



# THE SAHARIYAS OF SHIVPURI

Case Study By  
National Foundation for India



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## The **Sahariyas** of Shivpuri, Madhya Pradesh



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Limited livelihood opportunities, deforestation, and land encroachment by dominant tribes and non-tribes have led to displacement and left us in a vulnerable state.” says Meharban Adivasi from Sahariya community, a particularly vulnerable tribal group (PVTG) living in Gadhgoli village of Shivpuri block, Madhya Pradesh.

The Shivpuri district in Madhya Pradesh, India, is home to several indigenous<sup>1</sup> tribal communities like Sahariyas, Agariya, Bhil, and Baiga. The Sahariyas are a particularly vulnerable tribal group (PVTG) who have for long depended on forests for their livelihood and cultures. The symbiotic connection has led to unique knowledge and practices that are embedded in practices like seed preservation, and water conservation, often finding a cultural outlet in stories, dance, music, etc.

The Sahariya tribe resides primarily in the Gwalior-Chambal region of Madhya Pradesh, with significant populations in districts like Shivpuri, Guna, Sheopur, and Ashoknagar. This area, which is the foundation of the Sahariya's subsistence existence, is distinguished by semi-arid conditions, mountainous terrain, and dry deciduous forests. Water is provided by seasonal rivers like the Sindh and Parbati, but because of excessive consumption and unpredictable rainfall patterns,



their availability has become unpredictable. The inhabitants are mostly poor, forest-dependent Sahariya tribes living in these regions, according to a government report on tiger conservation. The looming environmental changes threaten the Sahariya's already fragile livelihoods, compounding their struggle for survival. Despite government interventions aimed at tribal welfare and forest conservation, the benefits often fail to reach this marginalized community effectively.

The studies of V. Sati and P K Patel have highlighted that various socio-political and environmental factors<sup>2</sup> have disrupted the deep connection between the Sahariyas and the forests, as well as other habitats. These disruptions have, in turn, posed significant challenges to the continuation of their daily lives and traditional practices.

“ Our voices often go unheard because we are seen as ‘forest people’ rather than rightful stakeholders. For us, land right is not just owning a piece of earth, but it is about our dignity, identity, and survival of our life, livelihood, and tradition, says Kailash Adivasi from Pitampura, Kolaras block.

Sahariya residents from the Sesai, Pitampura, and Gadhgoli villages in Kolaras and Shivpuri block said that over the years they have been pushed away from their traditional practices and have had<sup>3</sup> to rely on multiple contractual jobs such as daily wage labor in stone crushers, construction work, and agriculture fields. They earn merely INR 200-300 per day.<sup>4</sup>

Despite being legally entitled to land under the Forest Right Act 2006 (FRA, 2006), many Sahariyas have lost their ancestral lands in the last 20-30 years. Some of the factors the community highlighted were deforestation, displacement, and land encroachment. Rakesh Adivasi, from Sesai Village, Kolaras block mentioned that “apart from the government, sometimes tribes like Bhil and Baiga, or the non-tribal communities like Punjabis acquire the Sahariya’s lands in exchange for small amounts of loan”. He added that the Sahariyas have been pushed towards daily laborer jobs either outside the village or on the land that are acquired. Land acquisition by other communities is a common practice in the region and many Sahariyas have lost their land<sup>5</sup> following this practice. Since the Sahariyas usually do not have a sustainable source of income, they struggle to pay off these loans<sup>6</sup> (as small as INR 5,000) and eventually end up forfeiting their land. Dwindling opportunities to earn a livelihood only adds to long-term poverty alongside its loss of agricultural production.

“ Land ownership is scarce, forcing many families to depend on forest lands or common property resources. However, deforestation and land encroachment or acquisition have reduced the access to essential resources, pushing Sahariyas into daily wage labor in quarries, farms, or brick kilns under exploitative conditions.



Ramprakash Sharma, a community mobilizer living in Shivpuri and working with Sahariyas for over three decades, emphasized that these challenges have been intensified by climate change which has created new socio-economic vulnerabilities leading to the further breakdown of the intergenerational transfer of the Sahariya knowledge systems.

