



INTERNATIONAL LAW
JOURNAL

**WHITE BLACK
LEGAL LAW
JOURNAL
ISSN: 2581-
8503**

Peer - Reviewed & Refereed Journal

The Law Journal strives to provide a platform for discussion of International as well as National Developments in the Field of Law.

WWW.WHITEBLACKLEGAL.CO.IN

DISCLAIMER

No part of this publication may be reproduced or copied in any form by any means without prior written permission of Editor-in-chief of White Black Legal – The Law Journal. The Editorial Team of White Black Legal holds the copyright to all articles contributed to this publication. The views expressed in this publication are purely personal opinions of the authors and do not reflect the views of the Editorial Team of White Black Legal. Though all efforts are made to ensure the accuracy and correctness of the information published, White Black Legal shall not be responsible for any errors caused due to oversight or otherwise.

WHITE BLACK
LEGAL

EDITORIAL **TEAM**

Raju Narayana Swamy (IAS) Indian Administrative Service **officer**



a professional
Procurement from the World Bank.

Dr. Raju Narayana Swamy popularly known as Kerala's Anti-Corruption Crusader is the All India Topper of the 1991 batch of the IAS and is currently posted as Principal Secretary to the Government of Kerala. He has earned many accolades as he hit against the political-bureaucrat corruption nexus in India. Dr Swamy holds a B.Tech in Computer Science and Engineering from the IIT Madras and a Ph. D. in Cyber Law from Gujarat National Law University. He also has an LLM (Pro) (with specialization in IPR) as well as three PG Diplomas from the National Law University, Delhi- one in Urban Environmental Management and Law, another in Environmental Law and Policy and a third one in Tourism and Environmental Law. He also holds a post-graduate diploma in IPR from the National Law School, Bengaluru and diploma in Public

Dr. R. K. Upadhyay

Dr. R. K. Upadhyay is Registrar, University of Kota (Raj.), Dr Upadhyay obtained LLB , LLM degrees from Banaras Hindu University & Phd from university of Kota.He has succesfully completed UGC sponsored M.R.P for the work in the ares of the various prisoners reforms in the state of the Rajasthan.



Senior Editor

Dr. Neha Mishra



Dr. Neha Mishra is Associate Professor & Associate Dean (Scholarships) in Jindal Global Law School, OP Jindal Global University. She was awarded both her PhD degree and Associate Professor & Associate Dean M.A.; LL.B. (University of Delhi); LL.M.; Ph.D. (NLSIU, Bangalore) LLM from National Law School of India University, Bengaluru; she did her LL.B. from Faculty of Law, Delhi University as well as M.A. and B.A. from Hindu College and DCAC from DU respectively. Neha has been a Visiting Fellow, School of Social Work, Michigan State University, 2016 and invited speaker Panelist at Global Conference, Whitney R. Harris World Law Institute, Washington University in St.Louis, 2015.

Ms. Sumiti Ahuja

Ms. Sumiti Ahuja, Assistant Professor, Faculty of Law, University of Delhi,

Ms. Sumiti Ahuja completed her LL.M. from the Indian Law Institute with specialization in Criminal Law and Corporate Law, and has over nine years of teaching experience. She has done her LL.B. from the Faculty of Law, University of Delhi. She is currently pursuing Ph.D. in the area of Forensics and Law. Prior to joining the teaching profession, she has worked as Research Assistant for projects funded by different agencies of Govt. of India. She has developed various audio-video teaching modules under UGC e-PG Pathshala programme in the area of Criminology, under the aegis of an MHRD Project. Her areas of interest are Criminal Law, Law of Evidence, Interpretation of Statutes, and Clinical Legal Education.



Dr. Navtika Singh Nautiyal

Dr. Navtika Singh Nautiyal presently working as an Assistant Professor in School of law, Forensic Justice and Policy studies at National Forensic Sciences University, Gandhinagar, Gujarat. She has 9 years of Teaching and Research Experience. She has completed her Philosophy of Doctorate in 'Intercountry adoption laws from Uttranchal University, Dehradun' and LLM from Indian Law Institute, New Delhi.



