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# Intersectional Environmentalism: The Indian Perspective

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AHANA BAG<sup>1</sup>

## ABSTRACT

*Equity and environmental justice often finds itself at crossroads of problems related to the two original institutions, society and the environment. Intersectional environmentalism bears the burden and has the potential of opening up a version of environmentalism that protects both man and nature. However, these pressing social and environmental decisions often present a dilemma, where one is required to be prioritised over the other. The American Journal of Public Health released that non-whites had 1.28 times higher burden than the overall population on exposure to particulate matter. UN Copenhagen Climate Summit, 2009 saw the leak of “The Danish Text”, that revealed and confirmed the mythical existence of the “inner circle”. It was made clear in the international stage that developed nations were willing to bargain the lives and livelihoods of ethnic minorities in order to maintain business as usual. In a domestic scale, the problem is equally grave. Tribal populations and forest villages in India, as well as caste minorities get the short end of the stick when environmental justice is imposed without consideration. These communities have been rendered invisible with centuries of marginalization, but they have never been more out of their depth, as there are now, as the rule of law, imposes restrictions on their livelihoods. Ironically, these communities are the most interconnected with the earth, the Chipko movement to this day stands as beacon of intersectional environmental activism, and injustices done unto these very communities screams of social inequality of a silenced people. The paper elaborates on the Indian scenario of Intersectional Environmentalism, and analyses the existing legislations, and incidences of injustice that paints the perspective of environmental justice and marginalised societies in India.*

**Keywords:** *Intersectional Environmentalism, Copenhagen Climate Summit, Kyoto Protocol, Danish text, Marginalised communities, Chipko Movement, India, Forest Rights Act.*

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<sup>1</sup> Author is a student at Department of Law, University of Calcutta, India.

## I. INTRODUCTION: A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF INTERSECTIONAL ENVIRONMENTALISM

The threat of climate change and environmental destruction has become visibly apparent with blazing forest fires, melting glaciers, gyres of garbage and plastics in the deepest of oceans, in many aspects it has been termed as the *great equaliser*<sup>2</sup> one that makes no distinction, yet the truth might be far from it. Whenever this subject matter is discussed in international political forums or around the dinner table, opinions are largely based on scientific data such as increase in sea levels, and Carbon dioxide emissions, however the differential effect this catastrophe has on the marginalised sectors of the society is often forgotten. Intersectionality has parallely evolved with the feminist theory, and is deeply grounded in power and knowledge production. Kathy Davis, defines the term in her paper as, ‘*the interaction between gender, race and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power*’<sup>3</sup>. Intersectionality is the concept of interaction of multiple identities and experiences of exclusion. Intersectional environmentalism, marries the idea of intersectionality and environmental justice it is defined by young activist Leah Thomas as “*the type of environmentalism where both people and the planet are considered, so both social and environmental justice are considered, and [they're] talked about in the same conversation.*”<sup>4</sup> Intersectional environmentalism is one in which racial, religious or economic minorities, and vulnerable communities are not silenced at the altar of environmental protection, but elucidates the intrinsic connection between the two, as an overlapping quandary.

All over the face of the world marginalised sections of society are bearing the brunt of climate change, categorically more than the privileged section. The example of ‘*pollution burden-pollution advantage*’ is one that aptly illustrates the necessity for an intersectional approach to the environmental crisis. A study conducted by the University of Minnesota found a race gap in air pollution, that is, air pollution in the United States is disproportionately caused by white Americans, however the same is disproportionately inhaled by Black and Hispanic minorities. Jonah Hill, the researcher described the white experience as ‘*pollution advantage*’, and the

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<sup>2</sup> Adam Parsons, *Global warming: the great equaliser*, SHARE THE WORLD’S RESOURCES, (Sep. 1, 2017), (<https://www.sharing.org/information-centre/articles/global-warming-great-equaliser>)

<sup>3</sup> Kathy Davis, *Intersectionality as buzzword: a sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful*. FEMINIST THEORY, 9 (1), 67–85. (2008)

