to the Forest Survey of India Report, 2003; about 60 per cent of the total forest cover of the country lie in the 187 adivasi districts. This indicates that most of the adivasis' lands are forest lands which are generally categorised as less productive. Furthermore, land alienation has more impact on them than that of the other social groups. Adivasis who practice the livelihoods characterised with non-accumulation of wealth and lack skill required for non-agricultural jobs in the urban areas become most vulnerable in terms of their occupation once they lose their land, unlike the other social groups. Therefore, the intensity of land alienation may be less among them as compared to other social groups; nevertheless, it has a larger impact on them.

2.6 Land Distribution among the Adivasi Households

The adivasi households and the proportion of land accounted for by them over the two decades are presented in the figures below. It is clearly observed that more than two-thirds of the households fall in the zero and marginal holdings category. Households with medium and large holdings just consist of five per cent in 1987-88 which decreased to less than two per cent in 2011-12.

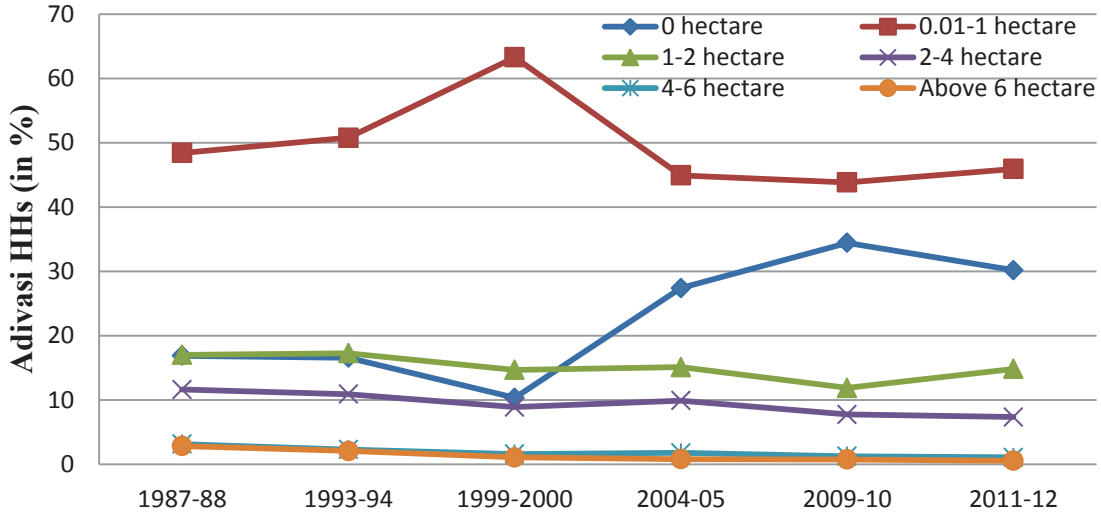
Figure 2.4: Distribution of adivasi HH owning and by size (1987-88 to 2011-12)



Source: Author's calculation from six rounds of NSSO's Surveys of Employment and Unemployment.

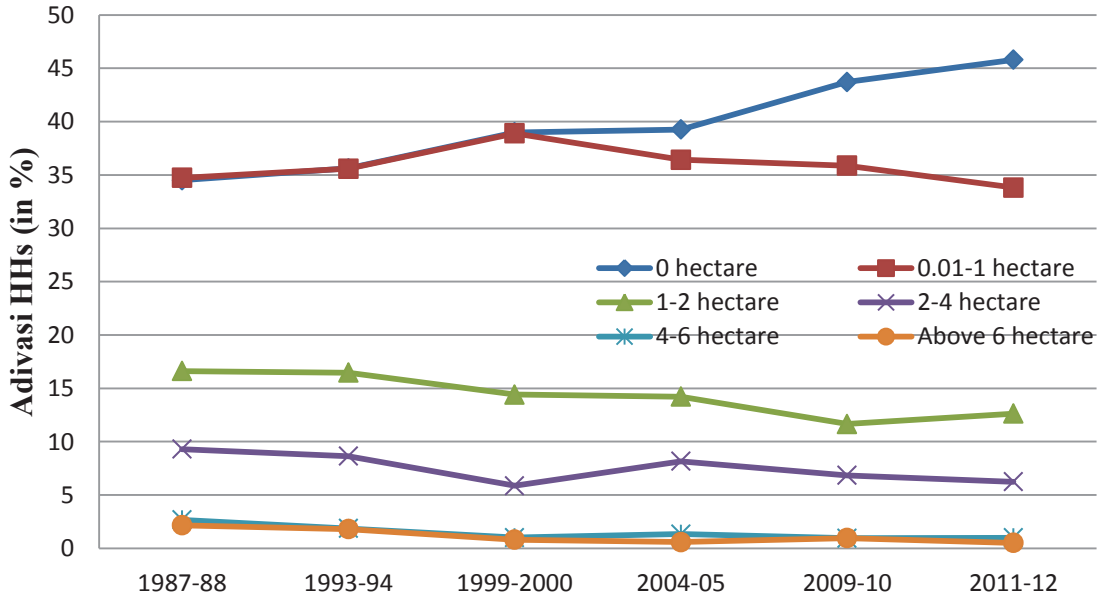
[13] Report on Development Challenges in Extremist Affected Areas (2008)

Figure 2.5: Distribution of adivasi HH possessing land by size (1987-88 to 2011-12)



Source: Author's calculation from six rounds of NSSO's Surveys of Employment and Unemployment

Figure 2.6: Distribution of adivasi HH cultivating land by size (1987-88 to 2011-12)



Source: Author's calculation from six rounds of NSSO's Surveys of Employment and Unemployment.

The above figures show that the share of adivasi households owning land has declined in all size classes. While the proportion of adivasi households falling in landless class has registered significant rise, the share of adivasi households having small, semi-medium, medium and large holding classes has also declined but not at a large scale. This makes apparent that some medium and large landholding households are losing a significant part of their land and are placed in the landless class. It means the decline in medium and large

holding classes is translated in the landless class (Fig 2.4). Similarly, figure 2.5 affirms that while the proportion of adivasi household who do not possess any land has increased, all other land possessing categories exhibit a declining trend. Furthermore, the proportion of adivasi households that do not cultivate any land too has increased steadily, while all other land cultivating categories have shown a declining trend over the period of time. In 2011-12, the proportion of adivasi households who do not cultivate any land has become 46 per cent which is an increment from 34 per cent in 1987-88. The marginal and smallholding classes together make up for 46 per cent in 2011-12 which is a decline from 51 per cent in 1987-88. Moreover, the semi-medium, medium and large size cultivating classes together was 14 per cent in 1987-88 that has come down to eight per cent in 2011-12 (Fig 2.6). Figure 2.7 presents the intensity of zero landholdings among adivasi households.

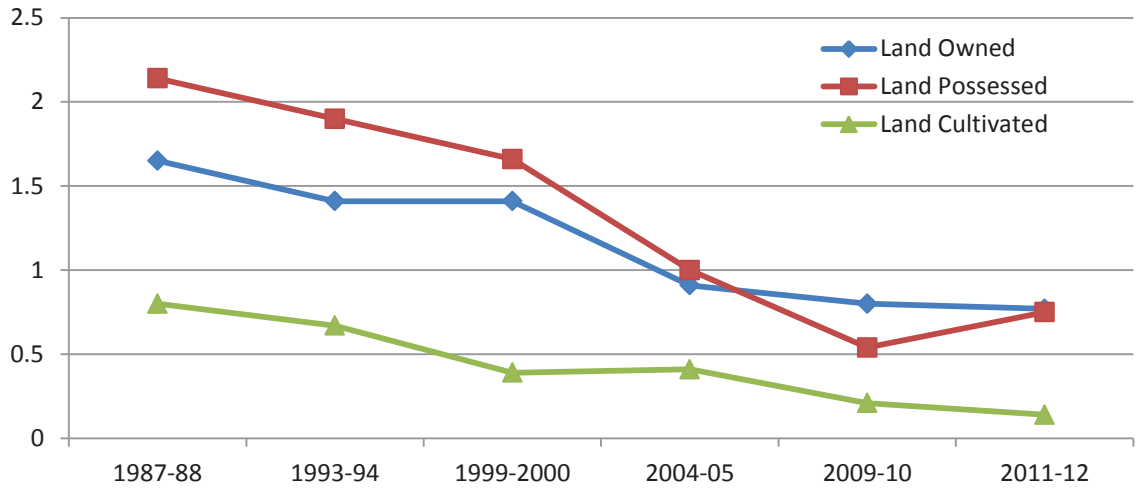
$$Intensity\ of\ zero\ landholding\ among\ Adivasi\ HHs\ (I) = \frac{50 - x_i}{x_i + y_i - 50}(1 - 0.01)$$

Where x_i is the proportion of landless adivasi households in i^{th} NSSO Round

y_i is the proportion of marginal landholding adivasi households in i^{th} NSSO Round

Decline in the value of I means decline in the proportion of marginal holding adivasi households and increase in the proportion of adivasi household who do not own any land out of the bottom 50 per cent adivasi households with respect to landholding size and vice versa. Figure 2.7 ascertains that out of 50 per cent adivasi households, the proportion of households falling in the category of the marginal holding class (0.01 to 1 hectare) is declining and thus the proportion of the households in the zero landholding category is increasing. The trends for land possessed and land cultivated also exhibits a similar trend with land owned.

Figure 2.7: Intensity of zero landholding among adivasi HHs



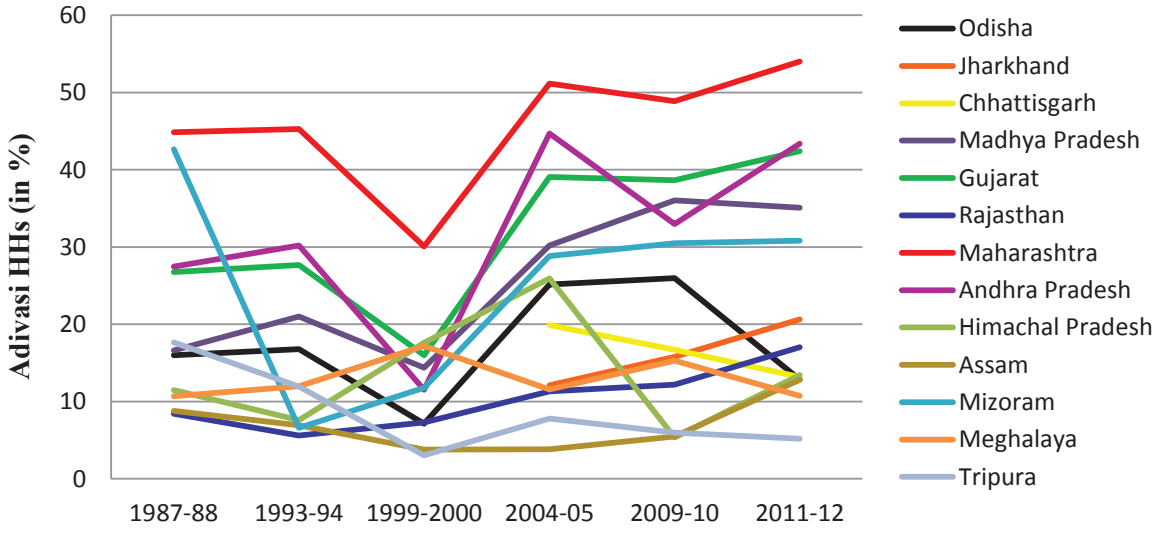
Source: Author's calculation from six rounds of NSSO's Surveys of Employment and Unemployment.

2.7 Urbanisation and Landholding among Adivasis

The sectoral analysis of land distribution among adivasis shall disclose the status of land distribution among them with the evolving scene of socio-economic transformation. The Census of India classifies all those human settlements as 'urban' which either have statutory status like municipality, corporation, notified town area committee, cantonment board etc. or an area which fulfils all three conditions simultaneously, such as, a population of not less than 5000, at least 75 per cent of the male main working population engaged in non-agricultural activities, and density of population is at least 400 persons per square kilometre. The urban space seems to pose some adversity as regard to land owning by the adivasi households. Since, the land use pattern in urban area are largely in non-agricultural domains, prioritising the corporate business, real estate, industries etc. result in the dispossession of land at a large scale. This subsequently results in the incursion of the outside population. Most of the industries are set up in the mineral-rich areas, and these areas are located in the adivasi populated regions. For instance, the Chhotanagpur region, an adivasi dominant and mineral-rich area has been witnessing proliferation in mining and industrial activities since the colonial period (Bandyopadhyay, 1999). In the later stage, the industrialised areas emerge as urban areas due to growing business activities. Consequently, such industrialisation and urbanisation makes the adivasis sacrifice substantial share of their land and eventually become landless. It has also been frequently noticed in the most urbanised states in India like Gujarat,

Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh (Nandy, 2015) have dispossessed a large section of state's adivasi households from their land. In these three states, the share of adivasi households who do not own any land is much higher as compared to other scheduled states[14]. In these states, the percentages of landless adivasi households are 42 per cent, 54 per cent and 43 per cent in 2011-12 respectively, which is an increment from 27 per cent, 45 per cent and 27 per cent in 1987-88 respectively. Among the north-eastern states, Mizoram records the highest percentage of landless adivasi households i.e. 31 per cent in 2011-12 which is a decline from 43 per cent in 1987-88. The decline in landless adivasi households may be due to land-related measures adopted in the state[15]. However, still, landlessness is relatively very high as compared to other states (Fig 2.8). It is to be noted that Mizoram has experienced urban agglomeration and currently more than 50 per cent of the state population lives in urban areas[16] (Nandy, 2015).

Figure 2.8: Landless adivasi HHs in Scheduled States (1987-88 to 2011-12)



Source: Author's calculation from six rounds of NSSO's Surveys of Employment and Unemployment.

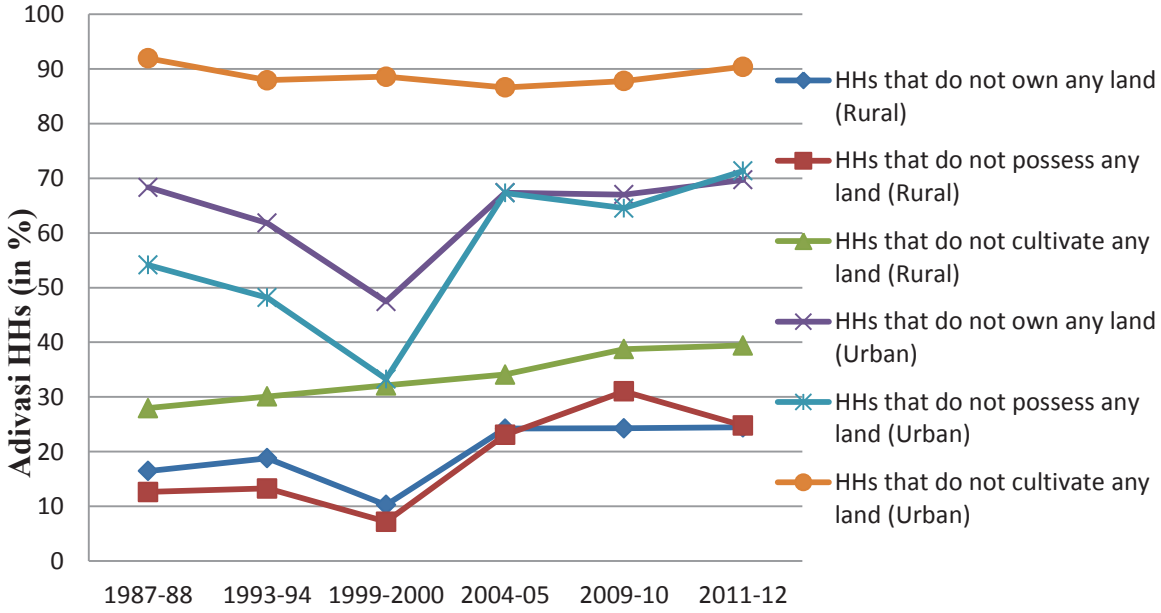
[14]There are 14 states (10 Fifth Schedule States: Odisha, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh; and four Sixth Schedule States: Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura) contain scheduled areas. The Indian Constitution enshrines special protection for the land rights of the Adivasis of these areas by prohibiting sale or transfer of their land to non-Adivasi.

[15] In 1987, Mizoram became a fully-fledged state and all lands were turned into the property of the state. Thus, the communal landholding system was eliminated. Simultaneously, the government tried to dissuade the people from "*Jhum* cultivation" and persuaded them to adopt alternative livelihoods such as horticulture, animal husbandry, wet rice cultivation, coffee plantation and cottage industry. People responded positively to this government's scheme initially. However, the scheme became ineffective over time due to mismanagement by the government. Consequently, the people continued to practice their "Jhum cultivation" (Leblhuber & Vanlalhruaia, 2012). This policy dynamics might have brought about changes in landholding patterns in the state.

[16] Although, half of the population live in urban areas, most of the urban centres do not fulfil the Census criteria to be considered as urban.

Figure 2.9 depicts the landlessness among adivasis owing to urbanisation with a clear indication that adivasi households in the urban areas are more vulnerable in terms of access to land than in rural areas. While the trend of the proportion of landless households in the urban area remained around 70 per cent over the period of time, in rural areas it was around 24 per cent in 2011-12 which is an increment from 16 per cent in 1987-88. The trend of the proportion of adivasi households who do not possess any land has been somewhat similar to the share of adivasi households who do not own any land both in rural and urban areas. Furthermore, the share of households in urban areas who do not cultivate any land remained around 90 per cent over the period of time. In rural areas, however, it increased from 28 per cent in 1987-88 to 40 per cent in 2011-12.

Figure 2.9: Land vulnerability among adivasi HHs in rural and urban areas (1987-88 to 2011-12)



Source: Author's calculation from six rounds of NSSO's Surveys of Employment and Unemployment.

2.8 Landlessness and Vulnerability

Loss of land generates unintended socio-economic consequences, especially among the adivasi population. For them, land is not merely a means of survival, but serves as a marker of identity or belonging to the region and the community. In addition, their land holding not to be seen in isolation as they are part of an eco-system involving forest, river, mountain, natural resources etc. associated with adivasi identity. Therefore dispossession of land among the adivasi community puts a scar on their basic identity and

not merely threatens livelihood. With an ethnic identity and symbiotic life, they always maintain ecological balance through their cultural practices in the form of taboos, which maintains a balance between restoration of nature and its extent of exploitation (Ekka, 2012). Moreover, they protect nature (sacred groves) as it is of special religious significance to them. Thus, their social and cultural life and identity are rooted in land. The alienation of land therefore disturbs their socio-cultural milieu and alters many of their life style related functions. Their sacred groves and cohesive community life are destroyed. Consequently, it leads to the acculturation of the mainstream culture and social life among them, which eventually pave the way for loss of indigenous identity (Padel and Das, 2008).

In ultimate terms land alienation undoubtedly forces them towards alternative means of livelihood remote from the traditional ones and adapt to the ways of life where their social capital keeps them marginalised. Adivasis largely involve in non-monotonous economic activities i.e. a combination of several types of activities. For instance, hill cultivators and plain agriculturists alongside involve in alternatives occupations like hunting and gathering to supplement their income. Similarly, pastoralists are engaged in agriculture to meet their basic food requirements. All these activities are tied to nature and directly or indirectly related to the land. Therefore, loss of land means loss of multiple sources of livelihood for them. No doubt the current globalised economy opened up multiple job opportunities; however, adivasis often find it difficult to adapt themselves with the non-agricultural and urban-based employment opportunities. It is due to lack of social and economic capital among them and their unfamiliarity with the competitive job market and globalised economy constrain their economic progress in a non-agricultural economy (Parry and Struempell, 2008; Struempell, 2014; Fernandes, 2008). Therefore, they turn into casual labourers in the non-agricultural and urban economy in the post land alienation period (Kela, 2012; Struempell, 2014; Kujur, 2017).

2.9 Summary and Discussion

In furtherance of landholding patterns, three salient features emerge from the secondary data analysis of Employment & Unemployment survey of National Sample Survey Office (NSSO) on adivasi landholding patterns in India. Firstly, adivasis in India fare better than the other social groups in terms of landholding patterns. However, landlessness among them has increased relatively faster than in other social groups. Secondly, while there is a

secular increase in the proportion of landless adivasi households in the country, the proportion of landholding households belonging to other categories experience a marginal reduction. Lastly, there is an inverse association between rising urbanisation and landholding among adivasis.