Ramprakash Sharma, a community mobilizer living in Shivpuri and working with Sahariyas for over three decades, emphasized that these challenges have been intensified by climate change which has created new socio-economic vulnerabilities leading to the further breakdown of the intergenerational transfer of the Sahariya knowledge systems.

Socio-economic pressures further exacerbates the struggle waged by the Sahariyas, which includes reduced agriculture production, and random weather events. Water scarcity adds to their vulnerability as they have to survive on a community hand pump for their water needs. Ramprakash Sharma also mentioned that “migration is surging as a result of increasing heat waves”.



Together, these factors are contributing to the decline of their traditional knowledge. Even a study done by International Organization for Migration (IOM) in 2009 – Compendium Of IOM'S Activities in Migration, Climate Change And The Environment, mentions how climate migration is prominently seen in several parts of the world and is a contributing factor to the loss of traditional values and knowledge.

## How do Sahariyas understand climate change?

“Earlier, the rain came right on time, and we knew when to sow and harvest. Now, the rain doesn't listen; it comes late, sometimes too much, sometimes not at all. Summers burn like never before, and even winters feel different, colder but shorter. Life has become hard, and it feels like nature itself is upset with us” voices Brijesh from Pitampura, Kolaras block.





Few villagers from Pitampura and Mudhera villages were able to interpret the alterations in the climate through the changes they observe to which they have to adapt to on a daily basis. They can interpret changes in the weather pattern so far in terms of less rain, colder but shorter winters, and extremely hot and extended summers. They can articulate the impact of less rain and heat like drying rivers and wells.



For the past 7-8 years, apart from our other problems, we have been struggling with the intense heat waves.

Soniram Adivasi, from Pitampura village, Kolaras block states that for the last 7-8 years they have been facing extreme difficulty due to heatwaves. The heatwaves impact their daily life and livelihood activities such as outdoor work are becoming inaccessible day by day. While she did not use the term climate change, there was a vivid understanding of how disrupted weather patterns like irregular

(light and heavy rain) monsoons, delays in rain and long summers had not just affected everyday living but also livelihood options like daily wage labor at construction sites or farming fields. This was because weather patterns, including heat waves, may have disrupted agriculture cycles, and the increased frequency of droughts resulted in water scarcity.



# The challenge of sustaining indigenous knowledge systems of the Sahariyas

The interconnections of indigenous knowledge to cope with climate change among the Sahariya community are at risk of diminishing. Most community members have not been able to carry forward their traditional knowledge and practices because of the socio-political aspects discussed earlier.

The significance of indigenous knowledge remains largely unrecognized by the new Sahariya community as they have no repository to refer to. The elders of the community do not have a traditional way of maintaining records of these practices. Because they are waging a struggle to survive, Sahariyas seldom ever adhere to

their culture and values.