<sup>4</sup> Sophie Hirsh, *Intersectional Environmentalist’ Platform Launches to Dismantle Racism in the Climate Movement*, GREEN MATTERS, (<https://www.greenmatters.com/p/intersectional-environmentalist-leah-thomas>)

minority experience as ‘*pollution burden*’.<sup>5</sup> The Public Health England report which largely ignored the burden of long term exposure to air pollution when making the observation, that BAME (non-white) Britons were up to twice as likely as white Britons to die, in the case of a COVID infection, was duly criticised as being ‘*astonishing*’ and ‘*wholly irresponsible*’. This was critical as is observed by the scientific community that long term exposure to air pollution in Black communities is itself an example of racism, and leads to weakened lungs, asthma, diabetes and heart attacks, co-morbidities that exponentially increase the risk of a person dying from the virus, so the pandemic has in reality brought forth the disproportionate burden of air pollution suffered by the BAME communities of United Kingdom.<sup>6</sup> Lise Kingo, executive director of the UN Global Compact says, there are “*very, very clear connections*” between the Covid-19 and climate crises, and the Black Lives Matter protests around the world, which in her words have helped to reveal deep-seated inequalities and “*endemic and structural racism*”<sup>7</sup>.

## II. THE DANISH TEXT DISARRAY

The Kyoto Protocol was the first international agreement that mandated country-by-country reduction in emissions of greenhouse gases, and particularly binded developed countries by placing a heavier burden on them on the basis of historic emissions. Such was decided on the basis of the principle of *common but differentiated responsibility and respective capabilities*, as they were recognised to be largely responsible for the current levels of GHG emissions. India, China and other developing countries weren’t mandated to reduce emissions as they had contributed to a small amount of the century plus build-up of Carbon dioxide.<sup>8</sup> However, in the winter of 2009 the UN Copenhagen climate talks were in an absolute disarray after the leakage of the ‘Danish Text’, this secret agreement entered into by developed countries like United States, United Kingdom and Denmark (also known as the *circle of commitment or the inner circle*) is a severe departure from the Kyoto Protocol’s principles. The draft caps the global temperature rise at 2 degree Celsius, hands control of the climate change finance to the World Bank, makes the money to aid poor nations to adapt to climate change contingent on them taking a range of actions and largely abandons the protocol. The document has been described

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<sup>5</sup> Doyle Rice, *Study finds a race gap in air pollution — whites largely cause it; blacks and Hispanics breathe it*, USA TODAY, (Mar. 11, 2019), (<https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2019/03/11/air-pollution-inequality-minorities-breathe-air-polluted-whites/3130783002/>)

<sup>6</sup> Damian Carrington, *Omission of air pollution from report on Covid-19 and race ‘astonishing’*, THE GUARDIAN, (Jun 7, 2020), (<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/jun/07/omission-of-air-pollution-from-report-on-covid-19-and-race-astonishing>)

<sup>7</sup> Fiona Harvey, *Covid-19 pandemic is ‘fire drill’ for effects of climate crisis, says UN official*, THE GUARDIAN, (Jun 15, 2020), (<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/jun/15/covid-19-pandemic-is-fire-drill-for-effects-of-climate-crisis-says-un-official>)

<sup>8</sup> The Kyoto Protocol, UNFCCC, [https://unfccc.int/resource/docs/publications/08\\_unfccc\\_kp\\_ref\\_manual.pdf](https://unfccc.int/resource/docs/publications/08_unfccc_kp_ref_manual.pdf)

as one that is dangerous for developing countries and one that seeks to rework the UN balance of obligations. The realisation of the agreement would not allow developing countries to emit more than 1.44 tonnes of carbon per person by 2050, while allowing the developed countries to emit 2.67 tonnes per person, along with weakening the UN's role in handling climate finance and further segregating poor countries by creating another category called '*the most vulnerable*'.<sup>9</sup>

