

# **REHABILITATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF TRIBALS IN KERALA**

**Thesis  
Submitted to the University of  
Calicut for the award of the Degree of  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN ECONOMICS**

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## **CERTIFICATE**

This thesis titled “**Rehabilitation and Development of Tribals in Kerala**” is a record of bonafide research carried out by **Mr. N.K. Babu Ebrahim** under my supervision and guidance. No part of this work has been submitted earlier for any other purpose.

Thiruvananthapuram  
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## **DECLARATION**

I, N.K. Babu Ebrahim, do hereby declare that this thesis "Rehabilitation and Development of Tribals in Kerala" is a bonafide record of research done by me under the guidance of Dr. A. Abdul Salim. I do declare that this thesis has not been submitted by me earlier for the award of any degree, Diploma, title or recognition.

Thrissur  
26 October 2008

**N.K. BABU EBRAHIM**

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I have great pleasure to record my profound thanks to the persons and institutions who rendered the help and assistance in different ways to complete the research work.

This work would not have been possible without the guidance of Dr. A. Abdul Salim, Post-Graduate Department of Economics, Government College, Attingal Thiruvanthapuram. His timely guidance, valuable suggestions, encouragement and whole hearted support are the most inspiring factors for the successful completion of this Thesis. I am extremely grateful to him.

I put on record my sincere gratitude to Dr. A.C.K. Nambiar, the Prof. and Head, Department of Economics, University of Calicut. I express my heartfelt thanks to Dr.K.R Lakshmidevi, Dr. U.T. Damayanthi, Dr.K.P.Mani and all other faculty members at Dr. John Mathai Centre for their valuable suggestions and opinions.

I am highly indebted to Prof. V.K. Baby, Principal, M.E.S. Ponnani College, who is a constant source of encouragement. I also remember with thanks the Management and my colleagues, particularly the faculty members of Economics, Prof. Marykutty Thomas (Statistics) and Prof. P.K. Jalaludheen for their co-operation and motivation.

Dr. K.S. Vijayakumaran Nair, Principal, MICE, Mangalore University helped me throughout this work at each and every stage, without his constant inspiration and timely intervention, this work would

not have been completed. I extend my sincere thanks to him as well as to his wife Mrs. Shobha and their children Vimal and Arya. I am happy to express my gratitude to Dr. V.T. Jose, Dr. Sibi Zacharias, (S.H. College, Thevara ) and Dr. K.M. Francis, (St. Thomas College, Thrissur).

I am grateful to the Librarians and the Staff of the Univesity of Kerala, University of Calicut, Centre for Develeopment Studies, KIRTADS (Calicut), KILA (Thrissur), MICE Mangalore, Institute of Social Sciences (Bangalore) and MES Ponnani College for their valuable help and support rendered to me in this endeavour. I also express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Balkar Singh IAS, Sub-collector Mananthawady, Mr. Usman Master, Mr.Kuttappan and Tribal Members, Tribal Officers, Tribal Promoters, Tribal leaders, Local politicians and elected representatives who had co-operated to make the study successful by sharing their experiences and information.

I am also indebted to my parents, family members, my wife Nashrine and children Nabeel and Nihal for their encouragement and concern for me as well as for this research work. I express my sincere thanks to Mrs. Pavithra, Miss. Vidhyashree, Mr. Balu, for their co-operation for the neat execution of the thesis. Once again I remember with great gratitude all the persons who had co-operated and contributed directly or indirectly for the successful completion of the work.

**N.K. BABU EBRAHIM**

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## Local Terms used

Alas	-	Tribal caves.
Ayas	-	Nursing women.
Balawadi	-	Nursery school.
Jenmies	-	Landlords.
Jenmom	-	Ownership
Kanam	-	Mortgage.
Kanamdars	-	Tenants.
Natturajas	-	Local kings.
Pattam	-	Lease.
Raja	-	King.
Saksharatha	-	Literacy.
Tharies	-	Weaving machine.
Thorthu	-	Long towel.
Vayalnadu	-	Paddy field.
Verumpattom	-	Sub-lease.
Vikasawadi	-	Nursery school.

## **Abbreviations used**

DOI	- Department Of Informations.
DPR	- District Panchayath Report
GOI	- Government of India.
GOK	- Government of Kerala
GOM	- Government of Madras.
HS	- High School
ICDS	- Integrated Child Development Scheme
ITC	- Industrial Training Centre
ITDP	- Integrated Tribal Development Project.
ITI	- Industrial Training Institute
KST	- Kerala Scheduled Tribes
LP	- Lower primary
MFP	- Minor Forest Produce.
MPLADS	- MP's Local Area Development Scheme.
NREP	- National Rural Employment Programme
RDO	- Revenue Divisional Officer
RLEGP	- Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme
SC	- Scheduled Caste
ST	- Scheduled Tribes
TRDM-	Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission
UGC	- University Grants Commission
UP	- Upper primary
WGDP	- Western Ghats Development Programme.

# **Chapter 1**

## **INTRODUCTION**

**Tribal development**

**Theoretical frame**

**The problem**

- **Significance of the study**

**Objectives of the study**

- **Hypotheses**
- **Methodology and Data**

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# INTRODUCTION

The tribes in India are the most backward, socially and economically exploited group of Indian society. In almost all parts of the country they live in the interior parts, especially hilly regions and forest area. Agriculture and allied activities are their main source of income and by and large they depend on nature for their livelihood. Feudal lords, rich farmers and industrial owners used to employ them in farms, mines, industries and stone quarries. They are forced to work in risky and dangerous situations, as per the interest of rich classes. Slavery and bonded labour were quite common among them. The tribes of the country were forced to work for long hours to get their minimum subsistence under inhuman conditions.

In India, tribes are found all over the country. Soundara Pandian (2000) remarked that majority of the tribals i.e. 55% of them are in central region of India, roughly 28.14% in Western region, 12.02% in North Eastern Region, 4.22% in Southern region and the remaining 0.62% is spread over other regions. In some parts like North Eastern Region they are militant and powerful group. Nowadays, these tribes are fighting against the socio-economic atrocities. In some other states like Kerala, tribes are minority and weaker section. Actually for very long years and even now agriculture and its productivity depend on tribal workers.



The tribal population of the country are in three groups based on their racial ancestry i.e., Nigritos, Mongoloid and Meditaranian. They lived in large and small groups in hilly and forest areas of the country. They gathered their food, practiced burning cultivation and moved from one place to another to let the forest regenerate without destroying it. In due course of time, people from plain land migrated to hilly regions and forest areas and they used the tribals for their work. Later the new comers managed to own the tribal land by cheating them. In due course of time, most of the tribal lands were alienated and tribals were transformed to petty labourers of new farmers of their area. In some forests the tribals used to cut down the trees and carry the legally prohibited hill products for the economic interests of the non-tribals. Whenever these illegal practices are brought to the notice of the police and law, the tribals become the victims and culprits. Since the new comers are economically and politically influential, no rules are strong enough to regain the tribal land or to prove their innocence.

When the British came to India, they used the tribes for the promotion of their colonial interest. The Crown's control over the forest through an Act in 1865, took away the autonomy of tribes over the forest labelling them as 'encroachers' on forestland. The tribes become trespassers in their own forest and victimised by British system of forest management that directly violated various phases of their economic and

cultural survival. For instance forest and other forest resources were brought under government control. They were bound to depend on feudal lords, money lenders and local politicians for their existence. This led to massive land alienation, permanent and seasonal migration.

Since Independence, tribal development was a major component in Indian Planning and policy formulation. Planners and experts suggested a large number of alternatives to bring up these underprivileged sections of Indian society. Malinowski, the father of Economic Anthropology initiated various studies on economic behavior of tribes and emphasised the need for protection of tribes and guarding them from non-tribal exploitation. The tribal degradation was due to both internal and external factors. The internal factors are the systems and habits developed and practised within the tribal communities and their settlements. Their traditional behaviour, rituals and socio-economic order are the major internal factors. Lucy Mair(1988) found that the internal factors within the tribal life also had nullified the attempts of the national government to uplift the tribes. *Oorumooppa* (Tribal area head) controlled the socio-political activities of tribal settlements called *Oorus Oorukoottam* (Tribal cluster) and their headships are duly considered in modern local planning and development process. In the earlier periods the tribal social controls were executed under their social hierarchical structure.

Paul (1988) in his study about the hill tribes in Kerala reveals that the tribal communities are still performing their actions only with the sanction of hierarchs, who are the custodians of traditional tribal practices. The power to control the socio-economic activities under this setup was not based on any formal laws or coercion, but based on some traditionally followed culture, practice and beliefs. Polanyi (1957) referred this system as substantive economy which indicates that various levels of social hierarchs control economic activities of the individuals. The rigidities in thinking and beliefs, socio-cultural bondages and situational problems negatively influence their mobility and adaptability of changing activities in modern world. This division and compartmental setup existing in tribal societies caused their backwardness to a large extent. World Bank (2006) in its report pointed out that deep social division makes it difficult to implement policies that benefit all.

The external factors like the emergence of trade and market economy, non-tribal immigration to tribal regions, new occupational systems with skilled work and state sponsored projects contribute to the tribal problems directly and indirectly to a large extent. Modern methods of agriculture and tribal land alienation also contribute to the deprivation of means of these agricultural labourers. Hence they are forced to accept other works for mere existence. Francis (2006) distinguished between role of internal and external factors and their influences on tribal life. He revealed that depletion

in the income sources of the tribes is the main cause of their under development.

To prevent the tribals from external exploitation a number of statutory and constitutional provisions have been enacted in India since independence. The centre and state governments have given adequate thrust on improving the living standard of tribals at par with that of other citizens. The constitution of India has made definite provision for the welfare and uplift of tribals. There are many strong provisions in Indian constitution to safeguard their interest. Under Article 342 of Indian constitution, certain tribes have been specified as scheduled. Article 46 offers promotion of education and economic interest of scheduled tribes. Similarly, Article 224 provides special administration of scheduled tribe areas. Article 255 offers grant- in-aid from consolidated fund of India to states for tribal development activities. Article 330 and 335 assures reservation of seats in House of People and Legislative Assemblies respectively. Further, Article 338 empowers the President of India to appoint a special officer for scheduled tribe and scheduled caste to investigate the matters relating to the provisions provided under constitution. Article 339 ensures the control of Union Government over the scheduled area administration and welfare of scheduled tribes.

In India scheduled tribes and other depressed social groups are in poverty, dependency and unemployment. They remain poor, unemployed and illiterate even after six decades of political independence and democratic rule by our own people. Both socio-economic backwardness and illiteracy prevent them to come out of their traditional rung to the mainstream. Weaker sections in India are not only at the bottom of economic order but also in the lowest social hierarchy and caste rigidity from which they could never aspire for social and economic mobility. Neither the colonial administration nor the national rule could change much of the traditional rigidities of socio-economic sphere. The weaker and marginalised sections in other parts of the world are poor due to economic backwardness(Singh 2003). But in India these groups remain poor due to socio-political reasons. In spite of the large attempts made by the government at various levels, the majority of tribes in our country remain poor and depressed.

### **Tribal development**

For the last few decades tribal development is a major issue of thoughts and actions all over the world. Studies and reports show that crores of rupees and human efforts have been spent for uplifting and rescuing the tribals from poverty and starvation. But it is observed that the changes were only peripheral without deep influence on tribal life. Their standard of living

and socio – political attainment remain poor and some of the tribes are on the verge of extinction in many countries.

The condition of Indian tribes are also not different from the world scenario. When the tribals are facing chronic issues of their survival and existence, official reports and administrators claim that they had attained a better stage of development. But the ground realities are far away from these projections. The tribal sub plan in India, introduced to face the challenges of tribal development has also not served its purpose effectively. Moreover new economic policy and consequent industrialization, privatization, and commercialization are also new and powerful threats to the survival of tribal communities(Singh 2003). Therefore it is necessary to empower tribal communities with new skills, knowledge and competencies. This needs the adoption of new strategies with new approaches.

### **Theoretical frame**

It is better to understand the theoretical framework for examining the effectiveness of tribal development programmes. The strategy of tribal development programmes to initiate growth and development among poor people and the backward regions are found derived from the ideas of great economists like Hirschman and Ragnar Nurkse. Their development views and writings are emphasised on the backward and forward linkage as a means

of promoting viability and diversity in the backward regions. Hence it is essential to attain maximum rate of growth in various economic activities.

Developing economies have surplus manpower which remain idle without the opportunity to employ and utilise. This nature creates the situation of unemployment, underemployment or disguised unemployment. Further, such economies are also characterised with an inadequate capital and poor social infrastructure. Both fiscal capital and social infrastructure are the minimum required conditions for economic growth.

If the surplus labour force is used in capital formation, the labour absorbing capacity of the economy will gradually expand and the surplus labour also can be utilised fruitfully. In the course of time, the economy may expand and absorb the surplus labour and the remaining surplus if any, will be used for the development of infrastructural facilities in the economy. Many of our antipoverty measures, rural development schemes and tribal development programmes are also based on this theoretical background.

### **The problem**

According to 2001 census the scheduled tribe population of Kerala was 364,189 which constituted 1.14% of the total population of the state. The tribals of Kerala belong to 36 distinct communities including the most backward primitive tribes like *Kattunaikans*, *Cholanaikans*, *Kurumbas*, *Kaders* and *Koragas*. These primitive groups form only 4.8% of the

scheduled tribes in Kerala. The present number of scheduled tribe households are estimated around 84,000. The decadal growth rate of scheduled tribe population in 1981-91 was 22.75% while for general population it was only 14.75%. This variation may be due to the difference in educational status, awareness and medical facilities among non-tribals compared to the tribals of the state. The growth rate in the number of tribal households was 32.47% while in general population it was 24.64%. The sex ratio of scheduled tribe population in the state is 996. The scheduled tribe population is unevenly distributed in various districts. *Wayanad* has the highest tribal concentration in the state (36% of the total tribal population) and the lowest in Alappuzha district (0.85%).

The socio-economic and educational interest of tribals are protected through legislations and are promoted by governments through various departments and agencies for the last six decades, still the tribals live in poverty and unemployment. This situation calls for special programmes, projects and approaches for their integrated development and well-being.

In Kerala Scheduled Tribe Development Department is a major agency which implements beneficiary programmes for scheduled tribe people. It provides educational facilities, concessions, scholarship and other kinds of assistance to tribal students. The government and tribal department take special care on tribal housing and house repair programmes. Distribution of



land to landless tribals is a new venture initiated by the state government. Besides, large number of major programmes like health care and medical facilities, rehabilitation, provisions for employment etc.. are also carried out by the Government Departments. Kerala State Development Corporation for Scheduled Tribes and the Kerala Institute for Research Training and Development Studies (KIRTADS) also implement various programmes for the benefit of scheduled tribes in the state. Other departments are also implementing some other schemes for scheduled tribes by earmarking a portion of their annual plan outlay under special component plan and tribal sub-plan. Government of India release large amount of money as Central Assistance to special component plan and sub-plan for benefitting the tribal groups. Special emphasis is given to poverty alleviation and housing programmes.

The administrators and planners took much effort for both micro and macro level planning to make sustainable development for scheduled tribes in India. Both the state and central governments had spent crores of rupees for various tribal development programmes. But the studies related to tribals and their problems show that the socio-economic conditions and standard of living of tribals in general are not improved as expected. Hence one can very genuinely ask the question that even after spending huge amount of money, time and energy why these tribals are not benefitted? Isolating this group from

the main stream also prevents them from enjoying and utilising the benefits of modern facilities.

Since tribals are illiterate and unorganised, their bargaining power is low and they are the losers in modern administrative set up. Further, due to their inherent weakness and backwardness they are unaware to make use of the new opportunities. This unique feature of tribals made the development programmes far off from their well being and development. Hence they remain as a closed society which has no tool to quantify the values of goods and unaware of market organism.

The accelerated tribal development efforts and programmes were started in Kerala in 1974-75 with the introduction of Tribal sub-plan strategy in India. Till this period tribal welfare programmes were carried out under scheduled caste development and other government departments without a specific fund and programmes. Under the sub-plan strategy separate fund was allotted for implementing specific development programmes by the Central and State governments. It gave new phase to tribal development activities. Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDP) were also introduced in tribal regions to co-ordinate the programmes. Later in 1995, Panchayath Raj system offered some opportunities to tribal participation and involvement in decision making agencies through *Ooru Koottams*. This opportunity in participating in lower level development activities helped the tribals in

improving their initiatives in their development to a some extent. Preparation of comprehensive master plan for overall development of tribals with a thrust on education and land based development, implementation of protective measures with added legal support etc. were the major components of the 10<sup>th</sup> Five Year Plan. *Ooru Koottam*, have been formed in all possible tribal areas. These *Ooru Koottams* are the basic units for the formulation and implementation of tribal development programmes. This practice had been followed during 2001-2003 only and again the state decided to grant 50% of Tribal Sub-Plan outlay to local government as grant-in-aid from 2003 onwards. The Eleventh Plan in the state also aims in local level decentralised planning.

Despite the effort made by various agencies including Government departments and local bodies, a lot of crucial problems like landlessness, indebtedness, houselessness, problems of rehabilitation, unemployment and health remain unsolved among the tribals. The strategy so far followed could not attain the intended target of socio-economic development of tribals. Similarly, absence of transportation in remote tribal pockets, lack of health care facilities, seasonal unemployment and poverty are also to be solved permanently. Atrocities on women and unwed mothers are also seen among the tribals of *Wayanad*. Chandramohan (1998) revealed that there are 400 unwed mothers in *Wyand* and 102 of them are in *Thirunelli Panchayath* of North *Wayanad*. A latest study by Rathiesh Vasudev (2007) reveals that there

are 2813 unwed tribal mothers in *Wayanad*. Among these one third are in *Thirunelly Panchayath*. *Wayanad* is a tribal concentrated region in Kerala.

In Kerala, state government and non-governmental organisations have introduced and implemented various schemes for the socio-economic upliftment of weaker sections and the tribals of the state. These schemes include land and non-land based schemes. The governments have been implementing protective measures like reservations for job in government services; rehabilitation of scattered and displaced families, housing, healthcare, educational facilities, supply of agricultural implements and domestic animals, co-operative and collective farming. Besides, various social programmes to raise the level of general awareness of tribals are also being undertaken at various levels. Tribal representation in our democratic bodies is ensured by reservation to tribal members in parliament, state assemblies and local bodies.

As in the other parts of the country, the tribals are the most hapless and vulnerable section in Kerala. Both slavery and bonded labour were prevalent among the erstwhile tribals, especially *Adiyans* and *Paniyans*. These evil systems were abolished through an Act in 1976. But still continue in distinguished forms i.e. attached labour or family servant in which mobility of labour is restricted and wage rules and labour laws are not followed. The *Adiyans* and *Paniyans* were the major victims of exploitation under slavery

and bondage. In Kerala we have implemented land reforms, enacted Tribal Land Restoration Act, Minimum Wage Legislation, etc. Labour unions, political parties and other social organisations are also alert against social exploitation. In spite of these schemes, the tribals of our state still remain exploited and depressed. They are in poverty and unemployment.

### **Significance of the study**

Various Socio-economic studies on tribals focus the deprivation of tribal means of living, changing trends in tribal life, inter-regional and inter-community differences in development, exploitation, and land alienation. Though these studies cover various aspects of tribal life and throw light on them, no serious and comprehensive attempt has yet been made on the impact of various development schemes on the socio-economic condition of tribals in Kerala.

Every year both Central and State Governments are allocating crores of rupees on various schemes and projects for tribal development; but the desired goals are not achieved so far. Empirical studies, administrative assessments and casual observations in this regard show the paradoxical situation of huge spending without desired goals. Since Independence, government and various agencies are spending money and support services for tribal development under plan, non-plan and centrally sponsored schemes. Though the socio-economic conditions of people in Kerala have been fast

changing during the last fifty years, the condition of tribals in Kerala is more or less stagnant. When the yearly allocation and spending of funds show an increasing trend, its benefits on tribals are not significant. The Tribal Development Department admits that even after long years of planned action and funding, the majority of our tribals are still below the poverty line particularly in *Idukki, Palakkad* and *Wayanad* districts. It also shows that the tribals in Kerala are least affected by the changes undergone in the Kerala society. Sreedhara Menon (1979) remarked that during the last hundred years there had been very fast change in the developments of different communities and castes in Kerala except the tribals of the state. These changes resulted in the eradication of cultural rigidities and institutional narrowness prevalent in each community.

The history of *Pulayas, Ezhavas, Nairs, Brahmins* and *Muslims* narrates the role of certain leaders and reformers who initiated the rectification of these communities within. Unfortunately, no social reformers or social leaders sprung from any of the tribal communities of our state. But “Kurichia Rebellion” (1812) shows the discontent of tribals against the authorities and they fought to establish their right in land. It was repeated again in 2003 through the *Muthanga* incident in *Wayanad*, Kerala. In *Wayanad, Kuruchians* and *Kurumans* are comparatively developed tribes and they are traditionally landed groups. But *Adiyans* and *Paniyans* suffered a lot under slavery and bondage and they are landless agricultural labourers with a

pitiable life. No comprehensive study has yet been made on the socio-economic dimensions of development of tribals of the state analysing the causes of the paradoxical situations in tribal development. The present study is an attempt to bridge this gap through the exposition of a case study based on socio-economic profiles of tribals in *Wayanad*, with special reference to *Adiyans* and *Paniyans*. Their past conditions, development programmes and impact of rehabilitation projects are analysed. It is hoped that the study could be helpful to understand the real issues among the tribals of the state.

### **Objectives of the study**

The major objectives of the study are:

- To discuss the land relation and employment pattern among the tribals of *Wayanad*.
- To evaluate the performance of tribal rehabilitation projects in *Wayanad*.
- To analyse the extent of participation and involvement of tribals in their development programmes.
- To study the impact of tribal rehabilitation projects on tribal life with special reference to *Adiyans* and *Paniyans* of *Wayanad*.

## **Hypotheses**

The present study assumes the following factors as the causes for the socio-economic backwardness of scheduled tribes especially the *Adiyans* and *Paniyans* of Kerala.

- Economically and politically influential non-tribals may misappropriate tribal land, their assets and means of living.
- Though the governments have spent crores of rupees for tribal development, the tribals still seem to be in a deplorable condition.
- Involvement of tribals in tribal development programmes and decision making may be comparatively less.

## **Methodology and Data Source**

The study uses both primary and secondary data. Since the targeted groups are most illiterate, socially backward and their settlements widely scattered in hilly regions, it is very difficult to collect the information by using census method. Therefore a sample survey through direct interview and participatory methods is suitable to collect data from this group. Separately structured questionnaire is used to collect information from educated tribals, officials and socio-political activists.



Major sources of secondary data are official records, census reports, Economic reviews, Guidelines for preparation and implementation of tribal sub-plan programmes, Budget and draft approach strategies for tribal development in Kerala and publications of the government on tribal welfare programmes and schemes. Besides, major and minor publications of other departments and institutions, Books, Reports, Journals and Dailies, publications on *Dalith* and *Adivasis* are also referred.

In order to select the sample, stratified sampling procedure was used. For instance, in Wayanad district there are three block panchayaths. Out of these three Mananthawady block was selected due to the large tribal concentration. *Adiyans* and *Paniyans* are the numerical majority in both *Wayanad district* as well as in *Mananthwady* block and they are the most backward among the other tribes of *Wayanad*. Hence *Mananthwady* block was purposively selected for the study. In the second stratum this block was divided in to panchayaths. Out of seven Panchayaths, two (*Thirunelli* and *Panamaram*) are purposively selected. The seven panchyaths in this block have more or less same features with respect to the tribal nature and development. The selected panchayaths are divided in to four divisions, of these divisions 10% of the tribal families are purposively selected. Thus 650 families belonging to *Adiyans(200)*, *Paniyans(200)*, *Kuruchians(100)*, *Kurumans (100)* and *Kattunaikans(50)* of *Mananthwady* block from the selected divisions of two panchayaths constitute the sample of this study.

Government funds are utilized for both scattered tribals and tribals living under some organised projects. The present study intends to assess the effects and impacts of rehabilitation projects. For a comparison the study is extended to Priyadarshini Tea Estate and Priyadarshini Motor Unit belonging to Mananthavady block panchayath area itself.