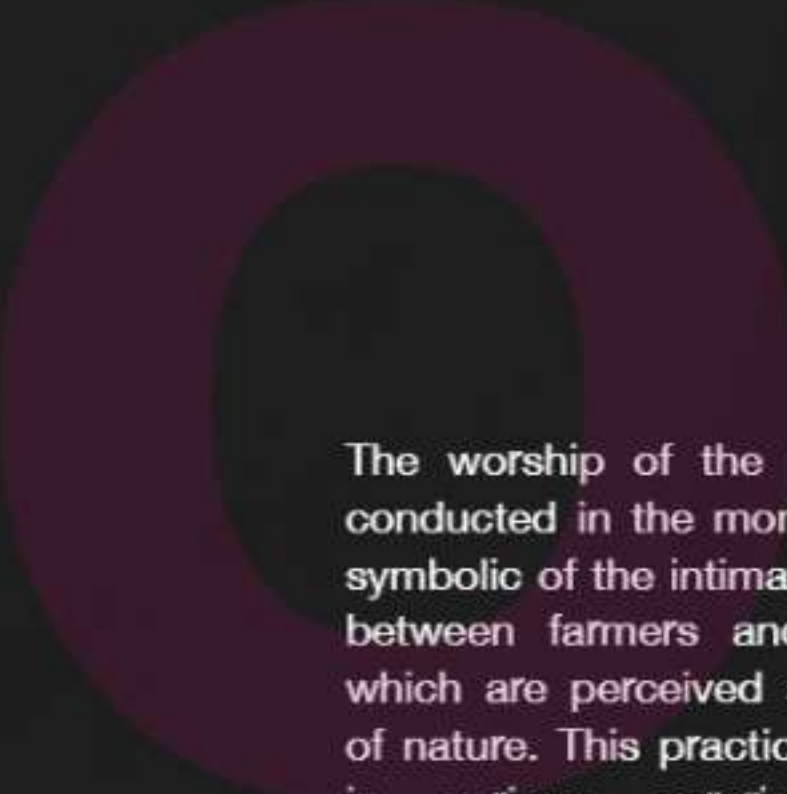
Many Sahariyas have lost practices such as seed conservation and organic farming in villages like Sesai. About three decades back, the Sahariya people residing in Sesai village used to reside in a nearby forest where they used to collect wood, edibles, plants, and fruits like Mahua for their consumption as well as for selling purposes. However, as mentioned previously, the tribal people's access to land and forest has become limited as a result of land alienation, purchase, displacement, and deforestation, making it more difficult to sustain their indigenous knowledge.






Sahariya like other tribal and indigenous communities had a practice of worshipping the plough aligning their agricultural practices with the onset of the sowing season. These rituals underline the symbiotic relationship between humans and nature, where cultural traditions are directly linked to environmental sustainability.

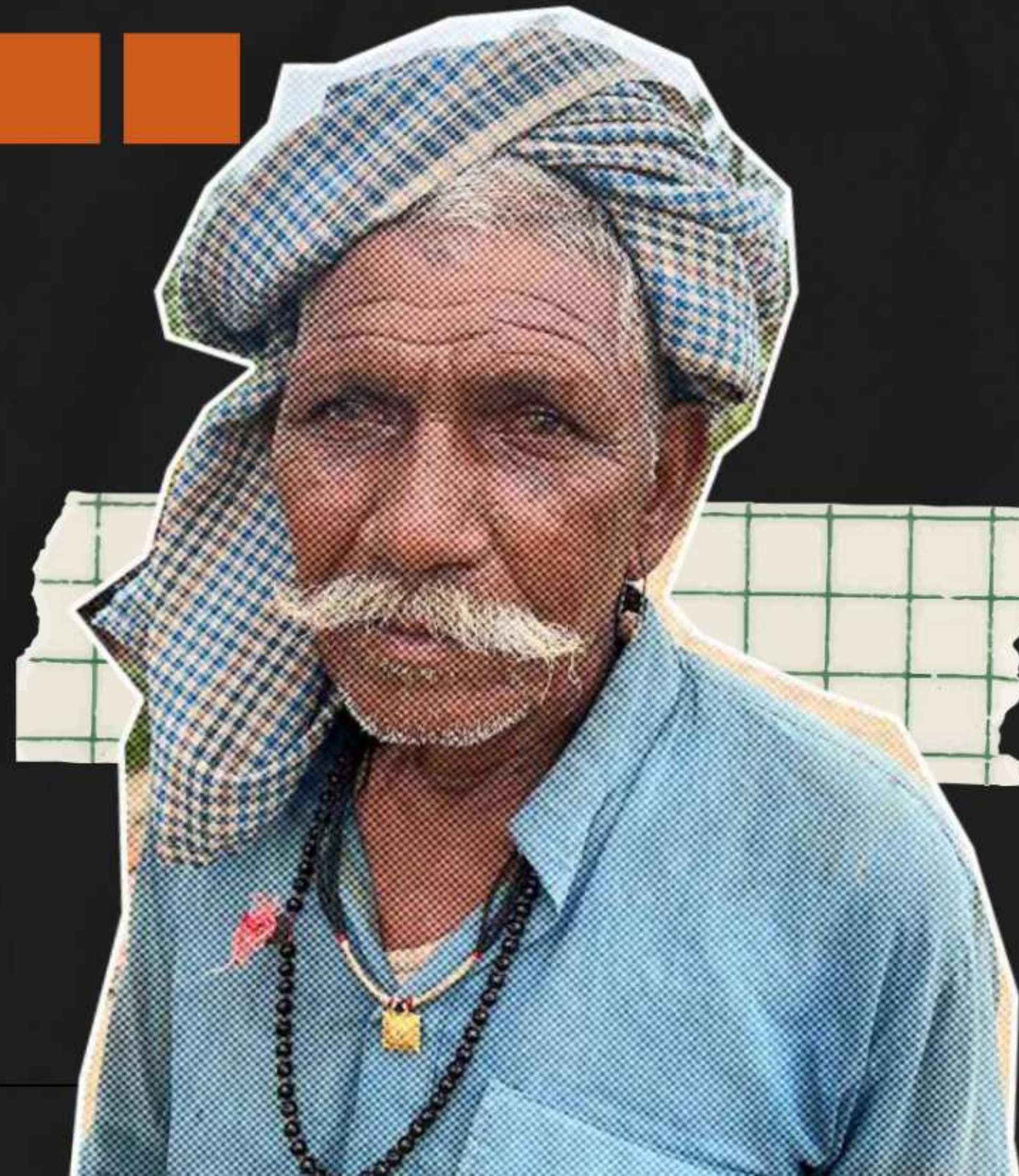
“ Unique cultural practices, such as farmers worshipping their plough in April before sowing seeds and venerating the forest, were integral to their way of life. However, erratic weather patterns caused by climate change are altering this schedule, leaving communities uncertain about the timing of agricultural activities.



