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Stagnant Structure of Workforce among Scheduled Tribes (STs) in Andhra Pradesh: A Macro View

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Abstract

In the perspective of inclusive growth, generating and providing productive employment opportunities especially for the disadvantaged groups would enable and empower people belonging to these groups to contribute to the growth and benefit from it. In this context the paper presents a macro view of changes in the structure of the workforce of Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh its impact in the inclusive growth perspective. The analysis indicates that although there has been progress on many development indicators in the ST community in the state, they still lagged behind the 'other' social groups. Slow progress in expected change in structure of employment towards non-agriculture in general and stagnation among STs for a long time is observed and hence a cause of concern. Moreover, landlessness had increased among STs in Andhra Pradesh. Increasing landlessness along with stagnant structure of employment particularly in respect non-farm employment leading to dependency on rural agricultural labour indicates declining economic status of ST. These facts are cause for policy concern in the state.

The human capital base of the ST community is far behind. Similarly is the case of poverty levels and rate of reduction. Given the actual situation of these communities with respect to their development status, more focused intervention is needed to enhance the pace of development among these communities. The impact of development of these communities (ST), comprised of 8% the state population, on its aggregate level of development would be considerable. Apart, the backwardness of these communities indicates a violation of norms like equity, equality and social justice that ought to be followed in the development process in a welfare state, and of the rights of these communities to development equally on par with other communities.

* * *

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Stagnant Structure of Workforce among Scheduled Tribes (STs) in Andhra Pradesh

Motkuri Venkatanarayana*

I Introduction

Development of marginalized sections especially Adivasis, has long been the policy concern and they were explicitly recognized by the Constitution of India. The legal category of STs¹ is roughly coinciding with *adivasis* who are marginalised in the development process for a long time. During colonial period, the British referred to them as the "depressed classes" and, initiated a few policies recognizing their socio-economic backwardness. However, many times the British policies conflicted and confronted with these tribal groups in different parts of the British India.

The Independent India, in policy, has provided Constitutional safeguards against inequality, discrimination and marginalization and for their development of these marginalized castes. Since Independence, a positive discrimination policy involving several welfare programmes, progressive legislations devised in favour of marginalized communities such as STs. Consequently, there has been a progress in the development of these communities when compared to their past. Nonetheless they are not yet on an equal footing with the mainstream society on any development indicator. In fact, many times the Constitutional provisions and safeguards placed for these marginalized groups are violated. Moreover, these social groups have been still subjected to physical isolation from the mainstream and displacement. Indeed Adivasis have been integrated with forest economy and nature resource dependent. But, more often the developmental projects such as major irrigation dams, electricity projects, industries, mining and quarrying etc., are displacing the tribal communities from their domains. In the process they are losing their livelihood rights and opportunities.

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¹ The Constitution of India in Article 366 (25) defines Scheduled Tribes (ST) as "such tribes or tribal communities or part of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 to be the Scheduled Tribes (STs) for the purposes of this Constitution". In Article 342, it prescribed the procedure to be followed for specification of a scheduled tribe.

It is observed that *Adivasis* as a whole have gained least and lost most from six decades of democracy and development in India (Guha, 2007). Again the World Bank also observed that while the success story of growth of Indian economy and its poverty reduction in the recent past is well appraised, marginalized sections such as the *Adivasis* or STs are 20 years behind the average performances (World Bank, 2011). Although the fact that these marginalized sections benefited from the growth that witnessed over time cannot be denied, its impact is not substantial enough to break the shackles of their backwardness. It is because of the social exclusion that these marginalized groups in India, was rooted in historical division of society along lines of caste, tribe and gender. Therefore, these inequalities were structural in nature and as these groups were trapped in this structure, they were unable to take advantage of the opportunities offered by economic growth (World Bank, 2011). Thus, the policy effort in the inclusive growth regime must be to do away with such disadvantages of these social groups.

While noticing the development/deprivation divides across social groups, time and again there have been promises for the development of these socially backward communities in the planned process of development. In this respect the last two five year plan, the Eleventh and Twelfth Five Year Plan, proposed inclusive growth strategy for the same reason meant for enabling and empowering the marginalized section to contribute to and benefit from their share in the economic growth².

The inclusive growth concept is broader than the pro-poor growth which indicates an income dimension of the growth in favour of the poor. In fact, the pro-poor growth debate revolved around the relative approach of higher growth of income for poor than that of non-poor (Kakawani, 2000; Kakawani and Pernia, 2000; Zheng, 2011), absolute approach of any rise in income that reduces the poverty level (Ravallion, 2001, 2004; Ravallion and Chen, 2001; Zheng, 2011), and moved to rate of decline over the past benchmark (Osmani, 2005, Zheng, 2011).

The inclusive growth is broad based growth intended to benefiting all sectors and all sections of people (World Bank, 2011). It brought in not only the outcome but also the process. Besides, it is argued that inclusive growth is a process that enables non-discriminatory participation and disadvantage reducing (Klasen, 2010; Thorat, 2012). It involves the better

² The notion of inclusive growth states that the benefits of growth should reach socially disadvantaged sections proportionately.

employment opportunities and productivity of employment (see World Bank, 2011). By generating and providing productive employment opportunities especially those of disadvantaged groups, people belonging these groups would be enabled and empowered to contribute to the growth and benefit from it (ibid).

In this context, in the perspectives of inclusive growth, the present paper examines the changing structure of employment among ST workforce in Andhra Pradesh. It presents the prevailing situation of STs in the state in respect of employment and correspondence with parameters such as income, land ownership, educational attainments. The STs account for 8% population in India. Andhra Pradesh, being fifth largest state in population, accounts for 8% of the total ST population in country. Within the state STs accounted for around 8% of the population. In respect of performance of the state, its impressive performance in terms of economic growth especially in the recent past has not been replicated in respects of many aspects of social and human development (APHDR, 2008). Although one cannot deny the fact that there has been a considerable progress even among SC/STs in the state over a period, these disadvantaged sections still lagging behind and inequalities across social groups continue to persist (see APHDR, 2008; Venkatanarayana, 2013). STs in the state still remained as disadvantaged group, socially and economically.

Having said, paper is organized as follows. The second section presents the size and growth population belonging to different social groups in the state. Section III discusses the changing nature of agrarian economy of the Adivasis/tribals groups in general and in the Andhra Pradesh in particular. The nature of stagnant structure of workforce among STs in the state is analysis in the fourth section. As the human capital base critical for the better employment opportunities and productive employment, the human capital base of the ST population and workforce in the state is analysed in the fifth section. Levels of living and poverty levels among STs in the state are presented in sixth section. Finally, summary and conclusions follow in the last section.

II Size and Growth of Population

The size of Scheduled Tribe (ST) population is at considerable level. The latest Census, 2011, shows that there is about 5.9 million S T population forming 7% of the total population in state. There is about four-fold increase of STs in the state during last five decades period i.e. between 1961 and 2011 (Table 2.1). It was about 1.3 million in 1961, accounted for 3.7% of the total

population. The proportion of STs in the total population has increased over time in the state as well as in the country. However, as compared to all-India, the percentage of STs in the total population was nearly 2 percentage points lower in the state. The share of the state in India with respect to ST population had declined especially since 1991.

Table 2.1: Scheduled Tribes (ST) Population in Andhra Pradesh and in India

Year	Andhra Pradesh					All India					% of AP in India		
	Population (in M)			% in T P		Population (in M)			% in T P				
	SC	ST	All	SC	ST	SC	ST	All	SC	ST	SC	ST	All
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1961	4.9	1.3	35.9	13.8	3.7	64.4	29.9	439.2	14.7	6.9	7.7	4.4	8.2
1971	5.8	1.6	43.5	13.3	3.8	80.0	38.0	548.2	14.6	6.9	7.2	4.4	7.9
1981	7.9	3.1	53.5	14.9	5.9	104.8	51.6	683.3	15.8	7.8	7.6	6.2	7.8
1991	10.6	4.2	66.5	15.9	6.3	138.2	67.8	846.0	16.5	8.1	7.7	6.2	7.9
2001	12.3	5.0	76.2	16.2	6.6	166.6	84.3	1028.6	16.2	8.2	7.4	6.0	7.4
2011	13.9	5.9	84.5	16.4	7.0	201.4	104.3	1210.2	16.6	8.6	6.9	5.7	7.0

Note: 1. TP – Total Population; SC – Scheduled Castes; ST – Scheduled Tribes.

Source: Census of India.

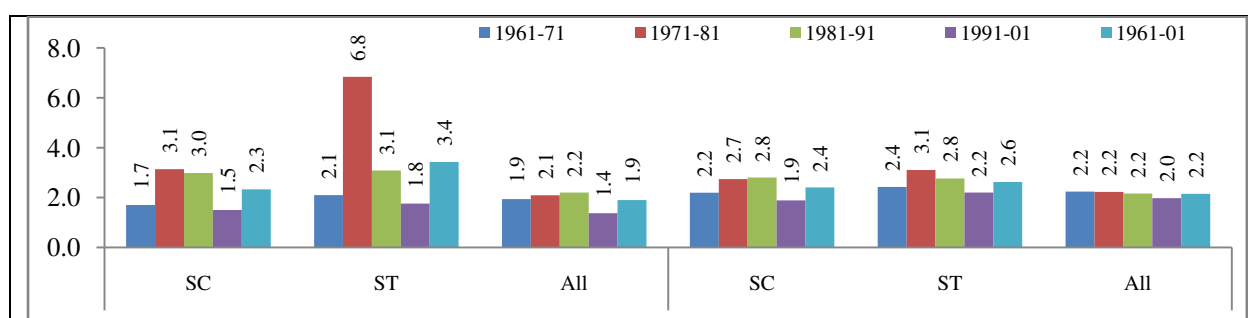
In fact, STs in Andhra Pradesh as well as in the country are not homogeneous group, there are a number of sub-castes/groups – they are about 33 sub-tribes in the state. Important ones in the state are *Gonds*, *Koyas*, *Konda Reddies*, *Savaras* and others. As a matter of fact, a sharp rise in the size of ST population in the state particularly during the 1970s was due to the inclusion a community called *Lambada/sugali*, which mostly lives in the plains, into ST category in 1977. When *lambadas* were notified as STs in Andhra Pradesh, many *lambadas* from the neighbouring states of Maharashtra and Karnataka migrated to Andhra Pradesh to claim ST status. The *lambadas* are, in fact, the single largest tribal group and constitute about 40% of the ST population in Andhra Pradesh (Venkatanarayana, 2006). While some of the tribes like *Sugali*, *Yanadi* etc., are located in plain areas, most of the Primitive Tribe Groups (PTGs) are still living hill forests.