Interview is an important tool used to collect information in a research. It provides face-to-face contact and opportunity to ask questions and helps to interpret facial expressions and body languages. The problem of study is very sensitive, hence it is difficult to collect data on the tribal programmes related to money expenditure. The investigator prepared a structured questionnaire for data collection. Since the respondents are unaware of all details relating to the rehabilitation programmes the data may have shortcomings. So the investigator decided to collect information through an interview with tribal activists, people's representatives, tribal officials, social workers, tribal promoters . Sri K.P. Kalan, a well-known senior tribal citizen and politician, the former and present parliament members from this area, the former and present members of legislative assembly, C.K. Janu, President *Adivasi Gothra Maha Sabha*, Presidents of Thirunelli and Panamaram Panchayath, Block Panchayath President Mananthawady, District Panchayath Vice President Wayanad, Dr. Balkar Singh, Sub Collector cum Managing Director of Priyadarshini Tea Estate and motor Co-operative society, Sri P.K. Kariyan a tribal, Panchayath Ward Member Thirunelli. Sri Kuttappan a social worker in

Thrisselery, M.M. Ravindran, Chairman Oorumooppan council Mananthawady Block, Oothonthil Krishnan Kutty, Vythiri and V. Mohamadali, Journalist and 10 tribal promoters(both male and female) etc. are the persons mainly interviewed.

Since the interview was unstructured it was easy to elicit the facts. The opinions of experts helped to write and evaluate the data collected earlier. So here the interview serves as a rating scale in this study. Since most of the tribals to be interviewed are illiterate and do not follow the language properly, two translators (Kuttappan and Ravindran) helped the investigator and the respondents. In order to understand their socio-economic conditions, life styles, customs, traditions and food habits, participatory observation technique was used. Thus, the researcher could observe their day today life and infer their conditions.

### **Limitations of the study**

To undertake a state-wide study is difficult. It needs more time, energy and money. So the investigator is forced to limit the study in *Wayanad* district. Only Two Panchayaths are selected as sample area. In Kerala there are 36 tribal communities. A study covering all these communities is tedious. So the present study is limited to five communities particularly *Adiyans* and *Paniyans* of *Wayanad* who constitute the major tribal population and is less responsive to the developmental programmes.

## **Organisation of the Thesis**

This Thesis is divided into seven chapters. The introductory chapter gives a synoptic view of the study. Statement of the problem, objectives, scope, methodology and limitations are included. In chapter two a detailed review of studies, reports, projects and articles has been attempted. It covers both national and state level studies. Chapter three discusses land relation and employment pattern among the tribals of Wayanad. Chapter four discusses various projects and programmes for tribal development in Kerala. Chapter five analyses the socio-economic conditions of tribals in *Wayanad*. The impact of tribal development projects on tribals of Wayanad is analysed in the sixth chapter and chapter seven gives the summary and conclusion of the study.

# **Chapter 2**

## **REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

### **Tribals in India on the eve of Independence**

- **Primitive Tribes**
- **Tribal development under  
Five Year Plans in India**

- **Rehabilitation of Tribals**
- **Tribal Development Studies**

## **REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

### **Tribals in India on the eve of Independence**

During the pre independence period, the British rulers followed a policy of separation and tried to keep the tribals isolated from the rest of the population. This isolation helped the non-tribal moneylenders, landlords, contractors and other influential and economically strong groups in society to exploit and enjoy natural resources of tribal area. A number of Acts were passed to keep some area isolated. Scheduled Tracts 1870, Scheduled District Act 1876, Backward Tracts 1919, Excluded Areas and Partially Excluded Areas of 1936, Idea of 'National Park' 1939 and the Policy of minimum contact between tribals and non tribals were some of the initial Acts of separation. The policy of segregation strengthened exploitation and colonial interest. So this separation was not accepted by the national leaders and social activists, and they didn't want the tribals to be isolated in inaccessible hilly region.

The constitution of India has defined Scheduled Tribes as Tribe or Tribal communities under Article 342 of its constitution. In early fifties, strength of tribal population in India was 5.36 percent of its total population.

Since a few particular areas of tribal concentration was marked and declared as scheduled areas or tribal areas statutory guarding was also

implemented. Our first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru believed that integration of tribals and non tribals were very crucial and for this both tribals and non- tribals needed education. He expressed that: -

- People should be allowed to develop their own genius and nothing should be imposed on them.
- Tribal rights on land and forest should be respected.
- Introduction of too many outsiders into the tribal area should be avoided.
- There should be no over administration of tribal area and work should be done through their own institution as far as possible.
- The result should be judged not by the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

Among Indian tribes the most important factor which differentiates them from other non-tribes is their primitive mode of production behaviour. Several decades ago at the time of British rule itself they were identified and enumerated based on the traditional occupations. The earlier studies show that J.A Bains, the commissioner for census had made the first attempt of classification of tribals in 1891. He made a subheading called “Forest Tribes”.

These people are the earliest settlers in Indian peninsula. They are generally called *Adivasis* (aboriginals). Verma R. C. (1995) supports this view



and supposes that they are the original inhabitants of the land. The term tribe commonly means a social group which follows an ancestral life pattern and occupies a specific geographic territory. They possess a religious, cultural and linguistic homogeneity. Commonly they are under one head. According to Varma (1995) the main criteria for specifying communities as Scheduled Tribes include the following norms.

**a)** Traditional Occupation    **b)** Distinctive culture which includes a whole spectrum of tribal way of life i.e. language, custom, religious beliefs, arts and crafts.    **c)** Primitive occupational patterns of traditional economy    **d)** Lack of educational and economic development.

At the time of formulation of our constitution, the term *Adivasis* was replaced by the term Scheduled Tribe. B. R. Ambedkar the chairman of the drafting committee of the constitution has opined that the term “*Adivasi* is really a general one”. It has no specific, legal ‘De-Jure’ connotation.

### **Primitive Tribes**

The ShiluoAo Committee constituted by the planning commission in 1969 reviewed the tribal situation in India. As per their observation a large number of tribal communities continued to be extremely backward and some of them are still in primitive food gathering stage. It was emphasised that these communities need special attention. As per tribal sub-plan strategy 74 tribal groups with a tribal population of about 13 lakhs have been identified in

14 states including Kerala and one union territory. Some of the primitive tribes like Great *Andamanies* and *Onges* are found very small in their population. As per 1991 census they were estimated to 29 groups similar to *Cholanaikans* and *Kattunaikans* of Kerala.

The British followed a policy of isolation towards the Indian tribes. Their forest policy alienated the tribes from their natural hamlets. Elvin Varrier (1963) stated that no attention had been paid by the British for the socio-economic development of tribes during their rule in India. He further pointed out that British policy did much harm than good to the tribes.

After independence our national leaders discarded the policy of isolation and treated them as human beings and attempts were made to bring the tribals to mainstream. Jawaharlal Nehru advocated a tribal development policy and their development without spoiling the cultural entity and tradition. Chandra et.al (2003) supported Nehruvian view with regard to the tribal development policy in India and opined that tribal areas must progress in their own way. Development and integration should come together. However the committee rejected both the approaches, preservation and assimilation forwarded by academicians and activists and accepted the policy of integration of tribals to the mainstream without spoiling their culture and tradition.

## **Tribal development under five year plans in India**

Census of India 2001 shows that there are 84,326,240 tribes in India i.e. 8.2 percent of total population. Tribal development in the country is a constitutional obligation. The constitution of India made specific provision to protect the tribals spread all over the nation and imposed constitutional norms for regular review and monitoring the performance and development effects directly the President of the country. Income from livestock were inadequate for their subsistence which compelled them to migrate from their places. This migration resulted in the loss of opportunity of social development, education and health which kept them away from opportunities for better chances.

As tribals reside in isolation, their hamlets lack access to infrastructure facilities like all weather road connectivity, education, healthcare, drinking water and electricity. Hence miserable poverty trap exists in backward tribal areas with poor infrastructure.

Planners and administrators were very much aware of tribal problems in India and first systematic attempt for their development was initiated in 1955 with the introduction of Multipurpose Tribal Development Blocks (First five year plan 1951). Second Five Year Plan aimed to ensure the benefit of development to backward and under privileged sections to reduce the inequalities. An amount of Rs 42.92 crores out of 4672 crores were allotted to tribal development during this period (Second Five Year Plan 1956).

Integrated tribal developments through the establishment of 43 special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks were aimed under this plan. Further in 1959 Renuka Ray Commission stressed on health, education and economic development of tribals. In 1959 government of India appointed Elwin Verrier Committee to assess the performance of Multipurpose Blocks and to suggest future method of formation and implementation of programmes. The committee submitted the study report and recommendation in 1960. To avoid the drawbacks of schematic budget and to introduce flexibility, the committee suggested that there need not be regular schematic budget for tribal blocks but allocation can be divided as economic development (60%) communication (25%) and social service (15%). After Elwin Committee, Dehebar commission, 1960-61 was appointed to study the whole aspects of tribal issues and development. The commission made some specific recommendations to solve the problem of land alienation, education, indebtedness and forest related tribal problems. It recommended to establish tribal culture and research institutes in states for training and research of tribal problems. In the Third Plan priorities were given to economic upliftment, health, education, housing and communication. An amount of Rs.50.53 crores was allotted to tribals out of total plan outlay of Rs.8577 crores (Third Five Year Plan 1961). In 1969 ShiluAo commission was set up to review tribal development programmes. This study team made review of tribal development programmes undertaken during the first three five year plans and

it clearly expressed the necessity for adoption of a flexible policy for tribal development.

On the basis of the recommendations of the two commissions of 1959 and 1969 and SC and ST commissions of 1961, in the Fourth Five Year Plan 43 percent of tribal population was covered in 504 Tribal Development Blocks (Fifth Five Year Plan 1968). Further, supplementary allocation was made by Central government to intensify the tribal development programmes. During this period, out of 15,902 crores only 79.51 crores was allocated to tribals, i.e. 0.50 percent of total plan outlay. Several programmes like small and marginal farmers development and crash programmes for employment creation were introduced. Some of the backward tribal areas were also given special attention during the plan. The main drive for tribal development started during this period through the identification of tribal concentrated area having 50 percent or more of tribal population. Separate sub plan was introduced as a part of the state plan and scheduled areas were brought under this sub plan.

Under Sixth Plan, fund was allotted to enable at least 50 percent of the families to cross the poverty line. Further family oriented economic activities were also visualised. An amount of Rupees 5, 518.25 crores out of 97,500 crores (5.67%) total plan was allotted under this plan (VI<sup>th</sup> Plan Report 1978).

During the Seventh Plan there was a considerable increase in the fund allotment for tribal developments. Out of the total outlay of Rs.1,80,000 crores, Rs.12,006 crores (6.67%) was allotted to tribal development. Intensified efforts to bridge the gap between the tribal and rest of the sections were made in Eighth Five Year Plan. Rs.14,538.80 crores out of 1,81,735 crores was kept aside (8%) of the total plan share for tribal development during this plan period.

Ninth Five Year Plan had given a thrust on development of tribals through empowerment. Creation of self-confidence and privileges at par with the rest of the society was the main aim and for which social empowerment, economic empowerment and social justice were considered as the main criteria. About 10 percent of the total budget is used for tribals under this plan. In the tenth Plan 10.78 percent of total budget is kept for this. The total outlay and the corresponding percentage to budget expenditure for Tribal Development under Five Year Plans is given below.

Table 2.1

**Allotment of Funds for Tribal Development under Various Five Year Plans in India**

<b>Plans</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Total outlay in crores</b>	<b>Percentage of Tribal allotment</b>
I	1951-56	1960	1
II	1956-61	4672	0.90
III	1961-66	8577	0.60
Annual	1966-69	6756	0.50
IV	1969-74	15902	0.50
V	1974-79	39,322	3.07
VI	1980-85	97,500	5.67
VII	1985-90	1,80,000	6.67
VIII	1991-96	1,81,735	8.00
IX	1996-2001	1,84,060	9.97
X	2002-07	1,93,261	10.78

Source – Five Year Plan Documents, Planning Commission, Government of India.

Till the 5<sup>th</sup> five-year plan, tribal programmes were mixed up with under backward class sector. The fifth plan showed a deviation from the traditional adhoc development sector with the introduction of tribal sub-plan in the country. Till the fifth plan, it was believed that with the general growth of economy the benefit may reach the backward sections and areas and later it was realised that the poor and backward tribals were deprived of the benefit from general development. Hence more emphasis was given to tribal development through tribal sub plan since the Fifth five-year plan onwards.

Elimination of all types of exploitation and establishment of social equality and justice are still far away from reality.

### **Rehabilitation of Tribals**

Rehabilitation refers to the transfer and restoration of displaced persons from one area to another on a planned basis. Normally in our country rehabilitation is mainly undertaken by the government to fulfill its constitutional and social obligations. “Rehabilitation may be defined as the process of helping displaced families and communities re establishing their shelter, livelihood, cultural and social ties, institution and values of life with a new and stable community” (Saxena, 1991). The government interference, in this regard may be due to two reasons, (a) To re-locate the people or group of people who are displaced from some project area having public and social importance. (b) To protect the people who are socially and economically backward by providing houses and other basic needs. In addition to this, many of the tribals and non-tribals who are socially and economically backward are evicted from their own land for establishing big industrial estate and other structures of private agencies or government sponsored programmes. Usually the evicted people get a nominal amount as compensation. Gradually they become landless and unemployed. Thus they are forced to lead a poverty driven life. Since independence, a large number of rehabilitation projects and schemes have been introduced in India in various states. Rehabilitation of the



most hapless and deprived group in the society is an important social obligation and welfare programme of the Government. Rehabilitation is not a single activity but a package of resettlement with land, employment, credit facilities, education, medical facilities and other basic needs. The aim of rehabilitation is to make the target group self sufficient, self reliant and make them mingled with local people. It is considered as some thing more than just the provision of houses and gainful employment (Rao, 1967).

Rehabilitation can be of two types i.e. voluntary and involuntary. The former is due to pull factors, while the latter may be due to push factors (Asthana 1996). Push factors have a compulsory nature where the people are forced to move to new environment leaving their traditional location and ties. Pull factors prompt them to move towards new places with keeping their touch and contact with the original situation. Involuntary settlement is divided into disaster based and development desired settlement. The disaster based is referred with the location caused by natural calamities and war while development based is the outcome of the planned socio-political decisions.

Rehabilitation of the people who are displaced due to natural calamities and man made problems are common (Asthana, 1996). Millions of people are displaced and relocated throughout the developing world due to construction of dam, industrial and mining projects, hill area development programmes, urban and transport projects. (Mathur 1995). In India ousters

and victims of these 'development' programmes are generally the weaker sections and scheduled tribes in particular. According to the Government of India Report of 1985, though the tribals are only 7 percent of Indian population their proportion among displaced are higher than 40 percent. This is a clear indication to understand the deplorable displacement situation of tribal community in India. Various studies show that the rehabilitation programmes introduced so far are nominal and only 25 percent of the actual displaced are rehabilitated properly (Hindu, February 22, 1993).

### **Tribal Development Studies**

A search in to the former studies will enable the researcher to realise different aspects related to the problem. It will promote a greater understanding and help to avoid duplications. The major studies reviewed here are:

Dalton (1872) made a pioneer attempt in tribal studies in India. He had centralised his study on the tribals of West Bengal. In his "Descriptive Ethnology" of Bengal, he analysed the life style of different tribal groups in Bengal. The study narrates the parities and disparities in the living style, cultural and religious practices of different tribal groups in the region. Dalton pointed out the consumption pattern and income earning activities of tribals in Bengal.

Roy (1912) in his work expressed the tribal relation with agricultural activities of Chotta Nagpur. He analysed the agrarian relation of Mundas and their linkage with the agricultural economy of the region. The lifestyle of Munda tribe, their dependency on agriculture and the method of production are expressed in this study.

Elvin Verrier (1963) conducted an elaborate study on Indian Tribes. The study classified the tribals in to four groups based on their stages of social development i.e. forest tribal, the tribals having contact with plains and undergone some changes and the tribals who had some influence of socio-economic and cultural activities of Hindu society and missionary work. Elvin's fourth category was the notable group, considered as aristocrats among the tribals like Bhils, Naga chieftains, Bhuya, Gonds and Santhals. This classification on the basis of social contacts and transformation paved the way for noticing the changes of tribals through ages and activities.

Stephen Fuchs (1973) studied about the aboriginal tribes of India. It is related to the general conditions of Indian tribes. He analysed the living conditions and specific features of aboriginal tribes in India. The socio-economic aspects of nomadic tribes and living conditions of tribals in Central and South India are also brought under this study. The practice of shifting cultivation and '*Punam*' cultivation of aboriginals, their land relation and income generation are also analysed in this study.

Gupta and Gularia (1982) conducted a study on the management aspect of non wood forest produce in India. The study projected the potentialities of non wood product and its collection by using unskilled tribal labourers. They opined that this collection and management of non wood products may help to create more employment and income to unskilled tribals.

Ram Sharan Joshi (1984) through his 'Island of Deprivation', reveals the various aspects of tribal life and projects their sufferings and causes of deprivation. This work is the story of tribals who are fighting for survival and against the onslaughts of 'civilised society'. According to this study, industrialisation had intensified alienation of land and transformed the tribal cultivators either to landless labourers or industrial proletariat. Tribal land is grabbed through legal as well as illegal means. Since the tribal life very much depended directly and indirectly on land and agriculture, their land alienation and shift of agriculture to industry and skilled crafts adversely affected the tribals. Hence land alienation aggravated their problems. Further the study shows that when huge projects of public importance have been started in tribal areas through the acquisition of tribal land, their rehabilitation was not properly planned. The practice of bonded labour system is also projected throughout this study. The study analyses the impact of industrialisation on tribals and gives thrust on the need for conscientisation of tribals and other depressed class through innovative exercises. Hence the methodology of

conscientisation which he called 'Hunt and Built exercise' is a notable contribution of the author in the study.

Sharma et.al (1988) conducted a study on the Extent of inequality and poverty in tribal areas of Himachal Pradesh. The study identified that poverty and income inequalities are commonly prevalent in tribal areas. The living status of the tribals shows that rich are very rich, poor are very poor. They analysed this situation by analysing the income, employment and consumption variables and suggested the administrative interference to avoid these disparities. Wide inequalities make the tribal life very poor and pathetic.

Kasar (1989) studied on employment and income pattern of tribals in Pune district of Maharashtra. He made suggestions based on the study to make additional income to tribal households. His investigation centered around the traditional tribal economy and employment. Study suggested to provide and modernise the livestock improvement, establishment of agro industries, social forestry and plantation of horticultural crops for improving income and employment opportunities to tribals.

Mahalingam (1989) studied the tribal poverty and the poverty eradication programmes. The study projected the beneficiaries and number of families who crossed the poverty line during 1980-81 under Integrated Tribal Development Programme(ITDP) in tribal sub-plan area. Further, it found the

number of tribal families who crossed the poverty line (from 3000 in 1981 to 9309 in 1986).

Pawar and Patil (1989) made a study on the constraints in tribal agricultural development in Suryana Taluk of Nasik district. It revealed that a considerable gap in the use of improved technologies existed due to a number of constraints faced by tribal farmers. The main problem faced by them was the high cost of required inputs for improved methods, lack of irrigation facilities, sloppy and less fertile lands, non-availability of required inputs and lack of transport and communication. They found that the tribals are reluctant to use the modern implements due to two reasons. (a) They are unaware of modern technology and (b) They are not ready to avoid their traditional implements and methods.

Mahalingam (1990) examined the performance of tribal co-operatives and other services and their role in economic transformation of tribal society. The study gives valuable suggestions for the development of tribals namely their education, awareness and releasing the tribals from the clutches of money lenders.

Mohan Rao (1990) conducted a study on the *Kolams* of *Adilabad* district of Andhra Pradesh to examine the impact of changes in agricultural pattern of the tribals. *Kolams* are the primitive tribe and mainly found in Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. They live in interior area and doing

shifting cultivation for their income and living with limited contact with others. With the introduction of Forest Conservancy Laws, this tribal group has been displaced from their original places and disturbed their way of life, economy and occupation. In the new habitate they are surrounded by various other groups and pursued settled cultivation and agricultural work for their subsistence. In order to cop up with the changing situation, the *Kolams* have to undergo socio-cultural changes and at the same time they want to retain their core culture. Rao revealed that process of 'elite tribalism' has come to exist among the tribals particularly in *Kolams*. There was a practice adopting the customs and traditions of dominant tribe, but they are not ready to avoid the hardcore of their tradition and culture.

Ramaiah (1990) conducted a study on the impact of technology on tribal agriculture in Karimnagar district of Andra Pradesh. The study found that the electrification has brought about a change in cropping pattern in tribal villages. With the conversion of dry land to irrigated land, yield of farmers has considerable increase and this improvement is reflected in their life style. The tribes have started using improved, high breed seeds and modern fertilizers by avoiding the traditional methods. He points out that the tribals in the sample area had readily accepted the new techniques and methods of agriculture. Ramaiah suggests that this modernity in tribal agriculture may change the starving face of Indian tribals.

Jyothy and Karuppaiyan (1991) analysed the government activities and development programmes of government after independence. They found that government has spent large amount of money for tribal development programmes. Top priority was given to tribal education also. But desired result was not achieved in the field of education. The literacy level remained far lower than expected. The study shows that this is due to the low economic condition of tribals, lack of infrastructure and absence of sincere administration for their educational advancement.

Krishna Reddy et.al (1991) evaluates the impact of various welfare schemes on the socio- economic life of Sugalies of Kurnool district in Andhra Pradesh. After independence, the Sugalies were subjected to greater interference in their life because of the sponsored changes. Different schemes under various sectors such as agriculture, minor irrigation, animal husbandry, construction of pucca houses, etc. were implemented. Almost all schemes were well received by the beneficiaries. Welfare measures and development programmes have made a definite impact on the socio-economic life of the Sugalis.

Masaw (1991) conducted a study in Gujarat about the tribal labour and wage system and revealed that unemployment is very widely spread and it is severe among the tribal agricultural labourers. Wages to them are low and inadequate for their subsistence. The debts of agricultural labourers are found



high and at the same time their repaying capacity is very low. The study concludes that due to these economic backwardness, employment and wage problems the tribals are in poverty. Indebtedness is a major issue challenging their existence.

Pawer J.R. et.al (1991) made a study on employment, income and expenditure pattern of tribal farm families of Jalagoan district in Maharashtra. The study reveals that the present occupations of tribals are not enough to provide adequate employment and income opportunities. At the same time consumption expenditure of the tribal families exceeds their family income and suffers a deficit in their economy. The illiteracy among them caused for their own exploitation due to lack of knowledge about money transaction and new development in science, technology and society.

Sujit Sikidar (1991) highlighted the marketing and communication problems in tribal belts. It is common that growers are selling their produce at a throw away price and traders with vested interests, the same goods are finally sold at a highly inflated price in urban centers. The study exposes the severe exploitation of tribals by others taking advantage of the situation. He suggests a direct marketing facility to ensure reasonable price and advantages to the growers by eliminating middle men and greedy traders.

Ajith. K. Danda (1991) expressed the view that ecology and the living environment are the most important factors which determine the occupational

structure and set up of tribals. He disagrees with the classification of tribals according to their occupation. According to him, ecological settings can change and regulate the lifestyle of the people.

Thakar (1991) conducted a study in Himachal Pradesh to ascertain the impact of different tribal development programmes of the government. It is found that the main problems of the tribal communities are basically the problem of transition from the primitive to modern society and tribal disintegration with main stream of national life. The exploitation of tribals by money lenders, traders and even by some other agencies are also the major impediment in their development. He ascertained that sensitisation and education are the adoptable measures to rescue the tribals from debt trap and exploitation.

Salil Basu(1992) studied the relationship between food habits and health condition of tribals. He identified various aspects like infant feeding, maternal nutrition, nutrition and diseased conditions and diet intake in his study. He also observed their cultural components and their influences in tribal health. The analysis shows relationship between the labour productivity and healthy conditions of tribals.

Sharma (1993) attempted to study the variations among the level of livings of tribals in Himachal Pradesh. He had taken sample households from different levels. The findings of the study are (a) Inequalities in the use and

distribution of household assets and (b) Glaring differences in the consumption expenditure of tribals and non-tribals in the region.

Shanthudu (1993) revealed that holistic approach to tribal development should attempt to induct local skill and materials and integrate the existing infrastructure with future plan in a phased manner. The most important cause of tribal problems and imbalance in development are due to certain defective planning. Special programmes for the welfare and development of tribals have only a limited coverage and in practice have become too rigid and uniform. The study suggests that the planners and policy makers should be more realistic and aware of the needs and problems of tribals. They have to be more objective in implementing tribal schemes.

Trivedi (1993) conducted a study on Anganwadis in the tribal regions of Gujarat. The study observed that unlike other welfare schemes, Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS) through its various Anganwadis centres and sub-centres have penetrated deeply and reached to the tribal people living in the much interior and backward areas of Gujarat state. The Anganwadi's functioning in the tribal area became important centre for the development works carried out at the bottom level. He observed that Anganwadi's are the basic unit of education as well as centres of cultural transmission. So its establishment and functioning made effective and positive change in tribal life.