The worship of the plough, often conducted in the month of April, is symbolic of the intimate relationship between farmers and their tools, which are perceived as extensions of nature. This practice is prevalent in various agrarian societies, particularly among Indigenous and tribal communities in South Asia<sup>7</sup>, not just Sahariyas. During this ritual, farmers often clean their ploughs, decorate them with flowers, and offer prayers to deities associated with agriculture, seeking blessings for a successful cropping season.



The Sahariya in Pitampura also practiced agriculture activities without the use of chemical pesticides, herbicides, or synthetic fertilizers such as Diammonium Phosphate. Instead, they relied solely on organic manure to cultivate their land. Alongside farming, the Sahariyas collected forest products for consumption and sale, like the situation in Sesai village. However, due to growing land ownership issues, their traditional practices, including agriculture and forest-based livelihoods, have gradually disappeared over the last few decades.





Agriculture has long been the backbone of the Sahariyas' livelihood". Until two or three decades back we used to cultivate indigenous seed varieties like Koda - -Kutki (*Paspalum scrobiculatum* and *Panicum sumatrense*), Rala (*Setaria italica*), Samaa, and red wheat which were staples of their diet and were always available for consumption. These crops were resilient, needed very little water and almost no external inputs.

She further added that the Sahariyas traditionally were engaged in natural farming and cultivated crops with little or no reliance on inputs like chemical fertilizers, pesticides, and herbicides. Over the years, both the seeds and associated farming practices have diminished. The introduction of high-yielding variety (HYV) seeds and increased use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides have broken an agriculture system which was best adapted to the local climatic conditions and needed very little water during sowing to harvesting. High-yielding varieties<sup>8</sup> (HYVs), while developed to maximize agricultural output under optimal conditions, are inherently more vulnerable to climate change

due to their reliance on specific environmental conditions and inputs.

This is not unique to Pitampura. The Sahariya community in Gadhgoli village also cultivated indigenous varieties of wheat (specifically varieties such as Khatiya and Laalpeesi), maize, and green gram (moong). The cultivation cycle for maize was only three months, with the sowing in early June and harvesting by August. This stands in contrast to the modern high-yielding variety<sup>9</sup> (HYV) maize seeds, which take approximately six months from June to November and require substantially more water for irrigation<sup>10</sup>.