Dr. Rinu Saraswat

Associate Professor at School of Law, Apex University, Jaipur, M.A, LL.M, Ph.D,

Dr. Rinu have 5 yrs of teaching experience in renowned institutions like Jagannath University and Apex University. Participated in more than 20 national and international seminars and conferences and 5 workshops and training programmes.

Dr. Nitesh Saraswat

E.MBA, LL.M, Ph.D, PGDSAPM

Currently working as Assistant Professor at Law Centre II, Faculty of Law, University of Delhi. Dr. Nitesh have 14 years of Teaching, Administrative and research experience in Renowned Institutions like Amity University, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Jai Narain Vyas University Jodhpur, Jagannath University and Nirma University.

More than 25 Publications in renowned National and International Journals and has authored a Text book on Cr.P.C and Juvenile Delinquency law.



Subhrajit Chanda

BBA. LL.B. (Hons.) (Amity University, Rajasthan); LL. M. (UPES, Dehradun) (Nottingham Trent University, UK); Ph.D. Candidate (G.D. Goenka University)

Subhrajit did his LL.M. in Sports Law, from Nottingham Trent University of United Kingdoms, with international scholarship provided by university; he has also completed another LL.M. in Energy Law from University of Petroleum and Energy Studies, India. He did his B.B.A.LL.B. (Hons.) focussing on International Trade Law.



ABOUT US

WHITE BLACK LEGAL is an open access, peer-reviewed and refereed journal provided dedicated to express views on topical legal issues, thereby generating a cross current of ideas on emerging matters. This platform shall also ignite the initiative and desire of young law students to contribute in the field of law. The erudite response of legal luminaries shall be solicited to enable readers to explore challenges that lie before law makers, lawyers and the society at large, in the event of the ever changing social, economic and technological scenario.

With this thought, we hereby present to you

ANALYSIS ON ROLE OF LOCAL SELF BODIES IN CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES RELATED TO PANCHAMI LANDS

AUTHORED BY - N. K. SHARITHIRA¹

ABSTRACT

Colonial Government in India in its attempt to connect the 'Depressed Classes' directly to land assigned cultivable wastelands to them known as Depressed Class Lands (Panchami Lands) with certain conditions. The conditions that are imposed on Panchami Lands are that the lands should not be transferred to any person who is not a member of Depressed Class. From its implementation, the Panchami Lands have faced various issues when it was assigned to the beneficiaries like lands used as collateral for loans, illegal possession and fraudulent transfers of Panchami Lands. The Local Administration plays a major role in protecting the Panchami Lands from encroachment and unlawful transfers as well as protecting the rightful beneficiaries. Although the Administration and Judiciary tried to protect the beneficiaries of the Panchami Land, the challenges has failed to achieve the objective of Panchami Lands. This paper analyses the contemporary issues faced in the Panchami Land transfer which were continuation of the past and new issues which was raised in this modernisation era.

Keywords: Panchami Land, Depressed Class, Local Administration, Land Transfer

I. INTRODUCTION

Land rights play a major part in the lives of the individual holding the land. It is not a just a symbol of economic condition of the owner of the land, the lands tend to project the social status of the individual. In Indian history, the lands are accumulated to dominating classes and the others were denied their right to hold the lands and this caused more inequalities in the society and caused economic distress. This led to various land reform movements in India to provide land to the affected communities to rectify the injustice done to them in the past. Bhoodan Moveements and Gram Dan Movements have provided lands to landless poor. These

¹1st Year, LLM, School of Excellence in Law, The Tamil Nadu Dr. Ambedkar Law University, Email Id: n.k.sharithira@gmail.com

land reform movements have taken place in regional level like Operation Burga which was implemented in the States of Kerala and West Bengal. Similar to these land reforms, there are various other land reforms took place to uplift the conditions of Scheduled Caste. It has been reported that the agricultural land owned by the Scheduled Caste communities are just 17.1 percent². These land reforms try to assure the land to these distressed communities through these programmes which are implemented State wise. The Tamil Nadu has the concept of the Panchami Land to protect the rights of the Scheduled Caste communities and improve their conditions.