The reaction from developing countries specially from Africa upon the leak of the document was understandably severe<sup>10</sup>. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change had opined rise in temperatures is specifically dangerous to many African countries and small island nations, as they may struggle to cope with multiple impacts like crop failures, drought, heat waves and the expansion of malaria-carrying mosquitoes giving rise to a compounding effect<sup>11</sup>. Centre African groups had chanted "*Two degrees is suicide*", "*One Africa, One Degree*" and "*No to Climate Colonialism, No to Climate Genocide*", in response to the proposal; Mithika Mwenda of the Pan African Climate Justice Alliance, had opined, "*It is literally a matter of life and death for the friends and families of those that are here. A bad deal is a crime against humanity and we won't sign a deal if it means signing a death warrant.*"<sup>12,13</sup>, and "*We have been asked to sign a suicide pact,*" was said Sudanese representative, Lumumba Di-Aping<sup>14</sup>. When lead Venezuelan negotiator Claudia Salerno accidentally cut her hand after repeatedly banging her fists in an attempt to be heard, and proceeded to thrust her bloodied palm towards the officials remarking if a sovereign nation had to cut its hand and draw blood in order to speak, did the saga come to a dramatic climax<sup>15</sup>. This event on an international stage simply highlighted the institutional and calculated approach towards purposefully segregating communities by world leaders, just to continue business as usual. Even though the document was said to be a draft, it nonetheless confirmed that developed nations were indeed willing to wager the lives and livelihoods of the people of the developing nations. The leak of the Danish text proves that the

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<sup>9</sup> John Vidal, *Copenhagen climate summit in disarray after 'Danish text' leak*, THE GUARDIAN, (Dec. 8, 2009), (<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2009/dec/08/copenhagen-climate-summit-disarray-danish-text>)

<sup>10</sup> "*Two Degrees Is Suicide!*" Chant African Civil Society Delegates At Cop15, MOVEMENT GENERATION, (<https://movementgeneration.org/two-degrees-is-suicide-chant-african-civil-society-delegates-at-cop15-2/>)

<sup>11</sup> Brad Plumer And Nadja Popovich, *Why Half a Degree of Global Warming Is a Big Deal*, NEW YORK TIMES, (Oct. 7, 2018), (<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/10/07/climate/ipcc-report-half-degree.html>)

<sup>12</sup> Ibid pt.9

<sup>13</sup> Jennifer Krill, Adrian Wilson, *Copenhagen: Climate Justice for the Poor, or Backroom Deals by the Rich?*, THE UNDERSTORY, ([https://www.ran.org/the-understory/copenhagen\\_climate\\_justice\\_for\\_the\\_poor\\_or\\_backroom\\_deals\\_by\\_the\\_rich/](https://www.ran.org/the-understory/copenhagen_climate_justice_for_the_poor_or_backroom_deals_by_the_rich/))

<sup>14</sup> *We will not die quietly: Voices from the Third World at Copenhagen*, GREEN LEFT, (Dec 19, 2009), (<https://www.greenleft.org.au/content/we-will-not-die-quietly-voices-third-world-copenhagen>)

<sup>15</sup> *Intersectional Environmentalism: Why it's crucial for climate justice*, BLOGS.LBORO, (Jun 18, 2020), (<https://blog.lboro.ac.uk/sustainability/2020/06/18/intersectional-environmentalism/>)

impact of climate change on developing countries is not a coincidence but rather a deliberate attempt by developed nations with specific economic goals in sight.

### **III. THE SCHEDULED TRIBES AND OTHER TRADITIONAL FOREST DWELLERS (RECOGNITION OF FOREST RIGHTS) ACT, 2006: AN ANALYSIS**

The Scheduled Tribes And Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition Of Forest Rights) Act, 2006<sup>16</sup>, also known as the Forest Rights Act (FRA), is an specifically tailor made to address and protect the rights of Forest dwellers. Section 3 of the Act recognizes the rights of forest dwelling communities, such as right to hold land and live in the forest, right of ownership, access to collect, use, and dispose of minor forest produce, community rights of uses or entitlements such as fish and other products of water bodies, grazing and traditional seasonal resource access of nomadic or pastoralist communities; rights to protect, regenerate or conserve or manage any community forest resource which they have been traditionally protecting and conserving for sustainable use, rights for conversion of *Pattas* or leases or grants issued by any local authority or any State Government on forest lands to titles, right of access to biodiversity and community right to intellectual property and traditional knowledge related to biodiversity and cultural diversity, and specially, right to *in situ* rehabilitation including alternative land in cases where the Scheduled Tribes or other traditional forest dwellers have been illegally evicted or displaced from forest land of any description without receiving their legal entitlement to rehabilitation prior to the 13th day of December, 2005<sup>17</sup>. Section 4 of the Act vests the rights in forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes and other traditional forest dwellers<sup>18</sup>. Section 5 of the act empowers the Gram Sabha, and village level institutions to protect the wildlife, and biodiversity and ensure the forest is preserved in areas where forest-dwelling communities are residing<sup>19</sup>, adding a crucial element of decentralizations of decision regarding environmental protection, however the Act has certain loopholes.