“ Traditionally, monsoon rains used to begin in the month of June, allowing the Sahariyas to synchronize their farming calendar with the natural rains. However, in the last 8-10 years there has been a gradual change in the rainfall pattern with the monsoons starting in late July.

This shift has not only affected the timing of agricultural activities but has also posed a significant challenge to water availability for irrigation. This delay in rains has made it harder<sup>11</sup> for farmers to match their planting activities, especially for crops like millet and indigenous wheat which need specific moisture conditions.

Additionally, as mentioned above, Sahariya from Pitampura and Mudhera villages observed how the duration and severity of the summer and winter seasons have changed. Long summers and cold & shorter winters, are taking a toll on agriculture production.



## Water scarcity and access to resources

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In recent years, rising summer temperatures have caused groundwater levels to drop drastically, leaving the community with only one hand pump as the primary water source, which often runs dry during summer

He said that in the past, the Sahariyas had access to wells and other dependable water sources such as lakes and rivers that were adequate for their domestic and agricultural needs. He added, that due to rising temperatures during summer, they are now witnessing a drastic drop in groundwater levels in the last 4-5 years due to which access to water is becoming increasingly limited in their village.

In Sesai and Pitampura villages, the Sahariyas face severe water shortage issues during summer which complicate both household water use and agricultural irrigation. The Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations

report<sup>12</sup> indicates that water availability per capita in India has been steadily declining due to factors such as climate change, over-extraction, and deforestation.

“The water level drops drastically in summers; however, it is accessible during winters and monsoons”, said people in Sesai during the group discussion<sup>13</sup>.

This availability of water is lower than what is required and is associated with high use of community hand pumps. The absence of government’s piped water systems and reliable infrastructure for water make them entirely dependent on rainfall.

# Land Alienation and Displacement

In Shivpuri District, land rights for marginalised populations continue to be a major problem, preventing inclusive progress and sustaining socioeconomic disparities. In order to protect people's land rights, particularly those of the Sahariya Adivasis, the Samvidhi Sashaktikaran Kendra, Zenith<sup>14</sup>, conducts research and offers legal assistance. The land rights centre deals with matters related to encroachment,

displacement, bhoodan land, and forest rights. The issue exists in villages like Pitampura, Gadhgoli, and Sesai where land ownership disputes are widespread and evident which leads to the loss of indigenous agricultural practices. Many Sahariyas are now forced to work as agricultural laborers on their land in order to make a meager ₹200–300 a day due to land loss.

“ Traditional reliance on agricultural livelihoods is dwindling as the Sahariyas face challenges like water scarcity, land ownership disputes, and unreliable infrastructure

“ Land mafias and dominant communities have taken over much of the Sahariyas' land, forcing them to abandon traditional agricultural practices and increasing their vulnerability. Earlier, the Sahariya community had access to their land and used to rely on it for agriculture, food security, and cultural practices.





Living conditions of Sahariya households have deteriorated because of their relocation<sup>15</sup> from their original locations of residence to Gadhgoli. This forced relocation by the government over the land encroachment dispute has left them in extremely poor living conditions. None of the families in Gadhgoli possess pakka (permanent) houses, and there is no reliable access to essential amenities such as clean drinking water or electricity. Displacement has not only severed their connection to their land but also created new challenges for survival in increasingly hostile climatic conditions.

Organizations like Zenith-society for Socio-Legal Empowerment

and individuals like Ramprakash Sharma are some of the few who have been working tirelessly in these regions for the rights and identity of Sahariyas. Zenith<sup>16</sup> works with the community in order to build their capacity in understanding their legal rights, defining their ideas of change, and taking appropriate measures in order to live a more just and dignified life. As land dispute is the major issue in these areas among the community, many Sahariyas reach out to them for legal aid. With free legal aid and assistance, some of them were able to go back to their usual practices.