Since the colonial period, adivasis' landholdings have been mostly influenced by two major drivers such as state's power of eminent domain and transfer of land to non-adivasis. The state has been exercising its power of eminent domain to acquire the lands for various industrial and developmental projects. This has majorly affected the landscape in the adivasi regions. Transfer of land to non-adivasis in the form of lease or mortgage, *benami* transfer, transfer in the name of concubines, transfer of unregistered or unrecorded adivasi land in lieu of loan, etc. have also contributed to the landlessness among them. Moreover, economic poverty and ignorance of their rights over traditional land and forest have aggravated land alienation among them.

To protect them from various kinds of exploitation and land alienation special constitutional provisions were enshrined. Various state and central land laws were also enacted. However, these laws and provisions were disregarded in many ways to pursue the national objective of resource mobilisation and higher economic growth (Xaxa, 2014). However, there are also many instances of successful prohibition of transfer of adivasis' land to non-adivasis. The Samatha V. State of Andhra Pradesh, 1997 case and Supreme Court judgement on Niyamgiri case of Odisha upheld the Constitutional mandate which prohibits the transfer of adivasi lands to non-adivasis and empowered the *Gram Sabha* for self-determined development (Banerjee, 2014).

Despite such positive development on the issue of dispossession of their land, landlessness among them was heightened in the last few years. Especially during the first decade of the twenty-first century, a considerable increase in landlessness is observed among them. From the above analysis it is deduced that despite the existence of Constitutional safeguards i.e. provisions for fifth and sixth scheduled areas, many scheduled states failed to uphold the interest of adivasis in their quest for industrialisation and urbanisation. Although, there are other factors such as demographic change, migration, non-agricultural activities etc. which lead to land alienation; the industrialisation and urbanisation seem to be the single most important factor that drives large scale land alienation among them. Moreover, there are ample of empirical studies

which ascertain that sacrificing land for urbanisation and industrialisation do not necessarily help in their occupational and social mobility but pushes them into indigence.

Chapter III

Inter-generational Occupational Mobility among Adivasis in India

3.1 Introduction

Social mobility is conventionally defined by two types of mobility: intra-generational mobility and inter-generational mobility. Intra-generational mobility refers to changes in the occupational status, income, education and wealth of a person within his/her lifetime. Inter-generational mobility on the other hand is the difference between the current income, wealth or occupation status of a person and that of his/her parents or the family to whom he/she belongs. The study on inter-generational mobility is primarily conducted to assess the unequal inter-generational playing field of families or communities and its role in their mobility. The outcome of the study subsequently leads to policy formulation on redistributive programmes meant to level the inter-generational playing field. There are two sets of beliefs that prevail in society regarding the mobility of successive generations. The first set of beliefs asserts that 'getting ahead and succeeding in life' mostly depend upon the 'hard work' and 'taking risk'- transcends the idea of distributive justice. Conversely, the other set of beliefs holds that it is the social position i.e. family income, social environment, identity; social network determines the key to the success of the children (Fong, 2001; Bowles and Gintis, 2002). The second set of beliefs advocates the measurement of the degree of inequality of opportunity in a society. Therefore, 'inter-generational mobility' is also sometimes termed as the measurement of 'unequal opportunities' or 'rise and fall of families' (Becker and Tomes, 1986). Furthermore, the study of social mobility is of no importance when there is no inequality in society. We may assume irrespective of parents position that the children may access an equal advantage to reach the destination. However, in the pragmatic world, it is highly unlikely that the pareto distribution of both tangible and non-tangible assets will not add advantages for some rising to the top. Therefore, the study of social mobility in reference to pareto advantages is paramount for inclusive development. It is not to be confused that the study of social mobility is not the study of inequality in the society rather it is the study of unequal opportunity desks in the society. Therefore, growing inequality does not

necessarily mean downward social mobility; rather it refers to the increment of differences between the upwardly and downwardly mobile (Beller and Hout, 2006).

To measure social mobility, sociologists predominantly assess the occupational change, while economists, income. Both carry equal importance in the life of a person and both are often considered complementary to one another. That is higher the occupational level, greater is the earnings and vice versa. However, the social positioning of occupation is not necessarily determined by the average remuneration received. Sorokin (1927) while analysing social positioning of occupation considers two primary factors: the occupation as a source for survival and well-being, and the skill or intelligence required to perform the task or certain job. The former indicates all occupations are of equal importance for survival and well-being. The latter designates the social standing i.e. esteem job. For instance, the remuneration of a clergy may be equal to that of a semi-skilled labourer, but the clergy enjoys comparatively higher social standing or esteem in the society (Sorokin, 1927; Joslyn, 1927). Therefore, income may not be a suitable indicator to measure social mobility. On the contrary, generally, occupation is perceived as a good indicator of social status and living conditions, as it to a large extent presents capacity, skill and knowledge of a person, and concurrently earning prospects that directly or indirectly determine his/her social standing. Moreover, occupation as a suitable indicator of social status is legitimised at least in the context of Indian labour market wherein caste system is comprehended as determining factor of employment. In the language of Dr B. R. Ambedkar (1945), the caste system is a division of labourers who are placed into watertight compartments and are assigned particular occupations, majorly defined as caste-based occupations. These caste-based occupations are often classified as polluted occupations and unpolluted occupations. The division of labourers is not based on choice rather based on the dogma of predestined i.e. inheriting caste-based occupations assigned to his/her community. Therefore, in Indian society, deviating from assigned occupations means changing the social position.

An individual is born into a given occupational class, independent of his/her choice, activities and innate abilities. However, during his/her lifetime, the individual may obtain a change in his/her relative position in the occupational hierarchy. The change or mobility in occupation is attributed to circumstantial and effort factors of the individual. Besides this, the occupational change is largely induced by the occupational diversification engendered by the structural transformation of the economy. The industrial revolution

followed by liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation has not only reshuffled the sectoral contribution to the economy but also brought about changes in the employment share of different sectors to the labour market. The rapid shift from the agriculture-based economy to a manufacturing and service sectors-led economy has persuaded people to adopt non-agricultural occupations across the globe. In India particularly, the structural transformation in the economy demanded a sizable area of land which turned many into landless. Currently, there are around 40 per cent of households reported as landless in the country (Kujur et al, 2020). The landless subsequently became completely dependent on the non-farm activities for their livelihoods. On the other hand, people who owned land could continue their agriculture activities. However, inadequate income from agriculture, increasing population pressure on land, education, aristocracy of job etc. compelled them also to look for the non-agricultural source of income. Adivasis, the agricultural and forest-dependent community particularly have witnessed a large-scale occupational shift due to such economic transformation since the colonial regime. The urbanisation, industrialisation and mining activities in the country created two classes among them in terms of landholding viz. landless and landholding communities. Such differences in inherited wealth (circumstantial factor) contributed to differences in the occupation of successive generations. Adivasis with their relative material disadvantage in terms of livelihood (landlessness) were more likely to be excluded from accessing the socio-economic opportunities[17]. Their exclusion from the avenue of capability formation rendered them with poor human capital which constrained their mobility in the occupational ladder. The industrialisation flourished in the adivasi regions indubitably generated ample employment opportunities, however, lack of skill required for the urban-based jobs, lack of social capital and politics of identity ghettoised them in the employment process which gradually compelled them to be absorbed in the informal labour market (Parry and Struempell, 2008; Struempell, 2014; Heuze, 1996; Kela, 2016).

Against this backdrop, it is imperative to understand the inter-generational occupational mobility among adivasis in the wake of increasing landlessness among them. The 50th and 68th Employment and Unemployment Survey rounds of NSSO show an increment in the proportion of working population in the non-agriculture sector while a decline in the

[17] Participation in social gatherings, assemblies and other social activities build up the social capital and network. The participation however, has some economic cost i.e. monetary cost and sacrifice of labour days, which the household with unsecured livelihood plausibly cannot bear. Secondly, wider economic opportunities or economic activities require larger economic investment which the household with unsecured livelihood cannot actualise.

agricultural sector, and a steep rise in the proportion of unskilled labourers among adivasis during the two decades (Fig 3.3). These outcomes raise many questions regarding the employment dynamics among adivasis in India. Who are these new entrants into the unskilled labour category? What pushes them into this labour work? How does land determine their occupational mobility?

3.2 An Overview of Literature

When individuals or groups are compared in terms of their inter-generational mobility they are generally placed into different footing based on their achievement. Their differential achievement is determined by different factors and classified into two types: equal opportunity but different achievements due to differences in individual characteristics such as taste, preference, human behaviour, skill and ability; and inequality of opportunity hence, differences in achievements due to the circumstantial factors such as wealth, parent's education and occupation, race, region of birth etc. (Bowles and Gintis, 2002; Becker et al, 2018). In the former case, the sense of inequality and deprivation is believed to be non-existent while, in the latter case, the inequality and deprivation distance, and thus social disharmony and exploitation further get widened. However, the former may not be always independent of the latter.

The transmission of advantages and disadvantages from generation to generation determines the success and failure of the family, has been studied comprehensively. In the field of economics, Joseph Schumpeter (1951) is the one who studied intergenerational mobility (rise and fall of families over time) i.e. movement of families within the class and between classes comprehensively. He explains that the statutory privileges, chances, management of given positions, success in duties (war), efficiency and skills determine the rise and fall of families within and between the classes. Similarly, the studies of Becker and Tomes (1979 & 1986); Becker et al. (2018) have recognised the role of intergenerational transmission in the economic success of the family. The other studies such as Bourguignon et al. (2007); Checchi et al. (2008); Behrman et al. (2001) and Bowles and Gintis (2002) have also recognised that family background is the predominant set of circumstances (parents education, occupation, race and region of birth) determining successive generations' opportunities. Of these circumstantial factors, permanent characteristics such as race, caste, etc. hamper mobility significantly. For instance, in the United States of America (USA) progress of blacks has been much slower

than the immigrants and that is because of public and private discrimination against them (Becker and Tomes, 1986). Furthermore, in the context of economic status, inter-generational mobility is low among poor families, which is plausibly determined by credit constraints (ibid). The well to do families on the other hand, on average invests more in the human capital of their children than the poorer parents. As a result, the differences in the economic status among economic classes across generations persist (Becker et al; 2018). Importantly, the genetic transmission of Intelligence Quotient (IQ) appears to have a negligible role in the success of children (Bowles and Gintis, 2002). Conversely, there are also studies by Peters (1992); Black et al. (2005); Brown et al. (2009) which have equally shown low parental influence over children's occupation, income and education.

Many studies have tried to analyse the role of circumstantial factors especially caste on intergenerational mobility in the context of India. In India, occupational segregation is characterised by caste division. Nevertheless, some studies entail that caste has played a minimal role in occupational mobility. The earliest study by Driver (1962) infers that although intergenerational mobility was frequently experienced in both rural and urban regions, it was restricted to occupations of comparable ranks. Thus, mobility has a meagre effect on caste-based occupation. Moreover, the study claims that the association between caste and occupation is attributed to educational differences among the caste groups.

With regards to education, employment and caste (identity), Sen (2000) theorises two forms of discrimination: active discrimination and passive discrimination. Active discrimination takes place when the agents systematically refuse to hire or employ the members of a social group despite their formal qualifications (or over qualification) while routinely preferring the members of other groups with equally qualified or even less qualified. Passive discrimination takes place due to discouragement and lower self-confidence that results in poor performance or through direct routes that limit access to education and income which eventually restrict their mobility. Thorat and Newman (2007) while ascertaining these two forms of discrimination affirm that in India the basis of discrimination in the market is ascriptive rather than achieved characteristics. The active discrimination in the Indian labour market transpires in hiring, wage payments, working conditions, and opportunities for upward mobility due to identity differentials. The passive discrimination in the labour market, however, transpires as a result of differences in entitlements to economic rights such as access to land, labour, capital, credit, education, and other inputs and services. In Indian society, the entitlements to

economic rights become narrower and narrower when moving farther down the hierarchical ladders of the caste system. This lower access to the economic entitlement by the lower castes results in their occupational vulnerability and immobility.

This has been substantiated by the study of Majumdar (2010) which shows that the occupational mobility among excluded castes (SC/ST and OBCs) was lower than their mobility in educational outcomes and thus his study indicates the prevalence of caste discrimination in the labour market. The studies of Kumar et al. (2002a, b); Clark (2015); Lahiri & Nandni (2016) and Motiram & Singh (2012) too infer that the apple does not fall far from the tree in India. That is, there exists continuity rather than mobility or intergenerational persistence in occupation, and such stagnation is attributed to financial and other resource-related factors i.e. inequality of opportunity along with caste. Another study by Deshpande and Palshikar (2008) however, entails that although caste is not strongly associated with occupational mobility in general, it has an important role in upward mobility. For instance, the upper castes in Pune city experienced the lowest occupational mobility as a sizable proportion of their population were already spread to the upper occupational locations in the past. In contrast, Dalits who in the past engaged in very low occupations, have seen considerable upward mobility, however, their mobility is confined to lower and lower-middle occupations. Furthermore, Iversen et al. (2016) and Reddy (2015) in their study substantiate the existence of a considerable disparity between urban and rural residents, and Upper-Caste Hindus and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in terms of prospects for upward occupational mobility. The study further reveals that the prospects for downward occupational mobility are much larger among rural residents and SCs/STs.

In an agrarian economy or rural economy the prospects for mobility is limited (Swaminathan, 1991). An empirical study conducted by Reddy and Swaminathan (2014) on ten villages of different states in India bestows low inter-generational occupational mobility particularly among big farmers and rural manual workers. The Scheduled Castes who mostly fall in the manual worker category have witnessed more inter-generational immobility than that of the other castes. Moreover, their descent (downward mobility) to the manual worker category from any occupation is higher than others. Thus they are of the opinion that Scheduled Castes will not witness upward mobility as long as they remain in the rural labour market.

There is a meagre discussion on the role of land in inter-generational mobility. There are some studies like Becker and Tomes (1986) which discuss the role of assets on the earning of the children. They discuss that the assets of the parents act as a buffer to the offset regression (moving back to the mean) in the earnings of the children. That is, rich families bequeath assets to their descendants or children that check the downward regression in the earnings of their successive generations. Furthermore, household productive asset (land ownership) plays a major role in determining the mobility of successive generations. In households with a lower level of land ownership, the sons are more likely to be in their father's industry of employment due to borrowing constraints. On the contrary, large landholding households are less likely to encounter financial constraints. Thus, they invest more in human capital and consequently increase the likeness of mobility in the industry of employment (Lahiri and Nandni, 2016). Yadu (2015) in his study on the impact of land reform on the mobility of the marginalised communities in the state of Kerala delineates that land ownership is an important determinant of the educational level of households. His study also reveals that the land reform in the state although was not a big success, granted Scheduled Castes small pieces of land that widened the opportunities for occupational mobility for them. adivasis, on the other hand, who could not benefit from the land reform, have witnessed immobility in their occupations.

Furthermore, although many studies have been done on the effect of caste on social mobility, mobility among adivasis has remained relatively neglected in the mobility discourse. Moreover, because of the paucity of data on land alienation, the occupational mobility among adivasis in the context of change in landholding has remained unexplored.

3.3 Concepts and Methodology

The study uses the data from the Employment and Unemployment Survey (EUS), conducted by the National Sample Survey Office, Government of India. The surveys are conducted every year; however, thick surveys are conducted on a quinquennial basis. In this study, based on the objective i.e. analysing intergenerational mobility (two-decade changes), we are using two thick rounds i.e. 50^{th} round (1993-94) and 68^{th} round (2011-12).

Primarily these rounds were selected on the basis of changes in landholding and employment patterns over time. The two rounds will provide cross-sectional data spanning a period of two decades. The surveys collect landholding information of households and demographic information, occupation, employment status of individuals of almost all states except some inaccessible pockets, which are relevant in this study. The sample surveys are both representative at the national level and comparable. The sample strategy and questionnaires are quite similar across all survey rounds. In this study, we have focused on the working-age (15-65 years) population and their usual principal activity status.

The occupation information in the 50th round was collected on the basis of National Classification of Occupations (NCO), 1968 and the occupations are classified into a three-digit level. However, in the 68th round, occupational information has been collected with a three-digit level based on NCO-2004. NCO-2004 is the updated version of NCO-1968 wherein some modifications and addition of employment have been done. Moreover, the three-digit classification in NCO-2004 is actually equal to the two-digit occupational classification in NCO-1968 with little modification. So, to make the occupational classifications comparable between NCO-1968 and NCO-2004, a concordance table has been generated to match the occupations. A concordance of three-digit (NCO-1968) with three-digit (NCO-2004) will not be appropriate, since reducing around 457 occupations in NCO-1968 into 113 occupations in NCO-2004 may seem unreliable. Therefore, in this study a concordance of two-digit (NCO-1968) i.e. 94 occupations with three-digit (NCO-2004) i.e. 113 occupations has been generated.

In this study, we created a five-fold class schema of the occupations to measure occupational mobility. The five occupational groups are 1. Salariat and business class; 2. Skilled and semi-skilled labourer; 3. Cultivators; 4. Unskilled manual labourer; 5. Agriculture and related labourer. This class schema was designed and hoped to represent the reality of the Indian labour market situation and especially to the working population among adivasis. In the current study, this class schema seems to serve the research objectives as it hierarchically compartmentalises the occupations in a relatively better way.

Furthermore, the land ownership has been categorised into two viz. ‘landholding equal to and less than 2 ha’ and ‘landholding more than 2 ha.’ The land owned by adivasis is

generally categorised as relatively less productive land since the lands are situated mostly in remote and hilly areas and majorly depend upon monsoon rain. Most of the families grow one major crop in the monsoon season and rest of the year the land remains barren. The crop failure due to irregularity of monsoon is a usual incident that leads to the chronic problem of food scarcity among the adivasi families. Therefore, in the adivasi society, the land carries importance not by its size but by the amount of crop it produces (Kishwar, 1987). By considering this, the current study purposefully categorises the adivasi households owning less than and equal to two hectares of land as marginalised households in the context of agriculture as a livelihood.

In this study, we explore the information using simple descriptive statistics and mobility matrix. The mobility matrix or transition matrix is the cross-tabulation of occupations where sons/daughters and their parents are employed. It is commonly used to present the movement from one occupation to another across generations. A row in the mobility matrix delineates the sons'/daughters' occupations, given the parents' employment in a particular occupation. In this study, two kinds of mobility are taken into account: quality occupational mobility and quantity occupational mobility. The quality occupational mobility denotes the movement from one occupation to another occupation amongst the members of a household. Quantity occupational mobility measures whether the number of members of the second generation who have experienced occupational mobility (immobility or downward mobility or upward mobility) is equal or greater or lower than the number of members of the first generation in a household. The 'quantity occupational mobility' is used in this study to analyse the extent of the quality occupational mobility. It has been used in three stages: quantity mobility when no quality mobility (Immobility), quantity mobility when downward quality mobility and quantity mobility when upward quality mobility.

In the current study, the age cohort instead of blood relationship is taken for inter-generational analysis. In the Employment and Unemployment Survey questionnaire, establishing a father-son relationship is quite problematic. It is because the respondent's father, mother and grandparents are coded into a single category. On the other hand, the respondent can be considered as father/mother since their children are easily identifiable. However, ideally, if their brothers/sisters are considered for generational analysis since they are of the same generation, it is again subject to the problem of identification as this category and the brother/sister-in-law and other relatives are carrying the same code.

Under such circumstances, a restricted sample of father-son relationships can be created by only considering married male respondents having working sons. This category of relationship leaves aside all other categories of the working population. Moreover, respondents and their sons' age are skewed ranging from 15-65 years of age. Therefore, a respondent of 30 years of age and another respondent of 60 years of age ideally cannot be put into the same generation, and likewise the case of sons. To overcome such difficulties, the current study takes into account the age cohorts: 15-30 years working population and 40-65 years working population as 2nd generation and 1st generation respectively. Between these two groups, we have taken 10 years of gap to reduce the risk of putting similar age group population or let's say siblings in a household into different generations. We have limited our study to the male working population only due to largely followed patrilineal tradition in the Indian society particularly. The EUS questionnaire also does not provide any unique identification of a married woman living with her spouse and her father. Moreover, we have restricted our study to households having a male working population in both generations.