Deogaonkar (1994) traced the origin and growth of the effort for development of tribes in India. He examined the various approaches to tribal development, enumerated the administrative structure and organisational strategies adopted during the last many years of planning. The outlays on tribal development during the plan and section wise priorities given are also examined in his study. The tribal sub plan strategy, its implementation and an evaluation of the important schemes are also attempted. The policy adopted in tribal development finds special and critical treatment. Ethnographic notes on some representative tribes have also given in this study. The practical aspect of development and social changes are also discussed and analysed.

Ram Narayan and Kinhal (1994) attempted to quantify the dependence of tribals of Rajasthan and analysed it in terms of location and type of forest products. Majority of the tribals depend on forest for direct benefit than any others. When many studies established a qualitative relationship and dependence between tribals and forest, this study gave a new face to the problem through a quantitative approach. Study shows that although percapita forest area varied from 0.087 hectares to 4.27 hectares, the percentage of average annual forest based household income to the average annual total income did not show any variation. The direct income from forest varied from 2.2 to 0.36 percent of the annual household income.

Bisen (1995) studied the role of non-wood forest products as the source of subsistence of tribals. Processing of non forest product in India is still in a primitive stage. This causes to the low prices of the product in both national and international markets. Developing labour intensive improved technology for processing the non-wood forest products will improve the employment opportunities and it may ensure high price for the product. Thus a modernisation approach in this respect may improve the skill of tribals and help them to lead a better life, earning more income and easy employment.

Anitha (1996) pointed out the change in the land use pattern of tribals and its impact on the socio-economic aspects of their life. Land and its productivity are deeply rooted in tribal life for generations; but due to the acts of external forces and modernisation the tribals are compelled to move from their age-old systems and land oriented living pattern. Land alienation and depletion of other resources and their impacts on tribal life are also examined in her study.

Joshi (1997) conducted a study on tribal migration for labour in India. Seasonal labour migration is an important dynamic constituent of tribal life of contemporary India. The study analyses the basic issue that large scale migration is one of the survival strategies adopted by the tribals to save themselves from starvation. The study analyses both push and pull factors which compel them to move from one place to another in search of

employment. Further, the analysis gives light on some other migration theories. In some cases this migration takes place when local support fails due to increase in population and shortage of resources. The study reflects the ground reality of the exploited western tribal belt in India. The inferences are basically drawn from the primary data of tribal villages in Jhabuna district of Madhya Pradesh. It is a factual analysis of the nature and volume, direction and causes of tribal migration. The study exposes manpower planning aspects of these poor areas and considers that in risk prone conditions, the basic requirements should be to provide a year round stable sustenance based on local resources rather than going for large scale industrialisation. Further, an operational model of cluster planning centered around tribal market has been devised in this study. The model deals with the manpower planning aspect by providing a mix of diversified option suited to sociological conditions.

Kishore C. Samual (1998) made a study on the poverty eradication programmes for tribals in Orissa. Study shows that inspite of economic growth, poverty and hunger still remain especially in tribal belts. Further, it shows that empowerment through local democracy, land reforms and education along with better credit facilities and growth of rural non agricultural activities are necessary to help the poor tribals. Local democracy, expansion of education, credit facilities, and organisation of poor people are essential for empowerment, alleviation of poverty and hunger.

Kumar(1998) identified the relationship between the political and economic structure of tribal society. The study shows that there is a positive relationship between political situations and economic life. This study is related to the hidden rays of unity among various tribes and further reveals the nature and relationship of chieftainship and its hierarchy among themselves. He observed five types of chieftainship – authoritarian, republican, ultra republican, theoretical anarchy and borrowed agencies. The relationship between the political and economic structure of tribal society is identified in this work.

Malhotra (1998) examined the impact of education on the social development of tribals in Andaman and Nicobar Islands. He is of the view that British people popularised education in these areas to benefit their navy. Consequently the tribal of Nicobar has also undergone a social and economic change due to the spread of education compared to other Indian tribes. Hence Malhotra established a link between education and socio-economic growth of Andaman Nicobar tribes in India.

Ali and Singh (2001) identified the positive and negative impact of various strategies adopted for tribals in India. They pointed out that all the programmes adopted to uplift the tribals are traditional and orthodox. The capital injection from outside in the name of development without the involvement and initiative of the beneficiaries are very seriously viewed in

their analysis. According to them the rural poverty is due to so many seen and unforeseen reasons; these multidimensional reasons can remove only through new strategies of development with participation and involvement, education and community development activities. Integrated rural development through functional planning is also aimed through this work.

Rajasehkar (2002) had conducted a study “Caste- a nation within the nation”. The study points out reasons for lack of group consciousness among the ethnic groups. It reveals that among the low cast people they have an intense hatred because the low caste and untouchables do not even disclose their caste identity. He identified that the educated and up-starts among the tribals and low caste, move away from their own caste and they are not ready to help others who need help within their group. One of the major findings of the study is that cultural transmission is essential for economic development of tribals; but it is not taking place among the tribals in India.

Soundarapandian (2002) conducted a study on Tribal development in India with special reference to *Paliyan* tribe of Tamilnadu. Many problems of tribals in south India have been highlighted in his work. The study offers a comprehensive analysis of the profiles of *Paliyan* tribal community in Western Ghats. It deals with the understanding of the socio-economic functioning of families, life cycle stage, ethnic and religious backgrounds, occupation and income status. The silent feature of this study is the critical



evaluation of the development programmes and policy implications for the development of *Paliyan* tribe of Kamraj and Tirunelveli Kattabomman district of Tamilnadu. The tribal situation in south India and tribal development policies followed in general and programmes for *Paliyans* in particular are discussed. Socio-economic conditions of *Paliyans*, their life problems, developmental activities etc. are also systematically analysed in this study. Further the role of forest in tribal development and the performance of tribal development measures in the district are also brought to the light.

Archana Prasad (2003) made a detailed study on ecological Romanticism and environmental history, unpacking the myth of original inhabitant in Gondwana related to Adivasis and Swadeshis. The study also tried to reinterpret Elwin's cultural ecology in central India with an example of Baiga tribe and its eco-logic. The work further exposes the transformation of Tribals into Hindutwa as a tragic tale of Transformation.

Awadesh Kumar Singh(2003) examined the development, administration and dynamics of tribal economy. He also viewed the impact of development projects on tribal life. The important dimensions of tribal economy such as agricultural situation, land alienation, self employment avenues and non-farm economy, tribal development administration and tribal land holdings are carefully debated throughout his "Dynamics of Tribal Economy". 'Non tribal' exploitation of tribals by way of debt trap and market

economy and implementation of huge projects in tribal belts contribute to the tribal hardships and loss of settlements. Singh emphasises that exploitation by non-tribals is the main reason for land alienation. As per his findings, money lenders are the chief exploiters of tribals.

Dilip Shah(2003) in his study on ‘Tribal Development Planning and Performance’ examined the magnitude and nature of tribal development constraints in India. The study is a brief document on evolution of tribal development planning and approaches adopted in India under various five year plans. The outcome of the efforts and approaches are assessed in terms of standard development performance parameters. Further, the study suggests some major corrections for most efficient tribal development planning. The study covers almost all present day crucial issues like magnitude of tribal problems, evolution of tribal planning, financial allocation for tribal development under plans, poverty alleviation and educational development. Lack of infrastructural facilities like all weather road connectivity, education, health care facilities, drinking water and electricity are the major constraints in tribal development even after implementation of several plans. All the supports including institutional arrangements and credit extended by government fail to help the positive transformation of tribal folk in front of blocking constraints.

Nandinisundar (2005) in her study “Customs and democracy in Jarkhand” analyses the dual political nature of tribal life. She identified that pre-colonial tribal life had a clear organisational structure based on lineage. She established the tribal headship system and its controlling nature among the tribals of Jarkhand. Contrary to traditional tribal headship, when panchayath system was introduced in Jarkhand political and administrative problems arised in the tribal belt. The conflict was between traditional political structure based on customs and rituals and new structure based on constitution. Hence it caused to many difficulties to implement development programmes.

Tharashankar Banarjee(1990) narrated the causes and consequences of changing land system among the tribals of Eastern India in modern period. She expresses the view that tribal studies cover only their political angles and that too is not touching the problems in depth and hence they are not sufficient to see the background of present day discontent of *Adivasis*. She focuses that there is no systematic study to understand the operation of British Indian Laws and changing land system after the introduction of permanent settlement of tribals. The land relationship under the settlement urged a new era in Eastern India in which the *Adivasis* found themselves mostly at the receiving end. The impact of changing land system affected the *Adivasis* rather adversely which resulted to the crystallisation of discontent in the long run. The impact of changing land system was multidimensional. It affected

slowly but surely the social structure, manners, customs and religion of the tribals of Eastern India. Through an inter disciplinary analysis she tried to evaluate the tribal problems from various angles and examined the background for a fruitful analysis of tribal discontent.

### **Studies in Kerala**

Thurston (1907) in his ethnographic notes on Castes and Tribes of Southern India, made an in-depth and systematic analysis of tribal situation all over India. The studies give a detailed account of past and contemporary situation of tribals. Besides, he narrates the changing pattern of tribal life especially in Kerala. The study is not on any specific aspect but it covers almost all aspects like customs, tradition, belief, way of life, occupational pattern, etc.

Anantha Krishan Iyer(1909) made an ethnographic study on hill tribes and low castes of Cochin. The study covers the socio-cultural activities of various tribes and castes of Travancore-cochin province. It highlights an insight on economic life of hill tribes of Kerala. He emphasised the strong caste and classicism which prevailed in central Kerala and its impact on social life during the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Ehrnfels (1952) made an extensive study on Kader tribes of Kerala. The study shows that Kaders belongs to hill tribes of south India and are still in their pre-pastoral and pre-agricultural pattern of food gathering. It covers a

wide range of their life and activities with economic and social coverage's. He identified that a very low cognitive level is the basic handicap of Kaders and advocated for effective administrative steps to avoid the exploitation of these poor tribes.

Luiz (1962) made a careful study on tribal communities of Kerala. This study gives a fairly good account of changing pattern of socio-economic life of tribals in Kerala. This study analysed the tribal culture, tribal settlement, their physical character and institutions of tribal life. The central theme of the study is their beliefs, taboos and customs based on their community life.

Mathur (1977) conducted an elaborate study on tribal situation in Kerala. The socio-political and economic aspect of various tribal groups in Kerala are analysed in this study. The very crucial issues like land alienation, bonded labour system, indebtedness and women issues are elaborately discussed in this work. The study gives a clear idea of tribal life and it throws light to the pathetic life of tribal brethren in Kerala.

Saradmoni (1980) vividly examined the nature and extension of slavery and bondage among the lower caste and socially and economically depressed lot of Kerala .The technique and practice of exploitation of 'haves' on 'have-not' by way of land alienation, low wage and duration and situation of work are revealed in her work. The role of social reforms has respected and considered. Act of Sree Narayana Guru in bringing out the unity and

consolidation of lower caste in Kerala which paved the way for a social transformation is also considered in her work.

Paul (1988) analysed the causes for inter regional differences in tribal activities and development. He advocated the needs of exogenous pushes in connection with environment for effectiveness in tribal development programmes. His study has a touch with internal problems and inter community variations. He contents that this variation causes to the differences in tribal transformation and developmental changes among the tribals of Kerala.

Anandabanu (1989) made an ethnographic study on Cholanaikans of Kerala. Cholanaikans are the most primitive tribe and even now they are very reluctant to mingle with outsiders. The study examines their lifestyle method of collecting food like hunting, fishing and collection of roots and fruits from the interior forest. The study gives an account of different major and minor forest produces available to them. Monthly variations in the availability of those items are graphically represented in this work.

Kunhaman (1989) made a study on development of tribal economy and emphasised the development of under development among the tribals. Though both central and state Governments have adopted and implemented several development programmes, this people remains the most backward section of the society. The study analyses the bonded labour system, the land

alienation, surplus land distribution among tribals, tribal agriculture and tribal farmers' participation in the product market. The study clearly shows the inter-regional disparity among the tribals with regard to their land holding, employment, housing. According to him the causes of 'social death' of tribals through land alienation, debt trap, unmarried motherhood are due to the external factors and contact with non-tribals. He analysed the dynamics of external influence and its negative effect on tribal communities. Non-tribal influences compelled to enter into non-tribal production and market. In another study Kunhaman (2002) brought out the necessity for a separate thought to analyse the tribal changes and impact of globalisation. Changes in the pattern of tribal leadership among selected tribal groups are also examined.

Kerala State Planning Board together with Institute of Management in Government (2002) has published some views on tribal development programmes in connection with the People's Planning Programmes in the state. This work identified the administrative deficiencies and inefficiencies in tribal development programmes. The study identified that the activities of the official programmes are implemented to uplift this down-trodden folk. It pointed out the loopholes in strategies and occurrences of leakages and wastages in use of funds. The study points out the crucial problems of mismanagements and wastages in official programmes designed for tribals.

Bindu (2004) in her research work analysed the changes and differences in human development and achievements of various communities in the state of Kerala. She also verified the inter-regional parities and disparities among the various tribal groups with respect to their human resource development capabilities and qualities. According to the study low level income, land alienation and unemployment are the major factors which are pushing back the Wayanadan tribes in to the pathetic life situations than the any other tribes in Kerala.

Indian Institute of Management Kozhikode(2006) highlighted the special features of tribals in Wayanad. The study opines that the official programmes for tribals alone cannot bring out tribals from their present underdevelopment trap. Social involvement programmes with social preparations are highly inevitable to lift the social and economic conditions of tribals in Wayanad. Development of skills in both agricultural and non-agricultural works to build up tribal capacity and making awareness on changing situations are inevitable for the tribal transformation.

Francis (2006) under took a study on the internal factors of tribals and their development in Kerala. He found that the efforts of the state government to uplift the tribal community failed to raise the living standard of the tribes at par with non-tribes. He found that it was not only the external factors but internal factors also determines the development of tribals. The poor linkage



between the internal and external factors occurs because of the particular dynamics of the development efforts. The study also suggests that only through the strengthening of the household economy the development of tribals can be ensure.

Most of these studies are peripheral. A comprehensive analysis relating to the socio-economic aspects of tribals in Kerala and the impact of rehabilitation programmes on them is found lacking. This provided an insight to the researcher to formulate the objective and methodology for the present study. It is an attempt to analyse the impact (both positive and negative) changes on tribal life due to government programmes and projects.

# **Chapter 3**

## **LAND RELATION AND EMPLOYMENT PATTERN AMONG THE TRIBALS OF WAYANAD**

**The Case of Early Tribals**  
**Tribals in Wayanad - since Independence**  
**Development Issues of Tribals in Wayanad**  
**Literacy and Education**  
**Tribal Land Policy in Kerala**  
**Atrocities on Tribals**  
**Tribal Resettlement Development Mission**

## **LAND RELATION AND EMPLOYMENT PATTERN AMONG THE TRIBALS OF WAYANAD\_**

### **3.1 The case of early Tribals**

Wayanad lies among the mountains of Western Ghats and it is the loveliest hill station in Kerala. This piece of land is merged with nature and lies at a height of 700 to 2100 mtrs, above the sea level on the north eastern part of the state. It is believed that the name Wayanad itself is derived from the word *Vayal nadu* which means paddy field.

The land relation and employment pattern of the tribals had undergone drastic changes in the course of history particularly since 17<sup>th</sup> century. Till the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Wayanad was inhabited exclusively by the hill tribes (Logan 1981). *Kurumans* and *Kurichians* were numerically the predominant tribes who lived in separate geographical divisions and ruled by their tribal chieftains. They practiced-‘slash and burn’ cultivation in forest land and lived in a state of primitive communism. Traditionally people of *Wayanad* were engaged in agricultural activities and their main cultivation was paddy and other crops. During the closing years of the 17<sup>th</sup> century *Wayanad* came under King Pazhassi the last ruler of *Kottayam* dynasty (Sridhara Menon, 1962). The supremacy of the prince, was imposed on the tribals of *Wayanad* to whom they paid tribute and gifts in cash or kind. Honey

was given as gift to the king. So they were compelled to collect more honey both for tribute and domestic requirements. This gradually resulted in surplus collection of honey. This surplus collection caused a series of changes in their economy in the following years. In the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century power struggle became rampant among the *Natturajas*(local rulers) from plains which led to the immigration of refugees from the plains to the hill tracts of *Wayanad*, on a scale much higher than ever earlier. The spread of immigrants in *Wayanad* caused 'Settled Agriculture' in the plains, particularly in the valleys of the region(Rajendran 1979). The immigrants settled in the most fertile areas by subjugating and enslaving the tribals(Logan, 1981).

In 1776 when the Mysore ruler, Tippu Sulthan invaded the princely state of Kottayam, fresh waves of immigration of non-tribals in large number ensued (Ibrahimkunju, 1975). The practice of settled agriculture expanded further. The land system introduced in *Wayanad* by the Mysore ruler, i.e., direct payment of land revenue by the cultivator to the government, for the first time in the history of that region forged a link between farmers and government. A portion of the product was fixed as tax. In this process, the role of intermediaries and the feudal absentee landlords were considerably declined. Virgin land and temple property were exempted from land tax. This revenue system was found to be quite favourable to the farmers and attracted more plainsmen to *Wayanad*. Expansion of settled agriculture and further enslavement of the tribals, largely to use as agricultural labourer became

deeply entrenched in the area. *urichians* and *Kurumans* constituted the traditional militia of the chieftains and rulers of the region. King Pazhassi recruited *Kurichians* and *Kurumans* to his military to fight against Mysore rulers (Nair,1977). Later on, Pazhassi used this tribal regiment to fight against the British also. As a token of appreciation of their valiant services against the British, the Raja donated large areas of cultivable land to the tribals (chathopadyaya, 1971). After King Pazhassi, the land owned tribals continued as peasants and their landless counterparts lived as slaves.

The Mysore rule and its land reforms ensured the inflow of large number of people belonging to the communities of Chetties and Gowdas from eastern parts of Western Ghats, at present belonging to the state of Karnataka and Tamilnadu. These immigrants purchased forest land from their former owners, mostly absentee landlords, who lived in the plains. By this time, labour shortage had existed in various parts of *Wayanad*; the available labourers were already used as attached labour by individual cultivators. The new group of landed cultivators, Chetties and Gowdas, therefore brought down the workers from their native areas. The workers were recruited from the hill tribes, *Adiyans* and *Paniyans* who inhabited the eastern side of the Western Ghats, on the Mysore and Nilgiri forest (Luiz,1982).

After the death of Pazhassi, the British imposed punitive land taxes on people who had supported Pazhassi. The tax has to be paid to the British

authority directly in cash (SK Nair,1997). This taxing invited the wrath of *Kurichians* and *Kurumans* who rose in revolt against the British in 1812 , known as Kuruchia rebellion. This tribal revolt in *Wayanad* was the first peasant revolt against the British rule in India (CK Karim, 1971).

The British used this land for estate farming. The crops like tea, coffee, cardamom and other cash crops were cultivated by using tribal labour. Roads were built for the movement of goods, timber and agricultural products. This infrastructure attracted the non-tribals to Wayanad. In addition to agricultural earnings, British people mined gold from Wayanad using tribal labour.

In the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the number of tribal slaves exceeded that of cultivators and the two groups differed vastly between the others in terms of socio-economic status. The right of land was on high caste Brahmins and local chieftains, who obtained the *Jenmon* (ownership) right from Brahmins for their service. Such land was leased out on *Kanam* (mortgage) to Nairs and Nambiyars, who maintained close relationship with Brahmins and local chieftains. Again this Kanam land was subleased to Ezhavas and Muslims on *Verumpattom* (sub-lease). This Kaanamdars (Nairs and Nambiars) never engaged in agricultural operations directly. The physical labour for the cultivation of land was extracted from the agrestic caste and tribes, now known as Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes. People

belonging to the scheduled caste lived in the plains. They were not available to work in hilly regions (Kurup, 1977).

The scarcity of the farm labour led to the establishment of an innovative practice of settling debt arrear through the exchange of agricultural serfs at a price equivalent to the outstanding debts(GOM, 1940). Thus developed a market for such transactions. Mainly there existed three systems of slave transactions namely *Jenmon*, *Kanam* and *Pattam*. Other than in agriculture, slaves were employed in the mines owned by the chieftains and local Princes in which free labour was not available to do the risky and life threatening works. History shows that Glenrock gold mining company used to keep tribals as attached labourers for their mining work.

By the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century land prices shot up in *Wayanad*, because of the introduction of plantation and commercialisation of agriculture. Increased land price tempted the *Jemmies*(land lords) to dispose their lands in part or full. Gradual development in the land holding system made it difficult and useless for the cultivators to maintain slaves(Thurston, 1975). Hence releasing of slaves started gradually. Healthy and physically strong tribals among the freed slaves were employed in plantation on daily wage or on contract for specific periods (Mathur, 1977). Thus this period of decline in slavery caused the initial stages of proletarianisation of tribals in *Wayanad*. The tribals who failed to get employment as free labour sought the



help of landlords for loan or other material help by pledging their land; if they have no land, they are compelled to pledge any members of their family. The significant feature of this system was that the pledged tribal should work for the landlord until the debt was discharged. The members of the tribal family were also bound to work for the creditors, in exchange for which they were paid only their bare subsistence(Mathur, 1977). Thus, during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the bonded labour system emerged in *Wayanad* among the tribals. *Adiyans* and *Paniyans* were the primary victims of this evil practice.

In the middle of 20<sup>th</sup> century, large scale immigration of non-tribals from *Travancore-Cochin* area to *Wayanad* took place. Eventhough the inflex accelerated the process of proletarianisation to some extent, it also caused to the growth of unemployment among tribals. The new settlers were not the absentee landlords, but tillers in the soil themselves, rarely depended on hired or paid labour. The Jenmies(land lords) of *Wayanad* sold their own land and land of tribal cultivators to the new immigrants. The tribals had no records and have no strength to resist the illegal transaction. Besides, the newcomers encroached the tribal land by using their economic and political influence and even with muscle power. Hence the alienation of tribal land took place on a massive scale. This land alienation was in three forms.

- The non-tribals had advanced loan to tribals to usurp their land in cases of default.

- The tribals permitted the non-tribals to cultivate their land since they had no money to spend on cultivation. When the land reform act was implemented, the possession right was accepted as evidence of ownership right, and tribals lost their land which was cultivated by the non-tribals.
- The non-tribals encroached on tribal land by using physical force, coercion or cheating. Thus the alienated tribals became 'free' landless agricultural labourers working under the new settlers in Wayanad (Kunhaman, 1989). Eventhough the basic slogan of the land reform in the state was 'land to the tillers', tribals who are the real tillers lost their land with the implementation of land reform due to some technicalities and interpretation in the law. The land reform legislation enabled the non-tribal immigrants to establish their ownership right over such lands and according to the interpretation of the law, the tribals became the "absentee landlords" and non-tribal immigrants, the *tenants* (Kunhaman, 1989).

The new settlers, especially the Christians and Muslims did their cultivations themselves and left the tribals unemployed. Labourers from Coimbatoor and Selam competed out the tribal labourers from plantation. Supply of labour thus far exceeded its demand. By 1950, *Adiyans, Paniyans*

and landless *Kurumans* were compelled to work at extremely low wages. Even now the tribals are low paid, compared to other workers in this area.

The merchant class among the Muslims and Christians during the middle of 20<sup>th</sup> century established direct 'friendly' contact with the tribals and used them to hew-out trees from forest at low wages, local toddy and tobacco. Thus this was another new method of exploitation. The Hindu high caste people, on the other hand had only little direct contact with the tribals. They contacted the tribals only through intermediaries for labour purpose.

The emergence of large scale plantation and commercialisation of agriculture during the 18<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the origin and growth of bonded labour system among the tribals in Kerala. This caused the process of rapid proletarianisation particularly among the tribals in *Wayanad*. In the later half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, tribals were pushed down to underemployment and unemployment. Elements of bondage survived explicitly up to 1976, till the enactment of Bonded Labour Abolition Act particularly among *Adiyans* and *Paniyans* of *Wayanad*.

### **3.2 Tribals in Wayanad: Since independence**

The present Wayanad district is carved out mainly from the parts of Kozhikode and Kannoor districts of Kerala in 1980. This region is perhaps one of the main sources of foreign exchange earning of the state through its well known hill products, spices and other cash crops. Seventeen percent of

the district population are tribals and it is 37% of the total tribal population of Kerala. But this group is always deprived in all other respects. The major native tribals consist of *Paniyans, Adiyans, Kurumans, Kurichans, Ooralis and Kattunaikans*. Among them *Kattunaikans* belong to primitive tribe. *Adiyans* and *Paniyans* are not identified as primitive but they are more backward and still non-responsive to modern development. They were bonded labourers or slaves for very long years and these two groups together form 53% of the total tribal population of Wayanad. *Kuruchians* and *Kurumans* are other two major tribals in Wayanad. Compared to *Adiyans* and *Paniyans* they have attained some level of socio-economic advancement.