Thus, across districts in the state, STs are mostly concentrated in the hilly and forest areas of Srikakulam, Vijayanagaram, Visakhapatnam, East and West Godavari, Khammam, Warangal and Adilabad districts. Of the total ST population in the state, the major proportion (nearly 55%) is located in Telangana. In some districts, the ST and SCs together account for more than one-third of the total population. The share of SC/ST together was highest (43%) in Khammam followed by Adilabad (35.3%), Nellore and Warangal (each 31.1%). The share of SC/ST was

lowest in Hyderabad (8.9%) followed by Srikakulam (15.0%), Anantapur (17.6%) and Kadapa (18.1%).

In terms of growth of population in Andhra Pradesh, while the total population of the state was growing at 2% per annum between 1961 and 2001, the ST population of the state had grown at 2.5%. More specifically, between 1991 and 2001, the total population of state grew at 1.4% per annum whereas the ST population grew at 1.8%. It is interesting to notice that the community (STs) in the state has registered a relatively lower rate of growth during 1991-2001 than that of all India average for all communities (1.9%). It is also noticed that state had registered a decelerated rate growth of population across social groups especially during last three decades of 20th century (Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1: Growth of Population across Social Groups in Andhra Pradesh and India



Note: 1. Compound Annual Growth Rate (CAGR) in percent.

Source: Computed using Census figures.

However, it is evident that the rate of growth of population was highest for the STs. The rate of growth in ST population in the state accounted for about 11% of the growth in state population. The contribution to population growth is higher than their share in the state population. As a result their share in the total population is increasing

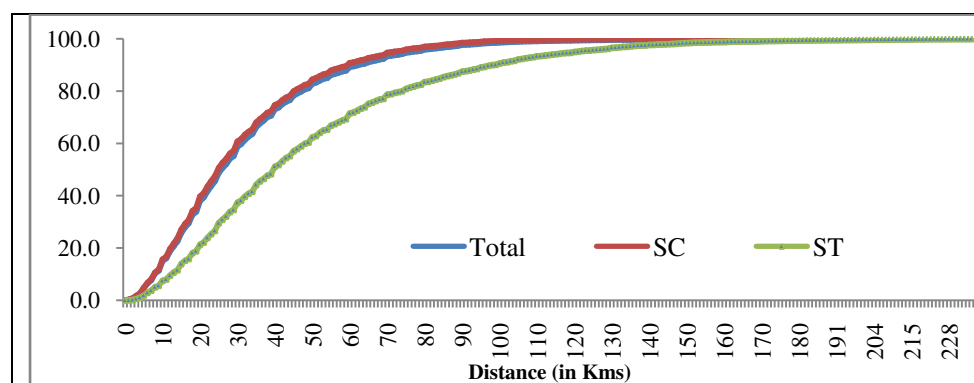
In many districts the population growth rate of STs was higher than the district average (all communities). In a few districts, however, this pattern did not happen, and the growth rates of STs population was below the all community average in districts like Adilabad, Karimnagar and Anantapur Hyderabad and Rangareddy (see Appendix Table A1). The growth of ST population was highest in Medak (3.57%) followed by Karimnagar (3.24%), Rangareddy (2.98%) and Kadapa (2.63%). The growth rate of ST population was higher in many Telangana districts when compared to the state average.

The urbanization aspect of these communities indicates that about 27.3% of the total population in Andhra Pradesh was located in urban areas in 2001 whereas the degree of urbanization for STs is very low 7.5%. Across districts, a similar pattern was seen with an exception - urbanization of STs was higher than all community average in Prakasam. The most urbanized district for STs was also Hyderabad, followed by Guntur, Krishna, Kurnool and Prakasam districts. The least urbanized district for STs was Srikakulam followed by Mahabubnagar, Nizamabad and Vizianagaram. It is also noticed that the degree of urbanization among STs was below 5% in eight districts.

The urban proximity to the villages has significant impact on the development process of the rural/village economy. There were 210 towns and 26,613 revenue villages in Andhra Pradesh in 2001. There were about 127 revenue villages per a town in the state. Given the large number of villages per town, distance between a village and its nearest town varied between the least of one km and the longest of 250 kms. Most of the distant villages are found to be of predominantly inhabited by ST community.

The cumulative distribution of population living in villages by their distance to nearest local town indicated that only 15% of the rural population in the state was living in villages located in the 10 Kms. distance orbit of local towns (Figure 2.3). Around one-third of people in rural Andhra Pradesh were living in the villages within the 20 Kms distance orbit of local towns; half of them were living in the villages within the 26 Kms. distance and about three-fourths in villages within the 45 Kms. distance orbit of local towns and so on. In case of STs, around two-thirds of its population was living villages distanced 40 Kms away from the nearest town.

Figure 2.3: Cumulative Distribution (%) of Population living in Villages in Andhra Pradesh by the Distance to the Local Town, 2001



Source: Village Directory, Andhra Pradesh, Census of India 2001.

Among the social groups, although the distribution pattern of population belonging to SC community had more or less followed that of the overall distribution, the one for the ST community had deviated. This showed that a large proportion of ST population was living in villages far away from the local towns (Figure 2.3).

To sum up one can say that the growth of population over a period is declining across social groups but the rate of growth of population among STs is relatively higher than that of the other social group population. As a result the share of these social groups in the total population of the state has shown a marginal increase over a period. The ST population is concentrated in a few pockets/districts. Given such a large size of population (around one-fourth of total), unless development potential of these population groups are unleashed overall development of the state may not be realized. Heavy concentration these social groups in rural areas especially ST community in remote area indicate that for their progress it necessitate connectivity through development of transport and communication facilities and provision of basic needs or services.

III Economy of Scheduled Tribes – Dependent on Agriculture

Economic conditions of people in one or the other way are governed by the occupational structure of the household. Most of the STs are continued to be in their traditional hereditary occupations, mostly agriculture as the principal source of livelihood especially in rural areas. More than *ninety* percent (92.5%) of STs in Andhra Pradesh are located in rural areas. Agriculture is the major source of livelihood for around 86% of STs in the state, in 2009-10; it could be cultivation, agricultural labour or forest related livelihood activities. About 44.5% of the STs in the state are located in cultivating/farming households (Table 3.1). Strikingly, the declining trend over period (1983 to 2009-10) observed for STs in the State in respect in percentage of population with self-employment in non-agriculture as source of livelihood is against the trend observed for all other social groups (Table 3.1).

In respect of land cultivated, STs appear to be better placed when compared to SCs (Table 3.2). However, this better position of the STs in respect to cultivated land has been sliding especially during the last one-and-half decade (between 1994 and 2010). There was a decline in the percentage of population in the ST-cultivator-households and a corresponding increase in the agriculture labour households indicates loss of land resources and *increasing dependency on*

agricultural labour (see Figure 3.1). Indeed, the percentage of population depending on agriculture labour in the state has increased only in the case of ST, it declined even for SCs (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1: Distribution (%) of population across social groups by type of household - Andhra Pradesh

Social Groups		Rural					Urban			
		SENA	AL	OL	SEA	Others	SEA	RW	CL	Others
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1983	ST	11.5	47.1	7.8	29.9	3.6	-	-	-	-
	SC	4.4	75.5	4.4	11.4	4.3	-	-	-	-
	Others	15.8	29.2	7.1	39.9	8.0	-	-	-	-
	Total	13.4	39.1	6.6	33.8	7.0	-	-	-	-
1993-94	ST	9.7	37.0	5.0	45.0	3.3	26.1	41.9	25.8	6.1
	SC	5.9	69.1	9.2	11.8	4.0	20	48.6	26.8	4.7
	Others	17.8	31.8	8.6	35	6.8	37.6	41.3	16	5.1
	Total	14.8	39.4	8.4	31.4	6.0	35.8	41.9	17.2	5.1
2004-05	ST	7.5	43.7	4.0	35.4	9.3	62.9	21.5	10.9	4.7
	SC	8.7	60.7	11.5	11.6	7.5	24.5	40.1	28.9	6.5
	OBCs	21.1	32.5	10.2	27.6	8.6	44	31.4	19.1	5.5
	Others	20.0 (20.7)	20.0 (28.1)	8.8 (9.7)	40.8 (32.2)	10.5 (9.3)	45.7 (44.8)	41.5 (36.2)	6.3 (13.0)	6.5 (6.0)
	Total	17.4	35.7	9.6	28.4	8.9	42.8	36.2	15.0	6.0
2009-10	ST	1.9	44.5	7.8	41.6	4.2	27.8	38.2	23.8	10.2
	SC	11.1	54.8	17.2	8.2	8.8	23.6	43.7	26.6	6.2
	OBCs	18.7	36.8	13.4	23.8	7.3	35.3	40	16.9	7.8
	Others	21.8	16.2	11.4	32.3	18.4	38.6	41.9	9.0	10.5
	Total	16.5	36.8	13.4	23.5	9.9	34.9	41.2	15.2	8.7

Note: 1. Figures represent the population; 2. Figure in parenthesis includes both OBC and the 'Other' community for 2004-05 and is comparable with the 'other' in 1993-94; 3. **SENA** – Self-employed in Non-Agriculture; **AL** – Agricultural Labour; **OL** – Other Labour; **SEA** – Self-employed in Agriculture; **SE** – Self-Employed; **RW/SE** – Regular Wage or Salaried; **CL** – Casual Labour; 4. '-' Not available.