3.4 Context: Adivasis, Land and Occupation

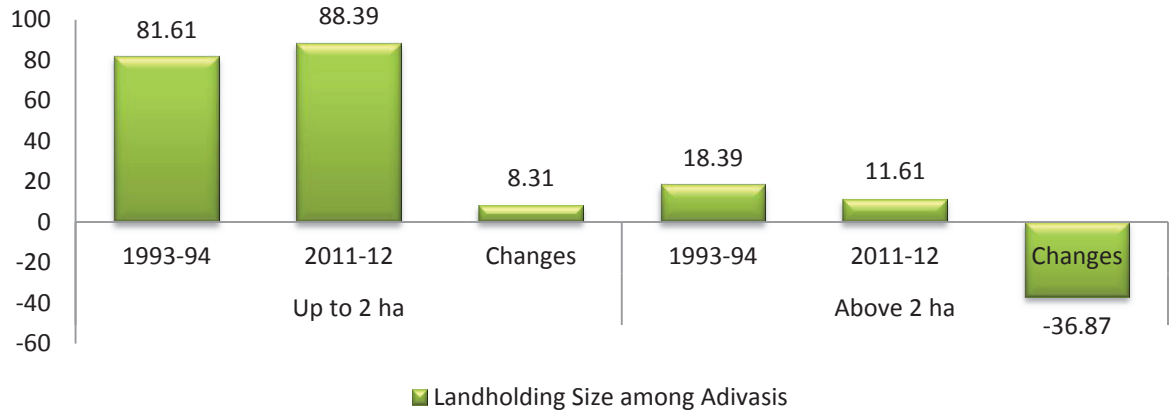
3.4.1 Transition in the indigenous economy

The colonial anthropological and sociological literature depicts indigenous people as small, self-contained, self-sufficient and autonomous communities practising subsistence economy with limited trade, in which exploitation and social conflicts were absent (Shah, 2010; Sundar, 2016; Xaxa, 2014). Traditionally, adivasis in India pursued an economy, which is sensitive to nature. This is reflected in their dependence on forest and other natural resources available in their habitat. However, it does not mean that the traditional economy was monotonous, rather largely a combination of several types of activities. For instance, hill cultivators and plain agriculturists were also occasionally hunting and gathering to supplement their income. Similarly, pastoralists were engaged in agriculture to meet their basic food requirements.

Over the decades the indigenous economy and livelihood strategies have undergone substantial change. Hunting and foraging have been the main sources of traditional livelihoods for many indigenous people. However, with reduced forest cover and implementation of the Wildlife Protection Act, the traditional occupations are on the decline among them (Malekar, 2014; Ramnath, 2014). Similarly, hill cultivation,

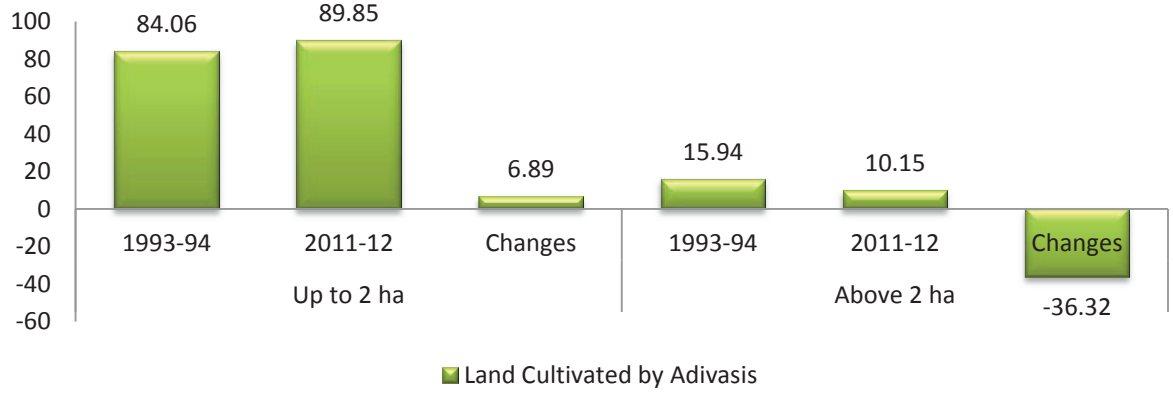
variously known as shifting cultivation or slash-and-burn cultivation is also on decline due to land shortage and increase in population. Besides, government policy dissuades adivasis from practising shifting cultivation (Radhakrishna, 2009). Landholding among the adivasi households has declined consistently over the period. In 1993-94, the share of adivasi households owning up to 2 hectares of land was 82 per cent which increased to 88 per cent in 2011-12. However, the proportion of households with more than 2 hectares has declined from 18 per cent in 1993-94 to 12 per cent in 2011-12 (Fig 3.1). The decline in their landholding is reflected in their land cultivation. Over the two decades, the proportion of households cultivating up to 2 hectares has increased from 84 per cent to 90 per cent while the share of adivasi households cultivating above 2 hectares has declined from 16 per cent to 10 per cent (Fig 3.2).

Figure 3.1: Changes in landholding size among adivasis



Source: Author's calculation from various rounds of Employment and Unemployment Survey

Figure 3.2: Changes in size of land cultivated by adivasis

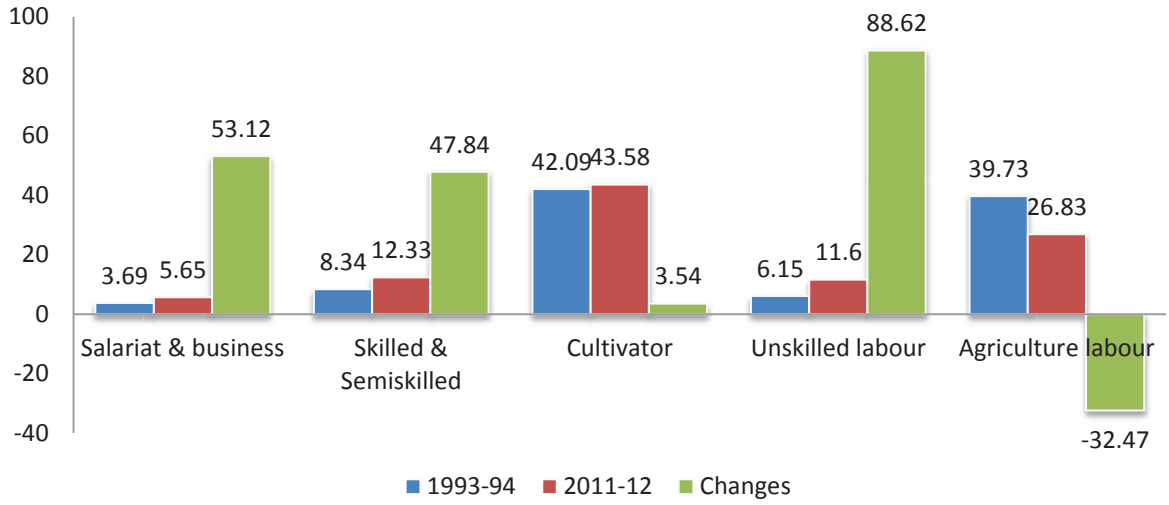


Source: Author's calculation from various rounds of Employment and Unemployment Survey

With the curtailment of their traditional occupational space, many adivasi households turned into landless and marginal landholding households and a sizable population was turned into agricultural labourers. In 1993-94, out of the working population among adivasis (usual principal activity) 40 per cent were reported as agricultural labourers, however, it has declined to 27 per cent in 2011-12 (Fig 3.3).

The decline in the dependence on agriculture is attributed to the increasing non-agricultural activities in the adivasi regions. With the opening of the mines and industries in the adivasi regions in the colonial period as well as in the post-independence period, adivasis, particularly the landless and marginal adivasi farmers in the surrounding regions have taken up non-agricultural labour as their primary source of livelihood (Kela, 2012; Dasgupta, 1973; Oraon, 2012; Kapoor, 2014). The establishment of large-scale industries, dams, special economic zones, national parks, and other infrastructural projects also brought a substantial change in their occupations as their possession of agricultural lands was increasingly undercut (Kothari, 1996; Singh, 1997; Kujur, 2011). Moreover, the decline in agriculture labour is also attributed to the contraction of bonded labour and rise in personalised forms of labour relation over the past century supplemented by growing mechanisation of the agriculture sector (Breman, 2007; Lerche, 2011). They are today mostly concentrated in hard manual labour based occupations, and predominantly found in agriculture (tea labour and sugarcane cutters), construction, and brick kiln sectors. The intermitted migration among both male and female adivasis to the city for hard manual labour remains an important aspect of their economic life even in twenty-first century India (Mazumdar, 2016; Neetha, 2016). However, their proliferation in the non-farm sector also often trapped them in ‘neo-bondage’ wherein they are tied to a particular employer for a shorter period of time in lieu of advances (Breman et al, 2009). For instance, largely the migrant adivasi workers in the rice mill cluster in the milieu of Chennai were restricted on their physical movements-a form of neo-bondage (Pattenden, 2016). In 2011-12, out of the working adivasi population, more than 10 per cent are engaged in unskilled non-agricultural occupations, an increment of 89 per cent from 1993-94. Simultaneously, a reasonable percentage of population is reported to be involved in skilled & semi-skilled i.e. 12 per cent in 2011-12 an increment from 8 per cent in 1993-94 and salariat occupations i.e. 6 per cent in 2011-12 increment from 4 per cent in 1993-94 (Fig 3.3).

Figure 3.3: Occupational Changes among Adivasis (1993-94 to 2011-12)

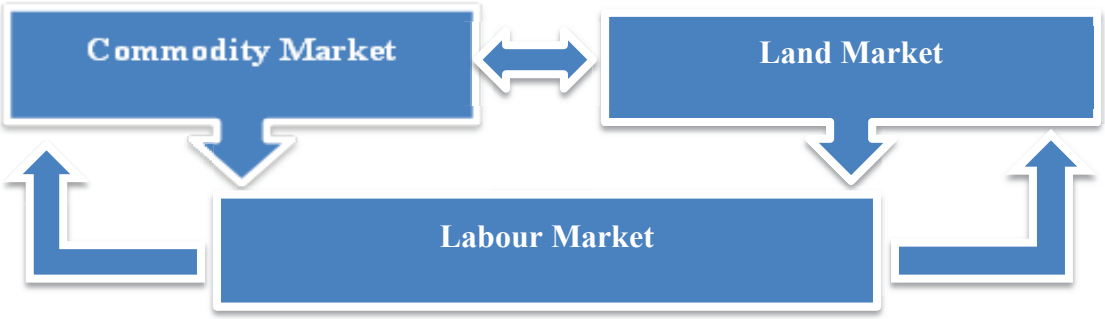


Source: Author's calculation from various rounds of Employment and Unemployment Survey

3.4.2 Emergence of Labour Market in the Adivasi Society

The emergence of the labouring class in the adivasi society is the subsequent effect of depriving them of their subsistence livelihood through various means. In India, such deprivation among adivasis is the upshot of interaction with the non-indigenous population and forced accumulation (Arnold, 1982).

Figure 3.4: Inception of labouring class among adivasis



Source: Author's own creation

The migration of non-adivasi population into the adivasi regions as petty businessmen and administrative officials introduced the commodity market in the hinterlands (Bhukya, 2012). Initially, in the commodity market, the barter system extensively prevailed. This transaction system, however, appeared to be inconvenient for both the indigenous people and migrant traders particularly when they wanted to exchange their products for multiple products. Over time money as a medium of exchange replaced the barter system. With the

introduction of money, they could sell their products to a buyer and purchase their necessities from different sellers easily and conveniently. The introduction of the commodity market, however, shot up the demand for both imported products and liquid money among adivasis. This led to the emergence of labour class among adivasis who willingly or unwillingly wanted to sell their labour-power in the capitalist labour market[18]. Both the barter system and monetary exchange, in reality, did not provide the real exchange value for the indigenous products. Adivasis fell prey to the businessmen from the urban as they did not know the actual value of their indigenous products and sold those at a throwaway price. Thus, unacquintance with trade and business deprived them of their earnings. So to meet the demand for the imported products, they searched for the labour market where they can sell their labour. This process eventually opened up the avenue for the capitalists to the source of cheap labour i.e. adivasi labourers. This was witnessed in the colonial regime wherein adivasis were employed as cheap labourers in the tea gardens in the north-east regions and coal mines in Chhotanagpur plateau (Bhowmik, 2016; Bandyopadhyay, 1999).

The commodity market also gave rise to the land market which intensified the emergence of the labouring population among adivasis. The unfair exchange in the commodity market gradually compelled adivasis to borrow money and imported products to meet the demand which eventually turned them into debt-ridden.

The borrowing of products from the businessmen takes place during lean seasons. In these seasons adivasis generally find themselves without prospects of income and hence promise to pay for the borrowed products in the harvesting seasons (seasons of agriculture harvesting and collecting forest produce). The burden of payment is felt relatively less at the time of borrowing the products compared to the payment while purchasing the goods. Consequently, some unwanted and unnecessary expenditures are incurred during the lean seasons with an uncertainty of income[19] in the near future or harvesting seasons. With such transaction, adivasis are often left with very low or no net income which eventually traps them into the debt cycle. The petty businessmen on the other hand eventually transform themselves into money lenders who gradually usurp their

[18] The labour work in a traditional Adivasi society was (is) based on the ethos of reciprocity. In this system Adivasis used to exchange their labour for labour in need. They also often supply their labour to their neighbours when in need out of benevolence.

[19] Income from agriculture and forest produce is vulnerable to natural calamities. A climate change may severely affect the agricultural production and collection of forest produce.

land. The loss of agricultural land and increasing debt force them to either be employed as agricultural labourers or migrate to urban regions to seek work.

The compass of the land market was spread intensively in the adivasi regions with state-sanctioned development projects. On the one hand, adivasis were forced to exchange their lands and forest to the state with unfair compensation, on the other the development projects invited non-adivasis which gave rise to the land market in the adivasi regions. The acquisition of land with the help of the principle 'eminent domain' began in 1894 (Land Acquisition Act, 1894) and continued till the first decade of the 21st century. The acquisition under this principle greatly affected the landholding among adivasis. It is noted that soon after the independence almost all the states having fifth and sixth scheduled areas and even states not having any scheduled areas such as Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Sikkim enacted legislation to prohibit the transfer of adivasis land to non-adivasis. A study by the Centre for Policy Research on land rights issues (2017) reports about 102 laws (15 central and 87 state laws) dealing with land acquisition in India[20]. These laws, however, were either amended or repealed to serve the cause of both states developmental projects and non-adivasis[21] (Xaxa, 2014). The latest land acquisition act, Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act (RFCTLARRA), 2013 although has provision for land-based resettlement, however, never got translated in the ground. Not to be astonished, the law was contested legally and politically, and subsequently amended in many states including Jharkhand, Tamilnadu, Gujarat, Telangana, Maharashtra and Rajasthan to ease the land acquisition process[22].

Furthermore, the forest and related laws in both colonial and independent regimes have compelled adivasis to surrender their age-old rights over forest lands to the state. The colonial Forest Right Acts, 1865; 1878 and 1927 established the dominance of the British government over the forest by restricting the use of forest land and access to forest products among adivasis. In independent India, the Indian Forest Policy, 1952; Forest Conservation Act, 1980; and Wildlife Protection Act, 1972 continued the colonial legacy of denial of adivasis rights over forest land and forest produce. Thus, these policies

[20] Wahi, N. (2017). Land Acquisition in India: A Review of Supreme Court Cases from 1950 to 2016. *Available at SSRN 3378958*.
[21] Wahi, N., & Bhatia, A. (2018). *The legal regime and political economy of land rights of scheduled tribes in the scheduled areas of India*. Centre for Policy Research.
[22] Ibid.

deprived them of their traditional sources of nutrition and subsistence and subsequently pushed them even to starvation death (Radhakrishna, 2009).

The National Forest Policy (NFP), 1988 also continued the colonial legacy of forest administration. Levying grazing fees and discouraging shifting cultivation have resonated the colonial legitimacy of policy measures to protect the forest, environment and productivity of the land. Furthermore, The Joint Forest Management (JFM), launched in the 1990s recognised the role of adivasis and forest-dwelling communities in the conservation and development of forest and stressed to provide them gainful employment. However, it only empowered the forest officials to regulate the use of land by the pastoralists and shifting cultivators in the name of appropriate usage of forest land (Ramdas & Ghotge, 2007). Subsequently, in 2006, the Indian Parliament enacted the Scheduled Tribes and other forest dwellers (Recognition of forest rights) Act which aimed to compensate the historic injustice perpetrated on adivasis by granting them rights to control over the forest and rights over the forest lands. Their rights, however, are yet to be delivered to them. As per the Twelfth Five Year Plan Report (2012-17), the distribution of individual land titles and the implementation of Community Forest Rights (CFR) are abysmally low. Furthermore, in some states, the implementation process is yet to be started[23].

Consequently, the landholding among them was shrunk, a detrimental effect of state developmental activities. The large scale influx of non-adivasis in the wake of development projects and industries added the cause to land loss among them. To accommodate them, besides the individual land transaction, the state has involved itself in constructing housing projects, corporate housing, real estate, recreation centres etc. For instance, in the 1950s, the Government of Odisha acquired 19,722.69 acres of land and 11,923.98 acres of land for the construction of Rourkela Steel Plant and Mandira Dam respectively in Sundargarh, a fifth schedule district in the state of Odisha. After completion of both projects, 13,443 acres of land remained surplus and were supposed to be returned to adivasis, the original landowners. However, these lands were diverted illegally[24] for other purposes mainly for housing and recreation centres that did not serve the development of adivasis (Xaxa, 2010; Kujur, 2017). Consequently, appropriation of

[23] Social Sector (Chapter 24 @ para 24.85 page 237), Volume-III, Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012-17) Planning Commission, Government of India

[24] As per the provision under Fifth Schedule, Adivasi lands cannot be transferred to non-Adivasis.

land by both individual capacity and the state deprived adivasis of access to their ancestral land which changed the patterns of landholding among them. As per the report on Draft National Land Reform Policy by the Department of Land Resources, Ministry of Rural Development (MoRD), Government of India (GoI) (2013), 3.75 lakh cases of land alienation among adivasis covering 8.55 lakh acres of land were registered for the restoration of the ownership. Out of these, 1.62 lakh cases (43.2%) covering an area of 4.47 lakh acres were disposed of in favour of them, while 1.55 lakh cases (41.1%) covering 3.63 lakh acres of land were rejected on various grounds. Such large scale loss of land has been the single biggest reason for the deprivation of livelihoods among adivasis which forced them to shift to non-agricultural activities, particularly labour work for sustenance (Parry and Struempell, 2008; Struempell, 2014; Kujur, 2017).

The indigenous labouring class further reproduced the commodity market, land market and labour market itself in the hinterlands. The inflow of money from the non-agricultural activities increased their demand for imported goods which besides the forest produce helped the non-adivasi traders to sustain their business in the adivasi regions. The money inflow from labour work also, apart from many other reasons, simultaneously incentivises the youth to drop out of school and early join in the labour market (Thakur, 2018). As per the All India Survey on Higher Education Reports (HER) (2018-19), Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD), the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) among adivasis between the age group of 18-23 in higher education is only 17.2 per cent which is much lower than that of any other social groups.

Furthermore, for the majority of adivasis, joining the labour market or turning into migrant labourers is linked to their long-term indebtedness. That is they join the labour market as unskilled casual labour to repay the past debt. Thus, they fail to generate net income from the labouring work (Mosse, 2005; Mosse et. al, 2010). This subsequently entraps them into the vicious circle of poverty which again opens up the avenue for the moneylenders to usurp their lands.

3.5 Occupational Disparity

To examine the statistical differences in the occupational pattern of different groups, the study uses the Duncan Dissimilarity Index or Segregation Index. In this analysis, Duncan Index captures the degree of dissimilarity between the occupational patterns of the non-adivasi population and adivasi population. The value of index falls between the range 0

and 1 (0 and 100 in terms of proportion). The index value 0 indicates complete integration or no dissimilarity and index value 1 indicates complete dissimilarity in the occupational patterns of both groups.

$$Duncan\ Dissimilarity\ Index\ (D) = \frac{1}{2}\sum_{i} |x_{i1} - y_{i2}|$$

where x_{i1} is the percentage of population of group-1 (Non-adivasis) involved in i^{th} occupation.

y_{i2} is the percentage of population of group-2 (Adivasis) involved in i^{th} occupation.

Here for the sake of comparison, adivasi group is notionally assumed as an occupationally disadvantaged community compared to the non-adivasi population since their representation in higher-paid occupations is relatively low (Table 1 in Appendix I). We have further subdivided each group into four groups based on landholding size i.e. up to 2 ha and above 2 ha, and in terms of sector i.e. rural and urban. So, we have four groups in each sector for comparison: groups having up to 2 ha and above 2 ha land size in both adivasi group and non-adivasi population group in both sectors.