Geographically Wayanad district has an area of 2,126 Sq. Km. (GOI, 2001). In the late 1940's non-tribal new settlers migrated to Wayanad from Central Kerala and its neighbouring areas. The new settlers cheated the tribals, alienated their land, put the tribals in slavery and made them bonded labourers at low wage. The major tribal communities- *Adiyans* and *Paniyans* became landless agricultural labourers and slaves of new *Jenmies*(land lords) and influential people. Hence irrespective of period and rulers, tribals of Wayanad had a deep touch with the land, nature and forest of the region.

Soil of Wayanad is mainly of the forest type; it promotes lushy growth of vegetation which makes *Wayanad* clothed in green uniform. Besides, paddy and other crops, coffee is ubiquitous in Wayanad both in the form of

large plantation and small holdings. The economy of Wayanad mainly depends on coffee and pepper. The total coffee cultivating area in Kerala is estimated as 75,057 hectares of which 66,999 hectares are in *Wayanad* i.e. 33.65% of total cropped area in the district and 78% of coffee growing area in the state(DOI 1997). Coffee is grown both as a pure crop and as a mixed crop with pepper. Pepper is grown largely along coffee in *Pulpally* and *Mullenkolly* areas and there are exclusive pepper gardens also in these areas. In some parts, pepper is grown as an additional crop under trees that are groomed to give shade to the coffee shrubs. Other major crops are rubber in 63,015 hectares, tea in 31,792 hectares, coconut in 59,452 hectares, cardamom 38,348 hectares and paddy 22,772 hectares. Besides these major crops cassava, ginger, turmeric and arecanut, plantern are also cultivated in this green land. Irrespective of the cropping pattern, cash crop or food crop, perennial or annual, estate farming or homestead, tribal labour is a major component in the Wayanad's agricultural economy(DOI 1997). Hence the history, economy and development of Wayanad is inextricably mixed up with the tribals of the region.

As per the latest estimate total population in Wayanad is 7,86,627 lakhs. The Talukwise distribution of population in Wayanad is given in Table 3.1

Table 3.1

**Talukwise Distribution of  
Population in Wayanad by Sex (in lakhs)**

<b>Taluk</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Total</b>
Mananthavady (R)	121,779	120,210	241,989
S. Bathary(R)	149,319	149,016	298,335
Vythiri (R)	107,449	109,252	216,701
Vythiri (U)	14,850	14,752	29,602
<b>Total</b>	<b>393,397</b>	<b>393,230</b>	<b>786,627</b>

R = Rural, U = Urban. Source :- District hand Book of Kerala, Wayanad, 2003.

At present on the basis of existing norms, there is no urban population in *Wayanad*. But the living condition of the people in *Sulthan Bethary*, *Mananthawady* and *Kelpetta* is in the process of gaining urban status. *Kelpetta* is the only municipality in the district where tribals are comparatively less in number. The total tribal population in the district is estimated as 1,13,362 with 26,370 families. They are commonly living in clusters called tribal settlements. It is estimated that there are 2537 tribal settlements in *Wayanad*. Among the twenty five grama panchayaths *Thirunelli* and *Panamaram* both in *Mananthawady* block have the highest tribal population i.e. 9153 and 8530 respectively and the lowest in *Vythiri* Panchayath 652. The statistics of Block wise tribal population is shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2

**Block Wise Tribal Settlement and Population in Wayanad**

<b>Block</b>	<b>No. of Settlements</b>	<b>No. of Families</b>	<b>Population</b>
Mananthawady	944	9196	45018
S. Bethary	954	10156	35576
Kelpetta (Vythiri)	639	7018	32768
<b>Total</b>	<b>2537</b>	<b>26370</b>	<b>113362</b>

Source: Tribal Development Department 2001.

**Development issues of Tribals in Wayanad**

As noted earlier Wayanad is the most tribal concentrated district in Kerala. Before 1940 tribals were the major inhabitants of the region. In due course of time they turned into minority and became insignificant in all walks of life in Wayanad. However the productive sector and labour market in the district depends on unskilled tribals for the agricultural and allied manual labour. Tribals lived together with their families in hilly regions. As a result of the modern development and constructions they are thrown out from their area and became nomadic or scattered all over the district. This scattered nature cause to the loss of some specific tribal development projects to the area. For such projects 51% of the tribal concentration is necessary as per new norms. Hence instead of such schemes, the Wayanadan Tribals attained only some individual or family oriented schemes unlike tribals of *Attappady*.

Major issue of tribals in *Wayanad* is houselessness or dilapidated houses and huts. Unemployment, ill health, illiteracy, landlessness and lack of basic amenities like drinking water and sanitations are other major problems

always disturbing the tribal life in Wayanad.

There are 11,176 landless tribal families in Wayanad (Table 3.3). One acre each is given to 39 families, through the Tribal mission (DPR 2004-05). The remaining families are still landless. In 2003 tribals under *Adivasi Gothra Maha Sabha* staged a violent agitation in *Muthanga* for land. But the problems still remains unsolved.

Table 3.3  
**Panchayathwise Distribution of Landless Tribal Families in Wayanad**

Block	Panchayaths	Numbers
Sulthan Bethary	Noolpuzha	699
	Nenmeni	518
	S. Bethary	490
	Ambelavayal	317
	Poothady	689
	Pulpally	712
	Meenangady	663
	Mullan Kolly	357
Mananthawady	Thondernadu	343
	Vellamunda	438
	Thavinjal	442
	Mananthawady	551
	Edavaka	373
	Panamaram	936
	Thirunelli	921
Kalpetta(Vythiri)	Pozhuthane	159
	Kaniyampetta	293
	Muttil	337
	Padinjarathera	197
	Tharigod	203
	Meppady	191
	Moppainadu	153
	Kalpetta Municipality	238
	Vengappally	379
	Kottathasa	544
	Vythiri	33
<b>Grand Total</b>		<b>11176</b>

Source: Tribal Sub-plan, Wayanad 2003-04, 2004-05



The statistics shows that Panamaram and Thirunelli have maximum landless tribal families. Majority among these are Adiyans and Paniyans and they are the most affected communities. Though some alternative sources are introduced officially, they came to an end without success. Sagandhagiri–cardamom project, Pookottu Dairy project, Priyadarshini Tea Estate, Coffee and Pepper gardens of *Erulam, Kallumala, Cheeyembam* are few major projects designed for tribal employment and rehabilitation in Wayanad. Unemployment problem is common among the educated tribals also. Eventhough they have reservation and other concessions to get employment, many are in queue for employment after registering in Employment Exchange. Official statistics support the facts and it is given in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4

**Tribals Registered in Employment Exchange, Wayanad**

<b>Educational Level</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Total Population</b>
Below 10 <sup>th</sup> std	1642	1865	3507
10 <sup>th</sup> std/Equivalent	1714	2077	3791
Pre degree/ +2	182	223	405
Graduates	38	41	79
Post - graduates	3	7	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>3579</b>	<b>4213</b>	<b>7792</b>

Source : Wayanad District Panchayath Tribal Sub- Plan 2004-05.

## **Literacy and Education**

Illiteracy and ignorance cause for the backwardness of tribals in Wayanad. This prevents the development activities of this people. The tribal literacy rate in Wayanad is 50.63% as per 2001 census. In 1981 it was 20.74%. The percentage progress is due to the result of Total Literacy Programme with special thrust on tribal literacy. The authorities and NGO's have made many efforts for the educational development of tribals but not attained the desired result. Ashram Schools and Model Residential Schools are the new ventures in tribal education. Since most of the tribal parents are illiterate and ignorant they are not very much concerned about their children's education. Habits of alcoholic addiction is another major cause for the non-responsiveness towards various social transformation activities. Students are enrolled to the schools but they do not continue in their studies. The tribal student strength in Wayanad is 21544. One of the reasons for the low enrolment is that the schools are not near to the tribal settlement. Children are not ready to move to a distant place from their settlements. Parent's traditional attitudes, social evils, intoxicating habits and above all unemployment and poverty make the situation worse. Enrolment of S.T. students at various levels is given in table 3.5 and figure 3.1.

Table 3.5

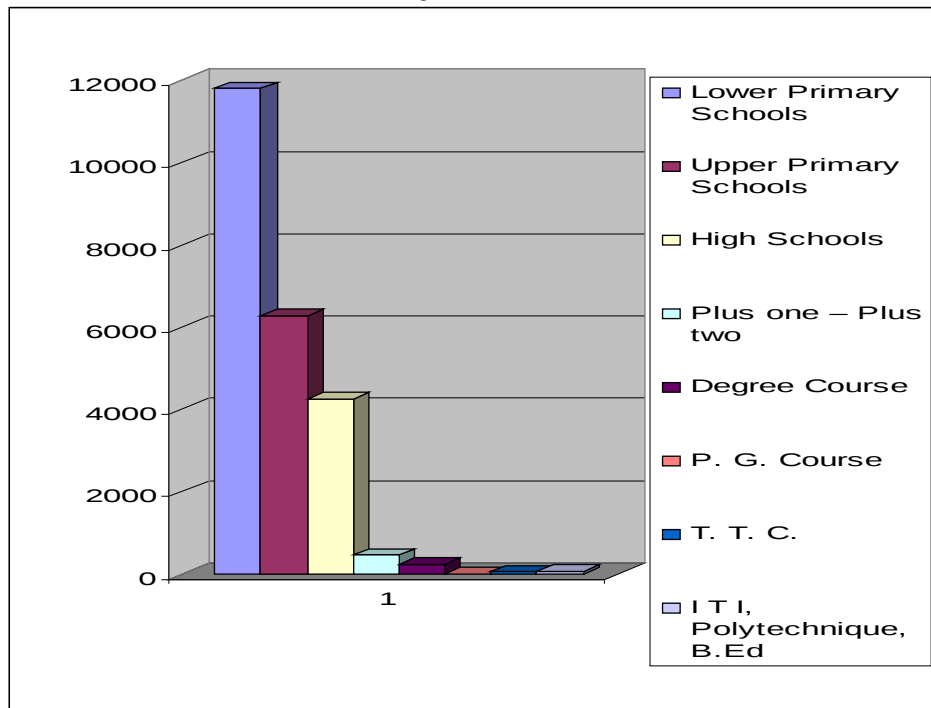
**Stagewise Distribution of S.T. Students Enrolled in Wayanad District**

Course	No. of Students
Lower Primary Schools	11812
Upper Primary Schools	6280
High Schools	4260
Plus one – Plus two	465
Degree Course	232
P. G. Course	6
T. T. C.	59
I T I, Polytechnique, B.Ed	74
<b>Total</b>	<b>23786</b>

Source : Tribal Sub – Plan, 2004-05 Wayanad.

**Figure 3.1**

**Stagewise Distribution of S.T. Students Enrolled in Wayanad District**



The statistics of tribal students in different classes show that enrolment in various levels of education is very low: Again, enrolment in higher and professional courses is deplorably poor. Another important observation is 53.16% of students are discontinuing at lower primary level itself. A very recent report of UGC submitted to the Prime Minister shows that the majority of tribal students are not able to continue their higher studies (UGC Report, 2006). The report recalls that 63 % of tribal students are not able to continue their studies after higher secondary level. It shows that though the authorities are providing facilities and support for tribal education, they are not utilising it for a better future.

Compared to the schooling and literacy level of tribals in Wayanad, the overall state performance in tribal education is good. The state has succeeded in reducing the gap in literacy between Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste and general population. As per 2001 census literacy rate of Scheduled Caste in Kerala is 82.66% as against 90.80% in total population.(See Table 3.6)At the national level the literacy rate of Scheduled Caste is 54.32% against the general literacy rate of 64.36%. The literacy rate of Scheduled Tribe in the state is 64.35% while it is 47.08% at national level. The female literacy rate of Scheduled Caste in Kerala increased from 33.4% in 1971 to 77.56% in 2001, whereas at national level it was 6.4% in 1971 and 41.31% in 2001. At the same time the literacy rate of Scheduled Tribe females in the state increased

from 19.4% in 1971 to 58.11% in 2001. The national average was 4.9% in 1971 and raised to 34.75% in 2001(Census Report 1971-2001).

Table 3.6

**Literacy Rate of SC/ST Population in India and Kerala 1971– 2001 (percentage)**

Census	India			Kerala		
	Total Population	SC	ST	Total Population	SC	ST
1971	29.45	14.67	11.30	60.42	40.21	25.72
1981	36.03	21.38	16.35	70.42	55.96	31.79
1991	52.21	37.41	29.60	89.81	79.66	57.22
2001	64.36	54.32	47.08	90.86	82.66	64.35

Source : Economic Review 2006,

Scheduled Tribe Students in the Higher Secondary level is only 0.58% of the student population. As per the recent UGC study on higher education, some socially and economically backward families are unable to attend higher level courses in India. Scheduled Tribe students are more in numbers among the discontinuing group. Compared to ST, the other weaker section Scheduled Caste is better in education and they are utilising the facilities (Table 3.7). In Kerala proportion of Scheduled caste and scheduled tribe students in lower and upper primary level is relatively higher than their proportion at a higher level.

Table 3.7

**Distribution of SC/ ST Students in Kerala, 2005**

Section	Total No. of Students	SC		ST	
		Number	%	Number	%
L. P.	1847073	206880	11.20	31252	1.69
U. P.	1470001	152448	10.37	19131	1.30
High School	1524941	154492	10.13	14993	0.95
Higher Secondary	229201	20108	8.77	1337	0.58
Degree	158744	22725	14.32	1693	1.96
P. G. Course	18226	2420	13.28	251	1.37

Source : Economic Review 2006

Among the Scheduled Caste, the dropout rate is insignificant at high school level whereas it is very serious among the Scheduled Tribes (Table 3.8). In Wayanad the *Adiyans*, *Paniyans* and other primitive tribes are still reluctant towards education. Hence they are far away from the mainstream of development and less sensitive to socio-economic transformations.

Table 3.8

**Enrolment and drop out of SC/ST students at School Level in  
Kerala 2006–07**

Section	Total No. of students	SC		ST	
		Number	% to Total	Number	% to Total
L.P. Section	1795472	202962	11.30	32482	1.81
U.P. Section	1458713	157121	10.77	20379	1.40
High School	1457546	146258	10.03	15069	1.03
<b>Total</b>	<b>4711731</b>	<b>506341</b>	<b>10.75</b>	<b>67930</b>	<b>1.44</b>

Source : Economic review 2006.

Land alienation and its restoration is another serious issue in front of the authorities. Scheduled Tribe Land Transfer, Control and Re-establishment of Right Act 1999 enacted provision to restore land to the tribals. As per the Act minimum one acre of land has to be given to the concerned from the government within two years of the notification of the Act. Hence according to this provision all tribals are entitled to get minimum one acre land. But this is also not materialised in our state. In 1999, 53.83 hectares of land was distributed to 555 tribal families in four villages of *Sholeyar, Kottathara, Padiyoor* and *Panniyoor* of *Palakkad* district. The distributed land in *Sholeyar* village was not useful to the tribals because of some recordical and legal problems with dispute on that land. Further those lands were not fit for human living and cultivation. So it can be observed that

no sincere attempt has been made from the part of the authorities to issue land, suitable for living and cultivation (GOK, 2003).

### **3.3 Tribal Land Policy in Kerala**

Dhebar Commission in 1960 recommended to restore the alienated tribal land since 1950 and to give rightful ownership to its original owners. In 1975 the Council of Ministers of Central Government passed a resolution to make legislation for preventing land alienation within six months of the meeting. The resolution also aimed to make a crash programme for effectively implementing the prevention of alienation and restoration of alienated land with periodical review and monitoring. In the light of this resolution, Kerala Scheduled Tribe (Restriction of Transfer of Land and Restoration of Alienated Land) Act 1975 was enacted. This Act is included in the 9<sup>th</sup> Schedule of the Constitution to ensure its existence without any challenge. According to the Act, any type of occupation, either by sale, lease, mortgage or force on tribal land after 1960 is illegal. Transfer of tribal land became punishable offence since 1975. The Rules in the Act were formulated in 1986 i.e. only after a decade with retrospective effect from 1.1.1982.

In Kerala, the Act came into force in 1986 only. Even after 1986, only the transfer of land by sale was prevented, transfer by lease and mortgage continued. Though strong provisions for the tribal land protection was there in the Act, it applied only to those cases of land alienation which had records to



prove their ownership irrespective of their possessional right. It is estimated that 8553 applications for restoration of 11,000 hectors of land were filed in 1994, and number of applications have increased to 8879 and most of them were from Palakkad and Wayanad districts. Though the Act was meant to restore tribal land, it was difficult to get back because they have no records. The laxity on the part of the government in implementing the Kerala Scheduled Tribe (KST) Act of 1975 was clear from the fact that out of 8879 applications half of them were rejected by authorities since tribals had no proof to submit infavour of their claims; only 496 were decided and 100 cases were implemented during that time. According to Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP) Survey the tribals of *Agali* in Palakkad district lost the largest area of land i.e., 10105.19 acres of land. Though there were claims for more than 10,000 acres of alienated land in Attappady the revenue authorities issued orders for restoration of only 3,336.16 acres in 1147 applications. Another 600 applications were pending for final orders for want of relevant documents. Out of 1147 cases, 550 acres consist of medium size holding between 2 to 5 acres. In 230 cases the land area is more than 5 acres and the rest were the holding of two acres and below.

Since 1975 particularly after the Kerala Schedule Tribe Act, government showed utter confusion by delaying the formulations of Rules and also non- implementation of Acts. The Act was unjust towards the immigrant landholders which created a confronting situation and even

communal division among tribal and non-tribal settlers. In response to a public interest litigation in 1988, Honourable High Court of Kerala issued an order in 1993 giving six months time for implementation of KST Act of 1975. The court extended the date of implementation because of government appeal for a period of two and a half years ending in 1996. The government had not carried out the court order. The monthly progress by Revenue Divisional Officer (RDO) regarding the progress of implementation of the Act was placed in the court as per the order of the Honourable High Court in November 1995 (Hindu 1995). In August 1996 the principal secretary for SC/ST filed an affidavit showing the difficulty to implement the Act. In August 1996 Court ordered to ensure the implementation of the Act within six weeks and denied further provision for appeal. In order to meet the deadline and to avoid contempt of court, government managed to pass Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Restriction of transfer of land and Restoration of alienated land) amendment bill in 1996. The Amendment Bill sought to amend the crucial provisions of KST Act 1975, but the president did not give assent to it. KST Amendment Bill 1996 sought to legitimise all transactions of tribal lands during the period 1960 to 1986 January 24. It was against the original intention of the restoration of alienated land. All transfer of tribal lands to non-tribals was restricted from January 24, 1986. Since 1986 only a negligible area of land was alienated, very little had to be restored (Indian Express, 1996).

KST Act 1975 itself does not have more significance because it focuses only in the land on which the tribals can produce their right deeds and records; and the amendment sought to nullify even this. The governments from time to time have been neglecting the deserving poor to protect from the powerful and influential elite. There was argument and actions supporting both the tribals and settlers. The responsibility of creating such a situation was on the political parties and concerned governments for keeping the Tribal Land Act in cold storage for a period of about twenty five years. It is also said that the subsequent amendments in 1996 and 1999 were not with an intention of helping the tribals but for the goodness of influential settlers. When the KST Amendment Bill came up for the consideration in the Kerala Assembly in September 1999, they promised that it would cater to the interests of the settlers, farmers and tribes in equal measure; also declared that it would be spending at least 32 crores of rupees from the public ex–chequer to buy land for tribals in lieu of alienated land. In other words much money was proposed to be spent for regularising the transactions and to restore their lost land. K.E. Ismail, the then Revenue Minister commended that the 1999 Bill was a consolation to settlers and assuring of Justice to the tribal folks. The rehabilitation was not based on the living conditions of the tribes. For ascertaining this a special officer was proposed to be appointed for different tribal areas who would prepare special projects (The Hindu, 21<sup>st</sup> November 1999, Malayala Manorama, 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1999).

*Adivasi Gothra Mehrbabha* leader C.K. Janu questioned the logic behind the attempt of the government in not shifting the settlers. She argued, that tribes are the original people in their area and others are immigrants and tribes are not able to survive if they are uprooted from their own soil. She also suggested that instead of giving land to tribals in alternative areas, it is better to give land to settlers in alternative places and compensation money. Instead of the offered 25,000 rupees to tribals, she would not mind even if the money for paying compensation to settlers is taken from the funds marked for Tribal Welfare Schemes. She added that the tribals can demand rent from the settlers who have used and cultivated their land for many years, but we won't ask for .....’ (The Hindu, 12<sup>th</sup> December 1999).

### **3.4 Atrocities on Tribals**

Compared to other states, large scale atrocities are not extensively seen among the tribals of our state. But nowadays atrocities of various kinds are seen increasing in our state especially in Wayanad. Recently many issues are projected in our news medias and journals regarding the exploitation, cruelties and sexual harassment. It is very unfortunate, that there are thousands of unmarried mothers among the tribals of Wayanad, particularly in *Thirunelly* Panchayath. Adivyan women are the major victims of this cruelty and exploitation. These unmarried mothers are keeping mum towards their kid's fathers. This sexual exploitation was originally started in early 1970's with

the deployment of extensive police force in *Thirunelly* after a Naxalite threat in this area. After that it was followed by the non-tribal merchants, *Jenmies* and youngsters. Today *Thirunelly* and *Thrislery*, the two major tribal pockets in Wayanad, have become the land of unwed mothers. There are more than 300 unmarried tribal mothers in the hundred odd tribal colonies in *Thirunelly* alone. The number of children with no records of their father would cross more than thousands.

The tragedy of tribal women has become a serious matter of discussion nowadays. The reports in “*Malayalam*” journal during January 1998 and September 2007 provide a clear picture on this sexual harassment and exploitation. These reports clearly show that even after long years of planned activities of socio-economic development and welfare, this exploitation still continues without any change.

There are many reasons for this sexual exploitation. The hills in and around *Thirunelly* provided suitable hideouts to Naxalites in the late 1960s. The revolutionaries had won the confidence of the tribals for their selfless struggles. This caused the camping of police in that area. Further, majority of the tribals were illiterates. They live in their autonomous areas. They do not have interaction with outsiders to discuss or inform the atrocities against them. Another dangerous situation is the tribal family structure and their social system which keep them away from the outside world. Local and

illegal production and sale of alcohol provided opportunity for outsiders to enter into the tribal belt. Due to unemployment in agriculture, women labourers are compelled to go to Kodagu in Karnataka through agencies. This mobility also paved the way for sexual harassment. Above all according to C.K. Janu, the Tribal Federation President, poverty is the major cause for tribal problems. Most of the tribals are agricultural labourers. After July every year, they have no work which results in the deprivation of means. She further added that a society which is under starvation may not be able to keep themselves away from social vices and temptation. The details of survey conducted by different agencies is given in Table 3.9

Table 3.9

**Statistical distribution of unwed mothers in Wayanad**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Total unwed mothers</b>	<b>Adiya unwed mothers</b>	<b>Percentage of Adiya unwed mothers</b>
1975	253	62	24.50
1991	400	115	28.75
2000	906	257	31.53
2007	2813	977	34.73

Source: 'Malayalam', January 1998, 'Samanwayam', September 2000, 'Kalkaumudy' 3<sup>rd</sup> November 2007.

The survey conducted by different agencies identified this crucial issue among the tribals. The most affected group is *Adiyans* and the figures show an increasing trend also. This negative impact on tribal society is

consequently emerged with the modern changes. Though they are identified and organised programmes for them, only 119 are rehabilitated so far and their projects are closed down. The closed spinning mill at *Marunilam*, powerloom mill at *Anappara* (without employing unwed mothers) are few examples of such projects.

### **3.5 Tribal Resettlement Development Mission**

Tribal Development Mission is a new and special scheme for providing land to landless and home to homeless tribals in the state. It is formed to undertake rehabilitation activities as part of resettlement of landless tribals. It has identified 22,052 landless tribal families and 32,131 families with less than one acre of land. It is found that 60.32% of the total landless are in Wayanad and 24.44% in Palakkad district and a total of 5702.92 acres of land have been distributed to 3802 landless families. Details of landless families and land distributed under TRDM scheme up to 2005 is given in Table 3.10.