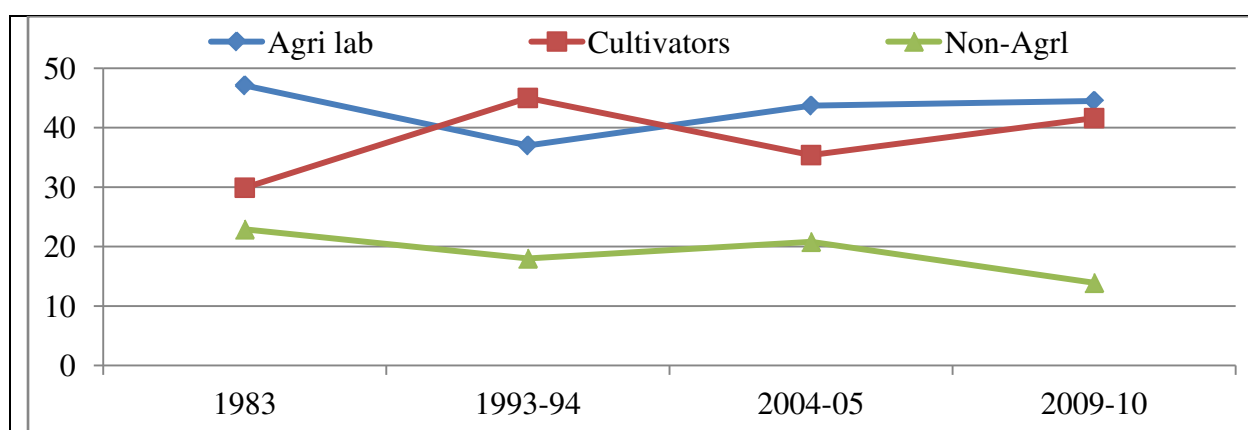
Source: Estimations based on NSS 61st round EUS raw data.

It is to be noted that the increase in cultivation as a source livelihoods especially during the 1980s (i.e. between 1983 and 1993-94) could be due to legislation and implementation 1/70 Act protecting land transfers and the land distributions to STs under land reforms from above (by the State Law) and from below (i.e. threats and pressures from left and extremist parties). But under the neo-liberal reforms regime the development of the marginalised sections seems to be side lined. The recent rise in percentage of STs having cultivation as major source of livelihood could be due to resurgence of land distribution policy. Again, under Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme, development SC/ST lands including bringing them to cultivation and provision of irrigation might be reason for increasing dependence on farming.

In general, among the cultivator households, a majority of them are marginal and small in size of land cultivated, it is very prominent in case of STs. Moreover, cultivation practices of the

Tribes often use outmoded production techniques and they seldom use modern methods of cultivation. As a result the productivity of land and labour expended would be very low. Besides, production out of own cultivation is largely for own consumption. If at all there is a surplus production, they tend to get a low price for their output due to inadequate basic infrastructure coupled with limited access to market. Although settled agriculture is found to be practiced among those Tribes located in plain areas, the *podu* or shift cultivation is still in practice among the Primitive Tribe Groups (PTG) or those living in hills and valleys of forests areas.

Figure 3.1: Distribution (%) of Rural Households belonging to ST community in Andhra Pradesh according to their Major Source of Livelihood



Note: percentage distribution.

Source: 1. Estimations based on NSS 61st round EUS raw data; 2. Derived based on data presented in Table 3.1.

A distinct identity of *Adivasi*/Tribal economy in general is that it is substantially dependent on forests and its products, its modes of production largely based on hunting and gathering, small-scale or shifting cultivation and its socio-political systems are relatively independent (Kela, 2012; Kothari, 2013). Indeed, the *Adivasi*/Tribal economy has a long history of conscious autonomy and relative independence from surrounding peasant societies, an assertion of territorial authority over their region. However, such an independent economy of pre-Colonial era was persecuted during Colonial regime. The Colonial policy brought down the otherwise independent tribal economy under their administration through forest enclosures and taxations of farming and on forest products (ibid). The policy regime also opened up the *Adivasi* territory for the incursion of non-*Adivasi*s and exploiting the forest's rich resource base (mining and timber) by the state as well as non-*Adivasi* entrepreneurs (ibid).

More striking is the incursion of money lenders into Adivasi territory and monetisation of Adivasi economy, their encroachment of lands of Adivasis and the exploitation of Adivasi labour (Kela, 2012; Kothari, 2013). Such a state-led mainstream development policy along with land alienation resulted in pauperisation of once a self-sufficient subsistence economy of Adivasis, by replacing them into agriculture and industrial labour. There began their relative backwardness. There was a long history of strong resistance from Adivasis against the Colonial policy but it was very often encountered with brutal reprisals of the British administration with a strong political and military power supported by surrounding non-Adivasi allied Kingdoms under their command (ibid). One of such historic movement took place in Andhra Pradesh against British administration was the **Rampa Rebellion** in East Godavari district in 1879 and the **Tribal Unrest of 1940** in the Telangana region during Nizams' rule, against the Nizamas' State. The history had recorded the Adivasis legends who led the movements in different parts of country. In Andhra Pradesh, *Alluri Seetharamaraju* of Coastal region (erstwhile Madras Presidency) and *Komaram Bhim* of erstwhile Nizam's Hyderabad State were the prominent ones. Despite such resistance, the colonial policy against Advasis way of living continued, so is their backwardness perpetuated.

The post-independent era did not change much the lot of Adivasis despite the special treatment built into the constitution (Kela, 2012; Kothari, 2013). It was argued that *Adivasis* as a whole have gained least and lost most from six decades of democracy and development in India (Guha, 2007). Even after independence, the state-led development policies continued with such measures which trimmed down their autonomy and relative independence. Centralised bureaucratic controls over forests continued. They have been forced to take to settled agriculture. The exploitation of rich resource of forests and incursion of non-Advasis into Adivasi areas and hence the land alienation of Adivasis has been further aggravated in the independent India. It resulted in a forced displacement of Adivasis and dispossession under a number of such so-called development projects. Again state-led development policy has been making efforts to mainstreaming the tribal economy through settled agriculture, monetisation, and markets without understanding the distinctiveness of such economy. A further monetisation of tribal economy and thereby dependence on markets – product and labour market, also increased their exploitation given their disadvantage of being illiterates and approaching the imperfect nature of markets functioning under the condition of information asymmetry.

Adivasis' protests and movements against the state policies continued after independence and very often met with same kind of brutal reprisal. Besides, the continued exploitations of Adivasis by non-Adivasis in Adivasis regions, land alienation and displacement have drawn the attention of left parties' organised protests and laid base for the Naxalite movement in the state as well as other parts of the country (Guha, 2007). It is, however, argued that even the left support particularly the Naxal movement, has not changed their lot rather it worked against them as the state machinery has been hostile towards Adivasis while presuming they have been giving shelter to movement. Thus, it is argued that Adivasis have been facing double blow from usually state policy and because of Naxal movement (Guha, 2007).

Adivasi movements, supported by either left parties or the civil society, however, acted as a threat and thereby invoked pressure that ultimately led the State to co-opt their demands. As a result, legislations come into force protecting Adivasis' rights especially those of land right. During colonial regime there was a Land Transfer Act of 1917 by British Government in Madras Presidency. There was an Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Area Land Transfer Act 1959. An important amendment to 1959 Act came into force in 1970, known as **1/70 Act**, as a result of **Srikakulam Adivasis Armed Struggle** broke out in 1969, to pacify the struggle. It prohibits the land transfers, in any form, to non-tribals (resident or settler). But administration of these legislations seriously is a matter of concern. Thus, such protective legislations also could not protect the Adivasi land alienation. An illustration is that number of land disputes between Adivasis and non-advasis increased in Andhra Pradesh and the disputes cleared in courts in favour of Adivasis are less than half of those filed in the state (Mohanty, 2001).

On the whole state-led development policies in general and specific to STs and the externalities of changes in economy external to Advasis (for instance, modernisation, industrialisation etc..) have overhauled the otherwise self-sufficient subsistence tribal economy. The impact of such policies and changes on tribal economy is loss of forest based livelihood and land, displacement and dispossession, monetisation, market dependency, distress and migration. In the increasing penetration of market economy into Adivasi territories, very often Adivasis/tribals are losers in every market exchange/transaction. Similarly is the case of their participation in labour markets.

Access to Land

Access to land for dwelling and production and livelihood making, is the important factors in improving the well being of the rural poor. Land available for cultivation is more important in an agrarian economy. There are many instances that tribes were vacated from their living places (displacement) due to insensitive alienating Legislatures (Forest Acts) or development projects. In such cases tribes are losing their own dwelling land. In rural Andhra Pradesh, however, landlessness (in terms of land possessed either for dwelling or cultivation) has become negligible over period. STs are, in fact, better placed in terms of land owned. However, all the land owned or possessed is not cultivated³. The land owned by about 45% of population in the state has used it only for dwelling/housing purpose.