From Table 3.1, it is observed that in 1993-94, adivasi population with up to 2 ha landholding in rural areas lagged by 12 per cent than that of the non-adivasi population. In other words, 12 per cent of adivasi population needed to change their occupation to equate the occupational distribution between adivasis and the non-adivasi population having up to 2 ha of land in rural areas. This dissimilarity has further widened in 2011-12, as the percentage of adivasi population who needed to change their occupation increased to 14 per cent. On the other hand, the occupational disparity between adivasis and non-adivasi population is relatively low when they have substantial landholding i.e. above 2 ha. In fact, to some extent, the disparity among them has contracted over time. Adivasis owning more than 2 ha in rural areas, lagged by 5.43 per cent than that of the non-adivasi population in 1993-94 in their occupational patterns, which declined to 5 per cent in 2011-12. It signifies that the higher landholding among adivasis in rural areas helps them to equate with the non-adivasi population in terms of occupational patterns and vice versa.

Table 3.1: Occupational disparity between adivasis and non-adivasi population			
Sector	**Different Adivasi landholding groups**	**Segregation Index (*D*) (1993-94)**	**Segregation Index (*D*) (2011-12)**
Rural	Adivasi (Up to 2 ha)	11.6	14.09
	Adivasi (Above 2 ha)	5.43	4.99
Urban	Adivasi (Up to 2 ha)	16.4	14.85
	Adivasi (Above 2 ha)	14.91	22.12

Source: Author's calculation from various EUS rounds
**Note Segregation Index calculated with reference to All*

However, in urban areas, the disparity among them is higher as compared to the rural areas. In 1993-94, about 16 per cent of the adivasi population owning up to 2 ha in urban areas lagged behind that of the non-adivasi population. In 2011-12, it has declined to 15 per cent. Conversely, the disparity has widened among adivasis and non-adivasi population owning above 2 ha of land. In 1993-94, about 15 per cent of the adivasi population were needed to change their occupation to equate occupational distribution between adivasis and non-adivasi population, which has further increased to 22 per cent in 2011-12 (Table 3.1).

The measure of dissimilarity for adivasis owning up to 2 ha in rural areas and adivasis owning more than 2 ha in urban areas has increased. This demonstrates that lower landholding adivasis in rural areas particularly have remained concentrated in the traditional occupations. In urban areas, for non-adivasi population, having a larger amount of land has been more advantageous in getting higher-paid occupations than that of adivasi population. It might be the socio-economic factors that have created more disparities between the two groups. Furthermore, the measure of dissimilarity for adivasi owning more than 2 ha in rural areas and adivasis owning up to 2 ha in urban areas has not declined much over time (Table 3.1). This dissimilarity measure for adivasis provides an early indication of low occupational mobility among them.

Table 3.2 shows that a perceptible change and disparities in occupational status among both first and second-generation populations are witnessed between 1993-94 and 2011-12. It can be observed that the workforce from both generations is shifting towards non-farm occupations over time. Particularly, their involvement in agricultural labour has declined drastically. However, while the first generation's participation in cultivation

remained the same, the second generation's involvement in it has declined. Furthermore, the second generation's participation in salariat, skilled and semi-skilled and unskilled labour has increased and the increment is more than that of the first generation.

Table 3.2: Generation-wise distribution of occupation among adivasis in 1993-94 and 2011-12

Occupation	1st Generation's Occupation		2nd Generation's Occupation	
	1993-94	2011-12	1993-94	2011-12
Salariat	2.22	4.72	2.26	4.09
Skilled & Semi-skilled	7.98	10.96	7.60	15.62
Cultivator	52.40	52.96	46.32	41.61
Unskilled Lab	5.17	11.47	8.20	13.53
Agriculture Lab	32.24	19.89	35.62	25.15
All	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Author's calculation from various EUS rounds

3.6 Inter-generational Occupational Mobility among Adivasis

Each Entry in the matrix cell denotes the percentage of the second-generation population that made transition from their first generation's occupational category. A matrix with very high numbers on the main diagonal which consists of the special cells with the same row and column categories indicates low mobility. Such matrix denotes that the second generation population has a high probability to inherit the first generation's occupation. The cells in the left side of the main diagonal cells of each row show upward mobility and the cells on the right side downward mobility.

Table 3.3 bestows changes in the inter-generational occupational mobility amongst adivasis during the two decades i.e. 1993-94 to 2011-12. In 1993-94, the adivasi households engaged in the higher paid occupations (salariat and skilled-semiskilled) have witnessed a greater inter-generational occupational mobility, however, downward mobility than the adivasis households involved in the lower-paid occupations in rural areas. For instance, about 53 per cent adivasi households wherein the second generation adivasis could retain their previous generation's salariat occupation and rest of the households have witnessed downward mobility in 1993-94. On the other hand, about 87 per cent of households, in which the second generation adivasis continued with their preceding generation's agricultural labour occupation. However, in 2011-12, immobility has increased amongst adivasis engaged in the higher paid occupations. Furthermore, a sizable proportion of households have witnessed downward inter-generational mobility to

agricultural occupations i.e. cultivation and agricultural labour in both NSS rounds, but the proportion has declined in 2011-12. Moreover, persistency is significantly high amongst the adivasi households involved in these land-related occupations in both NSS rounds. Illustratively in 1993-94, about 81 per cent and 87 per cent household wherein successive generation adivasis have retained cultivation and agricultural labour occupations respectively. In 2011-12 there has been a slight decline in the proportion of cultivating households while the proportion for the agricultural labour households remained the same. It might be because of the continuation of cultivation amongst the landholding class and of agricultural labour due to the meagre availability of non-farm employment opportunities in rural areas. On the other hand, the persistency has dramatically increased amongst the households engaged in the unskilled labour occupation that is from 52 per cent in 1993-94 to 75 per cent in 2011-12. The increment is attributed to the decline in downward mobility from unskilled labour to agricultural labour and also the decline in upward mobility in 2011-12.

Unlike the rural areas, the persistency or immobility has declined substantially amongst the adivasi households engaged in both higher paid and low paid occupations over the two decades in urban areas. The immobility amongst the households involved in salariat and skilled & semi-skilled occupations has declined and subsequently downward mobility has increased particularly amongst the salariat adivasi households over time. Immobility amongst the cultivating households has also declined and it has been driven by second-generation adivasis shifting to agricultural labour occupation. In 1993-94, only 2 per cent of the cultivating household had witnessed inter-generational downward occupational mobility to agricultural labour occupation. In 2011-12, the proportion has increased to 13 per cent. This mobility towards agricultural labour occupation demonstrates the land alienation amongst adivasis in the urban periphery. On the other hand, the adivasis households engaged in precarious occupations experienced upward occupational mobility. Interestingly, a sizable proportion i.e. 38 per cent adivasi households engaged in agricultural labour have moved to salariat occupations in 2011-12. This might be the result of compensatory employment provided to the successive generation of the project affected adivasis in lieu of land acquired by the state for various projects.

Table 3.3 examines the inter-generational occupational mobility by considering the highest profession of both generations in a household. Thus it categorises the households into broadly three groups, i.e. immobile, downward mobile and upward mobile. The

following tables scrutinise the extent of immobility, downward mobility and upward mobility of the households since these tables take care of the number of workers in both generations in a household.

Table 3.4 examines the extent of occupational mobility of the households who have reported immobility in the occupational ladder. The quantity downward and upward occupational mobility for higher-paid occupations denotes downward and upward mobility respectively in terms of the number of workers. However, the same in the case of lower-paid occupations or precarious occupations denote upward and downward mobility respectively. Illustratively, in 1993-94 there were 54 per cent adivasi households wherein the number of second-generation persons and the first-generation persons involved in salariat occupation is same in rural areas. Likewise in 27 per cent of the household, the number of second-generation persons was less than the first generation persons involved in salariat occupation. Further, 19 per cent of the households had a higher number of second-generation persons than that of the first generation persons involved in salariat occupation. It means, out of the households who had reported immobility in terms of quality of employment, actually 54 per cent were immobile, while 27 per cent and 19 per cent had witnessed downward and upward mobility respectively on the ground of the number of workers in the households. Similarly, in the case of agricultural labour, 50 per cent of households were immobile; and while 22 per cent adivasi households had less number of agricultural labourers than the previous generation, 28 per cent households worsened their occupational mobility in terms of the number of workers.

In 1993-94, the quantity upward mobility was relatively higher amongst the cultivating and agricultural labour households i.e. 34 per cent and 28 per cent respectively in rural areas. In 2011-12, these proportions have declined to 27 per cent and 15 per cent respectively. On the other hand, the quantity downward mobility in the cultivation and agricultural labour has increased to 21 per cent and 30 per cent in 2011-12 from 18 per cent and 22 per cent respectively in 1993-94 which signifies a lesser number of second-generation adivasis engaged in cultivation and agricultural labour work than their previous generation. Furthermore, the downward mobility has drastically declined from 27 per cent to 4 per cent amongst adivasis engaged in salariat occupation for the corresponding period. On the other hand, quantity upward mobility has increased to 32 per cent from 19 per cent during the same period. This indicates that in rural areas,

adivasis of second-generation whose first generations were salaried employees have improved their mobility in terms of quantity over time although they are immobile in terms of the status of occupation.

In urban areas, the quantity upward mobility amongst adivasis engaged in cultivation and unskilled labour occupation was relatively higher in 1993-94. That is about 41 per cent and 45 per cent cultivating and unskilled labour adivasi households respectively had more number of second-generation adivasi cultivators and unskilled labourers than their previous generations unlike the adivasi households of other professions. Their mobility in the cultivating occupation has improved as the proportion of quantity upward mobility amongst adivasi cultivators has increased while amongst unskilled adivasi labour it has declined. On the other hand, quantity upward mobility amongst adivasis in agricultural labour is also very low in both NSS rounds, which signifies a lesser number of second-generation adivasis involved in agricultural labour compared to their previous generation-improving the occupational mobility. Amongst the adivasi households engaged in salariat occupation, the quantity downward mobility has fallen considerably from 23 per cent in 1993-94 to 8 per cent in 2011-12. On the other hand, the quantity upward mobility has increased from 22 per cent in 1993-94 to 37 per cent in 2011-12. This demonstrates the improvement of the salariat status of adivasis in urban areas as more successive generation adivasis are engaged in this occupation. Similarly, their mobility in the skilled & semi-skilled and unskilled labour occupations has improved. In agricultural activities particularly in cultivation, their mobility has improved since relatively more second-generation adivasis are engaged in it than the previous generation. Moreover, their mobility in agricultural labour has improved substantially as the quantity downward mobility has increased from 23 per cent in 1993-94 to 54 per cent in 2011-12 in urban areas.

Table 3.3: Changes in Inter-generational Occupational Mobility among Adivasis (1993-94 to 2011-12)

1st generation's Occupation	1993-94						2011-12				
	2nd Generation's occupation										
	Salariat	Skilled & Semi-skilled	Cultivator	Unskilled labour	Agri Labour		Salariat	Skilled & Semi-skilled	Cultivator	Unskilled labour	Agri Labour
	Rural										
Salariat	**52.86**	10.51	34.06	0.10	2.47		**59.57**	14.74	15.97	6.16	3.55
Skilled & semi-skilled labour	6.01	**53.90**	16.54	5.57	17.98		4.53	**72.11**	12.75	6.00	4.60
Cultivator	2.21	3.79	**81.48**	4.21	8.32		1.60	8.40	**78.72**	4.36	6.92
Unskilled Labour	3.46	6.71	18.78	**52.33**	18.71		0.18	10.42	7.59	**74.70**	7.11
Agri Labour	1.79	5.05	3.66	2.63	**86.87**		0.84	8.29	0.87	3.14	**86.86**
	Urban										
Salariat	**72.08**	15.48	0.09	4.11	8.24		**50.27**	42.24	0.51	6.60	0.38
Skilled & semi-skilled labour	6.62	**80.05**	2.33	8.55	2.44		30.19	**64.63**	0.21	1.63	3.33
Cultivator	0.83	35.18	**62.23**	0.16	1.61		10.74	22.14	**54.20**	0.33	12.59
Unskilled Labour	3.13	26.37	7.71	**60.05**	2.74		2.75	43.39	2.43	**51.13**	0.30
Agri Labour	0.10	7.78	0.04	25.37	**66.71**		38.10	11.44	0.00	20.66	**29.80**

Source: Author's calculation from various EUS rounds

Table 3.4: Quantity Occupational Mobility When No Quality Occupational Mobility among Adivasis

Quantity Mobility	1993-94						2011-12				
	Salariat	Skilled & Semi-skilled	Cultivator	Unskilled labour	Agri Labour		Salariat	Skilled & Semi-skilled	Cultivator	Unskilled labour	Agri Labour
	Rural										
Immobile	54.50	68.29	48.56	63.19	50.16		64.72	66.05	52.38	59.63	54.44
Downward Mobility	26.88	15.62	17.57	17.21	21.84		3.65	17.49	20.67	18.51	30.10
Upward Mobility	18.63	16.09	33.87	19.60	27.99		31.63	16.47	26.95	21.86	15.46
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
	Urban										
Immobile	54.84	62.35	43.75	34.80	64.99		55.06	66.07	42.49	44.76	28.21
Downward Mobility	23.33	10.00	15.78	20.49	23.12		7.61	16.30	12.40	22.58	54.19
Upward Mobility	21.83	27.65	40.47	44.71	11.89		37.33	17.63	45.11	32.67	17.60
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Author's calculation from various EUS rounds

The digits in the first numbering row in the table 3.4 for both rural and urban sectors and both NSS rounds denote the perfect immobility since these figures represent both quality and quantity immobility simultaneously. The quantity immobility is very high as the figures are mostly falling in the range of 40 per cent to 70 per cent. The persistency is more or less higher amongst adivasis households engaged in salaried occupations than that of the precarious occupations. In terms of sector, immobility is higher in the rural sector compared to urban sector. In rural areas the persistency has increased amongst adivasis engaged in salariat, cultivation and agriculture labour occupations while it has declined in the skilled & semi-skilled and unskilled labour occupations during the period 1993-94 to 2011-12. The inter-generational immobility in terms of quantity has increased substantially amongst adivasis engaged in salaried occupation. That is the share of immobility has increased from 54 per cent in 1993-94 to 65 per cent in 2011-12. Similarly, in the urban area, the immobility has increased amongst adivasis households involved in the salariat, skilled & semi-skilled and unskilled labour occupations, while it has declined in the case of cultivation and agricultural labour for the corresponding period. Substantial changes have been witnessed amongst adivasis engaged in unskilled and agricultural labour. That is the proportions of immobility in terms of quantity amongst them involved in unskilled labour occupations has increased from 35 per cent in 1993-94 to 45 per cent 2011-12, while it has declined drastically from 65 per cent to 28 per cent amongst them involved in the agricultural labour for the corresponding period.

Finally, it can be deduced that the adivasi households who have been immobile in terms of quality inter-generational occupational mobility have actually more or less attained upward mobility in terms of the number of employees as more members of the successive generations are engaged in higher-paid occupations and less in the precarious occupations. Yet, the perfect immobility is high in almost all occupations and it has also increased in some occupations over time.

Table 3.5 presents the intensity of downward inter-generational mobility by explaining the differences in the number of members in both generations of adivasi households who faced downward inter-generational occupational mobility. The quantity immobility in the table denotes the households wherein the number of second-generation adivasis who are engaged in lower professions than their previous generation is equal to the number of first-generation adivasis. The quantity downward mobility refers to the adivasi households wherein a lesser number of second-generation adivasis than the first generations have worsened their

occupational status. Similarly, the quantity upward mobility denotes the adivasi households wherein the number of second-generation adivasis who have moved to lower professions is higher than the number of the previous generation adivasis.

High quantity upward mobility in the case of both higher-paid and precarious occupations demonstrates intensification of downward occupational mobility and vice versa. On the other hand, high quantity downward mobility bestows less number of the second generation than their first-generation worsen their occupational status and thus signifies improvement in the occupational mobility. From table 3.5, it can be observed that persistency has prevailed in all occupations, sectors and NSS rounds. Moreover, it has been more or less higher amongst adivasis in urban areas and has declined over time. The quantity upward mobility on the other hand is much higher than the quantity downward mobility across sectors, NSS rounds and almost all occupations. This demonstrates that the downward inter-generational occupational mobility amongst adivasis has deepened over time.

In the rural areas, while the quantity upward mobility has declined amongst adivasis engaged in the higher-paid occupations, it has increased amongst adivasis engaged in cultivation and precarious occupation i.e. unskilled labour. It signifies that the intensity of downward mobility has declined in the higher-paid occupations, but further worsened in the case of cultivation and unskilled labour occupation. However, the quantity upward mobility is greater than the quantity downward mobility across the occupations and NSS rounds. The cells for agriculture labour are nil since there is no lower occupational category after agricultural labour, and thus there is no downward occupational mobility. Conversely, in urban areas, the quantity downward mobility is higher than the quantity upward mobility in most of the occupations which denotes a reduction in the downward occupational mobility since fewer numbers of second generations than their previous generations have worsened their occupation status. In the urban area, the quantity downward mobility amongst adivasis engaged in salariat occupation has increased from 11 per cent in 1993-94 to 23 per cent in 2011-12. In the case of adivasi cultivators, it has considerably increased from zero per cent to 66 per cent for the corresponding period. Thus the intensity of downward inter-generational mobility is higher in rural areas than the urban areas.

Table 3.5: Quantity Occupational Mobility when Quality Downward Occupational Mobility among Adivasis

Quantity Mobility	1993-94						2011-12				
	Salariat	Skilled & Semi-skilled	Cultivator	Unskilled labour	Agri Labour		Salariat	Skilled & Semi-skilled	Cultivator	Unskilled labour	Agri Labour
	Rural										
Immobile	62.15	73.79	58.66	63.19	0.00		76.93	71.64	48.51	38.32	0.00
Downward Mobility	6.64	1.30	4.99	0.80	0.00		0.44	3.85	12.73	0.00	0.00
Upward Mobility	31.21	24.91	36.36	36.01	0.00		22.64	24.51	38.76	61.68	0.00
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
	Urban										
Immobile	81.48	79.36	96.26	100.00	0.00		54.83	82.25	3.50	100.00	0.00
Downward Mobility	10.73	11.76	0.00	0.00	0.00		23.33	1.05	65.72	0.00	0.00
Upward Mobility	7.79	8.87	3.74	0.00	0.00		21.84	16.70	30.78	0.00	0.00
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00

Source: Author's calculation from various EUS rounds

Table 3.6: Quantity Occupational Mobility when Quality Upward Occupational Mobility among Adivasis

	1993-94						2011-12				
Quantity Mobility	**Salariat**	**Skilled & Semi-skilled**	**Cultivator**	**Unskilled labour**	**Agri Labour**		**Salariat**	**Skilled & Semi-skilled**	**Cultivator**	**Unskilled labour**	**Agri Labour**
	Rural										
Immobile	0.00	91.69	66.39	75.71	50.64		0.00	88.59	39.51	59.56	61.66
Downward Mobility	0.00	0.00	27.27	16.30	33.62		0.00	4.68	52.26	31.03	19.83
Upward Mobility	0.00	8.31	6.34	7.99	15.75		0.00	6.73	8.23	9.41	18.51
Total	0.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00		0.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
	Urban										
Immobile	0.00	100.00	46.11	81.65	83.69		0.00	98.75	54.92	63.63	18.62
Downward Mobility	0.00	0.00	23.72	9.48	0.00		0.00	0.62	5.24	3.39	48.26
Upward Mobility	0.00	0.00	30.16	8.87	16.31		0.00	0.63	39.84	32.98	33.12
Total	0.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00		0.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Author's calculation from various EUS rounds

In table 3.6, the quantity immobility, downward and upward mobility refer to the equal, less and more number of second-generation adivasis than their previous generation in a household who have moved to higher professions than that of their previous generation. Thus, the higher percentage of quantity downward mobility in all the occupations denotes de-facto downward mobility and vice versa. In rural areas, the quantity downward mobility mostly prevails upon the quantity upward mobility in both NSS rounds. While quantity downward mobility amongst adivasi households engaged in cultivation and unskilled labour has increased from 27 per cent and 16 per cent in 1993-94 to 52 per cent and 31 per cent respectively in 2011-12; it has decreased in the case of agricultural labour households that is from 34 per cent to 20 per cent for the corresponding period. It signifies that the inter-generational upward occupational mobility has been weakened amongst the households engaged in the cultivation and unskilled labour and strengthened amongst the households involved in agricultural labour. It is because the proportions of cultivating and unskilled labour households wherein less number of second-generation adivasis moving up to the higher professions has increased, while the proportion of agricultural labouring household where less number of second-generation adivasis who have moved to higher professions has declined. Conversely, in urban areas, the proportion of quantity upward mobility is higher than the quantity downward mobility in almost all occupations-signifying the shoot up in the upward mobility. In the agricultural labour occupation, however, the quantity downward mobility has dramatically increased from zero per cent in 1993-94 to 48 per cent in 2011-12. The column for salariat occupation is nil since there is no further upward mobility beyond this occupation.