II. THE CONCEPT OF PANCHAMI LAND

The Panchami lands are lands that are allocated to the communities belonged to Scheduled Caste communities. The history of Panchami land traces back to the colonial period where J.H.A. Tremeneere, the British District Collector of Chengalpattu, a district in Tamil Nadu submitted a report on the Conditions of the Parayar³, a Caste falls under the category of Scheduled Caste. This report highlighted the living conditions of the parayar community and way to improve them and one such recommendation is to give away the waste lands to depressed class. Accordingly, in 1892, the Madras Presidency passed orders and eventually Depressed Class Land Act, 1892 was passed to allocate lands to the depressed class communities in an unconditional manner and these lands were allotted with the condition that these lands could not be transferred to individual who does not belong to the depressed classes. In 1934, it has been reported that 1.2 million acres of land were allotted to the members of the depressed class communities and these lands were termed as Panchami Land. The term Panchami Land denotes the land allocated to the Panchamas who are designated to be in the fifth place and termed as Untouchables who falls outside Varna system⁴.

In the post-independence era, the Madras Presidency was divided based on the linguistic lines and this concept of Panchami land is followed till date. The Kerala Restriction on Transfer by and Restoration of Lands to Scheduled Tribes Act, 1999 restricts the transfer of lands by Scheduled Tribe members in Kerala and restores possession of lands alienated by the depressed classes. Karnataka also has the Karnataka Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes (Prohibition

² National Sample Survey Organization, (2009-2010), 66th National Sample Survey Report

³ Debashish Roy (2013). Origin of Mirasdari system in Cachar with special reference to the Mirasdars of Panchama land in Tamil Nadu, Journal of History, Vol. 1.

⁴ M. Kowsalya, (July 2020), PANCHAMI LAND AND DALITS IN TAMIL NADU, UIJIR, | Vol. 1 Issue.2, <https://uijir.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/UIJIR-JULY257.pdf>

of Transfer of Certain Lands) Act, 1978. In Tamil Nadu, the Panchami Land concept has not been formalised by the legislation and it mainly relies on government orders and the judgments pronounced by the Courts for the implementation of Panchami lands.

Panchami lands are assigned to the landless poor belonging to the depressed class community people by the Government for their welfare and their upliftment. Such a land can never be dealt with by any other person other than the person in favour of whom such assignments are granted. The Government also imposed conditions to deal with such assigned lands. Any violation of such conditions will result in cancellation of assignment. Thus, the assigned land was cancelled on the ground that it was sold to some other person, who cannot purchase or deal with the lands in view of the conditions stipulated in the assignment. In *P.Dhandapani v. The Principal Secretary and Commissioner*⁵, the petitioner contested that he is the absolute owner of the land but the Court looked into the land documents and survey number and declared that the land belongs to the Panchami land and declared the transfer to the petitioner is void.

Though the concept of Panchami land is still in practice it faces various issues and these issues have been aggravated in the contemporary era and these led to the Panchami land movements. There is a need to analyse the issues in the Panchami land and it is the high time to address these by the concerned authorities. The concerned authorities include the State Government, Revenue officials and any other authority vested with the power to implement the Panchami lands. The local self bodies are one such authority which has certain impacts on the Panchami lands and has the potential for the better implementation of Panchami lands.

III. PANCHAMI LAND ISSUES IN CONTEMPORARY ERA

In the contemporary era, the beneficiaries of Panchami Land face issues and these have been aroused due to the issues that already existed in the past or it has been ascended due to the factors in the modernisation era.

3.1. Commune Land Battles

Panchami lands are distributed to the so-called depressed class community with the objective of uplifting their livelihood and thereby improving their socio-economic and political

⁵ W.P.No.3628 of 2013

conditions. But, the deep rooted social inequities have caused hurdles to the beneficiaries of the Panchami lands.