With respect to cultivated land also, STs in Andhra Pradesh appear to be the least disadvantaged when compared with the state average or the ‘other’ social group. The latest estimates (2009-10) for rural Andhra Pradesh shows that the percentage of population living in households with a cultivated land was 57% for STs whereas the state average was 46.2%. Between 1993-94 and 2009-10 this percentage with cultivated land declined to a considerable extent across all social groups, but the decline is found to be highest for STs (Table 3.2). It indicates that the increasing landlessness (lose of cultivated land) among the STs.

Table 3.2: Percentage of Population concentrated in Households with Own Cultivated and/or Irrigated Land across Social Groups - Rural Andhra Pradesh

Year	Cultivated Land					Irrigated Land				
	ST	SC	OBC	Others	Total	ST	SC	OBC	Others	Total
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>		<i>9</i>	<i>10</i>
1993-94	70.4	45.4	-	58.1	56.7	-	-	-	-	-
2004-05	54.5	33.0	47.1	51.9 (48.7)	46.2	21.7	13.5	23.1	30.6	22.9
2009-10	57.2	32.2	42.3	40.1	40.6	-	-	-	-	-

Note: Figure in parenthesis includes both OBC and Other which is comparable with the ‘other’ in 1993-94.

Source: Estimates using NSSO Quinquennial Employment and Unemployment Survey unit record data.

The question is whether the increasing landlessness is due to land sales because of economic distress in farming occupation (push) or due to better opportunities (pull) available in non-farm activities or for any other cause. As one can observe with respect to employment status or source of livelihood, the percentage ST population/workforce depending on (casual)

³ Land cultivated is actual land under cultivation which is either owned or leased-in.

agricultural labour had increased. It indicates the worsening situation (moving from cultivators to labourers) for STs in rural Andhra Pradesh.

Since Independence, problems related to land has been a matter of pressing urgency. The of poverty eradication strategy envisaged a progress on two fronts simultaneously: increasing productivity and equitable distribution. Accordingly, land reforms were introduced to mitigate land-related problems like concentration, tenancy rights, and land for the landless. Because of the severe disadvantage suffered by the STs, they were targeted while distributing surplus land in India as well as in Andhra Pradesh, so that they gained access to land. But land reform has to be more than the mere redistribution of land to the landless.

It is equally important to ensure the availability of other inputs for cultivation to improve the productivity of land. But to what extent have these disadvantaged groups gained access to these agricultural inputs? For instance, access to irrigation, which is considered a leading input for cultivation, is inadequate for STs. The percentage of population in households with irrigated land was the lowest among ST (21.7%) is low when compared to the ‘other’ community (30.6%) but it is almost equated with state average (22.9%). Availability of other necessary inputs would also be inadequate for STs.

Table 3.3: Number of Holdings and Area Operated across Social Groups in A P

Social Group	Number of Holdings			Operated Area			Average Size of Holding		
	1995-96	2005-06	2010-11	1995-96	2005-06	2010-11	1995-96	2005-06	2010-11
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>10</i>
ST	7.54 (7.1)	9.27 (7.7)	10.59 (8.0)	10.87 (7.6)	12.12 (8.4)	12.48 (8.7)	1.44	1.31	1.18
SC	12.85 (12.1)	14.22 (11.8)	14.57 (11.1)	10.66 (7.4)	11.36 (7.8)	11.00 (7.7)	0.83	0.80	0.76
Others	85.64 (80.8)	96.95 (80.5)	106.59 (80.9)	122.20 (80.5)	121.41 (83.8)	119.45 (83.6)	1.43	1.25	1.12
All	106.03 (100)	120.44 (100)	131.75 (100)	143.73 (100)	144.89 (100)	142.93 (100)	1.36	1.20	1.08

Note: 1. Holdings are in lakhs and Areas is in lakh hectares; 2. Figures in parenthesis are percentages of respective social group in the total.

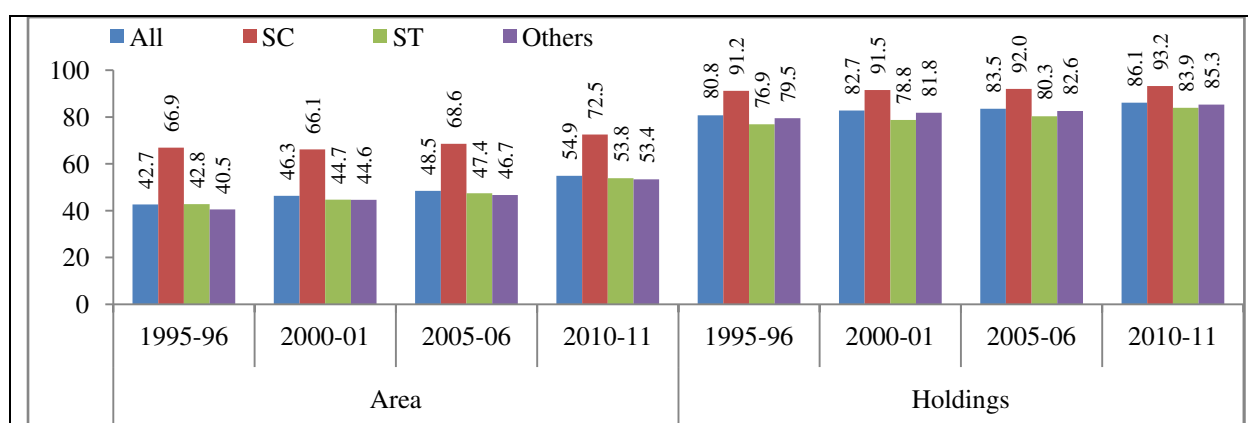
Source: 1. Agricultural Census, DES, Hyderabad; 2. GoI (2012).

An analysis of the operated holdings based on the information of Agricultural Census indicates that there was an increase in the number of holdings as well as the area operated by STs during the last one-and-half decade (i.e. between 1995-96 and 2010-10). Not only the share of STs in operated area was the same as their share in total population - around 8%, but also their share in number of holdings is even higher (Table 3.3). One of the possible reasons for increase in

number of holdings is family division and the other one could be distribution of land especially in case of ST/STs, under land reforms.

The pattern of land distribution across social groups shows that the number of holdings and area operated in the marginal and small size classes had increased while declining in the medium and large holdings classes. The share of the marginal and small holdings together was nearly 80% of total ST holdings and 50% of the area operated. The marginalisation (increasing share of small and marginal farmers) of the peasantry had taken place across all social groups, it was not specific STs (see Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1: Percentage of small-marginal (together) in the total number of operated Holdings and Area across Social groups in Andhra Pradesh



Note: Area – Operational Area

Source: Computed using Agriculture Census, Government of India.

On the whole, it is an alarming situation that declining proportion STs cultivating land and a corresponding increasing proportion relying on agriculture indicating a worsening trend. Further, since most of those who dependent on land cultivation are small and marginal farmers, their capacity to invest in agriculture is very inadequate and their access to credit is negligible. Besides, factors such as traditional cultivation techniques, lack of access to modern technology and inputs including credit, are undermining their economic progress and well being.

IV Stagnant Structure of Workforce/Employment

When it comes to labourforce – available for any livelihood making activity - it is the highest in the ST community among the social groups in the state as well as at national levels (See Table 4.1a). The work participation rate of STs (both male and female) in Andhra Pradesh is

found to be higher than the national average, similar to that of all social group average. But ST females' work participation rate in the state is higher than the state average for the females. More than half of the ST females in Andhra Pradesh are in workforce. It, WPR ST females in the state, is 20 percentage points higher than that of the national average.

Table 4.1a: Work Participation Rates (WPR) among STs in Andhra Pradesh and India

Year	Scheduled Tribes				Overall			
	Andhra Pradesh		All India		Andhra Pradesh		All India	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>
1983	60.8	54.3	58.3	46.0	58.3	40.3	53.9	29.6
1993-94	67.7	60.0	58.5	46.1	60.8	43.8	54.5	28.6
2004-05	56.8	47.3	55.9	44.4	59.4	41.6	54.7	28.7
2009-10	58.5	54.4	55.5	34.5	58.2	36.8	54.6	22.8

Note: Rural-urban combined.

Source: Estimations using NSS three Quinquennial rounds of Employment and Unemployment Survey unit record data.

The high work participation is not necessarily due to abundance of employment opportunity in the state, it could be that out of economic necessity as many family members including the children had to participate in work for their effort to meet their family subsistence. Also, given their highly labour-intensive with very low productivity under primitive modes of production require more labour than otherwise in a better mode of production. Thus the high participation rates for men and women.

Table 4.1b: Work Participation Rates (%) across Social Groups in Andhra Pradesh

Social Group	1983			1993-94			2004-05			2009-10		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>13</i>
ST	59.9	39.9	57.6	65.9	44.7	63.8	55	32.8	52	57.9	41.8	56.5
SC	58.3	34.9	55.0	59.6	39	56.9	55.7	37.6	52.3	54.1	39.2	51.1
OBC	-	-	-	-	-	-	55.5	43.7	52.6	52.6	38.2	48.7
Others	52.2	34.7	47.6	56	37.2	50.3	51.2 (54.0)	35.2 (39.7)	45.6 (49.9)	47.1	33.1	41.2
All	53.9	34.9	49.4	57.5	37.6	52.3	54.4	39.2	50.5	52.1	36.4	47.6

Note: 1. Workers included both the Usual Principal and Subsidiary status; 2. Figure in parenthesis includes both OBC and Other which is comparable with the 'other' in 1993-94.

Source: Estimations using NSS three Quinquennial rounds of Employment and Unemployment Survey unit record data.