The quantity immobility is relatively very high in both NSS rounds, sectors and also across occupations. The persistency is very high particularly amongst adivasis engaged in skilled & semi-skilled occupation in both sectors and NSS rounds. That is the proportion is more than 80 per cent and as high as 100 per cent although there has been a slight decline over time. The quantity immobility is also high amongst the adivasi households involved in unskilled labour in both sectors, but it has declined considerably over time. The quantity immobility has declined amongst cultivating adivasi households from 66 per cent in 1993-94 to 40 per cent in 2011-12 in rural areas. This decline has been reflected in the form of increment in the quantity downward mobility from 27 per cent to 52 per cent for the corresponding period. This signifies there has been a decline in the inter-generational upward occupational mobility amongst the cultivating households in rural areas. However, the quantity immobility has increased amongst cultivating adivasi households in urban areas, while quantity downward

mobility has declined-signifying improvement in the quality upward mobility amongst cultivating adivasis in urban areas. On the other hand, the quantity immobility has increased amongst the agricultural labour adivasi households from 51 per cent in 1993-94 to 62 per cent in 2011-12, while downward quantity mobility has declined for the corresponding period in rural areas. This implies the agricultural adivasi households in rural areas have improved their occupational mobility over time. On the other hand, the quantity immobility has declined drastically from 84 per cent in 1993-94 to 19 per cent in 2011-12 in urban areas. However, it has been accompanied by a considerable increment in downward quantity mobility that is from zero per cent to 48 per cent and also increment in quantity upward mobility. These changes in the proportions actually demonstrate the worsening of the quality upward mobility amongst the agricultural labour adivasi households in urban areas over time.

3.7 Summary and Discussion

The growing land vulnerability among them has influenced their occupational pattern over time. The study in this chapter ascertains that the inter-generational occupational mobility among them has been to a large extent characterised with immobility that is the continuation of the preceding generation's occupation by the current generation population. In the rural area, occupational immobility is very high amongst the adivasi households engaged in precarious occupation i.e. agricultural labour and unskilled manual labour. Moreover, a sizable proportion of the household from different occupations has witnessed downward mobility to agriculture activities i.e. cultivation and agricultural labour occupations. Conversely, in the urban area, where landlessness is significantly high, immobility is higher amongst the adivasi households involved in the higher paid occupations and lower in the precarious occupations. Perceptibly, the upward mobility particularly from agriculture labour is relatively very high and has increased considerably over time. On the other hand, the downward mobility from the salariat, skilled & semi-skilled and cultivating occupations is equally noticeable among the urban living adivasi households. Consequently, the immobility in these occupations amongst them has become lower than that of the rural living adivasi households.

In terms of number of workers, out of the qualitatively immobile households, a large proportion, ranging between 40 to 70 per cent households are also quantitatively immobile. The quantity immobility among the qualitatively immobile household is higher in the rural areas than the urban areas. In rural areas, the proportions of perfect immobile salariat,

cultivation and agricultural labour households have increased, while in urban areas the proportion of perfect immobile salariat, skilled & semi-skilled and unskilled labour households have increased. On the other hand, the intensity of downward occupational mobility is higher in rural areas, while the quality upward mobility is more coherent in urban areas. However, since the perfect immobility is much greater than the downward and upward mobility, the overall inter-generational occupational mobility amongst adivasis is characterised by low mobility or continuation of the previous generation's occupation by the current generation.

The Indian labour market is fragmented by many factors such as caste, gender, religion, region etc. In Indian society, the economic entitlements become narrower and narrower when moving farther down the hierarchical ladders of the caste system. This lower access to the economic entitlement by the lower castes results in their occupational vulnerability and immobility. Adivasis, being one of the most marginalised communities have been affected by this economic constraint and thus faced inter-generational persistency in their occupation. Land being an important source of livelihood for adivasis, could not enhance their occupational mobility. Land acts as a buffer to the downward occupational mobility beyond the occupation 'cultivation.' Moreover, land provides livelihood security to the households, which incentivises the parents to invest in the human capital of their children. Thus possession of land generates opportunity to move upward in the occupational ladder. Adivasis although occupy relatively a better position in terms of landholding, land vulnerability among them is increasing faster than that of the other social groups. Consequently, a large sections of them currently, are either landless or fall under the marginal and small landholding categories. This land vulnerability has inhibited their occupational mobility. Furthermore, labour market discrimination based on identity, lack of social network and social capital have limited their mobility, particularly to higher-paid occupations. Although adivasis who are engaged in precarious occupations have witnessed occupational mobility, their mobility is confined to lower and lower-middle occupations i.e. mobility from agricultural labour to non-farm unskilled labour.

Chapter IV

Change in Occupational Pattern of Adivasi Women

4.1 Background

Gender parity has been evolving as an issue of discourse by challenging the age-old patriarchal norms across the globe since the early twentieth century. Stereotypical thinking on woman's ability based on masculine conceptualisation of female body, mind and spirit; restricts and defines the women's role in the society. Such patriarchal ideologies have engendered the gendered economic space, livelihood, culture, source of knowledge etc. The most visible gender segregation in day to day life is the major portion of the service works at home being carried out by female members of the family. The women are primarily burdened with the duty to prepare and provide the family food; while the resource base is mostly owned and controlled by the male members of the family. Moreover, right over resource management is primarily vested in the hands of male members of the family. The prolonged exclusion of women from the inheritance of immovable property, particularly land property has been one of the main reasons for gender inequality in the Indian society. In order to address this gendered inequality, Hindu Succession Act[25], 1956 and Hindu Succession (Amendment) Act, 2005 were enacted which ensured gender equality in inheritance of property (agricultural land). Prior to this law, in 1980s, some states have also legislated administrative and legal measures to provide joint *pattas* to both the husband and wife (Krishna, 2007).

In certain pockets of the country, women managed to receive ownership title either in their name or owned jointly with their husbands, however, they remained vulnerable in the decision making regarding production, management of resources and in accessing different services as the owner of the land (Indira, 2007; Geethakutty, 2006). In some cases, gender-egalitarian laws were conveniently circumvented because of the absence of wife's demand for the right over the property (Desouza, 2007; Krishna, 2007). Such direct or indirect exclusion of women from property right severely restrained their decision making power and participation in economic activities or paid work.

[25] The Act shall not apply to the member of any Scheduled Tribe unless the Central government otherwise directs through notification in the Official Gazette (subsection 2 of clause 2, Hindu Succession Act, 1956).

Land has been an important source of employment among women particularly of poor and marginalised sections in rural areas. Their economic activities are inextricably linked to the living spaces as well as ecological surroundings. In the wake of structural transformation of the economy, there has been a change in natural landscape and mechanisation of agriculture which have evolved significant changes in the occupational pattern of the working age population in general and the working age women in particular (Mehrotra & Parida, 2017). The structural transformation brought forth encroachment of natural productive assets, curtailing further the already small economic space of poor marginalised women. On the other hand, the economic transformation has opened up new avenues for employment in the non-farm sectors. However, social and religious constraints and low education and skill have downsized the opportunities for women to participate in the non-farm occupations (Mehrotra & Parida, 2017; Rajesh, 2018).

Adivasi women unlike the women in non-adivasi society, however, have gone through a unique occupational transformation process corresponding to the structural transformation of the economy. The adivasi society is portrayed as a relatively more egalitarian society due to its communitarian values. Considering gender equality, adivasi women are also ranked in a better position compared to the non-adivasi women. In spite of the fact that they relatively belong to a gender-egalitarian community, many of the adivasi communities deprive their women in property inheritance. Moreover, the occupations are also gendered by nature in many indigenous societies. Debarring women from property inheritance is considered to be of evolving from the historical incidents in the transition process of adivasi society particularly. Since time immemorial, land is considered to be community property and thus owned by clan, not by individual households. Hence, endowing landownership to individual women is discerned as extraneous. Nitya Rao (2008), however, in her study on Santal women in the state of Jharkhand asserted that land ownership was historically linked with male identity, although land was held by the community. She also claimed that the term ‘community’ was used just to deny adivasi women right over the landed property.

Nevertheless, as far as land alienation is concerned, the community *patta* or land ownership served as a deterrent to land transferral to non-adivasis, as it often demanded consent of the entire clan. In the pre-British era as well as colonial era, the indigenous society has undergone systematic assimilation and acculturation into non-adivasi society and thus societal values, and this has been intensified in the post-colonial era. The

assimilation and acculturation processes have injected the idea of private property into the indigenous value system. Consequently, the community property was segregated into property of the individual households over time (Bijoy et al, 2010). As the non-adivasis infiltrated into adivasi land, they tried to usurp their lands through various means such as, transfer to non-adivasis in the form of lease or mortgage, *benami* transfers, transfer in the name of concubines, marital alliance with female adivasi for the sake of transfer of land in her name, transfer in the name of adivasi servants who may work as bonded labourers, transfer of unregistered or unrecorded adivasis land in lieu of loan, encroachment of adivasis' land by force etc. A report of the Steering Committee on Empowering the Scheduled Tribes, Government of India, 2001 elucidated that till January 1999, about 4.65 lakh cases were registered for the recovery of the adivasi land covering 9.17 lakh acres of land in different states. Of these, the states which had reported large scale land alienation among adivasis were Andhra Pradesh (2.79 lakh acres), undivided Madhya Pradesh (1.58 lakh acres), Karnataka (1.30 lakh acres), Gujarat (1.16 lakh acres), undivided Bihar (1.04 lakh acres) and Odisha (95 thousand acres) (Government of India, 2001). The transfer of adivasi land to non-adivasis is prohibited by many colonial laws such as Chotanagpur Tenancy Act, 1908; provisions under excluded and partially excluded areas as per the Government of India Act, 1935 etc. as well as post-colonial laws like provisions under Fifth Scheduled and Sixth Scheduled areas, Santal Pragana Tenancy Act, 1949 and many state-based land laws. To surpass these laws, marrying an adivasi woman and purchasing adivasi land in her name was adopted as the most convenient method by non-adivasis (Singh, 1988; Kumar & Stanley, 1995; Xaxa, 2004; Bhukya, 2012). To check such transfer of land to non-adivasis, the adivasi society was believed to have adopted patriarchal land relation as a custom. Therefore, even today, marriage outside the community is highly discouraged by the society and even sometimes it takes the form of social boycott or ostracisation of individuals/households, who dare to marry outside their respective communities. Secondly, since most of the adivasi households are patrilineal, after marriage daughter lives in her spouse's home in a different locality which makes it impossible to carry out the agriculture activities in her parental land. In such a case, the daughter has the option either to sell or lease out the land. This again increases the risk of transfer of adivasi land to non-adivasis through mortgage or land transaction. Therefore, it may be perceived, but not to be generalised that female members of the adivasi family were deprived of inheritance of parental property to check the land transfer to non-adivasis in and around the region.

Despite the loopholes in property rights, adivasi women, however, have access to a vast working space, unlike non-adivasi women. For a layman, the magnitude of work performed by adivasi women may be invisible, but pragmatically their contribution majorly shapes the indigenous household economy. The magnitude of the work carried out by adivasi women in particular and women in general remains obscured since their material reproduction (paid work) and symbolic reproduction (child-rearing, social activities etc.) are often entwined one another in their everyday life (Habermas, 1987 & 1989; Rao, 2008). Besides undertaking household chores, they also engage themselves in collection of forest produces; farm activities except ploughing; marketing activities, handicraft works such as making of broom, mattress, and leaf plates etc. All these activities performed by them are mostly seasonal in nature. Thus, every season they have a new economic activity to support their family. Ideally, these activities can't be put into a single occupational category. These activities are both non-cognitive and cognitive in nature. For instance, collecting *mahua* flower in summer season may be routine non-cognitive activities, while collecting mushrooms in the rainy season requires the use of the mind to trace and find them. Thus, adivasi women perform multiple economic activities which essentially ensure self-contained for their households.

These multiple economic activities are being gradually consolidated into household chores and wage labour over time due to decline in landholding among the adivasi households (Prasad, 2014; Kujur et al, 2020). The curtailment of economic space by dispossession, displacement and urbanisation in the both colonial as well as post-colonial regime has made practising indigenous activities increasingly strenuous for adivasi women and forced them to shift from self-contained activities to dependent economic activities. The process of alienation from their autonomous economic space has not only made their employment a precarious form of labour but also led to the emulation of mainstream patriarchal norms i.e. valorisation of domestic work[26] and stigmatisation of paid work which have reduced the labour force participation rate among them.

Based on this backdrop, in this chapter we attempt to conceptualise the relation between land and adivasi woman in the context of emerging changes in their occupational pattern. This study is confined to adivasi women in the labour market aiming for an in depth analysis of the issue and thus does not seek to make a comprehensive comparison

[26] The domestic activities (health care, child care, religious activities etc.) are valued through calling these activities as status producing activities.

between adivasi women and women belong other social groups. Rather, we broadly try to answer some of the key questions viz. how does the employment pattern of adivasi women has changed in relation to the change in landholding pattern at a macro level? Is the valorisation of domestic work deepening in the adivasi society or has reduced over time?

4.2 An Overview of Literature

Claudia Goldin's (1995) theory on women labour force participation demonstrates that in the process of economic development, women labour force participation rate will have a U-shaped pattern like curve. At low levels of development or when incomes are extremely low, female educational attainment remains low and thus, they are to a greater extent employed in unskilled manual labour. As the economy develops, the income effect accompanied with social stigma serves to lower female labour force participation. As income level increases, female educational attainment level also rises. As a result substitution effect dominates over the income effect as women take jobs in the white-collar sector with elimination of social stigma.

The U-shaped relationship, however, has not been reflected in the Indian case. Although both the income level of the households and the educational attainment of the females have increased substantially, there is little evidence on the increment of women joining the labour force (Swaminathan, 2008; Abraham, 2013). That is, there is a negative relationship between labour force participation and educational attainment among women in India. The education among women is mostly perceived to enhance the efficiency in the status production of women rather than a route to autonomy in the Indian society. Further, the upward social mobility of a household is appraised by the labour market participation of males, and marginalisation of women in the labour force and domestication of women (Kala, 1976; Mies, 1982). The caste system also determines the labour force participation among women. Not working particularly in lower-paid jobs is considered a matter of prestige among the forward castes, while lower caste women typically participate in income-generating activities out of compulsion which is mainly on account of economic backwardness of the family (Boserup, 2008; Mehrotra & Parida, 2017).

The labour force participation among adivasi women is high due to their community and cultural practices which impose limited restriction on women's work. The relatively greater freedom to participate in economic activities among them is reflected in both colonial as well as the post-colonial period in the form of migrant labour due to de-peasantisation caused by industrialisation and urbanisation. Their migration as labourer, however, could not uplift their occupation status, and instead, they were considerably concentrated in lower-paid jobs mainly in three sectors/industries, namely agriculture, brick kilns, and construction (Mazumdar, 2016).

In the colonial period, adivasi women of Chhotanagpur plateau migrated to tea gardens of Assam and West Bengal. In the post-colonial period, intermitted migration has become their way of life. Adivasi women from central India who migrate to urban destinations are mostly concentrated in the construction sector or employed as paid domestic workers. Those who migrate to rural destinations are employed as agricultural and brick kiln labourer. However, women migrants from north-eastern regions are more concentrated in service sector (employed as sales women, office workers, or beauticians) due to their better educational qualifications (Mazumdar, 2016). Importantly, their employment is characterised by the gendered division of labour in the worksites. That is they are assigned certain kinds of jobs in the urban region and industry. Among the brick kiln workers in southern states (Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka), sugarcane cutters in western India (Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka), tea garden workers (Assam, Western Ghats of Kerala, West Bengal), and construction workers in different cities, the division of labour based on gender notion of skill is manifested (Mazumdar, 2016; Mosse et al, 2010; Chattergee, 2001; Besky, 2014; Thakur, 2018).

Apart from adivasi woman as labourers, adivasi woman as paid domestic workers in the urban areas has been the focus of many researchers. In the recent past, the exodus of adivasi women largely from Jharkhand, followed by Chhattisgarh, Odisha, and Assam and other north-east states to urban centres as paid live-in domestic workers has been accelerating. The caste non-identity, religious identity, and honest, reliable, obedient, and efficient characteristics make the adivasi female workers the most preferred category of domestic workers in the urban locations (Kasturi, 1990; ISST, 2009; Neetha, 2003). However, they are treated as forced/bonded labour due to their illiteracy and ignorance of working condition and wage payments. They also often become victims of sexual exploitation. Apart from this, their joining as domestic workers in urban locations that

reconfigures their roles in their native societies and provides new foundations for gender differentials and inequalities which in turn adversely affect their status (Neetha, 2016; Neetha & Mazumdar, 2009). Thus, the occupational changes among adivasi women due to de-peasantisation, industrialisation and urbanisation is considerably proved to be either detrimental or have no much impact on their occupational status.

Indubitably, industrialisation and urbanisation have been beneficial in cases where adivasis managed to retain their landholdings. In such cases, adivasi households adopted mixed occupations wherein the male members migrated to urban for non-farm activities and the females took the responsibilities of agricultural activities of the household. It somewhat strengthened decision-making power of the women and enhanced their occupational status (Dasgupta, 1973). Besides this, they were also exposed to modern education, health care and other facilities due to growth of urbanisation in their settlements which broadened their future prospects for occupational mobility. Nevertheless, the land alienation and urban life increasingly have created non-workers (reduction of workforce participation) among them and confined them to housewives alone (Fernandes & Raj, 1992; Sahoo, 1996; Nath, 2008; Kujur, 2017).

The whole family members of an adivasi household used to be employed in agricultural activities and the women used to enjoy the relatively better position. Many studies have focused on how the relative egalitarian gender relation among adivasis was disrupted due to land alienation. However, the occupational changes among adivasi women in relation to the change in landholding pattern over time at the macro level have remained an unexplored area of research. With the onset of industrialization and urbanization, how adivasi females are responding to non-farm activities needs to be comprehensively explored. With a focus on such issues, the current study attempts to conceptualize the relationship between adivasi women and landownership in the context of their occupational changes.

4.3 Methodology

The study uses the data from the Employment and Unemployment Survey, conducted by the National Sample Survey Office, Government of India. The surveys are conducted every year; however, thick surveys are conducted on a quinquennial basis. The study uses two thick rounds i.e. 50th round (1993-94) and 68th round (2011-12) to satisfy the

objective i.e. analysing changes in the occupational pattern of adivasi women due to the changes in landholding pattern. Primarily these rounds were selected on the basis of change in landholding and employment patterns over time. The two rounds will provide cross-sectional data spanning a period of two decades. The individual and household information such as landholding, status of employment and occupations are collected in the surveys, which are relevant to this study.

This study uses concordance of occupations in NCO-1968 and NCO-2004 i.e. concordance of two-digit (NCO-1968) occupations with three-digit (NCO-2004) occupations[27]. To analyse the change in employment pattern among adivasi women in particular and women in general, the five-fold class schema of occupations viz. 1.Salariat and business class; 2.Skilled & Semi-skilled labourers; 3.Cultivator; 4.Unskilled manual labourers; 5.Agricultural & related labourers are considered. Furthermore, to reflect the precariousness of landholding among adivasis, the landownerships in terms of the size are categorised into landless: 0 ha, marginal: 0.01-1 ha, small: 1-2 ha, semi-medium: 2-4 ha, medium: 4-6 ha, and large: above 6 ha. Besides, adivasis women cultivators are categorised into two viz. "cultivators owning up to two hectares of land" and "cultivators owning more than two hectares of land" in the present study. It is because the contribution of land to the livelihood of household with respect to productivity differs starkly especially when we compare the productivity of land owned by adivasis with that of non-adivasis. In India, adivasis unlike non-adivasis mostly own unfertile hilly land (Nanchariah, 2000; Bijoy, 2010; Xaxa, 2014), because a large section of them live in remote and forest areas (Forest Survey of India Report, 2003). Thus, the probability of shifting to non-farm activities is relatively high among them even though they own a good amount of land. To explore the proposed objectives and to draw inferences from the data, we primarily use simple descriptive statistics in the current study.