Table 3.10

**District wise Details of Landless Tribal Families and Distributed Land under TRDM upto 2005**

District	Landless Tribals	Tribals with < 1 acre land	Families Covered	Land distributed in acres	Average Land per family (acres)
Kasaragod	226	171	69	73.43	1.6
Kannur	1395	2249	740	644.37	0.87
Wayanad	13303	12184	739	2363.9	2.82
Kozhikoda	318	889	420	600.	1.43
MCPM	339	2224	61	46.38	0.76
Palakkad	5389	2637	10	4.44	0.44
TCR	271	840	20	5.68	0.28
Ernakulam	132	888	296	418.90	1.42
Idukki	190	5436	1072	1583	1.48
Kottayam	153	1340	19	19	1.0
Alappuzs	117	568	114	27.75	0.24
Pattanamthitty	68	1032	14	1.39	0.1
Kollam	138	572	128	114.68	0.9
Thiruvananthapuram	13	1101	Nil	Nil	Nil
<b>Total</b>	<b>22052</b>	<b>32131</b>	<b>3802</b>	<b>5902.92</b>	<b>1.55</b>

Source: Tribal Department draft Plan Approach- GOK, 2006.



Several problems related to tribal life remain unsolved even after several years of planned socio-economic programmes. From time to time governments provided better consideration for solving their issues. Government departments and other agencies had provided houses to houseless, but the housing problem still remains. Necessary steps are taken to improve tribal education. Pre-metric schools, Ashram schools, Hostels and other incentives were provided but the progress is only nominal. Majority of Tribal Students are discontinuing at upper primary level itself. It is exciting that the tribal candidates registered under Employment Exchange remains unemployed. Land alienation and restoration remain unsettled. Atrocities on tribals increase and unwed motherhood creates new problems.

Unemployment among the tribals are mainly due to the decline of paddy cultivation in the area. Since they are not skilled enough to do the work other than cultivation, they get only mere subsistence or low wage and they are driven out of employment and turned to poverty. Lack of sincere planning and execution, timely monitoring and evaluation and leakage and wastage of tribal funds are the major causes of the present day tribal issues.

# **Chapter 4**

## **PROJECTS AND PROGRAMMES FOR TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN KERALA**

### **Educational Programmes**

- **Tribal Health Schemes**
- **Employment Programmes**

- **Tribal Rehabilitation Projects**

## **PROJECTS AND PROGRAMMES FOR TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN KERALA**

It is the responsibility of the government to follow tribal “*Panchasheela*” to protect tribal culture and traditions without spoiling its purity and identity (Soundara Pandian, 2003). But due to several reasons we failed to protect tribal traditions and ensure their involvement in development programmes. Since the tribal schemes were carried out under various departments until 1975, we failed to give the necessary co-ordinated thrust on tribal issues. In 1975, the government of India introduced Tribal sub-plan. Accordingly, the state governments have to allot money for tribal development in its annual budget in accordance with the size of tribal population and their needs. Thus states began to introduce development programmes according to the needs of tribal settlements. Hence tribal sub-plan projects began to consider the socio-economic needs and infrastructural development for both internal and external growth of tribals in the state.

In Kerala, tribal welfare activities were carried out under Scheduled Caste Welfare Department till 1975. As per then existing norms, annually two percent of the budget of the Scheduled Caste Department was used for the welfare and development of Scheduled Tribes. But later it was realised that even this two percent was not properly used for tribals of the state. Hence as per the direction from central government a separate procedure under Tribal

sub-plan was introduced in Kerala. In 1980, Girijan Welfare Department was formed to undertake the tribal welfare and development. In 1985, this Department was re-named as Tribal Development Department. Under Tribal sub-plan schemes, areas with minimum 50% of tribal population was identified as 'Tribal Blocks' with special thrust on development and welfare activities.

As part of the Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDPs), seven ITDPs were formed in Kerala in 1989 at various places of tribal concentration and 75% of tribal population of the state came under these seven ITDPs (GOK, 2006). Though the major share of tribal population of the state is in Wayanad, they are scattered and living in various parts of the district. But in *Attappady* tribals are living in clusters and hence density of tribal population is higher than Wayanad. Large number of employment and welfare oriented schemes and projects were implemented for the tribals by spending huge amount of money.

Tribal development expenditure is divided under plan and non-plan heads. The plan head expenditure is earmarked for the central and state organised programmes of Tribal Development Department, Local Self Government, Kerala Institute for Research, Training and Development of SC/ST (KIRTADS) and Scheduled Tribe Development Corporation. Administrative expenses of the department, salaries and allowances of

employees, lumpsum grant and stipend for tribal students and expenditure for tribal hostels are included in non-plan expenditure.

Till 1995, under ITDP, funds were given mainly for Agriculture, Animal husbandry, Dairy and Rural development, co-operation, fisheries and soil conservation from tribal sub-plan. The projects were approved and implemented by the working group under the chairmanship of concerned district collectors. As per records the working group members used to visit the selected tribal colonies to understand the needs and the feasibility of the selected programmes. The *Pandavarethedi* was a locally organised programme of this kind, under *Mananthawady* Tribal Development Office in 1986. This programme was reorganised in 2002 and *Ooru Kottams* were authorised to propose the scheme and select the beneficiaries. Development of a nation or a group depends on its population, literacy, housing status, health etc. Hence, since independence large number of schemes and projects were implemented for tribal development, crores of rupees were allocated and used under various schemes. In spite of these, we are not able to bring our tribals in a satisfactory level of development and welfare (GOK, 2006-07).

#### **4.1 Tribal Development Programmes**

In order to uplift the tribals socially and economically, both central and state governments organised a good number of programmes, projects and strategies. Top priority is given to eliminate poverty and unemployment. Care

has been given to protect and upgrade land resources, provision of quality education, maintenance of health, social security support, etc. Official programmes are carried out under four heads viz; educational programmes, Socio-economic development programmes, health programmes and housing programmes.

#### **4.2 Educational Programmes**

As a part of total literacy programme of the state, separate *Tribal Saksharatha Project* was formed in 1991 and 1993. The *Saksharatha* (literacy) programme claimed 80.73% literacy among tribals. This status could not be maintained because of the absence of proper follow-up activities (GOK, 2003). A survey among the primitive tribal group in 1996–97 revealed that there was only 26% literacy among the primitive tribes of Kerala (GOK, 2003). In order to improve the literacy status among the tribals, children in the age of 6 to 11 are compulsorily enrolled in schools. Government organised peripatetic education system to primitive tribes in particular and Ashram and Residential school system for tribals in general. The following section covers a discussion on a few education programmes.

##### **Nursery Schools**

Thirteen Nursery schools are functioning under Tribal Department in the state for pre-primary education of tribal kids. Though these schools are handed over to local bodies in 1995, the salary of teachers and *Ayas* and other

expenditure including mid-day meal are incurred by the tribal department itself. Yearly an amount of Rs.65/- per kid is allotted as lumpsum grant. During the 10<sup>th</sup> five year plan period an amount of Rs.115.7 lakh was spent on this under non-plan expenditure of the state budget.

### **Pre-metric Education**

The tribal students upto X<sup>th</sup> standard are eligible for lumpsum grant and monthly stipend at the rates given in Table 4.1. Lumpsum grant is distributed in the beginning of the academic year to meet the initial expenses. The failed students who repeat the same class are paid 50% of the lumpsum grant. An amount of Rs.1770 lakh were spent, under non-plan head during the 10<sup>th</sup> plan.

The amount of grant is increased by 50% under XI<sup>th</sup> plan. This caused an additional expense of 70 crores to the government. As per the recommendation of Sri Babu Vijayanath Commission this educational incentives of tribals have to be enhanced in every three years.



Table 4.1

**Details of Lumpsum Grant and Monthly Stipend ( in Rs.)**

Category	Lumpsum Grant		Monthly Stipend	
	X <sup>th</sup> plan	XI <sup>th</sup> plan	X <sup>th</sup> plan	XI <sup>th</sup> plan
Nursery	65	100	Nil	Nil
Lower Primary Level	95	140	35	52
Upper Primary Level	155	240	40	60
High School Level	220	330	45	78

Source: Department of Tribal Development; Govt. of Kerala 2006, 2008

**Post-metric Studies**

The tribal students doing various courses after SSLC are also provided educational expenses from the government. Monthly stipend and the lump-sum grant were also allotted to them irrespective of their family income. Students staying within Eight Kilometers of their institution are given Rs.270 per month and outsiders are entitled to Rs.315 per month as stipend. Pocket money is also paid to the hostlers at the rate of Rs.80 for medical and Engineering courses and Rs.65 for other courses in addition to their hostel expenses. Scholarship, with cent percent central assistance is distributed for higher studies. An amount of Rs 1770 lakh was allotted to this from the expenditure. The rate of annual lump-sum grant is given in Table 4.2

Table 4.2

**Rates of Annual Lump-sum Grant for Post- metric Education (in Rs.)**

Course	X <sup>th</sup> plan	XI <sup>th</sup> plan
Plus 2/VHSSC	475	705
Under Graduate Course	525	790
Post Graduate Course	675	1010
Engineering/Vetenory/Agriculture	1000	1500
M.B.B.S./M.S./MD	1375	2065
House Surgency	890	1300

Source: Department of Tribal Development; Govt. of Kerala 2006, 2008

### **Enrolment**

The proportion of SC/ST students to total students in both lower and upper primary sections is relatively higher than their share as at high school level as shown in shown in Table 4.3. The share as marginally increased by 2006, except the case of ST at high school level. It can be seen that while dropout ratio beyond class VIII is relatively low in the case of SC, the same is overwhelmingly serious for ST (GOK, 2006). It is observed that a good number(47.04%) of tribal students are discontinuing their studies from U.P section itself.

Table 4.3  
School Enrolment in Kerala during 2000 and 2006

Category	Total	As on 1-06-2000				As on 1-06-2006				
		SC	% of SC to Total	ST	% of ST to Total	Total	SC	% of SC to Total	ST	
<b>LP</b>	193232 6	20771 2	10.7 5	2839 2	1.57	179547 2	20296 2	11.3 0	3848 2	1.81
<b>UP</b>	170500 2	18281 4	10.7 2	1763 1	1.03	145871 3	15712 1	10.7 7	2037 9	1.40
<b>HS</b>	161171 9	16726 7	10.3 8	1381 3	0.86	145754 6	14625 8	10.0 3	1506 9	1.03
<b>Total</b>	524904 7	55779 3	10.6 3	5983 6	1.14	471173 1	50634 1	10.7 5	6793 0	1.44

Source : Economic Reviews 2000 & 2006.

The dropout rate is comparatively low in Kerala among the general students. In 2004–05 the dropout level in the state was 0.88% in Lower Primary, 0.45% in the Upper Primary and 1.50% in High School. During this period Wayanad had the highest dropout rate compared to other districts i.e. 2.43% in LP and 1.23% in High school respectively. But at high school section *Kasaragod* district marked the highest dropout rate of 3.22%, followed by *Wayanad* 3.0%, *Palakkad* 2.53% and *Idukki* 2.36% (GOK, 2006) respectively. It is observed that the dropouts among tribals are comparatively higher in *Wayanad*, *Kasaragod*, *Idukki* and *Palakkad* districts (Table 4.4). Sexwise classification of dropout shows that dropout percentage of girls

exceeded the boys at UP level, whereas in high school level dropouts of boys exceeded girls.

Table 4.4

**District wise Distribution of Dropouts of ST Students, 2005-06**

District	Enrolment at LP and UP	Students reaching to HS	Number of Drop-outs	Percentage of Drop-outs
Thiruvananthapuram	1169	959	210	17.96
Kollam	437	424	13	2.95
Pathanamthitta	531	328	203	38.22
Alappuzha	251	156	95	37.84
Kottayam	1023	761	262	25.61
Idukki	2790	1668	1122	40.21
Ernakulam	735	510	225	30.61
Thrissur	753	350	403	53.51
Palakkad	4024	1225	2799	69.55
Malappuram	962	452	510	53.01
Kozhikkod	733	568	165	22.51
Wayanad	13230	4742	8488	64.05
Kannur	3020	1407	1613	53.41
Kasaragod	2766	1617	1149	41.54

Source: Economic Review 2006-07

A statistical analysis (Table 4.4) of school enrolment and dropouts of ST students reveals the following facts.

- The highest percentage of dropouts of ST students at school level (I – X) is in *Palakkad* district (69.55%).
- *Thrissur* and *Malappuram* have almost equal percentage of dropouts, 53.51 and 53.01 respectively.

- The dropout percentage in *Wayanad* is 64.15 where the student enrolment is also high.
- In *Kasaragod* the *Koragas*, a primitive tribe is the major community but their dropout percentage is comparatively low to other primitive tribes.
- Two southern districts, *Kollam* and *Thiruvananthapuram* have only small number of tribal student enrolment and the dropout percentage is also very low. It is observed that this advantage is due to various opportunities and possibilities for cultural transmission and intermingling of tribals with others. Since *Thiruvananthapuram* is the capital city, the residents are from different places of state who had settled in connection with employment and government services.

Unaided and self financing education particularly English Medium is a major component in the education system of Kerala. These schools are charging high fees and only high income parents can send their children to these schools. It is found that only 10065 SC students and 1221 ST students (Table 4.5) are studying in such unaided schools in the state. A few tribal parents are conscious enough to provide English medium education to their kids, even by borrowing money. This is the case of a microscopic minority and cannot be generalised in the case of tribals in the state. These parents send their children to the English medium schools due to the opportunities and

advantages which are available to them. Hence creation of opportunity and financial support may transform the others also.

Table 4. 5

## Category wise/Standard wise Strength of school students in Kerala, 2005-06

Std.	Government Schools				Private Aided Schools				Private Unaided Schools			
	General	SC	ST	Total	General	SC	ST	Total	General	SC	ST	Total
I	110065	19679	4156	133900	217024	27579	3593	248196	41716	1437	104	43257
II	119109	20417	4428	143954	231719	27811	3698	263228	41770	1518	104	43392
III	127825	22223	4446	154494	240499	29990	3723	274212	42501	1482	108	44091
IV	132473	22782	4348	159603	242614	29349	3612	275575	40106	1341	104	41551
V	114866	18366	3541	136773	273895	32566	3126	309587	32032	853	154	33039
VI	116030	17325	3218	136573	272766	31435	2953	307154	29809	724	119	30652
VII	125100	18019	3122	146241	291205	32953	2864	327022	28623	754	147	29524
VIII	140668	20392	3304	164364	282066	30515	2395	314976	28522	720	150	29474
IX	145535	20856	3109	169500	284232	30864	2073	317169	28712	641	121	29474
X	137410	18720	2431	158561	255363	25989	1489	282841	27306	595	110	28011
Total	1269081	198779	36103	1503963	2591383	299051	29526	2919960	341097	10065	1221	352383

Source : Economic Review 2006.

Central assistance is distributed for higher studies. An amount of 1770 lakh was allotted to this by the government during the last plan period under its non-plan expenditure. The rate of annual lump-sum grant is given in Table 4.1.

### **Grants and Incentives**

For primary students of tribal and welfare schools two pairs of dress at the cost of Rs.250 per student is distributed yearly. It is to encourage the tribal parents for sending their children to schools; Rs.4.18 lakh was utilised for this during the 10<sup>th</sup> plan period.

Tribal students residing at recognised hostel run by other agencies are also provided boarding grant at the rate of Rs.500 per month. An amount of Rs.37 lakh was allotted for this purpose under the 10<sup>th</sup> five year plan period. Similarly, the parents of regular students in primary class with 75% attendance are paid Rs.500 in an academic year. An amount of Rs.75 lakh was allotted for the same during the last plan period. The competent students scoring more than 45% marks in annual examinations are given an incentive of Rs.50 and amount of Rs.0.18 lakhs was spent for this during the 10<sup>th</sup> plan period. A cash incentive of Rs.1500 to 3500 is awarded to the students passing SSLC, Plus Two, Degree and Post Graduate courses with first class and above. A special cash award of Rs.1500 is also awarded for 20 students each, scoring highest marks just below the first class from *Wayanad*,



*Palakkad* and *Malappuram* districts. At Plus Two and Degree level, cash awards of Rs.2500 is arranged for five students each from *Wayanad*, *Palakkad* and *Malappuram* districts scoring just below the first class. The cash award is extended to two students each selected from other districts and the amount of award is fixed to Rs.2000. An amount of 80 lakhs was earmarked for this during the 10<sup>th</sup> five year plan period.

An incentive scheme is introduced to promote Arts and Sports also among tribal youths. A cash award is given to tribal students who are securing prizes and places in youth festivals and sports meets both at school and college level competitions. An amount of Rs.6 lakh is used for promoting Arts and Sports among tribal youth during the last plan period. Further, a talent search development scheme in the name of *Ayyankali* was introduced in 2001. This is aimed to identify the talented tribal students at the stage of IV<sup>th</sup> and VII<sup>th</sup> standards. An intelligents test is conducted for this purpose. The selected students are given scholarships, cost of books, medical care, hostel facilities, and special guidance and they are under continuous assistance to realise their potential. An amount of Rs.130 lakh under state plan is allotted for this during 2002-07.

By spending 6 lakh rupees, ST Development Department had organised an apprenticeship programme to ITI, ITC holders. This scheme was designed to provide pre-service experience to the ITI and ITC certificate

holders. The training period is either one year or up to the attainment of a job. A research fellowship programme was also introduced in 2000. This is a centrally sponsored scheme with three lakh rupees per year. Yearly three persons can avail this fellowship. The aim of the programme is to conduct and promote research studies about the socio-economic aspects of tribals.

Above all, Tribal students of various classes are given an opportunity to visit various places in India under Bharath Darshan Programme. The Tribal Development Department as well as the concerned schools are arranging this type of study tours. Selection of participants is based on merit. The private study students with high marks are also considered for selection. Primitive groups have special preference in this scheme. An amount of 19 lakh has been allotted for this study tour programme during the last 5 years. There are 109 Pre-metric hostels in Kerala. Central Government provides full financial support for improving the facilities in the hostels including construction and modification. The central government has allotted 10 crores of rupees for maintenance and improvement during 2004 to 2006. As a result of these education programmes enrolment of ST is improved and dropout rate also shows a decreasing tendency. The percentage of dropout at UP level is 40.65 and at high school level the dropout level is 21.14% in 2006.

Comparison of enrolment of ST students at Plus Two level shows an increasing trend in admission year by year. The distribution of student

enrolment is given in table from 2004–2006 (Table 4.6). Total pass percentage of Plus Two examination in 2006 was 61.01. But the pass percentage of SC and ST students were 43.20 and 41.60 respectively (Table 4.7 & Fig. 4.1).

Table 4.6

**Intake of Students in Higher Secondary Stage in Kerala 2004-07**

Year	Gen. Students II year			SC Students II year			ST Students II year		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
2004	134151	166120	300271	9883	14310	24193	1063	1222	2285
2005	151376	188376	329752	11073	15709	26782	1238	1498	2736
2006	176140	190999	367139	13291	17029	30320	1651	1800	3451

Source : Directorate of higher secondary education, Thiruvananthapuram, 2007

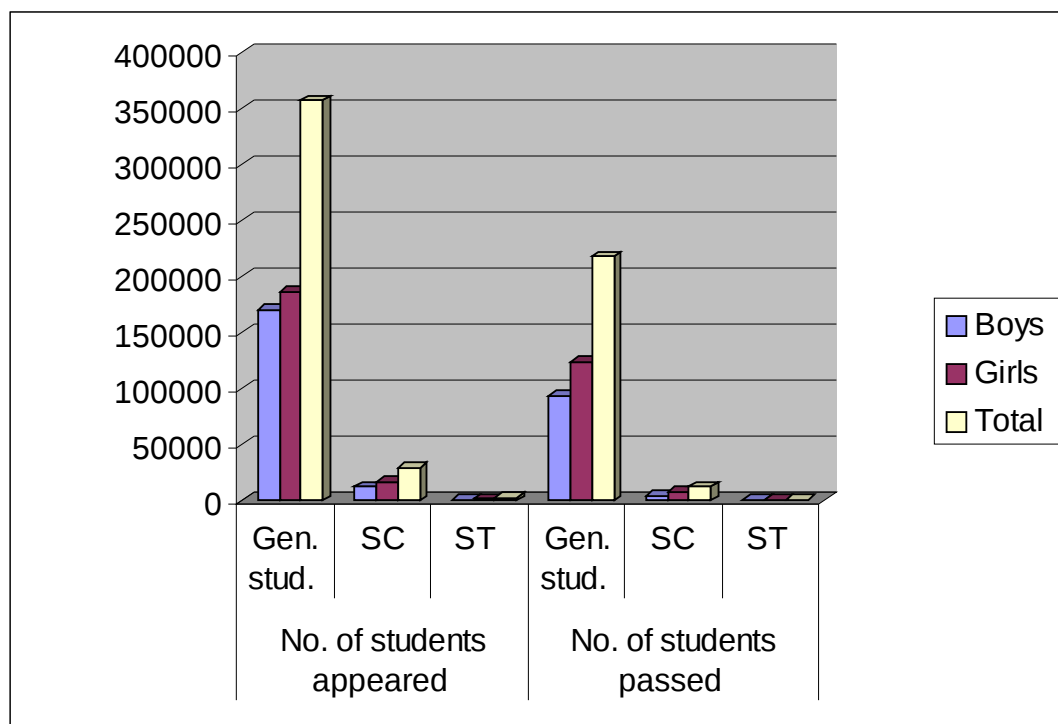
Table 4.7

**Number of SC/ST students appeared and passed in Higher Secondary Examination, 2006**

	No. of students appeared			No. of students passed		
	Gen. stud.	SC	ST	Gen. stud.	SC	ST
Boys	170333	12559	1531	94147 (55.27)	5120 (45.67)	566 (36.97)
Girls	186912	16457	1743	123822 (66.25)	7415 (45.06)	796 (45.67)
Total	357245	29016	3274	217969 (61.01)	12535 (43.20)	1362 (41.60)

Source : Directorate of Vocational Higher Secondary Education, Trivandrum, 2006.  
 Figures in bracket show percentage.

**Figure 4.1**  
**Number of SC/ST students appeared and passed in Higher Secondary Examination, 2006**



At vocational Higher Secondary level, majority of SC/ST students enrolled are girls and they exceed the boys in result also. Average pass percentage for the final examination is only 50% (Table 4.8).

Table 4.8  
**Number of SC/ST students appeared and passed in VHSE Examination, 2004-06**

Year of examination	Number Appeared			Number Passed			% Pass to Appeared		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
2004 March	80	92	172	39	40	79	49	43	46

2005 March	87	93	180	46	45	91	53	48	51
2006 March	89	98	187	44	53	97	49	54	52

Source : Directorate of Vocational Higher Secondary Education

The enrolment of ST students in 2006-07 was only 186 (0.4%) for VHSE. The representation of ST Students at VHSE is very low. In the case of ST students enrolment it is not even the half percent of the total. For VHSE the enrolment shows downward trend from 2004 onwards contrary to the case of Plus two education (Table 4.9).

Table 4.9

**Enrolment of ST Students in Vocational Higher Secondary Schools, 2004-07**

Year of examination	First Year			Second Year			Combined		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
2004 – 05	59	74	133	92	106	198	151	180	331
2005 – 06	43	43	86	59	74	133	102	117	219
2006 – 07	53	47	100	43	43	86	96	90	186

Source : Directorate of Vocational Higher Secondary Education

**Higher Education Status**

Eventhough both the central and the state governments are offering so many scholarships and incentives, the number of ST students for higher education is less. Especially for science subjects it is very low in number. Courses like M.S.W, M.B.A., M.C.A., M.Ed, M.Phil are not reachable to them(Table 4.10). Nowadays education is very expensive and hence liberal

governmental assistance is given to them. In spite of this, ST students remain highly backward. Hence the current educational programmes for Scheduled Tribe need a thorough restructuring.

Table 4. 10

**Number of SC/ST students in Arts & Science Colleges in Kerala**

Courses	Scheduled Caste			Scheduled Tribe		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
BA	3862	7016	10878	376	562	938
B.Sc	2623	5231	7854	124	242	366
B.Com	1609	2192	3801	162	183	345
B.Ed	79	390	469	14	56	70
BBA	120	92	212	7	7	14
BBS	11	12	23	4	2	6
BPE	12	0	12	1	1	2
BBM	18	12	30	3	4	7
BCA	17	15	32	3	1	4
MA	380	875	1255	33	68	101
M.Sc	271	723	994	24	56	80
M.Com	186	392	578	19	26	45
M.Ed	5	4	9	0	0	0
MSW	7	27	34	2	1	3
MBA	8	5	13	2	3	5
MCA	4	3	7	0	0	0
M.Phil	7	7	14	0	0	0
Total	9219	16996	26215	774	9219	9993

Source: Directorate of collegiate Education, Thiruvananthapuram, 2006.