The incidence of child labour (5-14 age group) has been highest among the STs followed by SCs. There was a sharp decline in incidence of children during the last three decades. However, the incidence of child labour among ST children increased between 1983 and 1993-94 and thereafter it began to decline and reached its lowest to 5.5% in 2009-10 (Table 4.2). The effort of state and community level interventions in reducing the incidence of child labour and

increasing the enrolment of children in schools are noteworthy. Yet, considerable proportions (5.5%) of children of ST community are working.

Table 4.2: Incidence of Child Labour across Social Groups in Andhra Pradesh - Work Participation Rates (%) of 5-14 age groups

Social Group	1983			1993-94			2004-05			2009-10		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6							
ST	30.5	8.6	27.7	34.3	17.1	32.6	11.0	2.9	10.0	6.0	0.4	5.5
SC	23.6	4.8	20.9	17.9	5.4	16.2	6.9	0.8	5.9	1.5	1.2	1.5
Others	21.4	8.4	18.1	15.4	6.6	12.7	8.2	4.0	7.2	1.5	0.9	1.3
All	22.4	8.0	19.0	17.6	6.8	14.8	6.2	2.7	4.8	1.3	0.6	1.0

Note: 1. Workers included both the Usual Principal and Subsidiary status.

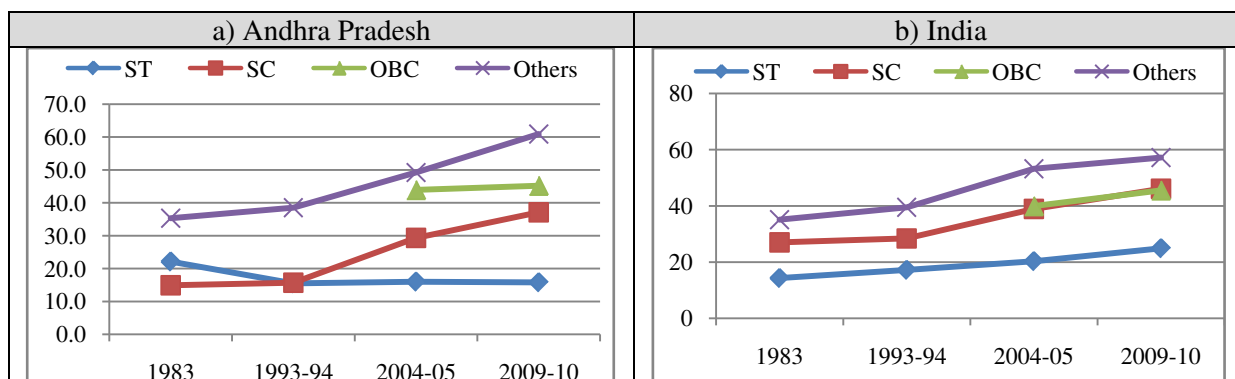
Source: Estimations using NSS three Quinquennial rounds of Employment and Unemployment Survey unit record data.

The distribution of workforce between agriculture and non-agricultural activities shows that a majority of the workforce in the state still depend on the agricultural activities especially in rural Andhra Pradesh. Across social groups the dependency on agricultural activities is even higher among the workforce belonging STs in the state. About 89% of the rural workforce belonging to STs in the state is engaged in agriculture related activities (including forestry). The general trend of a slow pace of diversification towards non-agricultural activities in Andhra Pradesh is observed across social groups (Figure 4.1). But for STs particularly, it has not been witnessed even this slow pace of diversification, rather stagnant pattern in diversification. It is against the national scenario where there has been some progressive trend for STs. Stagnancy in workforce structure of STs in Andhra Pradesh could be due to their physical isolation from the mainstream economy/labour market, lack of urban proximity (far away even from nearest local town), inadequate infrastructure, illiteracy and information symmetry etc.

The distribution of workforce by the status of employment shows that a large proportion of the ST workforce is either self-employed or depends on the casual labour. The trend indicates that, for STs in Andhra Pradesh, the proportion of self-employed increased between 1983 and 1993-94 thereafter it has been shown a declining trend (Table 4.4). Correspondingly, the proportion of casual labour, among ST workforce, declined between 1983 and 1993-94 thereafter it has been shown a, increasing trend. At national level such a trend is clear for the recent past (between 2004-05 and 2009-10). Besides, more strikingly, the proportion of regular salaried/wage among the ST workforce, is almost stagnant in Andhra Pradesh (Figure 4.2a). At

the national level, the proportion for ST declined between 1983 and 1993-94 and thereafter shown an increasing trend (Figure 4.2b).

Figure 4.1: Trend in Share (%) of Non-Agriculture in Workforce across Social Groups – Andhra Pradesh and India



Note: Rural-urban combined.

Source: Estimates based on NSS Employment and Unemployment Survey unit record data.

Table 4.3: Distribution (in %) of Workforce between Agriculture and Non-Agriculture (NA) Activities across Social Groups in Andhra Pradesh

Year/Sector		ST		SC		OBC		Others		Total	
		Agri	NA	Agri	NA	Agri	NA	Agri	NA	Agri	NA
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1983	Rural	82.9	17.1	91.2	8.8	-	-	76.7	23.3	80.1	19.9
	Urban	19.8	80.2	23.9	76.1	-	-	14.3	85.7	15.5	84.5
	Total	77.9	22.1	85.1	14.9	-	-	64.7	35.3	69.3	30.7
1993-94	Rural	89.1	10.9	89.7	10.3	-	-	75	25	79.3	20.7
	Urban	21.7	78.3	30.7	69.3	-	-	14.7	85.3	16.3	83.7
	Total	84.5	15.5	84.3	15.7	-	-	61.5	38.5	67.5	32.5
2004-05	Rural	88.5	11.5	80.0	20.0	67.7	32.3	67.6 (67.7)	32.4 (32.3)	71.8	28.2
	Urban	36.5	63.5	11.1	88.9	10.7	89.3	6.3 (8.8)	93.7 (92.2)	9.9	90.1
	Total	84.0	16.0	70.7	29.3	56.1	43.9	50.8 (54.3)	49.2 (45.7)	59.4	40.6
2009-10	Rural	89.0	11.0	73.0	27.0	67.9	32.1	57.7	42.3	68.7	31.3
	Urban	15.8	84.2	7.4	92.6	6.2	93.8	2.8	97.2	5.3	94.7
	Total	84.2	15.8	62.9	37.1	54.8	45.2	39.1	60.9	54.8	45.2

Note: 1. Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status; 2. Figure in parenthesis includes both OBC and Other which is comparable with the 'other' in 1993-94.

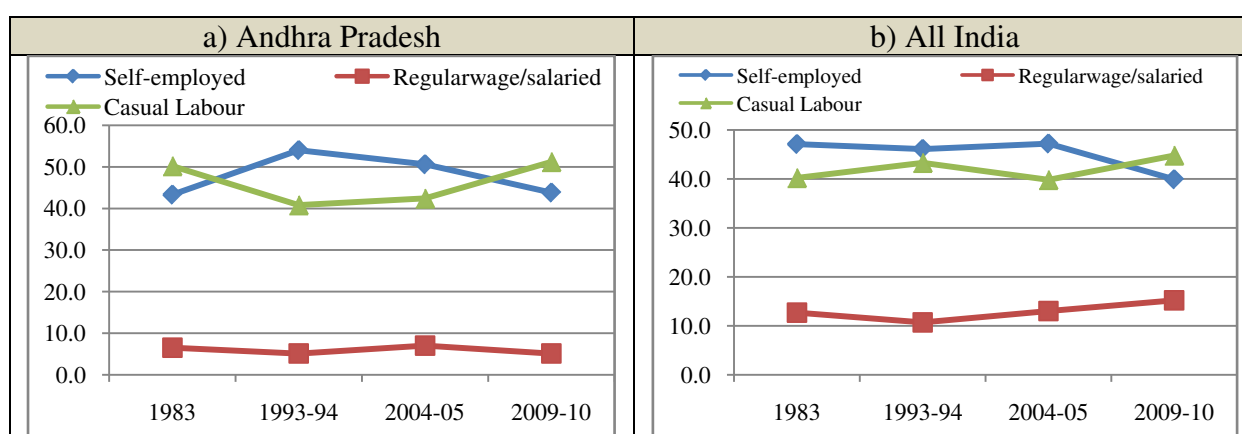
Source: Estimations using NSS Quinquennial Employment and Unemployment Survey unit record data.

Table 4.4: Distribution of Scheduled Tribes' (ST) Workforce by Status of Employment in Andhra Pradesh and India

Year	Scheduled Tribes						All					
	Andhra Pradesh			India			Andhra Pradesh			India		
	SE	RWS	CL	SE	RWS	CL	SE	RWS	CL	SE	RWS	CL
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>13</i>
1983	43.3	6.5	50.2	55.5	7.9	36.6	47.1	12.7	40.2	54.7	13.2	32.0
1993-94	54.0	5.1	40.8	51.6	6.0	42.4	46.1	10.7	43.3	54.7	13.2	32.0
2004-05	50.6	7.0	42.4	53.9	6.7	39.3	47.2	13.0	39.8	56.9	14.3	28.8
2009-10	43.8	5.1	51.2	49.2	7.7	43.1	39.9	15.2	44.8	51.0	15.6	33.5

Note: SE – Self-employed; RWS – Regular Wage/Salaried; CL – Casual Labour.

Source: Estimations using NSS Quinquennial Employment and Unemployment Survey unit record data.

Figure 4.2: Trend in Percentage Distribution of ST Workforce by Status of Employment in Andhra Pradesh and India

Note: Rural-urban and male-female combined.