## The Sahariyas are critical for furthering the interconnectedness of IK and CC



Despite the numerous changes in their agricultural and livelihood practices, the Sahariya community continues to conserve some aspects of their traditional culture which includes the Sahariya Swang dance. This traditional dance is performed during the Holi festival. People from a particular village prepare dance troupes and visit another village to perform the Swang accompanied by the tunes of Dhol and Nagada (drum), and Matki (earthen pot). The Swang dance and folklores help the community to pass on the information from one generation to another. These dance forms and folklores includes the knowledge of climate and ecology that existed in their generation and occasionally mentions the loss of biodiversity or changes in weather.

The understanding of Indigenous Knowledge and Climate Change among the Sahariya community is slowly getting eclipsed in the face of challenges like displacement, deforestation, and changes in agricultural practices. However, some cultural traditions, like dance and music, and rituals linked to farming are still alive. The organic linkages between indigenous knowledge with climate is often given the short shrift. The consequence often is disastrous rendering communities vulnerable to climate change as subsequent generations lose the abilities that their ancestors had. For it is not only about conserving cultural heritage when these knowledge systems are acknowledged and supported; it is also about harnessing their unrealized potential to develop just and sustainable climate solutions.

## Socio-legal alienation

“As the Government of India’s National Commission for Scheduled Tribes points out, these challenges are compounded by a lack of legal recognition of indigenous land rights, which directly undermines the Sahariyas’ ability to manage their resources sustainably. This leads us into a discussion of the broader issue of land alienation and its impact on marginalized communities.

Unfortunately, the Sahariya community is facing significant challenges in preserving and using their knowledge to adapt to climate change. Many traditional practices, such as seed conservation and organic farming, have been lost over the years due to displacement, deforestation, and changes in agricultural methods. The erosion of this knowledge due to displacement, land issues, and a lack of recognition has made it harder for the community to sustain their traditional ways. Moreover, the traditional way of passing knowledge through storytelling, rituals, and customs has weakened which has led to younger generations being disconnected from their roots.

Communities have the legal right to live in and from their forests, as well as to manage and preserve their lands, thanks to the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 (FRA). The Act was designed to stop the forestry practices, outsider encroachment, and forest takeover that were destroying their customary rights. However, the Act itself is currently being weakened<sup>17</sup>.

The poor implementation of The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 (FRA), which was supposed to recognise and vest legal rights to their land and restore access to forest resources, has exacerbated their marginalization. Despite being eligible for land ownership under the FRA, many Sahariyas have lost their land to non-tribal communities, and efforts to reclaim their rights have been largely unsuccessful. This has also been highlighted in Zenith’s newsletter, *Claiming the Unclaimed: A Battle for Land and Justice*<sup>18</sup>, where in 2002, 170 Dalit and Sahariya Adivasi families in Mudkheda, Shivpuri District, received land titles under the Madhya Pradesh government’s Bhopal Declaration. However, they never gained possession of the land, leaving them with only title papers. A decade later, digitized land records listed these lands as government-owned, rendering the rightful owners landless.

This failure of governance and support systems has forced the community into a precarious existence, where they have been reduced to working as agricultural laborers on land they once owned. There is a huge requirement of the revival of their indigenous knowledge which would initiate by granting them legal rights to their land and forest.

In other parts of the world<sup>19</sup>, indigenous peoples are successfully protecting their forests and ecosystems, despite external pressures. By doing so, they are spearheading local environmental protection movements and significantly contributing to

processes related to climate mitigation and adaptation<sup>20</sup>. This is a valuable service to humanity that is deserving of recognition and support for generations. Indigenous Peoples have lived in harmony with nature and the knowledge systems developed through these interconnections is key to addressing crises like climate change. Indigenous peoples have learned to adapt to environmental changes over time. Moreover, in their official statement recently, UNDP mentioned that “Their knowledge can teach us about climate-friendly practices like sustainable farming, water management, and disaster preparation”.



## Erosion of Indigenous Knowledge Systems



“ The Sahariya have long relied on indigenous knowledge systems, such as weather forecasting through the behavior of the red-wattled lapwing, to guide agricultural activities and predict rainfall

In villages like Gadhgoli for generations, Sahariya farmers planned their indigenous agricultural calendar based on these natural indicators to determine which seeds to use and farming cycles. One such robust system of inter-generational knowledge is the reliance on the behavior of the red-wattled lapwing (*Vanellus indicus*) as a natural indicator of weather conditions, particularly for rainfall.