One of the continuing issues from the past is the beneficiary land owners were trapped by debt by the so called upper class communities and they were made to sell the property. The beneficiaries of Panchami land were deprived of their land ownership by illegal encroachment and fraudulent transfer by the so called upper class communities with the help of revenue officials and tried to legitimise encroachment and fraudulent transfer.⁶ This kind of transfers goes against the objective of Panchami land and in many cases the Court intervenes confirms the status of the Panchami land and declares such transfer as invalid.⁷

Recently, in Arungunam village of Tiruvannamalai District of Tamil Nadu, the so called upper caste community has sprayed pesticides using drones over the crops which were raised on the Panchami land and caused economic loss to the land owners⁸.

3.2. Illegal Occupation of Panchami lands

The Panchami lands have been illegal occupied by individuals who belong to the so called upper caste community⁹ and certain cases it has been occupied by private industries and commercial enterprises.¹⁰ In order to retrieve these illegally encroached lands several petitions has been filed before the Honourable Court and the judgments favour the panchami land beneficiaries and directed to conduct surveys to prevent these encroachments in the future¹¹. The National Commission for Scheduled Castes (NCSC)¹² issued notice to Mursoli trust for allegedly located in the Panchami land, the High Court confirmed the powers of the NCSC under Article 338 (5) of the Constitution of India and assured the Scheduled Castes are entitled

⁶ C. Jerome Samraj, (December 2006), Working Paper No. 197, Understanding the Struggle for Panchama Land, https://www.mids.ac.in/assets/doc/WP_197.pdf

⁷ *P.Dhandapani vs. The Principal Secretary*, W.P.No.3628 of 2013

⁸ Geetha Sunil Pillai, (2025, Feb 20) Mooknayak, Drone Attack on Dalit Land — SC Farmers Face ₹2 Lakh Crop Loss from Chemical Spraying and False Accusations by Caste Hindus in TN Village, <https://en.themooknayak.com/dalit-news/drone-attack-on-dalit-land-sc-farmers-face-2-lakh-crop-loss-from-chemical-spraying-and-false-accusations-by-caste-hindus-in-tn-village>

⁹ D. Karthikeyan, (2010, February 26), Panchami lands meant for Dalits elude them even a century later, <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/tamil-nadu/Panchami-lands-meant-for-Dalits-elude-them-even-a-century-later/article16816994.ece>

¹⁰ TNN, (2017, September 23), <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/coimbatore/panchami-land-being-illegally-sold-to-private-industries-dalits/articleshow/60801483.cms>

¹¹ S.Sundararajan vs. The District Collector, W.P. No.26196 of 2024

¹² Swasti Chaturvedi, (2024, January 10), <https://www.verdictum.in/court-updates/high-courts/udhavanidhi-stalin-national-commission-for-scheduled-castes-panchami-land-1514549>

to Panchami lands and it is purely for their benefit and welfare that the Depressed Class Land Act

3.3. Poor Implementation of Panchami Lands

Due to the forceful transfers and encroachments of the panchami land, the beneficiaries tried to retrieve the Panchami land. To address these issues, various state level committees were formed to understand the issues in panchami land and submitted reports with regard to retrieval of the panchami lands which were initially allotted to the rightful beneficiaries¹³. Despite of the formation of this panel, still the demand for recovery of panchami land issues has been continued till date. The major contributors to the poor implementation are the lack of legal backed authority. There are many movements and protest took place for retrieval of the panchami and they have demanded a separate Act to curb the transfer of panchami land from the rightful beneficiaries to the others and yet a specialised Act for the panchami lands has not been implemented.

3.4. Issues related to Land Records

The Panchami land beneficiaries do not possess required documents to claim their ownership over the lands. The beneficiaries failed to hold the land titles or patta for the land due to the improper documentation of land records which is due to outdated land surveys and failure of Land records with respect to the allocation of panchami lands¹⁴. In certain other cases, the land documents are inaccurate or tampered and this takes place by the encroachers to legitimise the illegal occupation. The encroachers who predominately belong to the dominant groups tend to influence the local authorities in that particular region and legitimise the land records and claim the panchami lands¹⁵.