Source: Estimations using NSS Quinquennial Employment and Unemployment Survey unit record data.

The above analysis indicate a high dependence on agriculture, higher work participation and lesser or negligible levels of occupational diversification particularly among the Tribes. Desperate participation in workforce without sufficient work and income/wage is causing for the underemployment which in turn keeps productivity of labour at a very low level. Concentration of workforce belong to STs heavily in agriculture with the primitive nature production techniques, under the conditions of underemployment keeping wages and productivity, may not come into aid for the effort to improve their standard of living. Despite the impressive economic growth which is largely due to growth in non-agriculture, a large section of people in general and STs in particular, involved in agriculture which in general is a poor performing sector, are not able to benefit from the spectacular growth patterns observed in the recent past.

Stagnant change in the proportion regular wage/salaried indicating declining access to such employment opportunities for STs in a general trend of decelerating growth of employment in the organised sector, in both the public and private sectors. In the neo-liberal reforms regime, in the process of downsizing of state itself, employment opportunity in general are reduced to a minimum. The Indian Railways, largest organised and public sector in engaging labourforce, is also saturated for further recruitment. One can observe the considerable number of ST men in Railway labourforce especially in the lower cadres of 'gangmen'. Private industries set up in tribal areas while tapping its resource base, promised certain employment opportunities at the beginning of their venture but the promises never delivered.

One has to note that relatively lesser disadvantageousness of STs at the national levels is due to the better performance of North-Eastern states which contributes a considerable proportion of ST population in India.

V Human Capital base: Education

Education is generally accepted as a universal right and not a privilege meant for some classes of society⁴. The Indian Constitution and many later policy resolutions have stressed universal access to education and enrolment of children of school-going age irrespective of class and caste. Nevertheless, there is no equal access to education across social groups. In Andhra Pradesh as well as in India, the STs are the most backward in terms of education.

5.1 Literacy

Andhra Pradesh in general has been lagging behind many other states in India with respect to literacy. Although there considerable progress during last half a century wherein it increased from 21.2% in 1961 to 66.67% in 2011, still one-third of population in the state remained illiterate. In respect of literacy rate, Andhra Pradesh still stands with the league of economically backward states in India.

A similar progress in literacy rate is observed across social groups in the state. For STs the literacy rate was merely 4.4% in 1961; it increased to 17.2% in 1991 and to 37.1% in 2001. But there huge differences in literacy rate between social groups. Till 1991 the literacy rate of STs was less than one-third of the all-community average in the state. The gap in literacy levels

⁴ S. Radhakrishnan, University Education Commission Report (Quoted from Karlekar, 1989).

between ST and the state average increased till 1991 and subsequently it narrowed down, to some extent. The rate of achievement in terms of literacy levels was higher for the STs when compared to the state average during 1991-01. However about two-thirds of the STs in the state still continued to be remained as illiterates.

Table 5.1: Literacy Levels by Caste and Gender in Andhra Pradesh

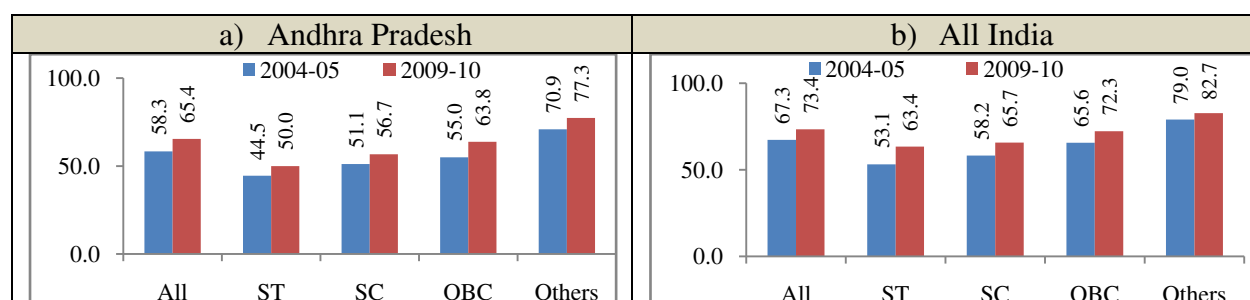
Year	SC			ST			All		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>10</i>
1961	8.5	13.4	3.4	4.4	7.3	1.5	21.2	30.2	12.0
1971	10.7	15.9	5.3	5.3	8.5	2.1	24.6	33.2	15.8
1981	17.7	24.8	10.3	7.8	12.0	3.5	29.9	39.3	20.4
1991	31.6	34.4	20.9	17.2	20.1	8.7	44.1	55.1	32.7
2001	53.5	63.5	43.4	37.1	47.7	26.1	60.5	70.3	50.4
2011	62.3	70.2	54.4	49.2	58.3	40.1	66.7		

Notes: 1. Figures are in percentage; 2. Literacy is for 5 + population for the years 1961 and 1971 thereafter it has been for 7+ age population;

Source: 1. GoAP (2007); 2. Census of India, Andhra Pradesh.

The recent experiences of these social groups' performance in literacy during the last decade, as Census based information is not yet available, NSSO Survey based information is used. The NSS based analysis indicates that the gaps in literacy rates across social groups continue to persist (Figure 5.1a). Still around half of the ST and SC population in the state survives with illiteracy. Among adults (15+age group) the literacy rate is very low among STs and SCs, it is less than 50%. Moreover social group-wise difference indicate that adult literacy rate of STs is less than half of that of the 'other' community (see Table 3.2 below). Such is the intensity of group inequality.

Figure 5.1: Literacy Rate (%) by Social Groups in Andhra Pradesh and India



Note: Literacy rate for 7 + age population.

Source: NSSO 61st (2004-05) and 66th (2009-10) Rounds Employment and Unemployment Survey unit record data.

If one compares the performance of these ST/SC social groups in Andhra Pradesh with that of their counterparts at the national level in terms of literacy rate (7+ age), state is lagging behind that of national averages (Figure 5.1a&b).

The growth of literate persons (7+ age) in each social group during 1991-2001 was very much higher than the growth of population of the respective social group. Moreover, the growth of literate persons was the highest of among the STs (10.4% per annum) followed by the SC (7.55% per annum) when compared to the all community (5% per annum) average in the state (GoAP, 2007).

Further a disaggregated analysis by gender and caste shows that ST women were the most backward and their literacy rate was one-fourth of the state average. This suggests that ST female adults could not avail of the desired benefit from literacy campaigns and/or from formal schooling facilities as compared to SC female adults in rural Andhra Pradesh. SC male adults, however, could benefit from these initiatives to improve their literacy position between 1991 and 2001 (Reddy *et al.* 2008).

Within the state there are huge variations across districts in terms of the performance of these social groups. The pattern of inter-district variations in literacy rate among SCs was very similar to the regional pattern seen in the all community average literacy rate (Table 3.2). Across districts, the literacy rate was relatively the lowest among the STs by community and ST female by community and gender. West Godavari district next to Hyderabad was the district with highest literacy rate and Mahabubnagar was the district with the least literacy rate in all six literacy rate parameters.

5.2 Levels of Education

Improving their human capital base through education among these backward communities could be one of mechanism that helps in breaking the fetter of their backwardness. However, low levels of education among the socially backward communities also perpetuating their historical backwardness. It is very clear from the fact that the percentage of adult population who completed primary and above levels of education is less than one-fourth of its population among STs (Table 5.2).

When compared across social groups the achievement of STs is less than the half of that achieved by the 'other' community. Similarly is the case for SCs, although it is relatively better

than that of STs. The same pattern can be observed at any level of education. Moreover, if one looks into the rate of improvement between 2004-05 and 2009-10, it is observed across social groups. But rate of improvement among SC/ST is not so different (higher) than that of the ‘other’ community. One would expect that the higher rate of improvement among these (SC/ST) communities facilitates the catch up with the ‘other’ community. In the absence of it, the group inequalities in this respect will continue.

Table 5.2: Percentage of Adult Population (15+ age) across Social Groups in Andhra Pradesh by level of Education

Year/Social Group	Literates	Below Primary	Primary & above	Middle & above	Secondary & above	Post-secondary	
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	
2004-05	ST	30.0	2.2	22.8	17.3	12.9	3.1
	SC	42.4	1.4	34.5	25.9	15.4	2.8
	OBC	46.7	1.7	37.5	27.7	17.1	3.5
	Others	66.4	1.8	56.9	43.6	30.6	8.4
	All	50.8	1.7	41.9	31.5	20.6	4.8
2009-10	ST	41.0	0.1	31.9	25.3	17.5	9.0
	SC	48.1	0.4	40.5	31.8	21.1	10.2
	OBC	57.1	0.6	47.0	36.6	24.5	12.7
	Others	74.0	0.4	66.8	56.2	42.8	25.4
	All	59.3	0.5	50.6	40.7	28.7	15.6

Source: NSSO 61st (2004-05) and 66th (2009-10) Rounds Employment and Unemployment Survey unit record data.