4.4 Mapping Adivasi Women in the Labour Market

India, nearly two decades far after the new economic policy, 1991, has been registering a decline in the labour force participation rate (LFPR) by UPS criteria. The marginalised sections of the society are primarily experiencing more decline in their LFPR, while among the affected sections, adivasis are turned out to be the worst affected, whose LFPR

[27] The justification and description of creation of concordance table is given in the methodology section of chapter III.

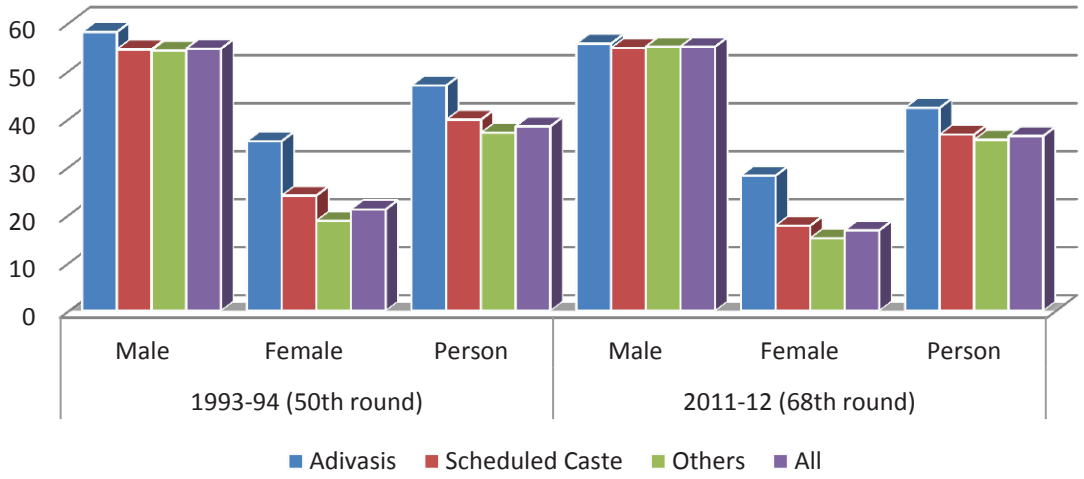
has declined by 10 per cent (Table 4.1). Moreover, the likelihood of being in the labour force for adivasis has declined from 1.42 times higher to 1.28 times with reference to the overall population during this period after reform years (Table 4.2). The overall decline in LFPR is basically driven by the withdrawal of female labour force in the labour market. All social groups have reported a drastic fall in female LFPR and a marginal increment in male LFPR, except the adivasis who have experienced a fall in both female and male LFPR. While the overall male labour force during the period 1993-94 to 2011-12 has increased from 54.61 per cent to 55.04 per cent, the female labour force has witnessed a decline from 21.14 per cent to 16.77 per cent respectively during the same period, worsening their situation in the labour market (Fig 4.1). This process of de-feminisation of the labour market has not only started immediately after the arrival of new economic policy, but it was prevalent a long time period back in 1972-73 and even in 1950s (Abraham, 2013; Parthasarathy and Nirmala, 1999; Varghese, 1993). However, if we contrast, the female LFPR among adivasis has remained much higher than the other social groups i.e. 35.35 per cent and 28.18 per cent followed by Scheduled Caste (SC) women whose LFPR figures stand at 24.01 per cent and 17.75 per cent in both the NSS rounds respectively (Fig 4.1). The high female LFPR among these marginalised social groups might be due to the economic vulnerability of their household as manifested in the study by Goldin (1995) and Abraham (2013), and the access to economic space particularly among adivasi women have compelled and incentivised them to participate in the labour market. The female members of these two groups, however, have gone through a large scale decline in their LFPR i.e. 20.28 per cent for adivasi women and 26.07 per cent for SC women over the two decades (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Changes in LFPR (PS) among social groups from 1993-94 to 2011-12

Social Groups	Male	Female	Person
Adivasis	-4.16	-20.28	-9.94
Scheduled Castes	0.51	-26.07	-7.85
Others	1.44	-19.24	-3.91
All	0.79	-20.67	-5.25

Source: Author's calculation from various EUS round

Figure 4.1: LFPR (PS) among social groups (in %)



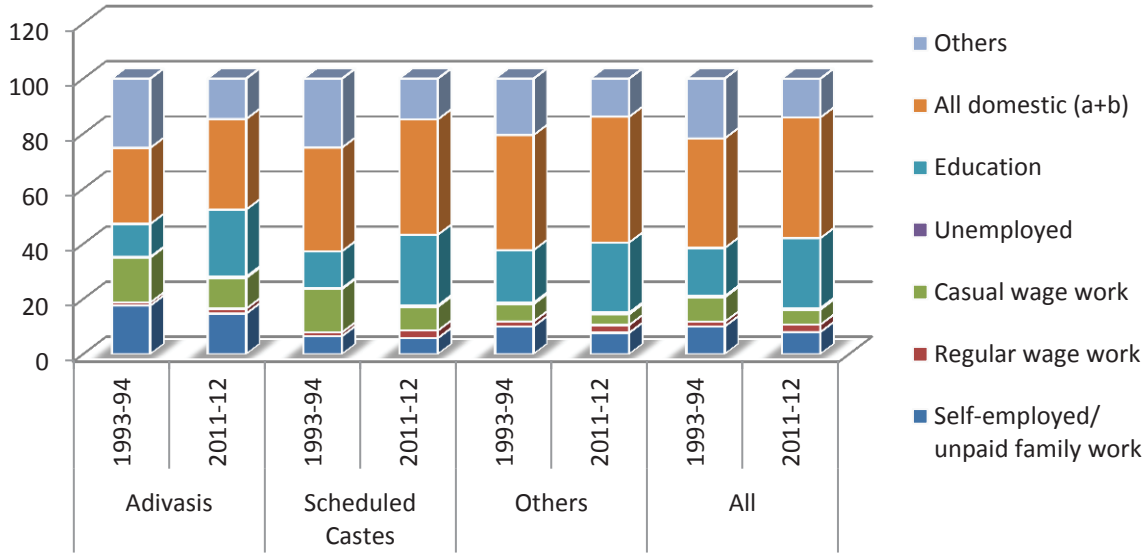
Source: Author's calculation from various EUS rounds

This fall in female LFPR has been translated in the form of rise in participation in education as well as domestic duties[28] over the two decades. The adivasi female participation in education has sharply increased from 12 per cent in 1993-94 to 24 per cent in 2011-12. At the same time female from SC and others categories have also shifted towards education. This increment may be because of the consequences of aggressive promotion of girl's education, particularly through the Sarva Siksha Abhiyan (SSA), Right to Education (RTE), Balika Samridhi Yojana, National Programme for Education of Girls at Elementary Education (NPEGEL), National Scheme of Incentive to Girls for Secondary Education (NSIGSE), Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV), Ashram School in Tribal Sub-Plan Areas and many state-based initiatives in the late twentieth century and early 21st century. Conversely, the increment in participation in domestic duties among all the social groups has also been the result of deterioration in the share of female participation in the labour force (Fig 4.2). This increment in the share of female labour force in domestic duties indicates the possible intensification of emulation of patriarchal norm i.e. valorisation of domestic work and stigmatisation of paid work for women (Abraham, 2013). Interestingly, it is observed that for all the women of all the social groups, the percentage of female regular wage workers has marginally increased and the percentage of female casual wage workers has decreased over the two decades. Their LFPR in self-employed/unpaid family work has declined. Noticeably, adivasi

[28] Domestic duties include both "domestic duties only" and "domestic and allied activities" given in the Employment and Unemployment Survey of NSSO.

women have relatively registered a greater participation in self-employment and casual works; and lower participation in regular wage works and domestic duties compared to the women of other social groups. However, it seems that their situation in terms of LFPR is deteriorating faster than the other social groups. For instance, the percentage of self-employed adivasi female has declined by nearly three points, while for others it has decreased by only two points; and the percentage of adivasi women involved in domestic duties has increased by five points, while for others it has remained around four points over the two decades (Fig 4.2). Moreover, their likelihood of being in labour force has declined from 2.04 times higher in 1993-94 to 1.95 times in 2011-12 with reference to 'Overall female LFPR' (Table 4.3).

Figure 4.2: LFPR (PS) among women of different social groups (in %)



Source: Author's calculation from various EUS rounds

Table 4.2: Various social groups' LFPR odds ratio w.r.t. overall population		
Social Groups	1993-94	2011-12
Adivasis	1.42	1.28
Scheduled Caste	1.06	1.01
Others	0.94	0.97

(With 95% Conf. Interval)
Source: Author's calculation from various EUS rounds

Table 4.3: Various social groups' female LFPR odds ratio w.r.t. overall female LFPR		
Social Groups	**1993-94**	**2011-12**
Adivasis	2.04	1.95
Scheduled Caste	1.18	1.07
Others	0.86	0.89

(With 95% Conf. Interval)
Source: Author's calculation from various EUS rounds

4.4.1 Sectoral Analysis of Adivasi Female LFPR

The deterioration of adivasi female LFPR is pronounced more in rural regions comparing the urban region. However, the decline in their LFPR is lower than that of the overall women. Conversely, in the urban region unlike the overall women, they have suffered a fall in their LFPR. In the rural region, the adivasi female LFPR has declined by 20 per cent, while in urban region it has gone down by 4 per cent (Table 4.4). Furthermore, the likelihood of being in the labour force among them was very less in 1993-94 with reference to the overall LFPR of adivasi population and has further worsened in both the regions during 2011-12 (Table 4.5).

The decline in LFPR in the rural region is largely driven by the increase in the participation in education and domestic duties, and a fall in self-employment among them. The participation in education among them increased drastically from 10.94 per cent in 1993-94 to 23.78 per cent in 2011-12 in rural areas. On the other hand, their participation in domestic duties increased from 26.57 per cent to 31.94 per cent; and in self-employment, it deteriorated from 18.74 per cent to 15.94 per cent during the same period (Fig 4.3). In the urban region, the lesser decline in LFPR is plausibly explained by the already very low attainment of LFPR as compared to the rural region. The LFPR of adivasi women in urban region was 18.67 per cent in 1993-94 which has marginally declined to 17.91 per cent in 2011-12. This marginal decline is explicitly reflected in lesser increment in the participation in education and domestic duties compared to rural region over the two decades. However, it is to be noted that adivasi female participation in self-employment and casual labour is much lower and in domestic duties much higher in the urban region (Fig 4.3).

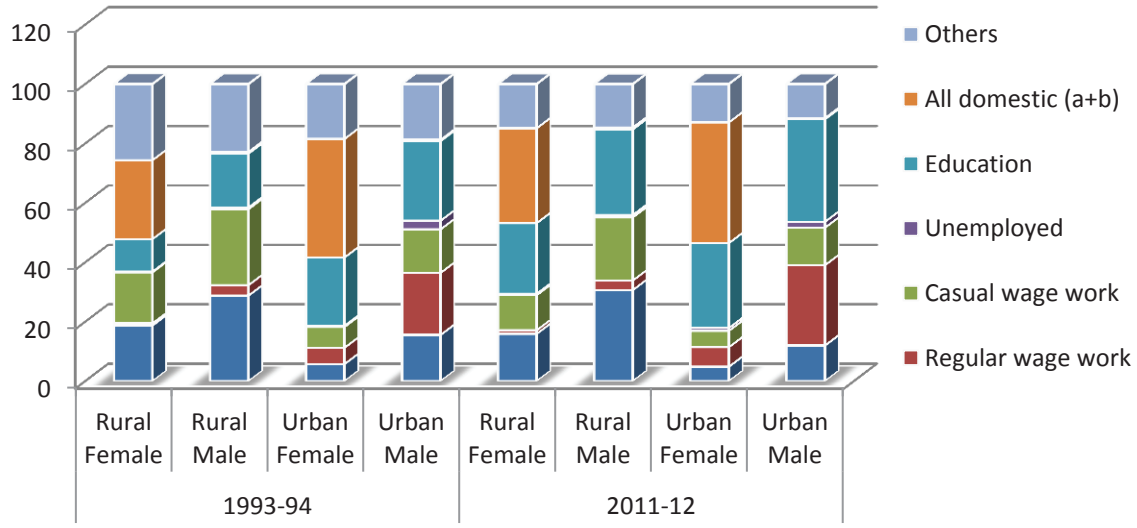
Table 4.4: Sectoral composition of adivasi male and female LFPR vs. overall male and female LFPR			
Sex	**1993-94**	**2011-12**	**Changes**
	Rural		
Adivasi Female	36.88	29.43	-20.2
Adivasi Male	58.5	55.96	-4.34
Female (Overall)	23.70	18.11	-23.59
Male (Overall)	54.89	54.66	-0.42
	Urban		
Adivasi Female	18.57	17.91	-3.55
Adivasi Male	54.03	53.66	-0.68
Female (Overall)	13.20	13.41	1.59
Male (Overall)	53.79	55.98	4.07

Source: Author's calculation from various EUS rounds

Table 4.5: Gender-wise LFPR odds ratio of adivasis and overall population						
Sex	**1993-94**			**2011-12**		
	Rural	**Urban**	**R+U**	**Rural**	**Urban**	**R+U**
Adivasi Male	1.53	2.00	1.57	1.69	1.98	1.71
Adivasi Female	0.64	0.39	0.62	0.55	0.37	0.54
Male (Overall)	1.84	2.21	1.93	2.07	2.30	2.14
Female (Overall)	0.47	0.29	0.43	0.38	0.28	0.35

(With 95% Conf. Interval) (Odds ratio of adivasi male & female, and overall male & female were derived w.r.t. total adivasi population and Overall population respectively.)
Source: Author's calculation from various EUS rounds

Figure 4.3: Usual Principal Activity Status of Adivasis

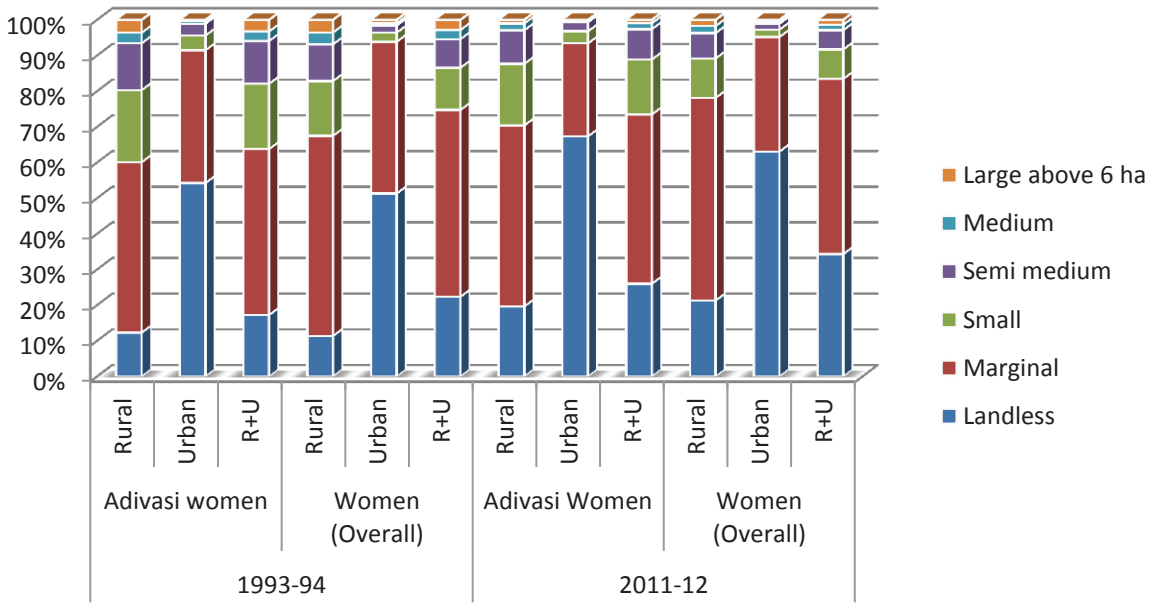


Source: Author's calculation from various EUS rounds

4.4.2 Landholding and Domestic Duties among Adivasi Women

The increment in adivasi women's participation in domestic duties by usual principal status criteria has emerged as an important issue. Undeniably, they have emulated the path of the women of other social categories largely concentrated in the domestic duties. However, their participation in domestic duties with respect to the change in landholding patterns reveals the importance of landownership that is how it plays a major role in their participation in the labour force. Figure 4.4 delineates that a greater percentage of landlessness has forced more adivasi women into domestic duties than that of the overall women. In 1993-94, the percentage of adivasi women without any land in both rural and urban regions was greater i.e. 12 per cent and 54 per cent than the overall women which stood at 11 per cent and 51 per cent respectively. For adivasi women, their percentages have increased to 20 per cent and 67 per cent, while for overall women the same has increased to 21 per cent and 63 per cent in 2011-12 respectively. Noticeably, with an increase in landholding size, the participation of adivasi women in domestic duties declines faster than the overall women (Fig 4.4).

Figure 4.4: Percentage of adivasi women vs. overall women engaged in domestic duties and landholding amongst them



Source: Author's calculation from various EUS rounds

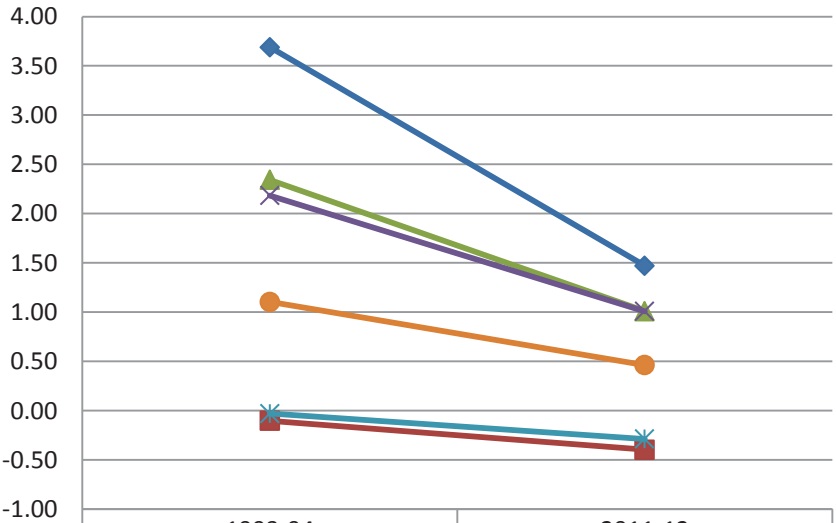
$$Intesity\ of\ zero\ landholding\ among\ women\ involved\ in\ domestic\ duties\ \ (I)$$
$$= \frac{50 - x_i}{x_i + y_i - 50}(1 - 0.01)$$

Where x_i is the proportion of landless women involved in domestic duties in i^{th} NSSO round

y_i is the proportion of women with marginal landholding involved in domestic duties in i^{th} NSSO round

Decline in I means decline in the proportion of the women with marginal landholding involved in domestic duties and increase in the proportion of women with zero landholding involved in the domestic duties out of the bottom 50 per cent of the female population with respect to landholding size and vice-versa.