The Act is well intentioned but not specific. This lack of specificity endangers both the wildlife and the forest dwellers in more ways than one. A sharp definition of ‘*other traditional forest dwellers*’ would have acted as a safeguard for wildlife and would have prevented further intrusion into the forest space, but the board definition<sup>20</sup> leaves a loophole for non-tribal

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<sup>16</sup> The Scheduled Tribes And Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition Of Forest Rights) Act, 2006, No. 2 Of 2007

<sup>17</sup> The Scheduled Tribes And Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition Of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 § 3

<sup>18</sup> The Scheduled Tribes And Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition Of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 § 4

<sup>19</sup> The Scheduled Tribes And Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition Of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 § 5

<sup>20</sup> The Scheduled Tribes And Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition Of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 § 2(o); ("*other traditional forest dweller*" means any member or community who has for at least three generations prior to the 13th day of December, 2005 primarily resided in and who depend on the forest or forests land for *bona fide*

persons to take advantage of the vague definition and claim rights under the Act. This fear of misutilisation of the legislation can seep into the thought process of the judiciary and act as a seed of doubt when dealing with cases of 'other traditional forest dwellers'. Whatever distinction the Act makes in defining 'other traditional forest dwellers', is problematic. In the Act a generation comprises of twenty five years and 'other traditional forest dwellers' must prove they have primary residence of 3 generation prior to 2005<sup>21</sup>, so it dates back to a colonial year of 1930. This provision is practically impossible for nomadic tribes to prove and officials only have colonial records as proof for settlement of rights, and the Act also does not provide any guidelines for acceptable evidence to prove the 'other traditional forest dwellers' claims to the rights of the forest. The is discriminatory as the same Act does not require the such proof from Forest Dwelling Schedule Tribes.

#### IV. EVICTION FOR CONSERVATION

The monsoon of 2009 saw the eviction of 245 Baiga families in Chhattisgarh from the Achanakmar Tiger Reserve. This was not an isolated incidence as such evictions have been commonplace in India since 1970, when 28 villages were displaced from Kanha Tiger Reserve, ten villages and 261 families for Vedanta's bauxite mines in Bodai-Daldali from 2000-2003. Since 2003, nine villages comprising of 220 households have been displaced from Boramdeo Sanctuary in Kabirdham district. Many families faced displacement because they lacked land records, and many of the displacements have no official records, and several households are yet to receive compensation. Each family relocated outside the core area, is entitled a compensation of 10 lakhs under the Project Tiger, after a sanctuary is notified as a Tiger Reserve by the National Tiger Conservation Authority (NTCA). Yet, the Baiga villages relocated from Achanakmar received a paltry fifty thousand rupees per family.<sup>22</sup> In 2014, around 450 families identifying as Baiga and Gond communities were evicted to protect tigers in the Kanha Tiger Reserve. It was claimed by tribal activists that many affected families did not receive rehabilitation benefits as promised by the government. Stephen Cory of Survival International opined that Baiga communities, who have been forcefully evicted had for centuries carefully managed tiger habitats, and were certainly not involved in poaching but

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*livelihood needs. Explanation – For the purpose of this clause, "generation" means a period comprising of twenty-five years.)*

<sup>21</sup> Ibid

<sup>22</sup> Sayantan Bera, *Baigas in exile*, DOWN TO EARTH, (Jun 7, 2015), (<https://www.downtoearth.org.in/coverage/baigas-in-exile-38674>)

were the finest of conservationists.<sup>23</sup> In 2017, a thousand people belonging to Bodo, Rabha and Mishing tribes were evicted from the Orange National Park in Assam. 60 huts belonging to the Irular and Jenu Kurumber Adivasis in Vazhathottam Village, Nilgiri District, Tamil Nadu were demolished to protect an ‘*elephant corridor*’ identified by the state government.<sup>24</sup>