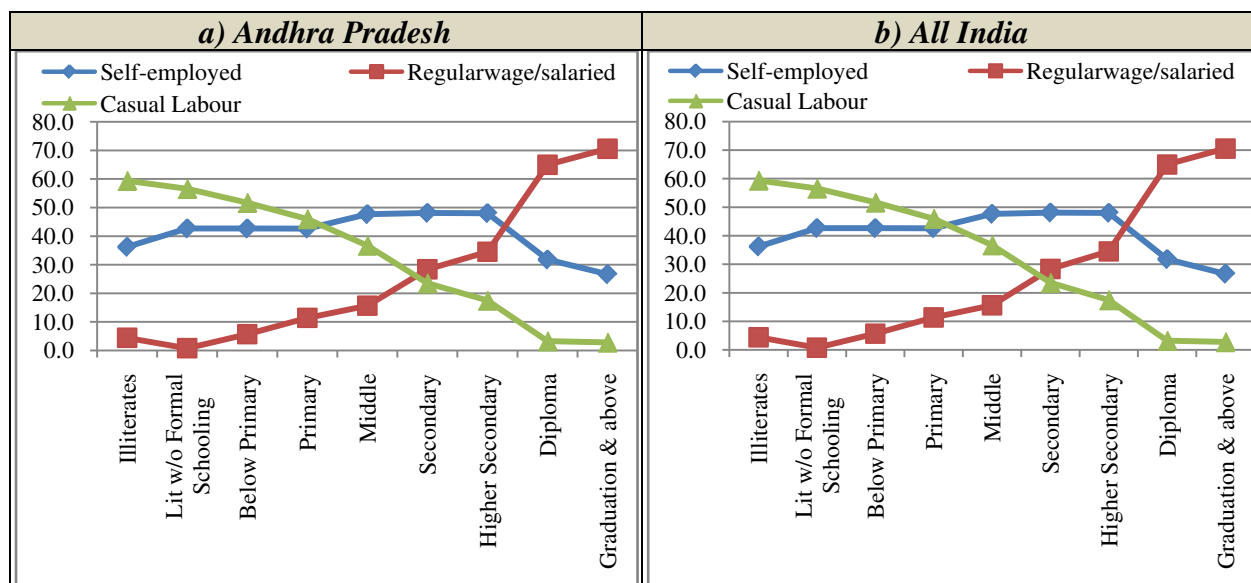
On the whole one can say that although ST and SC social groups are improving their literacy levels over time, they continued to be lagging behind the other social groups. These groups are not able to outperform the ‘other’ social groups in order to catch up and hence the huge gap between these social groups continued to persist. Moreover the pattern of child schooling indicate the differentiation between social groups in rate improvement and quality of education associated with private and public schools. Most of school going children belonging to SC/ST communities are studying in public schools. The perceived low quality of education associated with inadequate infrastructure and human and financial resource in public schools have implications in their adult life; it may perpetuate the group inequality.

5.3 Status of Employment and Wages by Level of Education

The status of employment by levels of education indicates that the illiterates and those with very low levels education have higher probability remain casual labour segment. As the level of education raise the likeliness of employed in the more secured regular salaried/wage segment increases (Figure 5.2a&b). In case of proportion of self-employed segment, it also

shown marginal increase by level of education till higher secondary and thereafter it tend to decline.

Figure 5.2: Distribution (%) of Workforce by Status of Employment and by Educational Levels – Andhra Pradesh and India, 2009-10

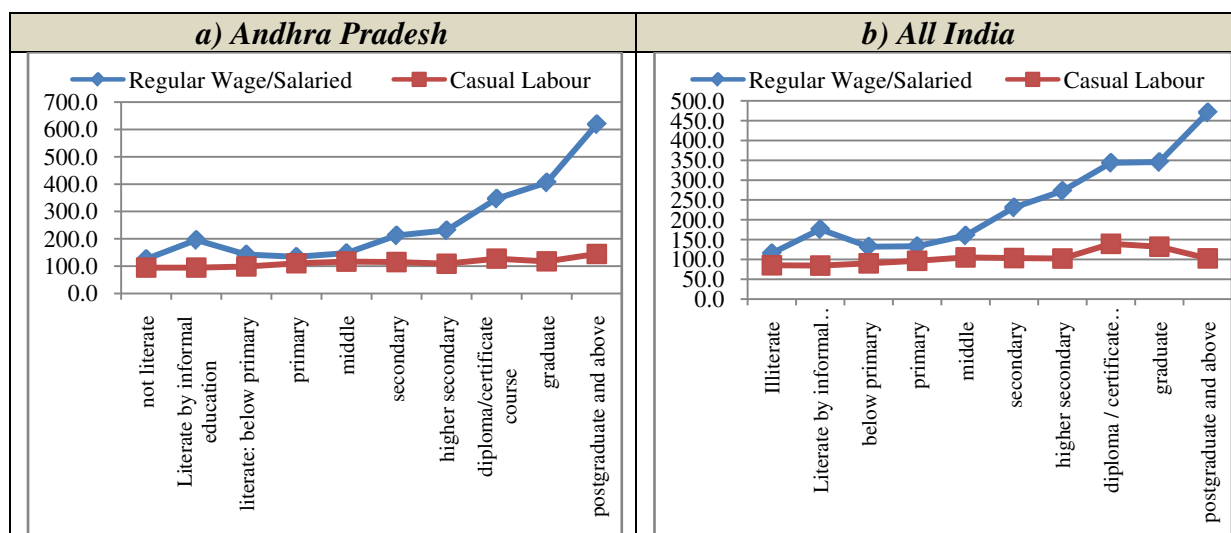


Note: Rural and urban combined; All social groups.

Source: NSS 66th (2009-10) Rounds Employment and Unemployment Survey unit record data.

The wage rates by level of education indicates it tend to increase as one moves to higher levels of education especially in case of regular salaried/wage (Figure 5.3). But in case of casual labour it is found that the educational level does not matter for better wages.

Figure 5.3: Average Daily Wage Rates (Rs.) by Status of Employment and by Educational Levels – Andhra Pradesh and India, 2009-10



Note: Nominal wage rates; rural-urban combined; all social groups; all age groups.

Source: NSS 66th (2009-10) Rounds Employment and Unemployment Survey unit record data.

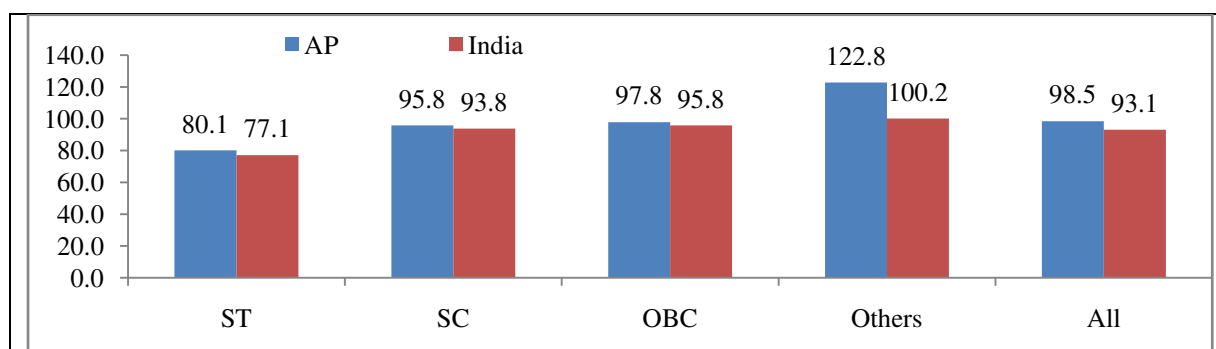
Although the above figures (5.2 and 5.3) refer to all social groups, the inference would be same for all social groups. Low levels of education among the STs, keeping their dependence more on the casual labour.

VI Levels of Living: Income and Poverty

Income poverty is only one of the multiple deprivations that STs have been experiencing continuously, even after nearly six decades of development planning. Across social groups, the percentage of population living below the poverty line is significant and it is the highest among STs as compared to the rest. It is observed for India that STs were 20 years behind the average income growth and poverty reduction (World Bank, 2011). It is also true for Andhra Pradesh.

It is observed in Andhra Pradesh as well as at the national level that rural daily wages rates differ across social groups (Figure 6.1). The wage rates for STs in Andhra Pradesh appears to be higher than the national average, it is just following a general trend of higher wage rates across board – among all social groups, not specific to STs. The difference had been continued to persist even in the post-NREGS scenario. A general view is that NREGS implementation has considerable impact on rise in the rural wage rate in general agricultural wage in particular. But its equalising effect with respect to difference in wage rates across social groups is not yet observed.

Figure 6.1: Rural Daily Wage Rates (Rs.) across Social Groups in Andhra Pradesh and India, 2009-10



Note: 1. Nominal wage rates; 2. refers to rural and 15-59 age group only; 3. casual labour in other works – i.e. other than any public work including NREGS.

Source: NSS 66th (2009-10) Rounds Employment and Unemployment Survey unit record data.

The estimates of mean consumption expenditure using NSS Consumption Expenditure Survey data clearly indicate differences in the level of consumption expenditure across social groups, and how far SC/STs lagging behind when compared to the ‘others’ category social group (Table 5.1). Moreover the gap in terms of mean consumption expenditure between these SC and ST communities and the ‘others’ are increasing over a period of time, which indicates increasing economic inequalities across social groups.

Table 6.1: Average Monthly Per Capita Consumption Expenditure (MPCE) across Social Groups in Andhra Pradesh (in Rs.) – Nominal Prices

Year	Rural					Urban				
	ST	SC	OBC	Others	All	ST	SC	OBC	Others	All
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>11</i>
1983	129	131	-	159	156					
1993-94	263	230	-	308	289	358	347	-	416	409
2004-05	431	495	581	722 (629)	586	698	829	908	1245 (1063)	1019
2009-10	753	962	959	1313	1020	1776	1647	1755	2322	1982

Note: 1. Based on URP (Uniform Reference Period); **2.** The ‘others’ for 1983 and 1993-94 includes OBC category, figures in () for 2004-05 are comparable with ‘others’ in 1993-94 and 1983.

Source: Estimates using NSSO Consumer Expenditure Survey unit record data.