Figure 4.5: Intensity of zero landholding among adivasi women vs. overall women engaged in domestic duties



	1993-94	2011-12
Adivasi Women (Rural)	3.69	1.47
Adivasi Women (Urban)	-0.10	-0.40
Adivasi Women (R+U)	2.34	1.01
Overall Women (Rural)	2.18	1.01
Overall Women (Urban)	-0.03	-0.29
Overall Women (R+U)	1.10	0.46

Source: Author's calculation from various EUS rounds

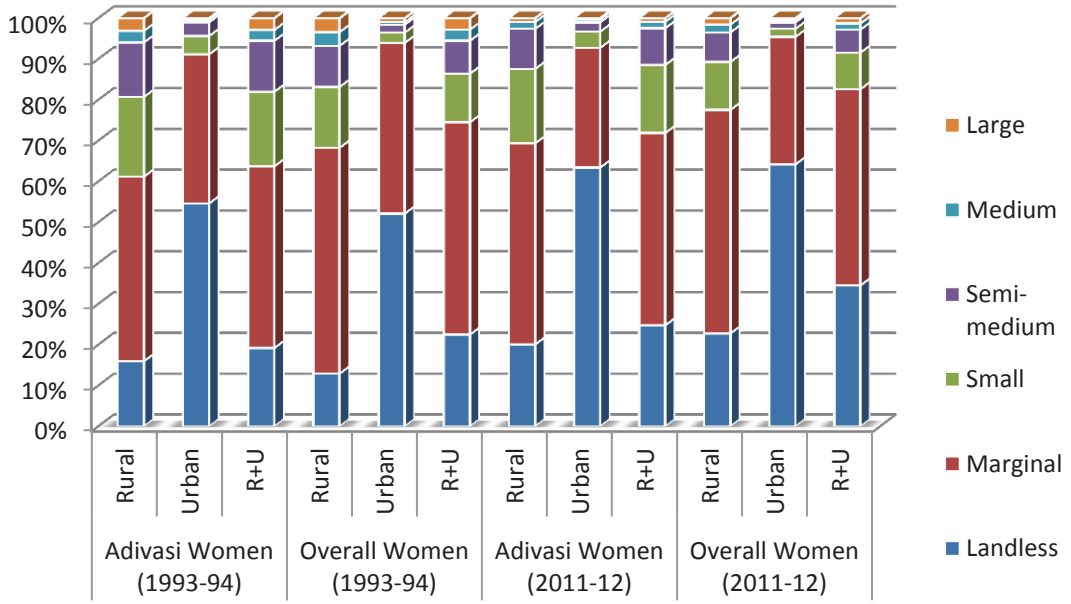
Figure 4.5 reflects the rise in participation in domestic work among adivasi women on account of their increasing landlessness. The figure ascertains that out of the bottom 50 per cent adivasi women as well as overall women with respect to landholding size, who

have engaged in the domestic duties; the proportion of women falling into the marginal landholding category (0.01 to 1 ha) is declining and thus the proportion of women of both groups in the zero landholding category is increasing. It signifies that landlessness has been the major driving factor for women to be restricted to the household chores. Importantly, landlessness has a larger impact on adivasi women as is seen in the Fig 4.5, wherein value of *I* for adivasi women has declined faster than that of the overall women.

4.4.3 Occupational Changes among Adivasi Women in Relation to Landholding Patterns

From the above analysis, it is explicitly observed that the LFPR of adivasi women is deteriorating as they are withdrawing from the labour market. On the other hand, landlessness among them has also intensified concurrently. The landlessness among them in rural areas has increased from 16 per cent to 20 per cent and in urban areas it has increased from 55 per cent to 63 per cent during the two decades (Fig 4.6).

Figure 4.6: Percentage of landholding among adivasi women vs. overall women



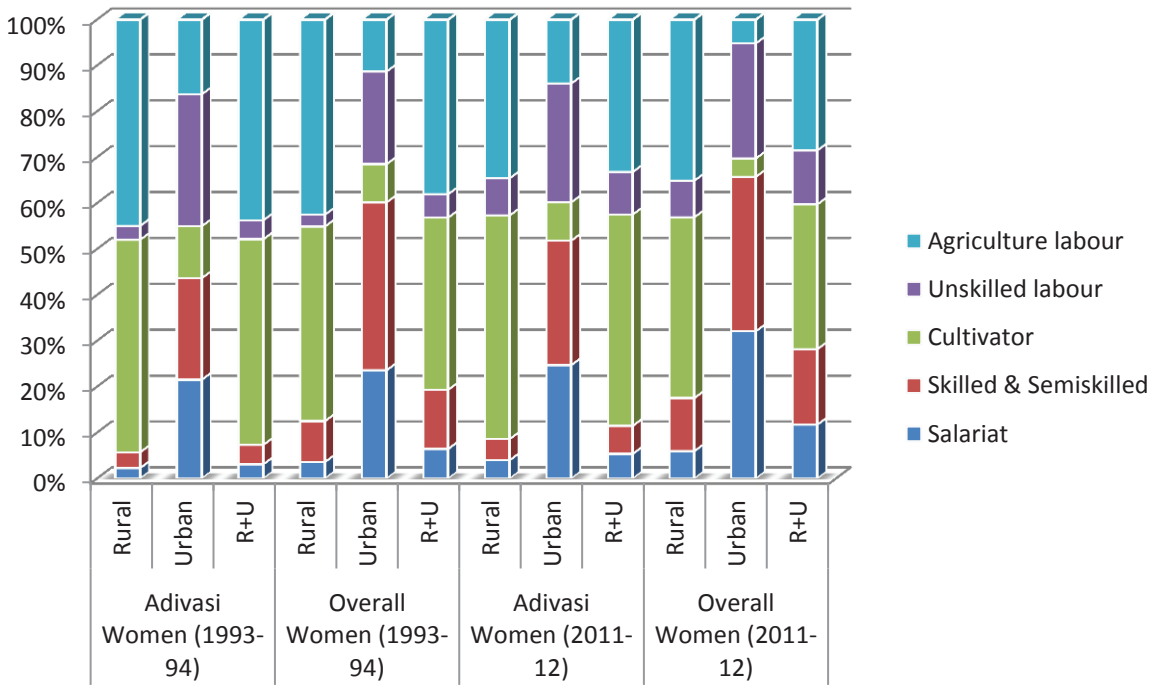
Source: Author's calculation from various EUS rounds

Nevertheless, the occupational profile of the percentage of working adivasi women has registered an improvement over the period. It plausibly denotes that adivasi women are either preferring secured and higher-paid occupations or are concentrated in domestic

duties as seen in Figs. 4.2 & 4.3. In case of the share of adivasi women workers in salariat, and skilled & semi-skilled workers to the adivasi women WFPR, the women in the urban region have reported commendable progress (Fig 4.7). More than 50 per cent of them in urban regions are employed in the salariat and skilled & semi-skilled occupations in 2011-12 which is an increment from 44 per cent in 1993-94. However, still, they are lagging behind much from the overall women in better-paid occupations.

Dependence on land-related occupations i.e. cultivation among them has declined particularly in the urban region. This decline has been translated into the form of increment in the salariat and skilled & semi-skilled occupations. It may be perceived that adivasi women are either joining the salariat occupations in lieu of their land acquired by the state for developmental activities or it could be possible that the skilled & semi-skilled employees are diverting their land from agricultural use to non-farm activities driving out the employment of these women from agricultural employment.

Figure 4.7: Occupational changes among adivasi women vs. overall women (1993-94 to 2011-12)



Source: Author's calculation from various EUS rounds

Surprisingly, unlike the overall women, the share of cultivators among adivasi women has increased from 46 per cent to 49 per cent in the rural region, while their dependence on agricultural labour has also declined from 45 per cent to 34 per cent in rural areas. Many

studies such as Dasgupta (1973), Reddy & Mishra (2015) have pointed out that wherever there is development of industrial and urban centres in the milieu of adivasi dominated regions, those have attracted especially the male adivasis to non-agricultural occupations, while the female members were left to look after their household agricultural activities in villages. This consequently might have contributed towards the increment in the share of adivasi female cultivators in the rural areas. The migration of male members from rural regions to the urban regions in search of labour work might have also provided more economic space or agricultural responsibilities, which might have reduced the agricultural labour among the females. On the other hand, the share of unskilled labour among them has also increased from 3 per cent to 8 per cent which also explains their declining labour participation in agricultural activities (Fig 4.7). This shift from agriculture labour to unskilled labour to some extent may be because of the onset of rural employment scheme such as Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS) in 2006. As per the 68th Employment and Unemployment NSS round, about 34 per cent of the adivasi women were involved in unskilled labour reported having worked under the MGNREG scheme.

Table 4.6: Adivasi women odds ratio (Landholding and Occupation) w.r.t. overall women

Occupation	Rural (1993-94)		Urban (1993-94)		Rural (2011-12)		Urban (2011-12)	
	Upto 2 ha	Above 2 ha	Upto 2 ha	Above 2 ha	Upto 2 ha	Above 2 ha	Upto 2 ha	Above 2 ha
Salariat	0.43	0.38	0.51	0.42	0.45	0.43	0.55	1.70
Cultivator	1.14	1.23	1.36	1.87	1.51	1.04	2.50	0.66
Unskilled & agri lab	1.21	1.01	1.83	1.10	0.99	1.46	1.56	0.25

(With 95% Conf. Interval)
Source: Author's calculation from various EUS rounds

Furthermore, they have a relatively higher representation in the land-related occupations (cultivation) which endorses the argument that adivasis in general and adivasi women in particular, are a land-dependent community. Table 4.6 illustrates that the likelihood of being cultivator among adivasi women with reference to the overall women population is much higher for the landholding sizes i.e. up to 2 ha and above 2 ha in both the NSSO rounds. Over the two decades, their likelihood of being cultivator has increased particularly of those having land size up to 2 ha in both rural and urban regions. However, in case of the landholding size above 2 ha, their likelihood of being cultivator has

declined in both the regions. It might be because of the possession of a greater amount of capital as a result of higher landholding size, which might have incentivised the women to acquire better-paid jobs through access to better education and training. Table 4.6 to some extent reflects this. Although their likelihood of being employed in salariat occupations with reference to the overall women is very low for both landholding sizes and both the regions, but they have registered an improvement particularly in urban regions when we consider the landholding size of above 2 ha. Such an improvement is not seen among adivasi women having up to 2 ha of land. Moreover, their likelihood of being unskilled and agricultural labour is higher with reference to the overall female. However, their likelihood of being in precarious occupations has declined particularly in the urban regions conditional upon if the landholding is above 2 ha. This specific improvement in the urban region signifies that adivasi women having a larger amount of landholding have a better chance to move to higher-paid occupations over time since they hold capital and access better facilities for the enhancement of their human capital. Conversely, the lower landholding adivasi women in urban areas are more likely to be employed in precarious occupations although it has declined marginally over the two decades (Table 4.6).

4.5 Summary and Discussion

From the above analysis on the pattern of landholding and occupational changes among adivasi women by using the Employment and Unemployment Survey of NSSO in India, four salient inferences emerge. Firstly, between 1993-94 and 2011-12, the Labour force participation rate (LFPR) by UPS criteria has been contracted, however, by social groups adivasis appear to be the worst affected community. This deterioration in LFPR is driven by a large scale withdrawal of female working age population from the labour force. The decline in LFPR is reflected in the form of an increment in their participation in education and domestic duties. Secondly, the LFPR deterioration among adivasi women has been pronounced more in rural regions, although the percentage decline is lesser than that of the overall women. Conversely, in urban regions unlike the overall women, adivasi women have registered a fall in their LFPR. Besides this, their likelihood of being in labour force with reference to the adivasi population has worsened in both the regions over time. Thirdly, landlessness has forced more adivasi women into domestic duties than that of the women in general. The landless adivasi women have a greater percentage share in the domestic duties than the women in general in both rural and urban regions. Noticeably, their participation in domestic duties declines faster than the women in

general as their landholding size increases. Fourthly, unlike the overall women, the share of cultivators among adivasi women has increased from 46 per cent to 49 per cent in rural regions and their dependence on agricultural labour has also correspondingly declined from 45 per cent to 34 per cent in rural areas. Lastly, adivasi women owning a larger amount of land have a better chance to move to higher-paid occupations, particularly in urban regions. Conversely, the lower landholding adivasi women in urban areas are more likely to be employed in precarious occupations.

Globally, land is an integral part of indigenous society. Besides land as a means of livelihood, it shapes their socio-cultural and religious identity, and socio-economic and political system (Ekka, 2012). Therefore, loss of land is discerned as the loss of identity and cultural genocide of the adivasi population (Padel & Das, 2008). Moreover, acquisition of indigenous land by the state or non-adivasis is not just a material transfer or redistribution of resources for the so-called common cause, but it is also a process of change in the social relation and power relation in the society. In this transition process, adivasi women happen to be most vulnerable group as they are dispossessed of their limited socio-economic space in the society. The urbanisation in adivasi regions has failed to bring any dramatic occupational mobility and hence social mobility in desired direction. On the other hand, it has systematically dispossessed them from their landed property and pushed them into indigence. After land alienation, they are more likely to be in unskilled occupations and domestic duties. This is veritably worsening the relative gender egalitarianism by strengthening men's position in control of the household economy in the adivasi society. Such precarious condition of adivasi women is not only caused by land alienation, but also by the state's apathy to implement the Forest Right Act, 2006. As per the provision under this Act, the government should grant joint *patta* to both male and female members of the adivasi and forest-dwelling communities. However, this has not been realised so far. On the other hand, the distribution of forest *patta* itself by the state has been proved toothless. After the Act came into effect in 2006, more than 31.3 lakh claims for tenure security were filed till June 2011, of which only 26.8 lakh claims were disposed of. And, of the claims disposed of, only 11.9 lakh land titles were granted and the rest were rejected[29]. In rural areas, cultivator among adivasi women is observed to be increasing as seen from the above analysis. This increment in proportion

[29] Social Sector (Chapter 24 @ para 24.85 page 237), Volume-III, Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012-17) Planning Commission, Government of India

might be as a result of male migration to the urban or industrial areas for non-farm jobs. This may be regarded as a positive impact of urbanisation and industrialisation on the adivasi society in terms of gender equality. However, adivasi women assimilated into urban livelihood are seen detaching themselves from material reproduction as more than four-fifths of them are reported not in the labour force (Table 4.4).

Chapter V

Conclusion

5.1 Summary

Adivasis are considered a self-sufficient and self-contained community. Their livelihood is mainly sourced by both agriculture and forestry. Their agricultural lands are mostly dry and classified as unfertile land since these are located in hilly terrains. Therefore, agricultural lands hardly meet the food demands of the households for the entire year. Moreover, their economic activities and labour-power remain idle in the dry season (Nov to Jun). This recoupment is primarily mitigated by the forest economy. Throughout the year, forest supplements a substantial part of their economy as well as food for consumption. Thus, both agricultural land and forest coherently help to sustain the self-reliance and self-contained life of adivasis. Any disruption in agricultural activities and forestry may beget a severe risk of occupational vulnerability amongst them.

Such risk of land vulnerability and consequently the occupational vulnerability have been well reflected in the current study. The study manifests that although adivasis occupy a better position in terms of landholdings the rate of increment in land vulnerability is highest amongst them. Moreover, the proportion of adivasi households in the zero landholding category has been intensified over time. Besides these, the urban living adivasis have turned out to be more vulnerable in terms of landholding. This growing land vulnerability has influenced their occupational pattern over time.

The study ascertains that the inter-generational occupational mobility among them has been to a large extent characterised with immobility that is the continuation of the preceding generation's occupation by the current generation population. In the rural areas, occupational immobility is very high amongst the households engaged in precarious occupations i.e. agricultural labour and unskilled manual labour. Besides this, a sizable proportion of the second generation has witnessed downward mobility to agriculture activities i.e. cultivation and agricultural labour from the higher paid occupations such as salariat, and skilled & semi-skilled occupations. Conversely, in the urban areas, where landlessness is significantly high, the immobility is higher amongst the households

involved in the higher paid occupations and lower amongst the households in the precarious occupations. Perceptibly, the upward mobility particularly amongst the agriculture labour households in urban areas is relatively very high. On the other hand, the immobility amongst the adivasi households engaged in salariat, skilled & semi-skilled occupation and cultivation in rural areas has become greater than that of the urban living adivasi households engaged in these occupations over time. Moreover, the perfect immobility amongst the salariat, cultivation and agricultural labour has increased in rural areas, while in urban areas the increment has happened amongst the salariat, skilled & semi-skilled and unskilled labour households during the period 1993-94 to 2011-12. Furthermore, the intensity of inter-generational downward occupational mobility has increased amongst the rural living households, while in the case of urban living households inter-generational upward occupational mobility has intensified.

Apart from this, the study also sheds light on the gender aspect of occupation in the context of change in the landholding patterns. The study ascertains that adivasi women's likelihood of being in the labour force with reference to the non-adivasi population has worsened in both rural and urban regions over time. On the other hand, landlessness has forced more adivasi women into domestic duties than that of women in general. Moreover, adivasi women owning a larger amount of landholding have a better chance to move to higher-paid occupations, particularly in urban regions. Conversely, the lower landholding adivasi women in urban areas are more likely to be employed in precarious occupations. Unlike the overall women, the share of cultivators among adivasi women has increased in rural regions.

5.2 Emerging Issue of Migration among Adivasis

The disruption and shifting from self-contained to dependent community is not a recent phenomenon. It occurred during both the pre-colonial regime and colonial period. However, such transformation was vividly noticed in the colonial period and it is being intensified in the post-colonial regime. In the colonial period, it was reflected in the form of adivasi migration as indentured labour to the sprawling tea gardens of Assam and West Bengal. Between May 1863 and May 1866, about 84,915 adivasis from the Chhotanagpur plateau were recruited in the tea gardens of Assam and Cachar. Such migration never uplifted their life and even today their descendants continue to live and are employed as precarious labour in the tea garden. Soon after migration about 31,876 died within these

three years due to the unhygienic environment (Bose, 1954; Griffiths, 1969). Such precarious labour migration continues to occur in the form of circular or seasonal migration in the post-colonial period as the growing industrialisation and urbanisation intensified the depletion of the traditional natural resource base. A report by Disha Foundation, Ministry of Tribal Affairs (2021) on "Tribal Livelihood Migration in India" ascertains that migration has become the coping mechanism for adivasis in India in response to lack of earning sources in their traditional settlements. A significant portion of adivasi population from the adivasi dominated states such as Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand and Odisha migrate to other states in search of employment. All these states are also well known for the proliferation of mining and industrial activities (SRRA, 2010).

Their migration to faraway places is conventionally driven by the higher wages and undeniably, it has more or less contributed towards the affluence of their household as well as the village economy (Rajan & Sivakumar, 2018). However, a holistic analysis of migration manifests that their new livelihood strategy is invariably subject to risk, uncertainty, exploitation and lack of opportunities to move up the occupational ladder since they are generally concentrated in the informal and unorganised labour market (Rajan et al, 2020; Mansoor & Abraham, 2021).

5.2.1 Factors leading to Precarious Condition in the Labour Market

As pointed out in the third and fourth chapters, the foremost reason for their precarious condition in the labour market is land alienation and seclusion from the traditional natural resource base. As per the Annual Report (1998-1999) of the Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India, as of Jan 1999 about 4.65 lakh cases of land alienation among adivasis were reported in various states. Out of which not even half of the cases have been disposed of. The states with a higher number of land alienation cases are Odisha (1.02 lakh), Bihar (Undivided) (86 thousand), Andhra Pradesh (66 thousand) and Madhya Pradesh (Undivided) (54 thousand) (Table 5.1).

Furthermore, As of 31.08.2020, about 42,53,089 claims of both individual and community land titles were filed under the Forest Rights Act, 2006. Out of which 87.97 per cent claims were disposed of, and only 46.69 per cent titles were distributed over the number of claims received[30]. Furthermore, Fernandes (2008) who has carried out

[30] Annual Report (2020-21), Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India, pp.265

extensive research on development-induced displacement in India estimates that adivasis constitute 8.6 per cent of the Indian population, but their share to the total displaced population is about 40 to 50 per cent. He further enunciates that adivasis in India have not benefitted enough from development projects, rather ended up paying the cost of it all along. On the one hand, they are losing their land, which is their primary source of livelihood and on the other, they are not getting absorbed in the new industries. Hence, this leads to the total disruption of their livelihood and the disintegration of their society and economy.

Table 5.1: State-wise land alienation and restoration (As of Jan 1999)

States/UTs	Area Alienated		Area Restored	
	No. of cases	Area (in acres)	No. of case	Area (in acres)
Andhra Pradesh	66338	279419	26551	106315
Assam	2023	5174	1609	448
Bihar (Undivided)	86291	104893	44649	47034
Gujarat	38213	116629	31685	100492
Himachal Pradesh	Negligible			
Karnataka	42582	130373	22040	69465
Madhya Pradesh (Undivided)	53806	158398	1707	48398
Maharashtra	45634	NA	20906	105628
Odisha	102186	95015	43187	53245
Rajasthan	593	3446	213	364
Tripura	27623	24243	7684	6221
Total	465289	917590	200231	537610

Source: Annual Report 1998-1999. Ministry of Rural Development, GoI. (As cited in Report of the Steering Committee on Empowering the Scheduled Tribes for the Tenth Five Year Plan (2002-2007), pp.128). NA: Not Available

Besides this, the continuation of colonial forest policy for more than five decades after independence contracted their livelihood. The Indian Forest Policy, 1952; Forest Conservation Act, 1980; and Wildlife Protection Act, 1972 forest etc. to a great extent secluded them from their traditional source of livelihood. This gradually led even to starvation death amongst them (Radhakrishna, 2009). In India, 51 of 58 districts, each having more than 67 per cent of the forest coverage, are the adivasi dominated districts[31]. Before the enactment of the Forest Right Act, 2006, adivasis were treated as encroachers on these forest lands as much of the forest coverage of these districts were classified as

[31] Draft National Tribal Policy, Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India, 2006.