3.5. Utilisation for Development Projects

There have been instances that the panchami land has been diverted for the sake of development project. This issue disintegrates the trust of the beneficiaries in the government. The Tamil

¹³ G. Jaganath, (2015, October 13), Panel Created to Retrieve Occupied Panchami Lands, <https://www.deccanchronicle.com/151013/nation-current-affairs/article/panel-created-retrieve-occupied-panchami-lands>

¹⁴ Namita Wahi, (2019, June 26), Understanding Land Conflict in India and Suggestions for Reform <https://cprindia.org/understanding-land-conflict-in-india-and-suggestions/>

¹⁵ Grace Carswell, Geert De Neve, Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, (2020, June 20), Paperwork, Patronage, and Citizenship: The Materiality of Everyday Interactions with Bureaucracy in Tamil Nadu, India, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9655.13311>

Nadu state government signed a memorandum of understanding with Tata Power in 2022 to establish a greenfield solar cell and module manufacturing plant in Tirunelveli district. The proposed land for the project was claimed to be the panchami land by social organisation. The situation gets worse when the targeted beneficiary group failed to prove their claim over the land due to loss of records¹⁶. All these circumstances aid to easily acquire the panchami lands for development and no compensation or mitigation plan are drafted for the affected beneficiaries. This creates debates with respect to social justice and economic development.

3.6. Delayed Relief to the Beneficiaries

The lack of concrete law for the transfers related to the panchami lands has created ambiguities in the application. This led to high level dependence on the Judiciary for the relief by the beneficiaries but the justice to the targeted beneficiaries is not rendered in a reasonable time¹⁷. The delay in the justice is most of the land records are either lost or tampered and it was difficult for the judiciary to dispense the case in a fair manner. The targeted beneficiaries lacks access to approach the judiciary due to the financial disparities and this further extend the issues in the panchami lands cases before the court. Though the beneficiaries has the right cause to defend their rights the delays in judiciary hesitate the beneficiaries to approach the Court due to the technicalities of legal system and financial burden

3.7. Inefficient Administrative Measures

The panchami lands retrieval protest or file a plea before the concerned authority has become part of the concerning issue of the panchami land. The beneficiaries request the authority to re-allocate or retrieve the land that has been curbed from through illegal or fraudulent transfers or transfers that were made by the influential classes¹⁸. Despite of the government has taken inadequate measures for the panchami land restoration. Though the Committees have been formed to undergo the conditions of the panchami lands, no sufficient measures have been taken.

¹⁶Vignesh A, (2024, March 01), TN: Shadow of Solar Project on Grazing Land Keeps Tirunelveli Village on its Toes, <https://www.newslick.in/tn-shadow-solar-project-grazing-land-keeps-tirunelveli-village-its-toes#>

¹⁷Bharathi SP, (2020 October 20), SC communities in TN are robbed of their rightful land, due to lack of strong laws, <https://www.thenewsminute.com/tamil-nadu/sc-communities-tn-are-robbed-their-rightful-land-due-lack-strong-laws->

¹⁸ The Hindu Bureau, (2024, August 17), Plea to allot Panchami lands to beneficiaries <https://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Madurai/plea-to-allot-panchami-lands-to-beneficiaries/article68537611.ece>

3.8. Limited Awareness and Education

Many Dalit families remain unaware of their land rights. This was the main reason why they transfer the land to communities which falls outside the scope of the Panchami land. In certain cases, the buyer is also not aware the land is panchami land and this again lead to legal battle between the seller and buyer or the land is taken away from the buyer and restored for panchami land purposes which causes distress to the buyer.

In *Yuvaraj v. The Commissioner of Land Administration*¹⁹, the petitioner requested to restore the conditional lands consist of 7.43 acres granted to Scheduled Caste community. The petitioner also requested the committee to collect the Panchami land details from all the offices, verify them and re-allot the land to the original assignees. The Court held that it is a settled matter and the land is in accordance with the legal proceeding, therefore the petitioner has been squashed.