On 13<sup>th</sup> February, 2019 the Apex Court of India, ordered the eviction of 11.8 lakh people whose claims as Scheduled Tribes (STs) and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (OTFDs) had been rejected by 16 states under the Forest Rights Act. The Bench of Justices Arun Mishra, Navin Sinha and Indira Banerjee ordered the chief secretaries of the States to evict all those whose claims had been rejected by 24<sup>th</sup> of July, 2019. The above mentioned order was based on the affidavits filed by respective States, however these affidavits do not make it clear if the due process of law was followed before the claims were rejected<sup>25</sup>. The Supreme Court was forced to put a stay on its order following collective advocacy by several groups<sup>26</sup>.

A research conducted by Housing and Land Rights Network in 2018 said, that a majority of eviction cases which were reported, the state authorities did not follow due process as established by national and international standards, and all cases of forced eviction resulted in multiple and gross violations of human rights. The study also noted that an alarming 15% of all home demolitions in India were cited as necessary for wildlife and forest protection.<sup>27</sup> Intersectionality resurfaces when the effect of forced displacement on women is discussed. A working paper titled Impact of Displacement by Development Projects on Women in India, by S. Parasuraman, says women face a breakdown in their social support networks, they are moved away from their habituated places and services, and often do not receive adequate access to essential services such as healthcare and child welfare after displacement, access to resources is also curtailed as resource replacement may focus only on men, loss of employment may lead to early marriage and loss of social standing in the community.<sup>28</sup> These incidences over the years have adversely affected the lives of thousands of indigenous people, left them without an

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<sup>23</sup> Nita Bhalla, *India urged stop evicting tribes from Kanha Tiger Reserve*, THE MINT, (Jan 15, 2015), (<https://www.livemint.com/Politics/ruxAQy7rvijRCXDPLDOSrK/India-urged-stop-evicting-tribes-from-Kanha-Tiger-Reserve.html>)

<sup>24</sup> Rituparna Palit, *Save Tribes to Save your Jungles*, LET ME BREATHE, (<https://letmebreathe.in/2020/06/05/save-tribes-to-save-your-jungles/>)

<sup>25</sup> Dhananjay Mahapatra, *11.8 lakh title claims of ‘tribals and forest dwellers’ rejected*, THE TIMES OF INDIA, (Feb 22, 2019), (<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/11-8-lakh-title-claims-of-tribals-and-forest-dwellers-rejected/articleshow/68104085.cms>)

<sup>26</sup> *Supreme Court stays tribal eviction order*, THE INDIAN EXPRESS, (Mar 1, 2019), (<https://indianexpress.com/article/india/supreme-court-stays-tribal-eviction-order-5605855/>)

<sup>27</sup> Forced Evictions in India in 2017: An Alarming National Crisis, HOUSING AND LAND RIGHTS NETWORK, Feb 2018, [https://www.hlrn.org.in/documents/Forced\\_Evictions\\_2017.pdf](https://www.hlrn.org.in/documents/Forced_Evictions_2017.pdf)

<sup>28</sup> S. Parasuraman, *Impact of Displacement by Development Projects on Women in India*, INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL STUDIES, Working Paper Series No. 159, 1993

identity, despite of the legislation that was specifically drafted and passed to provide them a legal bulwark.

## V. CONCLUSION: A STORY OF RESILIENCE

India has a rich history of environmental activism, from the Chipko Movement<sup>29</sup> to the Narmada Bachao Andolan<sup>30</sup>, Appiko Movement in the Western Ghats, Stop Tehri project committee in Uttar Pradesh<sup>31</sup>, and the youth and indigenous organizations led movement opposing bauxite mining in the Gandhamardan Hills<sup>32</sup>. Most of these movements were born out of need and desperation for survival felt by the communities closest to the environment. In his article *Environmental Movements in India*, P.P. Karan provides a map depicting the geographical locations of the movements.