The older members of the community know how exactly this bird's behavior can predict the weather. For instance, according to a recent study done by R. L. Bhardwaj et al<sup>21</sup>, the nesting sites of the birds, how they arrange their eggs, the nest materials, and the number of eggs laid were believed to be reliable predictors of future weather such as rain have also been written about in academic literature. The Sahariyas knowledge system finds many parallels with modern meteorological research.

“ The relevance of these indigenous systems began to erode when agricultural patterns underwent a change, and farmers began to rely on meteorological data accessed via cell phones. These are some of the few reasons for the declining presence of traditional knowledge among younger generations of Sahariyas.

However, the arrival of modern agricultural practices has made the younger farmers rely more on meteorological data for weather forecasting. This shift represents a broader erosion of traditional knowledge systems, which were once closely intertwined with the natural environment and the community's subsistence practices.

Moreover, the decline of indigenous seed conservation practices has led to the loss of crop diversity. Indigenous crops such as the red wheat once a staple diet for Sahariyas, have been replaced by high-yielding varieties that hamper the soil health.





## Reviving Knowledge Systems for the **Sahariyas** and lessons for climate resilience

The precarious journey of the Sahariyas holds lessons in how governance, justice, and equity are essential to addressing climate change. Especially, while factoring indigenous knowledge systems and sustainable resource management. For many years, the Sahariyas, a marginalised tribal group in Gadhgoli village, have managed natural resources using customs such as water gathering and agricultural activities tailored to the climate and environment of the area. These customs are currently in jeopardy, nevertheless, mostly because of climate change and the deterioration of their resources and land rights. The Sahariyas' struggles highlight the larger lessons regarding the value of governing structures that uphold equity, justice, and the preservation of traditional knowledge to increase climate change resistance.

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Land alienation—due to both external pressures such as commercial development and internal factors like incomplete or unenforced land rights—has disrupted their access to these critical resources. The absence of secure land tenure has forced communities to abandon traditional water management systems such as ponds, tanks, and water harvesting pits that were once integral to ensuring water availability during dry periods.

# Need for Government Support to address Gaps

The Sahariya community has endured numerous difficulties, yet the government has not done enough to meet their needs. The Public Distribution System (PDS), which offers subsidised food, is the only significant government involvement that the people may access. But this assistance is incomplete and ignores important problems like land rights, housing, and water.

“ This highlights the need for a more comprehensive approach from the government—one that considers the multifaceted nature of the Sahariyas’ struggles and ensures that their rights to land, water, and shelter are protected and strengthened in the face of climate challenges.

Moreover during the group discussion and visits, it was seen that in villages like Sesai, Pitampura, and Gadhgoli, not a single family stated that they owned pucca dwellings. It was also stated by the villagers that they are unable to access government programs such as the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY) for housing or other livelihood assistance programs like

MGNREGA and the Pradhan Mantri Jan Arogya Yojana (PM-JAY). The community is more vulnerable as a result of inadequate housing facilities, particularly during severe weather conditions like heavy rainfall or high heat waves.





## Challenges ahead

The Sahariya community faces significant economic and social isolation, largely driven by land alienation, which has been exacerbated by the extreme impacts of climate change. As weather patterns become increasingly unpredictable, the community's vulnerability deepens, as they can no longer rely on traditional practices of shifting cultivation that once helped them adapt to environmental fluctuations. Displacement resulting from climate-induced events, such as droughts and floods, further compounds their challenges, as it not only disrupts their livelihoods but also threatens the cultural beliefs and practices intimately connected to their land.

The experience of the Sahariya community underscores the critical role that indigenous knowledge plays in climate change mitigation and adaptation. For instance, traditional ecological knowledge, such as weather forecasting based on the behavior of the red-wattled lapwing, has historically provided valuable insights into local climate patterns, guiding agricultural decisions. However, this knowledge is increasingly under threat due to the loss of indigenous practices, displacement, and the erosion of cultural traditions.