IV. ROLE OF LOCAL SELF GOVERNMENT IN PANCHAMI LANDS

Panchayati Raj institutions stand as the pillar of the rural local governance in India and the Municipalities govern the local governance in urban areas. As the grass root level democracy they are accountable and responsible for the rural and urban development and they play a crucial role in the administration, identification, protection, and restoration of Panchami lands which comes under their respective areas.

4.1. Identification and Maintenance of Land Records

Local self bodies are mostly responsible to maintain the land records and considering this they could aid maintain the panchami land records. Local self-governments usually assist in demarcating boundaries and updating revenue and patta records.²⁰ They could prevent the encroachments and illegal transfers of the panchami land. Local self bodies are vested with the authority to monitor the land and their uses which helps to protect the illegal transfers and encroachments. They also help the concerned authority by reporting these encroachments²¹.

¹⁹ W.P.No.35259 of 2024

²⁰ The Tamil Nadu Panchayats Act, 1994 (Tamil Nadu Act 21 Of 1994)

²¹ Report No 4 of 2017, Performance Audit of Flood Management and Response in Chennai, https://cag.gov.in/uploads/download_audit_report/2016/Chapter_4_Encroachments_of_Report_No_4_of_2017_-_Performance_Audit_of_Flood_Management_and_Response_in_Ch.pdf

4.2. Facilitating Government Schemes and Welfare

Local bodies are given responsibility to implement certain welfare schemes for the uplifting the conditions of Scheduled Castes. On this basis they will help to implement the land based schemes for the Scheduled Castes who are beneficiaries of the Panchami Land. One of the reason that Panchami lands are transferred to the outsiders is the targeted groups are often debt trap and that is mainly because they cannot achieve their means livelihood in these lands due to financial crises but the local bodies aids in the schemes and subsidiaries related agriculture and aids the beneficiaries of panchami lands²².

4.3. Representation of Scheduled Caste Leaders

Local elected representatives who belong to the Scheduled Caste Community due to reserved seat in local self bodies will help to represent the cries of the affected communities. It has been reported that the local leader often who belong to the communities that oppress people based on caste pose threats to these communities and curb away their lands. These people also join hands with concerned officials to prevent the rights of beneficiaries.

4.4. Educating the Beneficiaries

If the elected representative belonging to the Scheduled Caste community resolves this issue and they also help to spread awareness to the targeted group and in the long run this will result in the retrieval movements of panchami lands. Digital divide among the citizens are are the main reason for the lack of digital literacy in India. The lack of digital literacy and internet access creates difficulties for the panchami land beneficiaries to check their ownership status with respect to lands or file digital complaints or rectify the errors in the records. The tampering of records or legitimising the illegal transfer related to panchami lands take place due to lack of digital knowledge. The local bodies are trying to bridge the gap by providing programmes for educating the citizens with respect to digitalisation²³.

4.5. Aids to Ease the Communal Issue

Local self-governments are often the first point of contact for aggrieved communities. It has to be noted that till date the so called upper caste communities still caused problems to the beneficiaries of the panchami lands and it has been reported in many cases that panchayats are

²² Report on Welfare of the Weaker Sections and in Particular the Scheuled Castes and Scheuled Tribes, https://www.tnrd.tn.gov.in/reports/Jain_Report/english/index4_27.pdf.

²³ Mintbook, (2025, April) Gram Panchayat Digital Library: A Gateway to Lifelong Learning in Rural India, <https://mintbook.com/blog/gram-panchayat-digital-library/>

seen as hope for ensuring the social justice in the villages where the indifferences based in caste still prevalent²⁴. Therefore the Panchayats can aid to ease the communal tension in the villages and protect the beneficiaries of panchami land.

4.6. Coordination with Higher Authorities

Panchayats coordinate with the Revenue Department and Social Welfare Department to verify records and implement land-related policies.²⁵ They play a role in surveys and land audits ordered by state authorities concerning Panchami lands.