The head count ratio (HCR) of poverty measured using NSS Consumption Expenditure Survey data also shows that the percentage of poor was much higher among the ST community and lower among the ‘others’, indicating wide disparities across social groups in the state (Table 5.2). Moreover, the disparity in terms of level of poverty has increased especially between ST and ‘others’ category in Andhra Pradesh. The difference between ST and the ‘other’ social groups was about 16 percentage points in 1993-94 and it had increased to nearly 30 percentage points by 2009-10. Although, the overall poverty ratio and the ratio among SC and the other social groups had declined in Andhra Pradesh during the last one-and-half decade, among STs, it had increased between 1993-94 and 2004-05 in both the rural and urban areas. The recent estimate, however, shows a sharp decline (between 2004-05 and 2009-10) in poverty ratio among the STs. the national average, instead, shows a continuous decline in poverty ratio among STs during.

Table 6.2: Poverty Ratio (HCR) across Social Groups in Andhra Pradesh and India

Year	Rural					Urban				
	ST	SC	OBC	Others	All	ST	SC	OBC	Others	All
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>11</i>
Andhra Pradesh										
1993-94	58.4	64.4	-	42.4	48.1	43.9	45.5	-	34	35.2
2004-05	60.3	41.8	31.6	16.1 (26.4)	32.3	50.1	35.0	23.8	16.5 (20.4)	23.4
2009-10	40.2	25.7	24.3	10.3	22.7	21.2	19.8	19.7	14.7	17.7
India										
1993-94	65.7	62.2	-	43.9	50.1	40.9	51.4	-	28.0	31.7
2004-05	62.3	53.5	39.8	27.1 (35.0)	41.8	35.5	40.6	30.6	16.1 (22.5)	25.7
2009-10	47.4	42.3	31.9	21.0	33.8	30.4	34.1	24.3	12.4	20.8

Note: 1. *Tendulkar Committee Methodology* is based on MRP (Mixed Reference Period); 2. For the year 2009-10 state poverty line is updated based on price indices of CPIAL and CPIIW.

Source: Estimated using NSSO Consumer Expenditure Survey unit record data.

The overall rate decline in poverty ratio in Andhra Pradesh is considerably higher than that of the national average between 1993-94 and 2009-10. But in case of STs, the state's performance has not shown such a cut above the performance at the national level. The relatively slower decline in poverty ratio among Adivasis/STs means that they are increasingly concentrated in the poorest deciles (World Bank, 2011).

VII Conclusions

The low level of socio-economic development of the ST communities in the state, which comprised eight percent of the state's total population in Andhra Pradesh, definitely affect the average level of human development of all social groups. It is not just that the backwardness of these communities is pulling down overall development, but that there is a violation of norms like equity, equality and social justice that ought to be followed in the development process of a welfare state, and of the rights of these communities to development equally on par with other communities. The positive discrimination policy of the Indian government followed in the state in favour of the ST and SC and the subsequent special programmes for their development were intended to improve their levels of living. Although there appears to have been a progress on different development indicators across backward communities such as ST in the state, such a progress is over their past performance but they still lagged behind the 'other' social groups. The pace of progress among these communities was below expectations.

Slow progress of expected change in the structure of employment towards non-agriculture in general is a long time cause of concern. Incidentally, a stagnation structure of workforce among STs observed in the state along with increasing landlessness among STs leading to

forcing them to depend on agriculture labour. Again the average rural daily wage rate is observed to be lower for ST labourers when compared to those belonging to the other communities. All these facts strikingly indicate the reality against the objective of inclusive growth. The human capital base of the ST community is far behind the reference ‘others’ category. It could be one of the reasons why the community is not able to participate, contribute, and reap benefits from the emerging knowledge based economy and its growth. As, consequence, ST community is bearing high levels of poverty and low reduction rates over time when compared with rest of the social groups.

These facts raise cause of concern at the policy level and it needs policy attention to reverse inertia or stagnant structure of workforce and induce dynamism needed for structural transformation of the tribal/adivasis’ economy. Given the actual situation of these communities with respect to their development levels, more focused intervention is needed to enhance the pace of development among these communities.

* * *

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Appendix

Table A1: Percent in Total Population, Growth of Population, percent of Urban and Sex Ratio among SC/STs: Census 2001

Sno	Districts	% of Population			Growth (1991-2001)			% of Urban			Sex Ratio		
		ST	SC	SC/ST	ST	SC	All	ST	SC	All	ST	SC	All
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	Srikakulam	6.0	9.0	15.0	1.23	0.57	0.92	1.6	10.5	11.0	1009	1019	1014
2	Vizianagaram	9.6	10.6	20.1	1.26	-0.76	0.67	2.9	20.5	18.3	1025	998	1009
3	Visakhapatnam	14.5	7.6	22.1	1.77	2.83	1.58	3.4	43.5	39.9	1003	984	985
4	East Godavari	3.9	18.0	21.9	0.84	0.65	0.76	5.2	15.4	23.5	1011	993	993
5	West Godavari	2.5	19.2	21.7	1.32	1.48	0.78	8.1	11.8	19.7	1018	985	991
6	Krishna	2.6	17.8	20.4	1.62	1.99	1.26	17.6	15.7	32.1	949	974	978
7	Guntur	4.7	18.3	23.0	1.39	3.62	0.85	18.1	17.3	28.8	962	972	984
8	Prakasam	3.9	21.3	25.2	1.84	1.66	1.06	16.2	8.2	15.3	949	971	971
9	Nellore	9.1	22.0	31.1	1.25	1.17	1.11	12.8	12.3	22.4	961	986	984
10	Chittoor	3.4	18.7	22.2	2.02	1.60	1.41	12.7	11.8	21.7	969	987	982
11	Kadapa	2.4	15.7	18.1	2.63	1.94	1.40	13.3	12.4	22.6	939	975	974
12	Anantapur	3.5	14.1	17.6	1.37	1.32	1.36	12.3	15.3	25.3	935	956	958
13	Kurnool	2.0	17.8	19.8	2.13	1.95	1.75	16.4	18.6	23.2	929	961	965
14	Mahabubnagar	7.9	17.1	25.0	2.06	1.03	1.35	1.8	4.9	10.6	947	973	972
15	Rangareddy	4.1	14.5	18.6	2.98	1.70	3.49	18.0	35.2	54.2	946	973	944
16	Hyderabad	0.9	8.0	8.9	1.97	0.98	2.16	100	100	100	935	985	933
17	Medak	5.0	17.6	22.6	3.57	1.47	1.68	3.3	8.0	14.4	951	992	974
18	Nizamabad	7.1	14.8	21.9	3.24	1.23	1.43	2.5	9.3	18.1	994	1046	1017
19	Adilabad	16.7	18.5	35.3	1.63	1.80	1.81	4.8	23.5	26.5	987	990	989
20	Karimnagar	2.6	18.6	21.2	0.92	1.43	1.43	10.0	12.9	19.4	979	996	998
21	Warangal	14.1	17.0	31.1	1.75	1.30	1.44	2.9	14.6	19.2	944	970	973
22	Khammam	26.5	16.5	43.0	2.02	1.71	1.53	6.0	17.0	19.8	984	969	975
23	Nalgonda	10.6	17.7	28.3	2.22	1.34	1.33	4.6	8.6	13.3	921	972	966
	Andhra Pradesh	6.6	16.2	22.8	1.84	1.54	1.39	7.5	17.2	27.3	972	981	978

Note: 1. Growth is for Population and it is compound annual rate of growth (CAGR) and presented in percentage form.

Source: Census of India, Andhra Pradesh.

Table A2: Literacy Rate (7+ age) among SCs and STs, 2001

Sno	Districts	Literacy All (male and female)			Female Literacy		
		ST	SC	All	ST	SC	All
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Srikakulam	41.9	52.9	55.3	30.6	42.1	43.7
2	Vizianagaram	35.3	49.3	51.1	26.2	38.6	39.9
3	Visakhapatnam	34.3	62.0	60.0	22.7	53.0	50.1
4	East Godavari	44.6	61.1	65.5	38.9	56.3	60.9
5	West Godavari	50.9	68.7	73.5	46.0	64.2	69.0
6	Krishna	43.7	63.9	68.8	35.8	57.8	63.2
7	Guntur	37.3	58.3	62.5	27.6	49.1	53.7
8	Prakasam	38.2	52.9	57.4	29.0	40.3	45.1
9	Nellore	37.4	59.3	65.1	32.8	50.2	56.4
10	Chittoor	44.4	60.0	66.8	35.8	49.0	55.8
11	Kadapa	41.2	54.2	62.8	30.1	40.4	49.5
12	Anantapur	44.5	44.5	56.1	31.0	32.5	43.3
13	Kurnool	42.7	45.8	53.2	28.7	32.0	40.0
14	Mahabubnagar	25.8	32.6	44.4	13.3	20.1	31.9
15	Rangareddy	34.5	51.9	66.2	22.1	40.8	56.5
16	Hyderabad	55.4	69.4	78.8	45.7	61.5	73.5
17	Medak	28.1	39.8	51.6	14.3	28.2	38.7
18	Nizamabad	30.7	40.6	52.0	16.5	28.7	39.5
19	Adilabad	39.7	47.6	52.7	26.9	35.2	40.3
20	Karimnagar	34.2	46.5	54.9	22.1	35.3	42.7
21	Warangal	34.4	50.8	57.1	22.4	39.0	45.1
22	Khammam	37.9	53.4	56.9	27.6	43.3	47.4
23	Nalgonda	35.2	50.7	57.2	20.1	37.4	44.7
	Andhra Pradesh	37.0	53.5	60.5	26.1	43.4	50.4

Source: Census of India, Andhra Pradesh.