### 4.3 Tribal Health Schemes

Health problems due to malnutrition, polluted drinking water, unhygienic life situations and contagious and life threatening diseases are common in tribal areas. The unhealthy conditions seriously affect their labour power and efficiency. Hence the government and other agencies working for tribals have taken various steps to protect them from health problems. Health Service Department runs 63 primary health centers in tribal areas. Scheduled Tribe Development Department has 5 midwifery centers, 17 Ayurveda Hospitals, 2 mobile medical units, one Alopahy Hospital at Mananthawady, 3 Allopathic Clinics in *Idukki* and one in *Attappady* (GOK, 2006).

In 1989-90 a new health project was introduced to prevent diseases like tuberculosis, Leprosy, skin diseases and sickle cell diseases for the tribals of *Mananthawady*, *Idukki* and *Attappady*. All these projects are working under the control of *Mananthawady* health care society. One O.P. unit at *Mananthawady*, two in *Attappady*, four in *Idukki* are functioning under this society. During the 10<sup>th</sup> plan an amount of Rs.140 lakh was spent on this project. In *Attappady* there is a special tribal health care project and in which a specialty hospital is also functioning for the tribals of *Attappady*. It is financed by central government under its centrally sponsored scheme for tribals, spending 260 lakhs during last five year plan period.

A treatment and rehabilitation scheme was introduced to provide better treatment and medicine to tribals and to rehabilitate them. Under this scheme,

non-available rare medicines are given, medical camps are conducted and nutritious food is also supplied. Both central and state governments are investing crores of rupees for tribal health every year. In 2004-05 Rs.1.92 crores and in 2005-06 Rs.3.68 crores were spent for health protection under plan and non-plan heads. Health Insurance Programme was introduced in *Wayanad* and *Palakkad* districts during 2003-04. In spite of all these facilities, tribals are found to be suffering from communicable and malnutrition diseases. Health extension work is rather very poor and services of efficient doctors and paramedical staff are always not readily available in tribal sectors. Doctors who are interested in private practice and high fees are reluctant to serve in tribal areas.

Insurance coverage has been provided to five hundred families of primitive tribal groups for a period of 5 years, from 2004-05. Government of India had sanctioned Rs.5 lakh to the state for the coverage of 1000 families during 2005-06. This amount was given to LIC for the coverage. An amount of Rs.15 lakh was also sanctioned during 2006-07 for the insurance coverage of another 3000 families. The beneficiaries were mainly *Koragas* of *Kasaragod* district, *Cholanaikans* in *Malappuram*, *Kadurs* in *Palakkad* and *Thrissur*, *Kattunaikans* in *Malappuram* and *Kozhikode*, and *Kurumbas* in *Palakkad* district.

#### **4.6.4 Employment Programmes**



The special assistance from central government for tribal sub-plan is used and implemented as per new amendment from 2004-05 onwards. State government has been conducting self-employment schemes, training programmes, agriculture on selected cluster of tribals to enable them to improve their living conditions. The following are the major employment oriented tribal programmes in the state of Kerala.

### **Financial Assistance to group farms**

Attappady Co-operative farming, Priyadarshini Tea Estate, Vattachira Collective farm, Sugandhagiri Cardamom Estate, Vattulukki Girijan Co-operative farm are the major group and collective farming schemes in tribal sector in Kerala. All these farms are not in a promising condition at present.

### **Kudumbasree in Tribal Areas**

The programme mainly aims to find out opportunities for tribal women in self employment, attainment of benefits from government sources, employment of women and formation of Neighbourhood groups. Area Development Societies at district level are also formed for the coordination of Neighbourhood groups. The government provides financial assistance for the activities of the societies on production of a clear project through *Kudumbasree* units.

### **Financial support to voluntary organisations**

Voluntary associations working in tribal regions are permitted to submit development projects useful to the tribals. These projects will be selected on merit and its viability. Government provides 85% financial support for implementing such projects and the remaining 15% have to be found out by concerned organisation from their own reasonable sources. An institute named Ambedkar Memorial Rural Development institute was set to provide financial support for training and practice in various employment for tribal youth.

#### **4.5 Tribal Rehabilitation Projects in Kerala**

In order to provide employment, income and residential facilities to the tribals of the country, both central and respective state governments have introduced large number of rehabilitation schemes and projects throughout the country. In almost all states our tribal brethren suffered a lot due to various reasons according to their situations and socio-political conditions. In addition to the land alienation and loss of settlements in early periods, modern development projects and huge infrastructural constructions also displaced the tribals from their original settlements. These land lost and house lost tribals became nomads and unemployed. Social and constitutional obligations of the governments compelled to make arrangements to rehabilitate them.

In Kerala displacement of tribals due to huge government projects and infrastructural development are comparatively low. But due to non-tribal

migration to tribal area, indebtedness and ignorance, our tribals lost their land and home. . But in other states tribals lost their land mainly due to the introduction of development projects like big dams, industrial estates, huge power projects and special economic zones. Another problem was the rehabilitation of ex-bonded tribals who were released from their *Jenmies* with the implementation of Bonded Labour Abolition Act in the country and the states. Hence a few projects were designed and introduced for the rehabilitation of tribals in Kerala. A brief discussion of the major rehabilitation projects is given in the following section.

### **Sugandhagiri Project**

Sugandhagiri Cardamom Project is a major tribal rehabilitation project in Wyand, Kerala. It was particularly designed to rehabilitate the identified bonded tribal labourers and slaves. The project is located in the *Achooranam* village of *Vythiri* Taluk in Wayanad district. The project was introduced in 1976 under Western Ghats Development Programme. The project has an area of 1500 hectares of vested forest land for cultivation and settlement of released bonded tribals of Wayanad. For the proper functioning of the project and for ensuring tribals' participation and involvement, a tribal co-operative society named the South Wayanad Girijan Co-operative Farming Society has been formed in 1978. It was the apex body of the project and controls its daily activities. The main objectives of the project were the settlement of 750

released bonded tribals of Wayanad and creation of employment and regular income for a decent living of the beneficiaries. Cardamom was the principal crop in the project. Other crops like pepper and coffee also have been introduced. The project was expected to become self reliant by 1984. It is to be noted that the beneficiary families were promised 5 acres of cardamom land each after five years of the settlement But the co-operative society not functioned as it was intially envisaged. \_

The beneficiaries of the project were employed in different cash crop gardens of the project for various works. Pepper and Coffee were the additional crops in the project. These employed beneficiaries were paid weekly on the basis of their labour marked in their card. Rice and provisional items were also supplied from the co-operative store in the project on payment. Besides they enjoyed ration facilities like the others living outside the project. The rehabilitated tribals were provided houses and employment. Hence regular employment and income are ensured to the member beneficiaries. As and when more labour is required in the project tribal and non-tribal labourers from outside were also employed. The member beneficiaries enjoyed sick leave benefit, healthcare facilities and expenses for their treatment. In short when the project was under its efficient management it was well functioning and they enjoyed comparatively better life.

About 750 liberated bonded tribal families of Wayanad were expected to be rehabilitated under this project. But a field survey conducted in 1990 revealed that only 521 families are living under the project, out of which 27 families are non-tribes. The outcome of the survey reveals that though the project was meant for ex-bonded labourers, 60% of the rehabilitated were non bonded tribals. Among the rehabilitated, *Kuruchians* (40%) and *Kurumans* (30%) had own land outside the project. Hence the project authorities basically ignored the aim of the project. Another survey conducted in 1995 revealed that only 484 families were remaining in the project. From 1976 to 2001 the total amount spent for the project was 1377.83 lakhs for infrastructure and rehabilitation. The recurring expenditure on cardamom and other crops from 1980 to 2001 was Rs.2125.94 lakh and income from all sources was Rs.1143.85 lakh. Within 20 years, more than 10 crores of rupees was the total accounted loss in the project. The average productivity of cardamom in Wayanad was 60 Kg per hectare and in Sugandhagiri it was only 25 Kg per hectare. In 1995-96 cardamom production was 16 tonnes whereas in 1996-97 the production was only 9.57 tonnes. The yield from other interim crops like Coffee and Pepper also showed a declining trend. The project had a debt of Rs.2.85 lakh in the Co-operative Banks.

In 2000, the tribals began to demand their promised five acres of land. Some tribal organisations and political parties supported them. The society also found defunct and project was running in heavy loss then. Finally, in

2002 the project was undertaken by the government and decided to distribute the land to the tribals. During 2003-04 the project land was distributed to the tribal members considering the productivity of the land. The member beneficiaries were assigned 3-5 acres of land based on its yield and the outside tribals were given 1-2 acres. But they were not given necessary guidance for cultivating the crops, financial assistance for cultivation and marketing of the product. They could have income only during harvesting season. They had no means to withstand if they worked in the distributed land. All tribals who received land faced the same problem. This was the case of tribals who gained land in other districts also. Hence even the tribals who received land deserted the area and went for manual work in the non tribals' land for daily means. Thus self sufficiency was not attained and a very ambitious tribal rehabilitation project with huge money investment met with an undesirable end in 2003-04.

### **Pookkod Dairy Project**

Pookkod Dairy Project was established in 1979 under the Western Ghat Development Programme of central government. The project had an area of 538.9 hectares of vested forest land in *Kunnathidavaka* village of Vythiri Taluk. The project was implemented for rehabilitating 110 freed bonded tribal families. The project was introduced by central government and it was controlled by the state government. Out of 538.9 hectares of vested

land, 166.94 hectares were brought under cultivation of cardamom, coffee and pepper. The project was functioning under Pookkodu Girijan Collective Farming Society.

The project aimed at the effective utilisation of land resources for the welfare of Adiyans, Paniyans and Kattunaikans. Speedy economic and social transformation with economic self-sufficiency of the beneficiaries was the major aim of the project. Raising their nutrition standards by increasing milk production was also aimed by the society. When the project was started, it was decided to give 4 acres of yielding land and a cow each to the rehabilitated tribals. This decision was not however materialised so far. However the basic aim of uplifting, the tribals to the main stream is not attained so far.

As per the project report, the project had two important wings i.e. Dairy Wing and Agricultural Wing. In 1981 dairy wing of the project started functioning with 20 cows. In 1993 Brusilosis disease spread among the cows and as per the direction from the government all animals were evacuated and the project was closed. After 4 years, in 1979, 20 cows were newly brought and the dairy unit restarted.

The agricultural wing started functioning in 2003. The effective area of cardamom cultivation in the project was only one hectare. Cultivation of coffee was in 95 hectares. Pepper was also cultivated as an inter crop in about

50 hectares. Tea was cultivated in 10 hectares. Besides these crops, grass for cattles was also grown in 15 hectares of land. Another 50 hectares was kept for grassing ground.

There were 109 tribal labourers and 21 staff in the project. Labourers were entitled to get the wages and benefits according to the Plantation Labour Act. The Employees' Provident Fund system was also introduced in the project from 1983 onwards. The labourers are eligible for lifelong pension and legal heirs are also entitled to get the pension benefits after the death of the incumbent. Besides the labourers are insured under Life Insurance Corporation.

When the government declared to distribute one acre of land to landless tribals in general and 5 acres of project land to the settled tribals in Pookkod and formed the Tribal Resettlement Mission, almost all or majority of the tribals began to stop their work in the project. As a result production decreased. Low price of produced items together with low productivity caused financial crisis in the project. The existence of the project itself was questioned in terms of financial stringencies. In February 2003 onwards the labourers encroached the project land and harvested the crops in the project. Another serious problem of the project was its bank loan and cumulative interest repayment. In 1983–84, projects received a loan from State Bank of India *Kainatty* branch and the amount for repayment grew up to 67 lakhs in



2003. The declaration of government regarding the distribution of 5 acres land to settlers and the promises of Tribal Resettlement Mission during their visit to the project together prompted the tribals to encroach the land. Now the arable land of the project, coffee, pepper gardens are encroached by the labourers. Besides, the grassing ground was also encroached by the labourers. Hence the cow growing became difficult and the administrative committee held on 04-04-2003 decided to sell the cattle population in auction except a few milk cows. In 2004, the project land was distributed to its beneficiaries and many of the tribals became unemployed. Hence most of the aims of the project were not satisfied.

### **Handloom–Spinning Mill, Thrisslery**

Thrisslery Tribal Handloom Industrial Co– operative Society and its handloom spinning mill is located at *Ambalamoola*, 16<sup>th</sup> ward of *Thirunelly* Panchayath. The mill started functioning under Kerala Industries Development Department in 1985.

The society aims to improve the living status and income level of tribals through this mill by providing employment to its members. It was a new venture towards diversion of tribals from their traditional agricultural works to industrial productive employment and marketing works. Initially the society aimed to collect a membership fee of Rs.50 per head from 50 tribals of Thrisslery and planned to produce and sell cloth items under the society.

The employment in the mill was restricted to its members only and in the case of death or disableness of any member his immediate legal heir was given opportunity to work in the mill instead of the diseased or unabled.

The society has 1.40 acres of land with permanent buildings and other infrastructure. An amount of Rs.37,000 was invested for purchasing this land by the government through Industrial department. Further, Rs.1.5 lakh was used for buildings, and an amount of Rs 80,000 used as working capital, Rs.40,000 was used for purchasing the spinning and weaving machineries called “*Tharies*” and the rest for yarn. Another amount of Rs.40,000 was spent for its dye house. Industrial training was given to the members in initial stages (Table 4.11 and figure 4.2).

Expenditure pattern show that 58% of allotted is used for infrastructure which is a waste at present. This type of expenditure on building and other infrastructure are largely identified in the study area.

Table 4.11  
**Expenditure of Handloom Spinning mill at Trisslery**

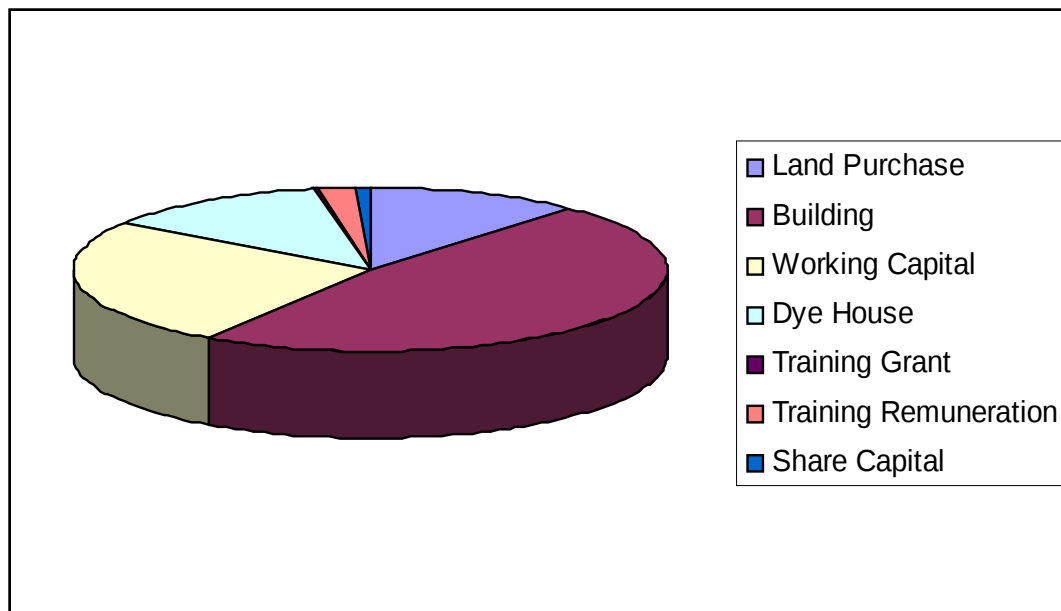
Item	Amount in Rs	Percentage
Land Purchase	37,000	11
Building	150,000	47
Working Capital	80,000	25
Dye House	40,000	13
Training Grant	1,200	1
Training Remuneration	6,000	2

Share Capital (50 x 50)	2,500	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>316,700</b>	<b>100</b>

Source : Field Survey, 2007.

**Figure 4.2**

**Expenditure Pattern of Handloom Spinning Mill**



In the early days of the mill its functioning was very active. Spinning yarn (raw material) was purchased from Kozhikode. The products were *Dhothi, Thorthu, bed sheets* and some other minor textile items. In the market there was proper demand for these items. The departmental interference in purchasing raw materials made some problems. They had insisted to purchase the raw materials, especially spinning yarn from the government spinning mill Cannore. It was very difficult to get regular supply of this as per demand due to some departmental restrictions and norms. Bargaining and price reduction were also impossible in government concerns. Due to the non-availability of raw materials in time, the functioning of the mill became irregular. It could

not produce the materials as per demand in time, which caused the loss of market.

The system of piece wage was followed in the mill. Rs.4 per meter was fixed as wage rate. It was possible to spin only 12 to 15 meters in a day: for this they had to work hard for eight to nine hours and they earned only Rs.50 to 60 per day. After facing all financial crises and marketing problems the mill survived upto 2004. High cost of production, untimely supply of yarn and raw materials, unnecessary departmental restrictions, non-availability of subsidy to face the price competition were the major factors that compelled the society to shut down the mill. The members of the society informed that they made all sincere attempts for the functioning of the mill. In the early years of its establishment, 25 to 30 members were employed in the mill and others were engaged in sales. The secretary of the society was a non-tribe and allowed Rs.1000 as honorarium per month. The president of the society Sri. P.K. Kariyan, belonging to Adiya tribe said that actually there was bulk order from various dealers. But due to the non-availability of raw materials and financial stringencies it was impossible to supply clothes in time. In the last stage also 15 tribals were working in the mill, out of that 12 were tribal women. He also added that some tribals, who had handloom training from the society, joined various Textile mills of Tamilnadu, particularly in Coimbatoor.

At present 1.4 acres of land, mill buildings with 50 spinning and weaving *Tharies* are the living memories of tribal Co-operative venture. Eventhough the land is fertile and the tribals are ready to cultivate, they are not allowed to cultivate the land. If they want to cultivate this government land, they have to pay levy to the concerned department. Members of this tribal society opined that there are many policies and programmes for tribal welfare and development, but the real development has not yet reached the tribals.

### **Priyadarshini Tea Estate – Pancharakkolli**

Priyadarshini Tea Estate envisaged the settlement and economic rehabilitation of freed bonded tribal labourers. Its first unit was established in Valeri in 1984. Project implemented under Mananthawady Tribal plantation Co-operative Society Limited. It aimed to rehabilitate 118 freed bonded tribal families with 370 adult members, of whom only two were literate.

First in Valeri unit, 34 families were rehabilitated. In order to generate employment and income, this unit started bricks making. Since the project had limited funds, the family had to depend on the income received from the sale of bricks. There was a proposal to assign land and house to tribals and encouraged coffee and cardamom cultivation in the land. However it is realised that only 25% of the identified tribals are rehabilitated and the original scheme was changed and a more ambitious plan was worked out. As

per this scheme the proposal to assign individual plot of land was stopped and then organised a plantation co-operative society known as Priyadarshini Tea Estate which was registered on 9<sup>th</sup> August 1984 with freed bonded tribals as its members. The main objective was to establish a viable and self sustaining plantation for the rehabilitation of tribals on a long term basis. Soil, climatic suitability and year around employment opportunity prompted to select tea as main cultivation. Society has a total area of 995.77 acres of land at its seven units. The land use pattern of the estate is given in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12

**Land Use Pattern of Priyadarshini Tea Estate (in acres)**

<b>Unit Name</b>	<b>Year of Starting</b>	<b>Tea</b>	<b>Cashew, Pepper Araccanut</b>	<b>Forest Land</b>	<b>Infrastructure and other use</b>	<b>Total</b>
Valeri	1984	Nil	20	Nil	2.8	22.8
Pancharakolly	1986	220.2	44	43.8	10.7	318.7
Ambukuthi	1991	17.5	Nil	Nil	2.5	20.0
Kunhom	1993	93.0	Nil	4.0	3.0	100.0
Kanjirangad	1995	64.5	10.0	35.4	4.0	113.9
Makkimalai	1995	Nil	40.0	43.1	Nil	83.1
Lakkidi	1996	55.2	40.0	42	Nil	137.2

Source : Project Reports.

The Valeri site is 27 kms away from the main unit at Pancharakkolli. Coffee, pepper and other seasonal crops were cultivated by avoiding brick manufacturing unit. Since there is no regular employment, only three families

are settled here in Makkimalai. Because of the steep slope with thick forest trees and rocky nature of land, tea is not cultivated. After a short term the land was transferred to forest department. Lakkidi unit has 247 acres of land. It was also not totally used for agriculture. In 2003 it was handed over to government for distributing it to landless tribals.

Housing was a very crucial issue among the tribals. So many of the tribal projects envisaged the provision of houses also. Enquiry revealed that Pancharakkolli unit has provided residential houses to tribals. In the project 153 houses are built under Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP) and National Rural Employment Programme (NREP). Construction cost of a house was Rs.6100 and Rs.7200 respectively under the two schemes. Each house has one room, one hall, one verandah and a side kitchen. Bathroom and Latrine are constructed on common foundation for a cluster of houses. As per the authorities they are doing the annual maintenance. But actual field observation reveals that 30 houses are not electrified, even the electrified ones need rewiring. Moreover 33 houses are found unfit for safe living.

Health and healthcare facilities are also equally important for a better living in modern society. In Pancharakkolli unit, there is a primary health centre. But it has no doctor and once in a week a junior primary health nurse's service is available. The only regular staff in this centre is an attender. The



tribals have the benefit of medical reimbursement from this project, if they are admitted in hospital.

In 1986, there were 220 male and 260 female labourers in the tea estate with a wage rate of Rs.16. At present there are 125 female and 85 male labourers and wage rate has increased to Rs.91.34. Since the project permits its residents to take up outside work, many of the male members are doing outside non-agricultural work at a higher wage rate. There are 8 non-tribal workers under the project. There is no difference in wage between male and female workers. The project offers additional money for excess work. Normally the workers can continue in the project till the age of 58. The workers are entitled to avail 14 paid holidays annually. If one worker is not availing leave he gets one day's extra wage within every twenty days.

The member beneficiaries are eligible for pension benefit for the service in the project. Minimum pension is Rs.750 per month and it is paid through the bank. Employees Provident Fund is another benefit for them. They have both personal and project insurance. It is understood that 153 tribals(72.85%) have Insured personally. At the time of retirement they are getting the gratuity also for those who had completed more than five years service.

The member beneficiaries are eligible to get bonus as per Plantation Labour Act. In 1996, they got maximum (15%) bonus while the project was

in its flourishing time. At present they receive 8.33% bonus. For the benefit of children in the project, there is a '*Balavadi*' and a '*Vikasvadi*' with a crèche. Some children are sent to pre-metric hostels. Earlier project was providing vehicle facilities to school going children. This facility is not available after 2002.

After 2000, this project showed a tendency of degeneration. Timely replantation and maintenance was not done. So sufficient quantity of green leaves was not available to operate the factory. This had led the factory to close down. The plant and machinery of tea factory is over sized. Total investment of 145 lakhs is a dead investment at present. It needs about Rs 60 lakhs for repair and maintenance to restart the factory. It shows lack of planning and foresightedness.

The study shows that the failure of the project is due to the lack of planning and foresightedness of the management. Bureaucracy and corruption caused financial crisis in the projects. The member beneficiaries and their representatives in the management informed that inspite of all the problems, the rehabilitated tribals under this project are more benefitted than any other tribals in the district because they have houses, regular employment and other service benefits under the project. Hence they have no demand for project land. They are aware of the bitter experiences of Sugandhagiri tribals whose project was dissolved and the land divided among themselves.

### **Priyadarshini Tribal Motor Project, Mananthawady**

Priyadarshini Motors is a tribal employment rehabilitation project working under Wayanad district Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Co-operative society. The society was registered on 01-11-1985 under Kerala Co-operative Act and started its functioning on 14-11-1985. The society has 140 members with a share capital of Rs.7035, (Rs.50.25 per head). The society operates Priyadarshini Motor Transport for providing employment to its members. In 1985, the project started with a single bus and subsequently acquired 5 more buses by 1989. The society employed 40 tribal workers and five non-tribal workers. The non-tribals are employed as reserve workers since the tribal workers are irregular in duty. The society received loan from Canara Bank and some financial aids from Kerala government to operate this bus service.

In 1985, the wage rate under this project was Rs.35 to a driver, Rs.30 to a conductor and Rs.25 for cleaners and checking inspectors. The wage rate is increased to Rs.100, Rs.95, Rs.90 and Rs.100 respectively in 2007. Besides, Rs.10 is given as incentive money for every hundred rupees. above the first 1000 rupees. About 300 families have enjoyed the benefit of this projects so far. This employment rehabilitation project is running effectively unlike other tribal rehabilitation projects. The labour strike and disputes are quite unheard of in this project. Though this unit has started in all districts of Kerala,

Wayanad is the only district where this Motor Vehicle unit is profitably functioning at present. It also had severe financial crisis in its past. But now the crisis has overcome with sincere and effective management. Besides the regular employment, this project provides training in vehicle driving to tribal youths. These trained youths are securing jobs as drivers and conductors in both government and private motor units. Hence Priyadarshini Motor Co-operative unit also helps the tribal youth to shift their dependence and leaving from their traditional agricultural work to a non-agricultural work.