CONCLUSION

The panchami lands are essential to improvise the conditions of the distressed Scheduled Caste communities. The confirmation of the Panchami Lands to the beneficiaries is essential to uplift the livelihood condition of these communities and rectify the social inequalities occurred in the past. Although the State Government has the higher say in the implementation of the Panchami lands, the objective of the Panchami land could be achieved only with proper implementation by the concerned authorities and in this the local self bodies play a vital role to ensure the land are held by the targeted beneficiaries and confirms their land rights. This role played by the Panchayats and Municipalities ensure the social justice of the Scheduled Caste Communities and thereby helping to economic development of the country.

REFERENECEES

BIBLOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

1. The Tamil Nadu Panchayats Act, 1994 (Tamil Nadu Act 21 Of 1994)
2. Depressed Class Land Act, 1892

SECONDARY SOURCES

REPORT

1. National Sample Survey Organization, (2009-2010), 66th National Sample Survey Report

²⁴ Shaoni Chakraborty, (2023, December 11), Dalits and Decentralization: Federalism's Impact on the Caste System, <https://forumfedblog.org/dalits-and-decentralizatio/>

²⁵ Report on Welfare of the Weaker Sections and in Particular the Scheuled Castes and Scheuled Tribes, https://www.tnrd.tn.gov.in/reports/Jain_Report/english/index4_27.pdf.

2. C. Jerome Samraj, (December 2006), Working Paper No. 197, Understanding the Struggle for Panchama Land, https://www.mids.ac.in/assets/doc/WP_197.pdf
3. Report No 4 of 2017, Performance Audit of Flood Management and Response in Chennai,
[https://cag.gov.in/uploads/download_audit_report/2016/Chapter_4_Encroachments_of_Report_No_4_of_2017 -
Performance Audit of Flood Management and Response in Ch.pdf](https://cag.gov.in/uploads/download_audit_report/2016/Chapter_4_Encroachments_of_Report_No_4_of_2017_-_Performance_Audit_of_Flood_Management_and_Response_in_Ch.pdf)
4. Report on Welfare of the Weaker Sections and in Particular the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes,
https://www.tnrd.tn.gov.in/reports/Jain_Report/english/index4_27.pdf.

JOURNAL

1. Debashish Roy (2013). Origin of Mirasdari system in Cachar with special reference to the Mirasdars of Panchama land in Tamil Nadu, Journal of History, Vol. 1.
2. M. Kowsalya, (July 2020), Panchami Land and Dalits in Tamil Nadu, UIJIR, | Vol. 1 Issue.2, <https://uijir.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/UIJIR-JULY257.pdf>
3. Grace Carswell, Geert De Neve, Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, (2020, June 20), Paperwork, Patronage, and Citizenship: The Materiality of Everyday Interactions with Bureaucracy in Tamil Nadu, India, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9655.13311>

WEBLIOGRAPHY

1. <https://en.themooknayak.com/dalit-news/drone-attack-on-dalit-land-sc-farmers-face-2-lakh-crop-loss-from-chemical-spraying-and-false-accusations-by-caste-hindus-in-tn-village>
2. <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/tamil-nadu/Panchami-lands-meant-for-Dalits-elude-them-even-a-century-later/article16816994.ece>
3. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/coimbatore/panchami-land-being-illegally-sold-to-private-industries-dalits/articleshow/60801483.cms>
4. <https://www.verdictum.in/court-updates/high-courts/udhayanidhi-stalin-national-commission-for-scheduled-castes-panchami-land-1514549>
5. <https://www.deccanchronicle.com/151013/nation-current-affairs/article/panel-created-retrieve-occupied-panchami-lands>
6. <https://cprindia.org/understanding-land-conflict-in-india-and-suggestions/>

7. <https://www.newsclick.in/tn-shadow-solar-project-grazing-land-keeps-tirunelveli-village-its-toes#>
8. <https://www.thenewsminute.com/tamil-nadu/sc-communities-tn-are-robbed-their-rightful-land-due-lack-strong-laws->
9. <https://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Madurai/plea-to-allot-panchami-lands-to-beneficiaries/article68537611.ece>
10. <https://mintbook.com/blog/gram-panchayat-digital-library/>