FIG. 1—Locations of activities of main environmental movements in India. 33

The map shows that most of the movements were concentrated in the Madhya Pradesh,

<sup>29</sup> Vandana Shiva and J. Bandyopadhyay, *The Evolution, Structure, and Impact of the Chipko Movement*, MOUNTAIN RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, Vol. 6, No. 2 (May, 1986), pp. 133-142

<sup>30</sup> Amit Sengupta, Narmada Bachao Andolan: The longest living Gandhian 'Satyagraha', NATIONAL HERALD, (Oct 2, 2018), (<https://www.nationalheraldindia.com/opinion/the-longest-gandhian-satyagraha-over-narmada>)

<sup>31</sup> *Indian villagers protest Tehri Dam construction, 2001-2002*, NDTV, (<https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/indian-villagers-protest-tehri-dam-construction-2001-2002>)

<sup>32</sup> Karan, P. P. "Environmental Movements in India." GEOGRAPHICAL REVIEW, vol. 84, no. 1, 1994, pp. 32–41.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid

Maharashtra and Orissa belt, regions which according to the 2001 census had the highest number of tribal population in the country<sup>34</sup>. It is without a shred of doubt that tribal communities have been the most affected by environmental degradation, and have felt the need time and again to rise in protest against the malpractices of the State. Yet, ironically these very communities are evicted in the name of conservation and environmental protection.

Areas in which indigenous populations have been allowed to flourish, have seen massive changes in wildlife populations. The community led blackbuck conservation in Ganjam of Odisha is a classic example of the same, where the black buck population jumped from 573 in 1990 to 4044 in 2018<sup>35</sup>. However the most fascinating story of resilience comes from the Soliga in Karnataka. The Soligas living in peripheral forests near Biligiri Rangana Hills and Male Mahadeshwara in Chamarajnar District, created history by being the first tribal community inside a core area of a tiger reserve to have their forest rights officially recognised by the court of law. In 2006 after the forest officials restricted the tribe's access to and collection of non-timber forest produce, the Soligas took the matter to court and in 2010, 1200 families received *pattas* that established their rights of the land. The victory was short-lived, as a year later the forest was declared a tiger reserve and collection of forest produce was banned. The tribes came together as the Soliga Abhivrudhi Sanghas, and fought for the legal rights to their land. In October 2011, the court ruled in favour of the Soligas and granted them rights to habitat and collection of non-timber forest produce. Since then the Soligas have established a legacy of community-led conservation as from 2011-2015 tiger populations in the reserve have doubled, proving beyond doubt importance of forest dwelling communities in all conservation efforts.<sup>36</sup>

Forest dwelling communities possess centuries old tried and tested wisdom on sustainable living in a wild ecosystem, and are most affected by the changes in said ecosystem. Yet, the utter lack of visibility has pushed such communities to the brink, with lakhs being evicted and huts demolished under the guise of conservation. It is of the utmost importance that the national administration comes to recognise the value of indigenous communities and realise the irony of its actions, before it is too late. As a Soliga man had articulated in an interview with the BBC,

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<sup>34</sup> Scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, Census 2001, Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India, ([https://censusindia.gov.in/census\\_and\\_you/scheduled\\_castes\\_and\\_scheduled\\_tribes.aspx](https://censusindia.gov.in/census_and_you/scheduled_castes_and_scheduled_tribes.aspx))

<sup>35</sup> Biswajit Mohanty, *Pronking in Ganjam*, DOWN TO EARTH, (Aug 08, 2018), (<https://www.downtoearth.org.in/blog/wildlife-biodiversity/pronking-in-ganjam-61351>)

<sup>36</sup> Amoolya Rajappa, *How an indigenous tribe in K'taka's tiger reserve won battle over forest rights*, THE NEWS MINUTE (Oct 1, 2018), (<https://www.thenewsminute.com/article/how-indigenous-tribe-k-taka-s-tiger-reserve-won-battle-over-forest-rights-89255>)

*“We have been the ones that look out for tigers. You remove us and you remove the tigers.”<sup>37</sup>*

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<sup>37</sup> Niki Rust, *There are people in India living with wild tigers*, BBC, (Jun 8, 2016), (<http://www.bbc.com/earth/story/20160607-there-are-people-in-india-happily-living-with-wild-tigers>)