Though this unit is running efficiently it also has many problems. The society had to wait long years to get route permit to operate the service. For instance, in 2005, the society purchased a new bus spending 12 lakh of rupees but this vehicle had to keep off-road for want of route permit for two years. Thus it lost a sum of Rs.3 lakh as payment of tax, salary to employers, insurance payment etc without any income. Since it is a tribal project and government concern, the society is not able to spend money for obtaining a good route like the private bus companies and the owners. Further, this unit has no tax concessions also.

The governing body consists of members from Revenue Department, Co-operative Department and Tribal Department. This multi-department control also creates problems in the management of the unit. The secretary of the project was posted on deputation from various government departments

till 1998 and the salary of the secretary was paid from the society. During 1985-98 the liability increased to 38 lakhs, of which only Rs 4 lakh was repaid by selling old vehicles. In 1999 the society was not in a position to bear further expenses and hence the deputation of the government official as secretary was also stopped. Thus one of its directors acted as the secretary and the unit attained a take off stage. In 2000, this Wayanad District Panchayath board provided two new buses under its people's plan programme.

Irregular attendance of tribal workers, Increasing oil price and spare part cost, breakdown and accidents are some other problems faced by the society and project. Competition from state transport and private service are also very tough. In spite of all these problems the project had gained a sum of Rs.7 lakh as profit by the year 2007 and the amount was deposited in District Co-operative Bank and Farmers Bank of Mananthawady.

In 2007, the society had submitted a proposal for starting a Communication Centre at Mananthawady where five persons could be employed and for a workshop cum service station with spare parts and lubricant shop where more than 100 tribals could be employed.

Priyadarshini Motor Project is a new venture in tribal employment and rehabilitation. It gives opportunity to tribals to work in a non-agricultural field and opens new avenues to them for seeking employment in allied and related sectors.

To conclude, in spite of several educational, health and employment programmes, no substantial progress in the socio-economic conditions has been reported. Large proportion of enrolled students in the lower primary school level became dropouts when they reached higher and higher levels of education. Tribal students remain highly backward compared to other sections of population. Though the government earmarks huge amount for their educational development, no commendable progress has been reported. It calls for a thorough restructuring of current educational programmes. The study showed that the health programmes introduced by the government are not sufficient enough to solve the tribal health problems. Health extension work is rather very poor and services of efficient doctors and paramedical staff are always not readily available in tribal sectors. Doctors who are interested in private practice with high fees are reluctant to serve in tribal areas.

In order to provide employment, permanent income and thereby a higher standard of living to the tribals, government introduced several employment projects and programmes. As mentioned in the study these projects are ultimately proved as non-viable and inefficient. As and when the management and administrators were sincere to the tribal development issues, such projects showed the symptom of progress. However in the end, these projects also turned out to be non viable and non useful to the targeted groups.

In the projects where land is distributed to the tribals, they are not given necessary guidance, financial assistance and other support services. The tribals who obtained the land are not able to use this effectively, rather they go for manual work to the land of non-tribals and some do other jobs for their daily sustenance. Some migrate to other states and places. The expected self-reliance is never attained and most of the aims of the projects remain unsatisfied.

# **Chapter 5**

## **SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF TRIBALS IN WAYANAD**

**Analysis and Interpretation of Data**

**Views of Activists public persons on tribals  
and their projects**



## **SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF TRIBALS IN WAYANAD**

### **Analysis and Interpretation of Data**

As noted earlier, tribals rehabilitation project focus on providing (a) both house and employment and (b) houses without employment. In the first category members are provided house and employment under some organized projects. In the second, tribal families are rehabilitated in various settlement colonies under some schemes where they themselves have to find out their employment and means of living. When the organised projects need more labour, the scattered tribes are also employed on daily wages. The member beneficiaries in the organised projects have to follow the by-laws of the projects and they are entitled for some other real wages. The study evaluated the activities in tribal development projects and made a comparative analysis of these two types of rehabilitation programmes.

For the impact study, data were collected by the sample method as mentioned earlier; the sample contains 650 tribal families of five distinct communities with their own characteristics. Proper weightage is given to each community in the sample. Adiyans and Paniyans are the larger groups and backward, concentrated in the study area. So 200 families from each group are selected. Kuruchians and Kurumans are comparatively developed and less

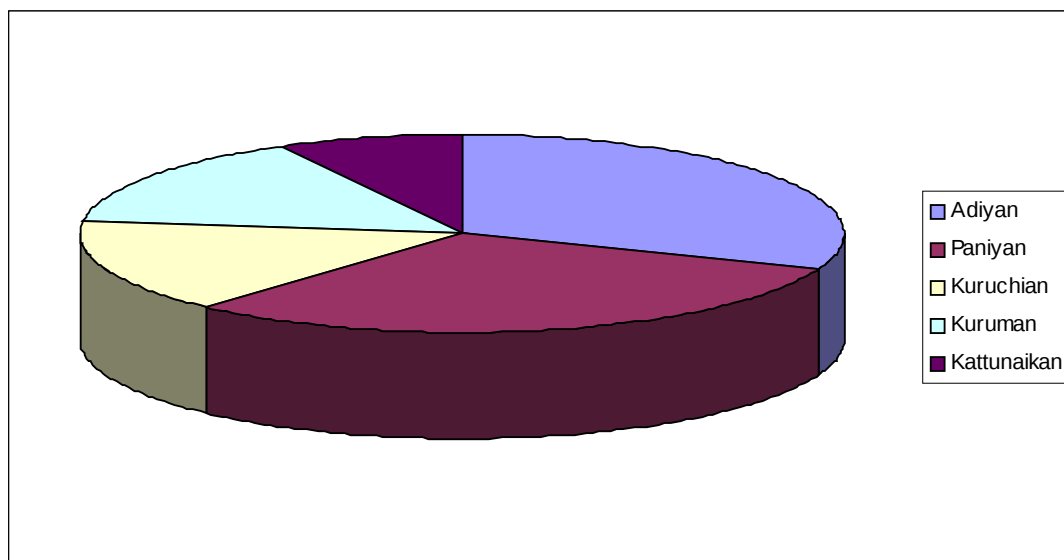
in number. So 100 families are included in each sample. The primitive Kattunaikans, living away from others are difficult to meet and talk, very less in number also. So a sample of 50 families are included in the study. Percentage wise distribution of the sample is given in Table 5.1 and Figure 5.1.

Table 5.1

**Distribution of the Sample Families, 2007**

Community	No. of Family	Percentage
Adiyan	200	30.77
Paniyan	200	30.77
Kuruchian	100	15.38
Kuruman	100	15.38
Kattunaikan	50	7.70
Total	650	100

**Figure 5.1**  
**Distribution of the Sample Families, 2007**



Majority of the tribals are not aware of the government projects and programmes. The government officials are also not ready to give full text of the programme, particularly data on income and expenditure. Hence the investigator also interviewed the people's representatives from tribal area, local politicians, tribal activists and government officials. The data and information were verified by the participatory observation technique.

Before analyzing the impact of the project a look at the socio-economic condition of tribals included in the sample is worthwhile. The data show that in the Adiyan families' female population outnumbered male population. Whereas in Paniyan families the situation is reverse. In Kuruchian and Kuruman families, sex wise distribution are more or less equal. Kattunaikans

face a shortage of female members and their population is not increasing like other communities. The same is the case of Kattunaikans in Malappuram district. As per the latest statistics of Nilambur, Scheduled Tribe Co-operative Society, there are only 39 Kattunaikan families in the district and total population is 150 of which female members are only 40.

The study reveals that the average members in a family are only four (Table 5.2). This small family size is not due to their higher level of socio-economic background or awareness on family planning measures. It is found that infant mortality and premature death are common among the tribals due to malnutrition and poor health care facilities. Unhygienic conditions of tribal colonies, consumption of alcohol and contagious diseases aggravate the situation. Tribals of Priyadarshini Tea Estate have comparatively better life situation than scattered tribals.

Table 5.2

**Sexwise and Group wise Disrtribution of Tribal Members in the Sample Families, 2007**

<b>Category</b>	<b>Males</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>Total</b>
Adiyan	409	481	890
Paniyan	518	462	980
Kuruchian	207	213	420
Kuruman	214	202	416
Kattunaikan	119	79	198
Total	1467	1437	2904

Source: Survey Data 2007

The survey shows that 33.5% of the tribal communities have only less than 10 cents in which they live. Further 41.5% of the Adiyans and 47% of the Paniyans have only less than 10 cents and 25% are landless. The detailed description of land ownership is given in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3

**Distribution of tribal communities based on land holding, 2007**

<b>Tribal communities</b>	<b>Less than 10 cents</b>	<b>10 to 30 Cents</b>	<b>30 to 50 Cents</b>	<b>50 to 1 acre</b>	<b>Above 1 acre</b>	<b>Landless</b>	<b>Total</b>
Adiyan	83 (41.5)	37 (18.5)	19 (9.5)	Nil	Nil	61 (30.5)	200 (100)
Paniyan	94 (47)	26 (13.0)	8 (4.0)	Nil	Nil	72 (36.0)	200 (100)
Kuruchian	8 (8.0)	42 (42.0)	17 (17.0)	23 (23.0)	10 (10.0)	Nil	100 (100)
Kuruman	7 (7.0)	47 (47.0)	13 (13.0)	22 (22.0)	7 (7.0)	4 (4.0)	100 (100)
Kattunaikans	26 (52.0)	-	-	-	-	24 (48.0)	50 (100)
Total	218 (33.5)	152 (23.4)	57 (8.8)	45 (6.9)	17 (2.6)	161 (24.8)	650 (100)

Source: Survey Data 2007, Figures in bracket show percentage

Table 5.4 shows that except a few Kuruchians and Kurumans, no other communities purchased a piece of land even for their house construction. Majority of them occupies the land obtained traditionally. A very small number of families have occupied *Purumpokku* land for living. In Wayanad, non-tribals had occupied acres of government land. But the tribals didn't try

to occupy government land either for cultivation or for holding. The study shows that if the authorities had not given house, Kattunaikans definitely could have been in their old *Alas* (tribal caves). It is found this tribe folk in the sample area could not obtain agricultural land as per the new land distribution scheme of the government.

Table 5.4

**Distribution of Families Based on the Nature of Land Holding, 2007**

Nature of land	Adiyan	Paniyan	Kuruchian	Kuruman	Kattunaikan
Purchased land	Nil	Nil	13	6	Nil
Traditional land	96	106	77	81	Nil
Govt. Allotted	37	14	8	7	26
Holding land (Purampokku)	6	8	2	2	Nil
Landless	61	72	Nil	4	24
Total	200	200	100	100	50

Source: Survey Data, 2007.

Table 5.5 reveals that Kuruchians and Kurumans have moderately good income compared to other groups. Further about 50% of the tribals in the sample have a monthly income of only Rs.1000 or less. Majority of Adiyan and Paniyan families are under the income level of below thousand rupees.

Table 5.5

**Distribution of Tribal Communities based on Monthly Income, 2007**

Income group	Adiyan	Paniyan	Kuruchians	Kuruman	Kattunarikan	Total
Below Rs.1000	136 (68)	154 (77)	Nil	Nil	34 (68)	324 (49.8)
Rs.1000 to 2000	56 (28)	39 (19.5)	4 (4.0)	9 (9.0)	16 (32)	124 (19.1)
Rs.2000 to 3000	7 (3.5)	7 (3.5)	59 (59.0)	60 (60.0)	Nil	133 (20.5)
Above Rs.3000	1 (0.5)	Nil	37 (37.0)	31 (31.0)	Nil	69 (10.6)
Total	200 (100)	200 (100)	100 (100)	100 (100)	50 (100)	650 (100)

Source: Survey Data, 2007 Figures in bracket show percentage

Shortage of income even to meet the basic consumption needs is the real problem of tribals in Wayanad particularly Adiyan, Paniyan communities. They meet their expense by selling their products if any, to the local merchants or money lenders in advance before the time of harvest. The creditors enjoy three-dimensional benefits i.e. they get the product at a subsidised rate, the tribals purchase the necessary items from the merchants' shop itself and the merchants get the maximum profit from these transactions.

Table 5.6 and Figure 5.2 shows that *Adiyans* and *Paniyans* are poor and their household expenditure is also small.

Table 5.6

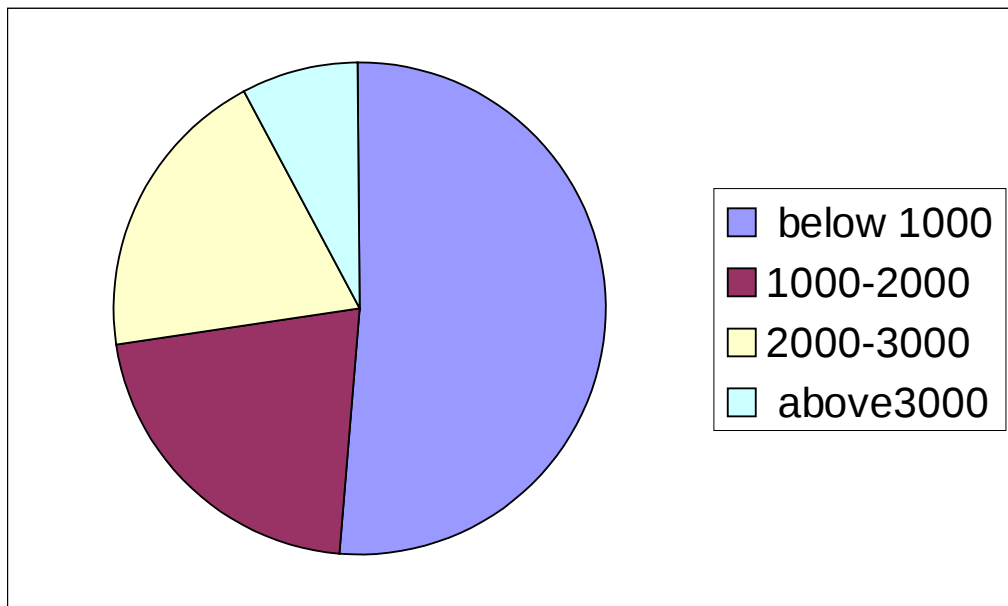
**Distribution of tribals according to Their Household Expenditure, 2007  
(in Rs.)**

Household Expenditure	Adiyan	Paniyan	Kuru-chian	Kuru-man	Kattun-aikan	Total
Below 1000	139 (69.5)	152 (76.0)	3 (3.0)	6 (6.0)	32 (64.0)	332 (51.07)
1000-2000	57 (28.5)	44 (22.0)	6 (6.0)	17 (17.0)	16 (32.0)	140 (21.54)
2000-3000	4 (2.0)	4 (2.0)	61 (61.0)	56 (56.0)	2 (4.0)	127 (19.54)
Above 3000	Nil	Nil	30 (30.0)	21 (21.0)	Nil	51 (7.85)
Total	200	200	100	100	50	650 (100)

Source: Survey Data, 2007, Figures in bracket show percentage

Figure 5.2

**Monthly household expenditure of tribals, 2007 (in Rs.)**





To avoid this type of exploitation, financial institutions extend loans to them for various purposes. But as per the data collected majority of the tribals do not depend on institutional loans but depend on merchants and money lenders since it is an easy source of finance for them (Table 5.7). Hence knowingly or unknowingly they suffer loss in these transactions.

Table 5.7

**Distribution of Households by their Source of Loans, 2007**

Tribes	Source of Loan				
	Nationalised Bank	Co-operative Banks	Self help Group	Money lenders	Total
Adiyan	14 (7.0)	29 (14.50)	14 (7.0)	143 (71.5)	200 (100)
Paniyan	7 (3.50)	43 (21.5)	11 (5.5)	139 (69.5)	200 (100)
Kuruchians	29 (29.0)	35 (35.0)	6 (6.0)	30 (30.0)	100 (100)
Kuruman	27 (27.0)	29 (29.0)	12 (12.0)	32 (32.0)	100 (100)
Kattunaikan	3 (7.0)	19 (38)	6 (12)	22 (44)	50 (100)
Total	80 (12.3)	155 (23.84)	49 (7.53)	366 (56.33)	650 (100)

Source: Survey Data.

Figures in bracket show percentage

With respect to housing, the investigator identified four types of roofed houses. The houses recently constructed at their own expense as well as governmental expenses have walls with good strength and concrete roof. However Adiyans and Paniyans live in thatched houses (Table 5.8) Kuruchians and Kurumans have traditional tiled houses. Out of 650 families in the sample only 78 houses (12%) are having concrete roof.

**Table 5.8**

**Distribution of Tribal Houses According to its roof-type**

Tribal communities	Thatched	Tiled	Sheet	Concrete	Total
Adiyan	73 (36.5)	97 (48.5)	7 (3.5)	23 (11.5)	200 (100)
Paniyan	69 (34.5)	107 (53.5)	5 (2.5)	19 (9.5)	200 (100)
Kuruchians	16 (16.0)	75 (75.0)	Nil	9 (9.0)	100 (100)
Kuruman	19 (19.0)	67 (67.0)	6 (6.0)	8 (8.0)	100 (100)
Kattunaikan	13 (26.0)	18 (36)	Nil	19 (38)	50 (100)
Total	190 (29.2)	364 (56.1)	18 (2.76)	78 (12.0)	650 (100)

Source: Survey Data 2007      Figures in bracket show percentage

The availability of open space and fitness for living are the norms of assessing the good condition of residential houses as per the census report. Single room house is very rare at national level particularly in Kerala. The size and nature of living houses have changed. Even average and middle-

income groups construct big and decorated houses with modern facilities in the state. But contrary to this, tribals of Wayanad are still living in one or two roomed house or huts even without minimum facilities. Study shows that there are differences in the houses of various tribal communities. Majority of Adiyans and Paniyans (85.5% and 89.5%) are living in single room houses in the study area (Table 5.9). Kuruchians 66% and Kurumans 61% are having three or more bedrooms in their houses. Kattunaikans were cave or hut dwellers. When the government and local bodies provided houses (with two bed rooms) to them they also started living in them recently. It is observed that tiled houses with wooden roof are very old and about to tumbledown.

Table 5.9

**Distribution of Tribal Houses Based on Living Rooms, 2007**

Tribal Community	No. of Rooms				
	One	Two	Three	Four	Total
Adiyan	171 (85.5)	27 (13.5)	2 (0.1)	Nil	200 (100)
Paniyan	179 (89.5)	21 (10.5)	Nil	Nil	200 (100)
Kuruchians	5 (5.0)	29 (29.0)	59 (59.0)	7 (7.0)	100 (100)
Kuruman	8 (8.0)	31 (31.0)	53 (53.0)	8 (8.0)	100 (100)
Kattunaikan	31 (62.0)	19 (38.0)	Nil	Nil	50 (100)
Total	394 (60.6)	127 (19.5)	114 (17.6)	15 (2.3)	650 (100)

Source: Survey Data, 2007, Figures in bracket show percentage

Life style of tribals in Wayanad have some visible difference with their non-tribal counterparts. In some cases inter tribal differences are also seen. Personal and community hygiene is very low among Adiyans and Paniyans. Paniyans have very rare habit of taking bath but Adiyans have a little improvement. This is the case of both male and females of that community. Whenever they take bath they normally depend on *Chola* (stream), Pond and River water or open space bathing. But newly built and government provided houses have the provision for bathroom and latrine. It is important to note that in government built tribal houses both the facilities are provided within a space of one square meter, in effect not usable for both purposes. It is not a necessity with respect to their tradition. Kuruchians had their separate bathroom named '*Kulippura*', detached from their houses. But now they are also constructing houses with attached bathroom and toilet according to their socio-economic improvement. Kurumans are also moving in this line. Kattunaikans are not interested in inside bathing. Bathroom and latrine inside the house are against their tradition. Table 5.10 shows the distribution of tribes based on the bathroom facilities.

Table 5.10

**Distribution of Tribal Families According to the  
Bathroom Facilities, 2007**

Bathroom Facilities	Adiyan	Paniyan	Kuruchian	Kuruman	Kattun- aikan	Total
Attached Bathroom	-	-	34 (34.0)	38 (38.0)	17 (34.0)	89 (13.69)
Detached Bathroom	78 (39.0)	69 (34.5)	66 (66.0)	49 (49.0)	-	262 (40.31)
Open Space	122 (61.0)	131 (65.5)	-	13 (13.0)	33 (66.0)	299 (46.0)
Total	200	200	100	50	50	650

Source: Survey Data, 2007, Figures in bracket show percentage

The access of tribals to latrine is comparatively poor and it creates major health problems. The backward tribals, Adiyans and Paniyans are reluctant towards closed latrines. But the comparatively advanced groups Kuruchians and Kurumans are accustomed to use latrines. Kattunaikans are forced to use because government provided this facility in newly constructed houses. Even then majority are not using sanitary latrine (Table 5.11).

Table 5.11

**Distribution of Tribal Households Having Latrine Facilities, 2007**

Tribal Communities	Pit latrine	Water closet	No latrine	Total
Adiyan	27 (13.5)	5 (2.5)	168 (84.0)	200 (100)
Paniyan	25 (12.5)	Nil	175 (87.5)	200 (100)
Kuruchians	23 (23.0)	52 (52.0)	25 (25.0)	100 (100)
Kuruman	21 (21.0)	58 (58.0)	21 (21.0)	100 (100)
Kattunaikan	Nil	19 (38.0)	31 (62.0)	50 (100)
Total	96 (14.8)	134 (20.6)	420 (64.6)	650 (100)

Source: Survey Data, 2007, Figures in bracket show percentage

Facilities in the houses are considered as one of the instruments of social transformation. Among the tribal families, 36.15% have separate kitchen, while 8.76% have outside open kitchen (Table 5.12).

The study indicates that a good majority of the tribals have changed their old traditional style of living. One of the reasons for this change is the new houses constructed by the government and local bodies. It provides modern sanitary facilities. In the case of Kattunaikans this habitual change is very clear.

**Table 5.12****Distribution of Tribal Families as per their Kitchen facilities, 2007**

Facilities	Adiyan	Paniyan	Kuruchian	Kuruman	Kattunaikan	Total
Separate Kitchen	31 (15.5)	44 (22.0)	81 (81.0)	68 (68.0)	11 (22.0)	235 (36.15)
Non separate kitchen	139 (69.5)	147 (73.5)	19 (19.0)	21 (21.0)	32 (64.0)	358 (55.08)
Outside Open Kitchen	30 (15.0)	9 (4.5)	Nil	11 (11.0)	7 (14.0)	57 (8.77)
Total	200	200	100	100	50	650

Source: Survey Data 2007. Figures in bracket show percentage

The food timings and habits of food are also important in deciding the status of life. It is found that 68.46% of the families used to have breakfast. Thus they have changed to a great extent from their traditional habits not having it regularly (Table 5.13). They have the balance of their night food in the morning. If it is not sufficient enough for all the members, priority is given to for their children. Kuruchians and Kurumans have comparatively better economic status. So in their houses breakfast is common. More than 96% of them have the nature of taking night food. Most of the Adiyans and Paniyans irrespective of sex and community, take intoxicating liquor. And more than home food they are fond of hotel food. If they have money they won't go for work till the money is exhausted. The study reveals that the food timing of the tribals have no direct link with economic background. It is

actually related to their traditional habits. With the four o' clock tea, labourers usually have snacks. They are interested in oil snacks from hotels and tea shops.

Table 5.13

**Distribution of Tribal Families Based on their Food Habit, 2007\_\_**

Category	Adiyan	Paniyan	Kuruchian	Kuruman	Kattu-naikan	Total out of 650
Breakfast	140 (70.0)	120 (60.0)	92 (92.0)	89 (89.0)	4 (8.0)	445 (68.46)
Lunch	152 (76.0)	147 (73.5)	91 (91.0)	87 (87.0)	27 (54.0)	504 (77.54)
Dinner	75 (37.5)	70 (35.0)	15 (15.0)	21 (21.0)	Nil	181 (27.84)
Supper	161 (80.5)	181 (90.5)	100 (100.0)	96 (96.0)	39 (78.0)	577 (88.76)

Source: Survey Data, 2007, Figures in bracket show percentage

One of the basic problems of tribal colonies in Wayanad is non-availability of clean drinking water. Though there are several schemes for providing drinking water, they are not useful and properly available to tribals. For them the major source of water is well. The wells are not cleaned and protected. The *cholras* may drain during summer season. Since the wells are not protected, both human and animal waste is mixed with water at the time of rain. It causes various water borne diseases among tribals.