Reserved and Protected forests, Wildlife Sanctuaries and National Parks[32]. This alienation from the land and natural resources eventually compelled them to search for alternative livelihood elsewhere.

Secondly, although industrialisation has flourished in the adivasi dominated regions, it has only brought agony to them by transferring their resources to non-adivasi migrants. The three states with substantial adivasi population such as Jharkhand, Odisha and Chhattisgarh possess about 70 per cent of coal reserves, 80 per cent of high-grade iron ore, 60 per cent of bauxite reserves and almost 100 per cent of chromite reserves of the country. About half of the top mineral producing districts of these states are adivasi dominated districts which signify a large scale loss of livelihood and displacement of adivasis[33]. Mining and industrialisation although generated ample employment opportunities, however, they became ghettoised in the employment process due to lack of social capital and politics of identity (Struempell, 2014; Haldar & Abraham, 2015; Kujur, 2017). For instance, in the collieries and Bharat Coking Coal Ltd (BCCL) in the district of Dhanbad, Jharkhand; and Rourkela Steel Plant in the state of Odisha, the contractors and managers who were overwhelmingly non-adivasi migrants persistently skewed the recruitment in favour of their own countrymen i.e. persons belong to the same language, shared the same culture who were mostly connected by their kinship or caste (Heuze, 1996; Parry & Struempell, 2008; Kela, 2012). Such politics of identity in the recruitment either pushed them into the lowest rung of the employment structure in the industries or compelled them to look for employment elsewhere away from their abode.

Thirdly, the assimilation and acculturation into the dominant society have redefined the indigenous way of sustainable living as backward and primitive. This paternalism of outsiders has not only caused repercussion to the social life of adivasis but also developed a sense of demoralisation among adivasi youths towards the traditional occupations. Therefore, currently, the exodus of adivasi youths to the urban in search of non-agricultural activities is largely witnessed across the country. This occupational acculturation among adivasi youths is partly attributed to the dominant pedagogical paradigm which demonises and kills the traditional skills of earning livelihoods. Although

[32] Report of the High Level Committee on Socio-Economic, Health and Educational Status of Tribal Communities of India, Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India, 2014.
[33] Report of the High Level Committee on Socio-Economic, Health and Educational Status of Tribal Communities of India, Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India, 2014. & Centre for Science and Environment, Rich Lands, Poor People: Is 'Sustainable Mining' possible? 2008.

the importance of pedagogical ingredients such as indigenous language and cultural resources (folklore, songs and history) in adivasis education was recognised by the Dhebar Commission (1960-61), it never materialised (Shah & Bara, 2020; Kujur, 2020).

Above all, the pedagogical drive in the adivasi lands seems to be just aiming at producing cheap labour force for the capitalist economy as the current education system has hardly been successful in uplifting their educational qualification beyond secondary education. As per the All India Survey on Higher Education Report (2018-19), the Gross Enrolment Ratio of adivasis between the age group of 18-23 years in higher education is only 17.2 per cent which is much lower than that of the other social groups. The lack of appropriate educational qualification or skill coupled with the economic backwardness in the post-land alienation period and their denial in the employment opportunities in their homeland by the non-adivasi contractors and managers have been the push factors, while the higher wages and urban attraction have appeared as pull factors for their migration to the urban clusters, far away from their abode. The loss of indigenous skills and the growing emulation of the dominant culture have also to a large extent shaped their preference for new areas of work based in urban sites.

Finally, as per the study by Disha Foundation on "Tribal Livelihood Migration in India," the government schemes for adivasis employment have failed to absorb adivasi youth labour force because most of the schemes focussed on the traditional and old work sectors such as forestry, agriculture, poultry, animal husbandry etc.[34] Moreover, the skill development schemes such as Pradhan Mantri Kaushal Vikas Yojana (PMKVY), Deen Dayal Upadhyaya Grameen Vikas Yojana (DDU-GVY), Affirmative Action by National Skill Development Corporation (NSDC) have either failed to include them or largely remained underachieved. Many state-level schemes were also designed to make adivasis self-employed; however, these were often undertaken on a minuscule scale (Rajan et al, 2020). Resultantly, the current adivasi youth generation has adopted circular or seasonal migration to the urban clusters as their new survival strategy.

5.3 COVID-19 and Livelihood of Adivasis in India

Historically, they had been drawing their livelihoods from diverse primary activities which were autonomous, sustainable and linked to the land. However, with the advent of

[34] Disha Foundation, Ministry of Tribal Affairs. (2021). Tribal Livelihood Migration in India: Situational Analysis, Gap Assessment and Future Directions in 12 States of India.

the market economy, especially the neo-liberal one, they are increasingly seeking livelihood in informal economic activities, which is not only unsustainable but exploitative too. Out of dispossession from their immediate economy, many adivasis have been pushed to work as circular migrant workers in the metropolis and urban centres. Such occupational transformation renders them one of the worst affected communities during the pandemic.

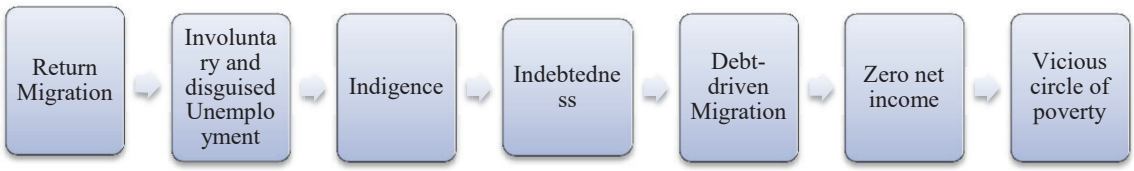
The pandemic has abetted food and livelihood insecurities among them by disrupting their lives and economy. That is, it has adversely affected their earnings from non-farm activities, of which migration is a big part and subsequently their rural agrarian economy. A sizable proportion of adivasi population primarily earns their living from intermitted or circular migration as labour (Pandit, 2021). Due to the far-reaching consequences of COVID-19 on the non-farm sector, most of these migrant labourers were compelled to return to their abode without money. Indubitably this has reduced the investment in the rural economy which has further heightened their livelihood insecurity. On the other hand, the return migration has also aggravated the pressure on land since about three-fourth of the adivasi households are either landless or marginal cultivators (Kujur et al, 2020). The pandemic has further intensified the disguised labour in the adivasi dominated regions in particular and rural regions in general.

5.3.1 Pandemic and the vicious circle of poverty

A larger section of adivasi working population is concentrated in the unorganised and informal labour market and is left out of social security coverage. Thus their livelihood is subject to risk, uncertainty and exploitation (Srivastava, 2011; Rajan et al, 2020). Since COVID-19 has far-reaching consequences on the informal economy, their occupational status has been worsened further. Currently, most of the migrants have returned to their abode where there is a lack of employment opportunities due to the decline in their traditional resource base. The second wave of COVID-19 has reduced their possibility of going back to their working place in the next several months. On the other hand, the pandemic has also deeply affected the demand for labour. The business entities, regardless of their volume of business, were forced to prorogue the business activities which resulted in a large scale incidence of joblessness among them (Rajan et al, 2020). Furthermore, the reverse migration due to the lockdown is expected to affect the workers of different states differently. The native workers in the well-off states may benefit in

terms of employment opportunities and wages while the local workers in the poorer states will suffer to find out employment and decent wages due to a rise in surplus-labour (Dreze, 2020). Since a disproportionate share of adivasi migrant workers hails from the poorest states such as Odisha, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh, they are more likely to be the victims of the adverse impact of the pandemic. Thus, there is a high possibility of the emergence of both involuntary and disguised unemployment among adivasis which may further push them back into indigence. Consequently, this may increase the indebtedness among them which may further lead to the loss of land in the hand of moneylenders. They will be subject to debt-driven migration which will hardly allow them to earn any net income (Mosse et al, 2010). Eventually, it will highly likely entangle them into the vicious circle of poverty. Therefore, the incidence of poverty among adivasis in the country is going to deepen in and post COVID-19 regime. On the other hand the high incidence of poverty and their desperation to earn living more likely propel them into precarious occupations. Such occupational vulnerability will degrade their autonomous status in economic life and thus may intensify the process of turning into dependent community among them.

Figure 5.1: Process of pauperisation among adivasis



Source: Author's own creation

5.3.2 Government's Relief Package and Adivasis

On 12th May 2020, Prime Minister Narendra Modi announced *Atma Nirbhar* or Self-reliant Package worth 20 trillion rupees in response to the unprecedented economic crisis in the wake of COVID-19. The package includes the revival of micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs), agriculture sector, employment and many others. The MSMEs and agriculture sector are of immense importance in terms of livelihood and employment of a large mass in India. Therefore, the package for these two sectors was comprehensively and critically discussed. With regards to MSMEs, many opine and suggest that the current economic recession is due to the lack of demand and thus needs a demand-side fix,

however, the stimulus package is more of a supply-side fix as the government's decision focussed largely on the infusion of liquidity (Ghose, 2020). The liquidity infusion may help in the recapitalisation of MSMEs; however, it will hardly benefit adivasis, since they have meagre participation in the business and entrepreneurial activities due to the lack of capital. Their major share of income from this sector comes from casual labour, which has been clamped down by the pandemic. The agricultural package on the other hand aimed at far-reaching consequences in the sector by strengthening the farm-gate infrastructure, allowing private entrepreneurs and start-ups to procure from farmers, more marketing choice for farmers and many others. These initiatives were, however, criticised on the ground that the package was a repetition of the Union Budget 2020-21 and undermining the disparities among the states in terms of cost of production. Moreover, there was also ambiguity over whether the package will benefit the small farmers and small agri-business (Das and Mishra, 2020). The agricultural package on the other hand rarely addresses the problem of adivasi farmers. There are two major problems in the agriculture sector in the adivasi dominated regions. Firstly, adivasis unlike non-adivasis mostly own unfertile hilly land (Nanchariah, 2000; Bijoy, 2010; Xaxa, 2014), because a large section of them live in remote and forest areas (Forest Survey of India Report, 2003). Therefore, unless the land development programme is carried out exclusively in the remote areas, the agriculture package will remain nugatory. Secondly, they have been the main victims of distress sale due to the paucity of warehousing and transportation facilities in remote areas. Resultantly, the exploitation of the middlemen is very high and it reached its peak during the lockdown period in those areas as their limited access to these modern facilities was further constrained. In the agricultural package, the distress sale has received special attention; however, still, adivasis will be the least beneficiaries due to the poor administrative and infrastructural facilities.

The most controversial announcement under the *Atma Nirbhar* package was the fund for Compensatory Afforestation Fund Management and Planning Authority (CAMPA) worth 60 billion rupees. This fund was directed towards the employment generation among adivasis and forest-dwelling communities. Since the CAMPA bill was tabled in 2015, adivasi and forest rights activists have consistently questioned its undemocratic provisions. The provisions under this act undermine the provisions of the Forest Rights Act, 2006 and also are against the principles of democratic devolution in the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments because it endows the forest bureaucracy with unilateral

power to decide over how the fund will be spent. Consequently, in many states, there have been cases of adivasis losing their community lands due to the exercise of unilateral power by the forest officials for afforestation, while employment generation for adivasis has been a hoax. Moreover, there are numerous cases of CAMPA fund being used for the replacement of natural forest with monoculture (commercial plants) across the country which has disrupted the local biodiversity and livelihood[35]. Given such past experiences, the compensatory afforestation instead of mitigating the impact of COVID has created a risk of further deprivation among them.

5.4 Policy Suggestions

The study deduces that land alienation has an immense impact on the occupational patterns of adivasis. That is nearly 40 per cent of the adivasi population still depends upon the precarious occupations for their livelihood as a result of land alienation. Female adivasis to a large extent have become the victim of land alienation. This analysis on adivasi and land alienation suggests that there is a need to tighten and redesign the laws and policies related to indigenous lands and also reformulate policies to include the gender aspects to minimise the evil effects of land alienation on female adivasis.

As a panacea to the wound i.e. land alienation and occupational vulnerability, the government should transfer the power of forest bureaucracy to the *gram sabha* as enshrined in the Forest Rights Act, 2006. This will not only curb the misuse of the various funds allocated for the development of forest regions but also ameliorate the livelihood of adivasis. Furthermore, the government should accelerate the distribution of forest *patta* under the provision of the Forest Rights Act, 2006. The rights over forest land not only protect them from exploitation by the forest officials but also importantly make them self-reliant. Besides this, the constitutional provision of restoration of alienated land among them should be carried out by the state with greater responsibility to restore their lost livelihood.

Furthermore, although the indigenous way of living a sustainable life has been acclaimed by many academicians and environmentalists, concurrently, the need for better education, health care facilities and roads and communications in consonance with their lifestyle was

[35] See, Transfer CA funds to gram sabhas, tribal rights groups demand https://www.groundxero.in/2020/05/16/transfer-ca-funds-to-gram-sabhas-tribal-rights-groups-demand/

also felt by many researchers and government institutions for their integration into the overall socio-economic structure. This very motto to develop them ended up with assimilating them into the dominant society by desolating their socio-economic structure and transferring their traditionally owned resources to non-adivasis, particularly the dominant sections in the plain areas and metropolitan cities. The promises of education, health care facilities, infrastructure etc. have been proved hoaxes which not only deceived them into accepting the idea of "national development" or "national interest" but also completely broke down their backbone of sustainable socio-economic life that eventually turned them into the perpetual dependent community. At this juncture of the unfair development process, the policymakers and government institutions need to look back to the five fundamental principles for indigenous people's development propounded by Jawaharlal Nehru. Furthermore, the state must maintain the ethos of reciprocity with adivasis instead of just appropriating their resources whenever required.

5.5 Limitations of the Study and Future Research

The study could have been more complete if the regional analysis was done. As per the requirement of the study, a restricted sample was created by considering age, sex, workforce and social groups. As a result, the sample size became small at the national level. Therefore, instead of doing state-wise analysis, a sectoral analysis i.e. rural-urban was preferred. Moreover, there are about 705 adivasi communities in India and all these communities have not necessarily undergone the same land alienation and occupational transformation process. It is because, on the one hand, the communities are different in terms of their socio-economic life, and on the other hand different state governments have framed different policies over time for their respective adivasi population. The Employment and Unemployment Survey data used in this study does not provide information on the different adivasi communities. Therefore, inter-community differences have not been captured in our study. This limitation to some extent could have been overcome by undertaking a primary survey on the aspect of inter-adivasi communities and inter-regional differences. Unfortunately, the prolonged lockdown made matters worse to conduct a survey.

Secondly, we have considered the time period 1993-94 to 2011-12 for the analysis in the current study. However, land alienation and occupational transformation have been taking place since long, even during the pre-colonial regime. The paucity of national-level data

particularly on land-related information did not allow us to go further back in time prior to 1993-94. Although various case studies are available on the land dispossession among adivasis, they are restricted to various developmental projects and certain areas. On the other hand, the latest Periodic Labour Force Surveys (PLFS) which replaced the Employment and Unemployment Survey does not collect the land information anymore; therefore analysis was not possible for the recent developments on land alienation among adivasis. This gap could have been filled up through comprehensive archival research and analysis of other nationally representative data sets. Although we have attempted to do so to some extent, an opportunity for a historical study on the land alienation and occupational transformation among adivasis still remains an area of study for more clarity.

Thirdly, there is no direct information regarding land alienation in the data set. Since in the plethora of case studies, it is proved that adivasis have been witnessing large scale land alienation much before the British rule and in our data analysis also the land vulnerability among them is increasing faster than the other social groups; we assumed that the change in landholding pattern among adivasis is mostly due to land alienation although there could be other reasons behind this phenomenon like population growth, fragmentation of land due to the division of families etc. In addition, we have made an argument for occupational vulnerability among adivasis to be associated with land alienation. This finding would have been more valid in case a field survey had been conducted on the land alienation and changes in occupational status among adivasis.

Finally, the study does not bring forth a comprehensive comparison of adivasis with other social groups with respect to land and occupation. Since, the study solely aimed at an in-depth analysis of land alienation and occupational vulnerability among adivasis, analysis of other social groups was not given much importance. This gap in our study may be considered as a prospect for further research in future which may validate the findings with added strength.

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Appendix I

Table 1: Occupational Patterns among Different Social Groups (1993-94 and 2011-12)									
Occupation	1993-94				2011-12				
	Adivasi	Scheduled Caste	Others	All	Adivasi	Scheduled Caste	Other Backward Caste	Others	All
Salarait and Business	3.69	4.64	12.82	10.30	5.65	7.00	11.63	22.30	13.06
Skilled & Semi-skilled	8.34	15.97	24.33	21.04	12.33	25.19	27.30	32.42	26.77
Cultivator	42.09	20.49	37.83	35.04	43.58	16.77	29.33	27.00	27.76
Unskilled labour (non-farm)	6.15	9.81	5.03	6.05	11.6	20.20	11.95	9.16	12.72
Agricultural labour	39.73	49.09	19.99	27.58	26.83	30.85	19.79	9.12	19.69
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Author's calculation from various EUS rounds

Note Others category in 1993-94 is an amalgamated category of Other backward caste and Others.

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ABSTRACT

Land distribution is characterised by the caste hierarchy in India wherein the upper castes have disproportionate share of land as against those at the bottom of the caste hierarchy. In contemporary India, the problem of landlessness has been exacerbated which affects the already most disadvantaged communities with respect to land. Within this premise, this paper confines the discussion to the land problems among adivasi population, the relatively more disadvantaged and land-dependent community in India. The study uses the Employment and Unemployment survey data of National Sample Survey Office and descriptive statistics as a method to review the current state of knowledge of the extent and nature of land vulnerability among adivasis. The study delineates that disadvantage with respect to land among them has been aggravated during the period 1987 to 2011. That is, the proportion of adivasi households with zero landholdings has increased substantially during this period. However, the intensity of land vulnerability among them is more pronounced in the urban regions. Furthermore, the scheduled states despite having special Constitutional provisions and parliamentary laws resemble the same trend of landlessness among the adivasi population as a whole. This trend of landlessness reckons that the adivasi community may lose land entitlements further in near future if their land rights are not preserved that may eventually wipe out their identity, culture and livelihood and turn their society into anomie and indigence. Therefore, the state needs to identify the loopholes in the policy implementation and also recognise the place of adivasi specific policy within the national policy.

1. Introduction

Land serves as a primary means of rural livelihood and is considered as the most vital source of survival for more than two-thirds of the rural population (Sharma, 2007). Besides being a means of economic security, land ownership defines social identity of the household. It also lays out an opportunity for the household members and others to utilise their labour power and reduces involuntary unemployment.

With the outset of the new era of globalisation and industrialisation, non-agricultural activities such as industrial production, real estate sector and infrastructural development have emerged as an alternative to agricultural-based livelihoods. Such a transition distancing from agriculture is gaining salience which has reduced dependence on agriculture and engage in non-agricultural activities. The growing extent of non-farm and non-agricultural activities and their locational concentration paved the way for urbanisation. Further, urbanisation brought about changes in the landholding patterns to configure the urban economy either through state authority or individual transaction. In this process, land rights were brought under state control to facilitate provisioning of land leased out to the industrial or corporate bigwigs to boost the urban economy which turned a large section of mass in the urban into landless (Lobo, 2011; Kujur, 2017; Bandyopadhyay, 1999).

It began during the colonial-era that transformed the purpose of the (non)agricultural use of land from sustainable livelihood to wealth creation influenced landholding patterns. The very process of wealth creation was guided by the idea of accumulation of individual property rejecting the idea of community belongings. Thus, land as a means of livelihood got altered and land accumulation became the norm of defining the economic status. Such accumulation resulted in a skewed distribution of land among the people of different social groups or economic strata (Nancharaiah, 2000; Krishnaji, 2018).

On recognition of this, India embarked upon two major events i.e. land reforms and Bhoodan movement during the post-independence period. Under land reform policy three measures were undertaken such as abolition of intermediaries, redistribution of land through land ceiling and tenancy reform. Although intermediaries were successfully abolished in many regions, the other two measures were found ineffective as the landed elites influenced over the bureaucratic