In addition to these environmental challenges, the compounded pressures of climate change and

socio-economic marginalization have made it even more difficult for the Sahariya community to adapt. The loss of land, water, and access to vital natural resources, coupled with the decline of traditional knowledge systems, has left the community increasingly vulnerable to further impoverishment. Without formal recognition of their land rights, the Sahariyas are unable to fully engage with climate adaptation schemes that rely on land ownership, such as afforestation programs or agricultural subsidies, further entrenching their vulnerability and limiting their ability to build resilience to climate change.

## Footnotes

- 1** The Indian government does not officially recognize the concept of “indigenous peoples”. The country voted in favour of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) on the condition that post-independence all Indians are Indigenous. (Source: <https://www.iwgia.org/en/india.html#:~:text=India%20voted%20in%20favour%20of,independence%20all%20Indians%20are%20Indigenous.>). The word ‘indigenous’ has been broadly used in India, the term ‘Adivasi,’ which refers to the original inhabitants of the land, also known as tribal communities, is the closest and equivalent to ‘indigenous.’ The idea of Adivasis being ‘indigenous’ is more of a political movement that began in the 1920s-1930s to resist British rule and exploitation. This movement continues today as Adivasis assert their rights and challenge government policies that affect their lands and communities. (Kohli, 2013).
- 2** Sati, V. (2016). Sahariya Tribe: Society, Culture, Economy and Habitation . Historic studies in Natura science. and Patel, P. K. (2023, December). Persistent worklessness and struggle for livelihood among tribes: A case study of Sahariya tribe. International journal of Asian Economic Light.
- 3** Group Discussion in Pitampura and Gadhgoli Villages on 16th and 17th September, 2024, respectively
- 4** <https://eprajournals.com/IJAR/article/11972/abstract>
- 5** Group Discussion in Sesai and Gadhgoli Villages on 15th and 17th September, 2024, respectively
- 6** Group Discussion in Khadabasti, Ghatigaon, Sesai, Pitampura and Gadhgoli Villages during the visit.
- 7** The Ritual of the Plough, E. A. Armstrong, Folklore, Vol. 54, No. 1 (Mar., 1943), pp. 250-257
- 8** The darker side of agricultural intensification - disappearance of autumn or aus rice, entry of HYVs, and implications in terms of environmental sustainability in a ‘Green Revolution’ state of eastern India - <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wds.2022.100028>
- 9** Agrobiodiversity Hotspots in India: Conservation and Benefit Sharing - Volume 1
- 10** Group Discussion in Pitampura and Gadhgoli Villages on 16th and 17th September, 2024, respectively
- 11** [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/274519999\\_Vulnerability\\_of\\_wheat\\_production\\_to\\_climate\\_change\\_in\\_India](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/274519999_Vulnerability_of_wheat_production_to_climate_change_in_India)
- 12** ICRIER\_Water\_Resource\_Report\_2019
- 13** Group Discussion in Sesai Village on 15th September, 2024.
- 14** <https://zenithsociety.in/access-to-justice.html>
- 15** Group Discussion in Sesai and Gadhgoli Villages on 15th and 17th September, 2024, respectively
- 16** <https://zenithsociety.in/our-story.html>
- 17** Survival International, <https://www.survivalinternational.org/about/fra>
- 18** Zenith’s Newsletter, Claiming the Unclaimed: A Battle for Land and Justice, Issue-1, November, 2024.
- 19** Indigenous Peoples: Defending an Environment for All - IISD
- 20** Indigenous knowledge is crucial in the fight against climate change – here’s why - UNDP Explainers-July 31, 2024
- 21** Bhardwaj, R.L., Verma, M.P., Vyas, L., Sharma, A., Jakhar, D.S., Choudhary, K.K., & Meena, J. (2024). Red-Wattled Lapwing (*Vanellus indicus*): A Traditional Rain Forecaster for Tribal Farmers of Southwestern Rajasthan. Weather, Climate, and Society.



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