It is found that the majority of the tribal families are using water from the well (Table 5.14). Most of the sources for drinking water are under common use and under the public custody.

Table 5.14

**Distribution of Tribal Households Based on Availability of Drinking Water, 2007**

Sources	Adiyan	Paniyan	Kuruchian	Kuruman	Kattunaikan	Total
Well	119 (59.5)	93 (46.5)	68 (68.0)	66 (66.0)	3 (6)	349 (53.69)
Taps	32 (16.0)	23 (11.5)	20 (20.0)	16 (16.0)	8 (16.0)	99 (15.23)
Cholas	12 (6.0)	60 (30.0)	2 (2.0)	10 (10.0)	39 (78.0)	123 (18.92)
Jalanidhi	9 (4.5)	Nil	10 (10.0)	8 (8.0)	Nil	27 (4.15)
Other sources	28 (14.0)	24 (12.0)	Nil	Nil	Nil	52 (8.01)
Total	200	200	100	100	50	650

Source: Survey Data, 2007, Figures in bracket show percentage

Tribals of Wayanad mostly depend on nature and forest for the cooking fuel. They have their traditional technique of making oven, using mud, which is, considered to be more efficient in fuel consumption (Table 5.15). Some of the rehabilitation projects and houses constructed by government have *smokeless chulas* (oven without smoke). But they are not

interested in using this. Majority of the tribal communities use firewood because they are easily available and less expensive. Only 9% of the Kuruchians and 8% of the Kurumans are using cooking gas. Majority of the tribals have the permit for kerosene but they are not using it for cooking, but selling to the merchants at low price.

Table 5.15

**Distribution of households based on the Type of oven used for food preparation, 2007**

Type of oven	Adiyan	Paniyan	Kuruchian	Kuruman	Kattun- aikan
Smokeless oven	29 (14.5)	15 (7.5)	18 (18.0)	14 (14.0)	11 (22.0)
Traditional Mud made oven	171 (85.5)	185 (92.5)	61 (61.0)	69 (69.0)	39 (78.0)
Stove gas/ kerosene	Nil	Nil	21 (21.0)	17 (17.0)	Nil
Total	200	200	100	100	50

Source: Survey Data, 2007, Figures in bracket show percentage

Adiyans, Paniyans and Kattunaikans traditionally use dry-leaves for cooking. The female members of these groups collect firewood and sell it to the non-tribals. This substitution help them to earn small income. The detailed distribution of tribal families based on the use of cooking fuel is given in Table 5.16.

Table 5.16

**Distribution of Tribal Families According to the Use of  
Cooking Fuel, 2007**

Tribal Communities	Cooking Gas	Firewood	Kerosene	Dry leaf	Total
Adiyan	Nil	136 (68.0)	Nil	64 (32.0)	200 (100)
Paniyan	Nil	129 (64.5)	Nil	71 (35.5)	200 (100)
Kuruchians	9 (9.0)	79 (79.0)	12 (12.0)	Nil	100 (100)
Kuruman	8 (8.0)	83 (83.0)	9 (9.0)	Nil	100 (100)
Kattunaikan	Nil	34 (68.0)	Nil	16 (32)	50 (100)
Total	17 (2.6)	461 (70.9)	21 (3.2)	151 (23.3)	650 (100)

Source: Survey Data, 2007, Figures in bracket show percentage

Alcoholic consumption make so many socio-economic problems in tribal society. It also prevents the overall development of the tribals in the area. It spoils health, work efficiency and employment. A good amount of their hard earned money is spent for liquor consumption. This habit causes a loss of work and income also. The excise policy of 1975 and its flexible guidelines provide permission to the tribals to brew their traditional alcohol for their home consumption and religious customs. This relaxation at the cost of traditions and customs were exploited to a large extent. The brewing and

sale of alcohol aggravates the most crucial issue like, unwed motherhood. The data reveal that all tribal communities have the habit of drinking alcohol irrespective of sex (Table 5.17).

Table 5.17

**Distribution of Adult Tribals Based on Alcoholic Consumption, 2007**

Tribal Communities	Males			Females		
	Alcoholic	Non Alcoholic	Total (Combined)	Alcoholic	Non Alcoholic	Total (Combined)
Adiyan	307 (90.02)	34 (9.98)	341 (100)	281 (70.43)	118 (29.59)	399 (100)
Paniyan	387 (92.81)	30 (7.19)	417 (100)	298 (75.44)	97 (24.55)	395 (100)
Kuruchians	111 (69.82)	48 (30.18)	159 (100)	41 (25.15)	122 (74.84)	163 (100)
Kuruman	107 (66.87)	53 (33.13)	160 (100)	89 (58.96)	62 (41.05)	151 (100)
Kattunaikan	90 (90.90)	9 (9.1)	99 (100)	56 (82.35)	12 (17.65)	68 (100)
Total	1002	174	1176	765	411	1176

Source: Survey Data,2007, Figures in bracket show percentage

Alcohol brewing centres are common in and around the remote tribal settlements. This business not only drain their income but also cause many types of evils including sexual exploitation. The brewing provides the chance for outsiders to reach the tribal areas. The friendship developed through alcohol is cunningly used to establish unhealthy alliances and cheating. The

good looking Adiyans girls of Thirunelli Panchayath are the major victims of this business and number of unwed mothers are increasing in tribal families.

Paniyans are very fond of alcoholic drinks and it is very easy to cheat them by using it. This alcoholic addiction is the basic cause for their backwardness. The non-tribal alcohol brewers arrange the tribals to inform them about the police or excise raid by providing free alcohol and money. It shows the extent of another exploitation, i.e. non-tribals use the tribals to ruin themselves.

Regular use of beetle, tobacco, smoking and modern packet tobacco products also spoil their health and work efficiency. Due to their intoxicating and chewing habits, they are not employed in works other than agricultural coolies. Chewing and smoking cause high morbidity and sufferings. Survey data show that all communities have the habit of using tobacco and smoking irrespective of their sex and age. The persons included in the sample are in the age limit of above 18. These items are commonly used by both males and females. Kuruchians and Kurumans use the traditional items than the modern packet items. Kattunaikans have less contact with public places. So they are not aware of modern packet chewing items (Table 5.18).

Table 5.18

**Percentage Distribution of tribals by their Chewing and Smoking Habits, 2007**

Items Used	Adiyan		Paniyan		Kuruchian		Kuruman		Kattunaikan	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	341	399	417	395	159	143	160	151	99	68
Beetle and Tobacco	242 (70.96)	302 (75.68)	341 (81.44)	312 (78.98)	65 (40.88)	52 (36.36)	68 (42.50)	67 (44.37)	76 (76.76)	57 (83.82)
Smoking	216 (63.34)	71 (17.79)	307 (73.60)	117 (29.62)	42 (26.41)	13 (9.0)	54 (33.75)	5 (3.30)	81 (81.81)	55 (80.88)
Modern Packet Chewing	123 (36.0)	Nil	181 (43.44)	17 (4.31)	16 (10.0)	Nil	17 (11.25)	Nil	7 (7.0)	Nil

Source : Survey Data, 2007, Figures in bracket show percentage.

It is identified that there are visible changes in the food acquiring habits of tribals. Traditionally they collected their food items from nature and the forest. But at present they are purchasing from the markets. Kuruchians and Kurumans are exception to this. They are cultivating either their own land or land on lease. Sometimes they are doing share cultivation with non-tribals. This provides double benefit to them. They are getting wages for their labour as well as share of the product. This share can be used either for household consumption or for sales. Paniyans are rarely engaged in such fruitful works. The study shows that 71% of the Adiyans and 85% of the Paniyans purchase staple food items and vegetables from the markets. It is found that 59% of the Kuruchians and 40% of Kurumans have own land cultivation (Table5.19). This working nature and attachment to land is the basis of their progress. The excessive dependence of tribals on market contrary to their tradition show the influence of market oriented consumerism among tribal communities of Wayanad. The practice of 'use and throw' is also found among the young tribals.

Table 5.19

**Distribution of Tribals Depending on Market/Cultivation for Staple Food and Vegetables, 2007**

Source of items	Adiyan	Paniyan	Kuruc-hian	Kuru-man	Kattun-aikan	Total
Market Purchase	142 (71.0)	170 (85.0)	12 (12.0)	21 (21.0)	29 (58.0)	374 (57.53)
Homestead Cultivation	26 (13.0)	9 (4.5)	4 (4.0)	8 (8.0)	16 (32.0)	63 (9.69)
Lease land Cultivation	7 (3.5)	Nil	4 (4.0)	11 (11.0)	Nil	22 (3.38)
Own land Cultivation	8 (4.0)	12 (6.0)	59 (59.0)	40 (40.0)	3 (6.0)	122 (18.76)
Share Cultivation	17 (8.5)	9 (4.5)	21 (21.0)	20 (20.0)	2 (4.0)	69 (10.64)
<b>Total</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>650 (100)</b>

Source: Survey Data, 2007, Figures in bracket show percentage

The communication sector is widely and efficiently developed in India as well as in Kerala. But the tribal belts of Wayanad are far away from this achievement. There is no communication network in the tribal colonies of Wayanad. But the tribal youths are using cell phones. To an unemployed and uneducated youth this won't help much in daily life. It cause a waste of their parental income. Further, sometimes the cell phone acts as an enemy to him



because it develops imitation and inspires to involve in unnecessary activities and unlawful money making.

Modern amenities and consumer durables are also rare in tribal colonies. But very few Kuruchians, Kurumans and some politicians among them use television and refrigerators in their houses. Use of washing machine is not found in the study area. Personal vehicles are also rare among them. Some Kuruchian, Kuruman youths are found employed in private jeep and mini carriers as drivers. Priyadarshini Motor Co-operative Society is a catalytic agent in this line. They are training and giving practices to tribal youths to become drivers. In this venture also Paniyan youths are rarely turned up. Some Kuruchians have financial background but no craze to have personal vehicles. The autoriksha supplied to Adiyam and Paniyan youths under Employment Guarantee Programme are also found to have a short life due to their irresponsibility and inefficiency.

Community Television centres are there in some tribal settlement areas. Sixty five percent of these centres are found damaged and working sets are used only for cinema and serial programmes. News and other awareness programmes are unattended. The field survey revealed that 85% of the educated tribals are not interested in news paper reading.

Kerala has a very good network of road connectivity. Infrastructural development including roads are essential for the development of a region and

welfare of the people. Cheap and easy transport can help the producers and consumers much. The tribal belts, except in few projects of Wayanad lack this facility. The tribals have to walk long distance to reach their destination everyday or they have to spend a good portion of their income to travel. The tribal offices, hospitals and all other centres connected to their life are located in local town areas and their settlements are in remote hilly region where the roads are unsuitable even for walking or no road at all.

Health status, both mental and physical has a direct correlation with development and welfare of the society. Health helps to improve the capacity to work and efficiency which directly promote economic development and well being of the people. In the earlier periods tribals were comparatively free from diseases and had immunity to keep away from the diseases. But in the changed circumstances tribals are also having various types of diseases and disableness. Density in tribal colonies, poor hygiene and sanitation, poverty and malnutrition, water pollution, excessive liquor habit, smoking and tobacco use are various reasons for the poor health of tribals. Sickle cell anemia and Tuberculosis are the commonly reported diseases among the tribals of Wayanad. It is surprising to note that the diabetic patients are also increasing among the tribals, eventhough their manual work and food habits prevent them from becoming a diabetic patient. Even in this modern period majority of tribals depend on the tribal medicine for treatment (Table 5.20).

Most of the tribals particularly Adiyans and Paniyans are reluctant to take treatment in modern hospitals, partially due to poverty and partially due to inconveniences and false beliefs. They still believe in their tribal medicine and treatment by the tribal chief. Negligence of doctors and paramedical staff also tempt them to keep away from modern hospitals. Almost all tribal diseases are reported as 'unknown diseases' even in this advanced stage of improved medical science. This shows the attitudes of medical team towards the tribals. Though the private hospital offers good service and treatment, it is unaffordable to them due to heavy medical bills. Hence they have to depend on the government hospitals usually located in Taluk or district head quarters. They are entitled for free treatment and medicines. In government hospitals treatment is free but they don't have the stock of required medicines as and when they are required. Hence tribals have to purchase it from outside and wait for the blessings of the concerned to get it reimbursed. Sixty percent of the settlement area has the primary health centre within 2 to 3 K.M. But services of doctors are occasional and the available paramedical staff manages the situations.

Table 5.20

**Distribution of tribal households according to the  
System of Treatment Adopted, 2007**

System of Medicine	Adiyan	Paniyan	Kuruc-hian	Kuru-man	Kattun-aikan	Total
Allopathy	40 (20.0)	26 (13.0)	47 (47.0)	34 (34.0)	8 (16.0)	155 (23.84)
Ayurveda	13 (6.5)	15 (7.5)	25 (25.0)	31 (31.0)	Nil	84 (12.92)
Homeo-pathy	5 (2.5)	6 (3.0)	9 (9.0)	13 (13.0)	Nil	33 (5.08)
Tribal Medicine	142 (71.0)	153 (76.5)	19 (19.0)	22 (22.0)	42 (84.0)	378 (88.16)
Total	200	200	100	100	50	650

Source: Survey Data 2007. Figures in bracket show percentage

Cases of disability are rampant among the tribals. Partly this is by birth and partly improper health care and medical treatment. It is found that tribals marry within the same clan. Joint family system is favourable for this. This blood-relationship in married couples also cause disability in their kids. Poverty and non awareness prevent them from taking proper medical care and treatment during the pregnancy stage and after delivery. The cases of disability have been seen more among the less developed groups and primitive tribes. In Kuruchia community it is comparatively low. It shows a

co-relation between disability with socio-economic background and style of living. Detailed statistics are given in Table 5.21.

Table 5.21

**Percentage Distribution of Disabled Members, 2007**

Category	Adiyan		Paniyan		Kuruchian		Kuruman		Kattunaikan	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Disabled	38	24	36	42	8	5	11	8	6	5
Sample Population	409	481	518	462	207	213	214	202	119	79
Percentage	9.29	4.99	6.94	9.09	3.86	2.34	5.14	3.96	5.04	6.33

Source: Survey Data, 2007

In 2002-03 central government has released a grant of Rs.9 crores to improve facilities in primary health centres and schools in tribal areas. The state government decided to implement this project in Wayanad and Palakkad. Though it was initiated in 2003-04, it could not be completed anywhere in the study area. Likewise for tribal health insurance hundred percent centrally sponsored scheme was introduced and an amount of Rs.10 crores was released in 2003-04. But the scheme is not yet started and tribals are unaware of the same.

Attitudes of tribals towards the elected representatives, government officials and tribal promoters are also expressed by the respondents (Table

5.22). As per the opinion of tribals they are not fully satisfied with the elected representatives and government officers. Only 36.92% of tribals are having favourable opinion about elected representatives. About 50% of them are against government officers and tribal promoters. The study reveals that it is also very essential to change the attitude of tribal promoters and government officials towards tribals and their issues.

Table 5.22

**Opinions of tribals on Peoples' Representatives,  
Govt. Officials and Promoters 2007**

Attitudes	Elected Representatives	Govt. Officials	Tribal Promoters
Favourable	240 (36.92)	103 (15.85)	123 (18.92)
Unfavourable	106 (16.29)	321 (49.38)	318 (48.92)
Satisfactory	304 (46.76)	226 (34.77)	209 (32.15)
Total	650 (100)	650 (100)	650 (100)

Source: Survey Data, 2007, Figures in bracket show percentage

A great majority of tribals(96%) were traditionally working in paddy fields. Most of them agreed that their predecessors were slaves or bonded labourers. But nowadays due to the strict and vigilant government measures new generation is freed from such practices. Sixty five percent of the respondents revealed that their grand parents and parents were illiterate and

away from the formal stream of education. Eventhough tribals are not educated and socially backward they have some social virtues. All the respondents surveyed, informed that there is no practice of dowry or bridegroom price in the present tribal communities. But earlier there was the custom of bridegroom price among some communities. They had succeeded in avoiding these social evils than the advanced non-tribals. It is observed that tribal society is well disciplined and obedient under the control and decisions of their chief or *Oorumoopans*.

Compared to non-tribals, the tribal people have no habit of saving. Hence income consumption equality is seen among the tribals. But the case of Kuruchians is an exemption. They have surplus and hence they save compared to other tribal communities. But in the changed circumstances due to the influence of Kudumbashree programme, a minority(16%) among them were initiated to save a portion of their income under such units. There are 558 'Kudumbashree' units in the tribal areas of the district.

The respondents told that they are getting pension and other entitled benefits from government and local authorities. But 58% of them have the complaint that the payments are not in time and they are irregular. This irregularity in payment of benefits makes inconvenience and hardship in the repayment of local loans and personal debts.

Both Adiyans and Paniyans are not employed in organised sectors because of their irregularity in work. But at the same time they are employed in house plots and houses. If their wage is fully paid, the next day they don't come for the work. This behavior creates unemployment among them. They won't be employed in the organised sector.

### **The views of Activists and public persons on tribals and their projects**

Sri P.K. Kalan was a veteran tribal activist and local politician (He died after one week of this interview). He belonged to Adiyans tribe. He was the president of Mananthawady Block Panchayath. He said that both central and state governments have planned many welfare and development programmes for tribals, but they are not sincerely executed and the benefits are not reaching those who deserve it. He pointed out that major chunk of the fund allotted is used for administration and infrastructure. In this area, the tribals have to walk long distances for getting their ration and medical treatments. When they are facing starvation death, their authorities are in luxury and extravagance.

Tribals do not have enough awareness to question or oppose the authorities. Kalan added that tribal exploitation is not a new thing. It has its own evolutionary process. Slavery and bonded labour were prevalent in its furious form. According to him, even the naxalites tried to exploit tribals for their footings in Wayanad. Even the political parties are not sincere for the



welfare of tribals, but for their vote in election. He concluded that age long exploitation is continued in one way or other among the tribals of Wayanad.

C. K. Janu, leader of Adivasi Gothra Mahasabha first mentioned that a number of scholars and researchers are studying tribal problems, but they are not projecting the real issues. They are not visiting the tribal colonies to understand the real life but they are depending on official statistics and reports, which are far away from reality. She talked on various issues of tribal life. The approaches of governments in power with regard to the distribution of land, restoration of tribal land, atrocities on tribals are questionable. She said that though the governments are allotting money for tribal development, the activities are not properly monitored. She cited the examples of closed down spinning mills and the Wayanad Handloom-Powerloom Industrial Society. The latter is started for unwed mothers' welfare but it creates more problems to them. More than 10 crores of rupees were already spent for producing and exporting clothes. But the women workers are paid only 55 rupees per day. She asked how a person can work for this very low wage and added that in this tribal project tribals are suffering but those who run the project are the real beneficiaries.

The parliament and assembly members who represented this region at various times expressed that both the central and state governments are doing as much as possible for tribal development irrespective of parties in power.

Moreover from the local development fund of representatives, financial assistance is given to various tribal development and welfare programmes. The people's representatives belonging to the tribals pointed out that stage-by-stage monitoring and evaluation is very essential for the success of tribal development schemes. They viewed that for the success of the programmes, involvement of tribal labour (both physical and intellectual) is a must. They are against establishing isolated rehabilitation colonies exclusively for tribals. It does not provide proper opportunities for cultural transmission. Tribals are missing the chance to mingle and co-operate with other communities and families. The better opportunities will help them to adopt the recent changes and make them free from rigid rituals and blind beliefs.

Traditionally majority of the tribals are agricultural labourers engaged in paddy cultivation and allied works. Now paddy cultivation is decreasing in Wayanad and tribals become seasonally employed or unemployed. This unemployment and their lack of mobility are the factors which push them to exploitation. The interviewed persons unanimously opined that government has to adopt programmes to divert them to different jobs than agriculture.

The presidents of block and grama Panchayaths opined that local bodies are making maximum efforts to bring up the tribals to common pool. But the result is not promising because Adiyans and Paniyans are still non-responsive to modern education. Among the school dropouts the Adiyans and

Paniyan students come first and their parents are not interested in sending their children to far away residential schools. Further these parents are not enrolling their kids in schools at normal schooling age but at an age of 7 to 8 years. So when they reach high school classes especially girls become grown up and they stop their higher studies after school. The boys are regularly irregular and discontinue their studies.

Adiyans and Paniyans are not at all conscious about tomorrow. Contrary to the earlier period, now their health is also very poor due to their modern life style. Instead of natural and home made food, now a days they take food from hotels. It is not easy to get forest food items and the new generation is not interested in collecting roots and fruits from the forest. Consumption of cheap and untidy alcoholic drinks, use of tobacco and other modern chewing items and the neatless ways of life cause many diseases among these people. Local body authorities say that tribals are not ready to maintain and keep their houses clean once provided by the authorities. They are waiting the local bodies to maintain their houses and for minor repairs. They opined that though there are shortcomings in the provisions and also difficulties in implementation, the facilities provided and the available opportunities are not utilized for their improvement. Hence consentisation and motivation with restrictions and enforcement are highly essential for their development.

P.K. Kariyan is a Member of Thirunelly Panchayath. He belongs to Adiyar tribe. He had discontinued his education in 9<sup>th</sup> standard in 1965. He was the secretary of Thrisslerry Girijan Spinning Industrial Co-operative Society. He had reported his own experience in the field of tribal schemes and connected wastages. He cited the example of a well functioning spinning mill at Thrissleri under his leadership. It was under Industries Department. The society collected a share of Rs.50 each from its 50 members. Only its members were eligible to get employment in the mill. It was functioning smoothly upto the year 2004 and 30 members were directly employed in the mill at that time. He added that due to the departmental interference and restrictions the mill had many constraints to work in a profitable manner. He opined that the department has a negative attitude towards this tribal scheme. He lamented that the government is spending large amount for tribals, but officials are not at all sincere and effective to uplift the tribals. This attitude of officers should be changed. Otherwise it will be a mere exercise of wasting the public money. He asserted that at the cost of tribals, others are benefited.

Dr. Balkar Singh IAS, sub-collector Mananthawady (Managing Director of Priyadarshini and Priyadarshini motors) opined that proper evaluation and monitoring is highly essential from time to time. M. M. Ravindren, chairman of Oorumooan council of Mananthawady Taluk and Director of Priyadarshini Motor Co-operative Society reveals that tribal officers ordinarily have a negative attitude and negligence towards the tribal

people. They are not properly distributing government aids in time. For examples, normally umbrellas are distributed for the students after the rainy season, stipend is issued irregularly even after the courses are completed. In hostels food is provided not according to the government norms and menu chart. Many of the government aids are not timely intimated from Tribal Officers or through promoters. He strongly opined that it is unnecessary to give 5 acres of land to tribals who are not cultivating the land. Particularly Adiyans and Paniyans were not cultivating their land. They want daily wage and will spend it on the same day. Alcohol and other narcotics should be strictly banned in the tribal areas. Its users have to be punished severely. Alcohol is a great enemy of the tribals. Without prohibiting this no tribal development is possible and fruitful; even adivasis violating laws must be punished without relaxation. In many cases Adivasis are misusing their special protection provisions like S.M.C. He viewed that very backward classes like Adiyans, Paniyans and Kattunaikans have to be cared specially in all respect. Likewise they have to be compelled to work and study.

Sri Kuttappan is a social worker of Thrisslerri resident of Ward No.15 of Thirunelly Panchayath. He is actively involved in all the socio-tribal activities of the area. He talked a lot on the tribal issues and leakage of tribal funds. He showed some wells, water pipe lines and dilapidated houses in some tribal colonies of Thrissleri. These wells were dug for drinking water after spending lacks of rupees from tribal fund. But 90% of them have no

water. Remaining 10% are not in usable condition. Kuttappan told that it is an example of the wastage of government money without any benefit for its targeted groups. Another example of wastage he cited was the Giridhara Water Supply Scheme. Under the scheme there are pipe lines and tap outlets but no water is available. At the same time water supply under Jananidhi Scheme is there and supplying water for which the consumers have to pay 30 to 50 rupees per month. The same is the case with electrification schemes. Electric lines are passing the nearby tribal colonies but tribal houses are not electrified. Further he showed some institutions built for tribals. One was the spinning mill at Kuvattumoola (Marunilam-Thirunelli). This mill was built in 1993-94 under MPLAD Scheme. The building itself may approximately cost 5 lakh rupees. This was aimed to provide employment to separate and unwed mothers of the area. But the mill remained closed in 2003 with full of machineries inside.

He showed another Handloom-Powerloom industry in Anappara, Thrisslerry near to his residence. According to him, this is a suitable example of corruption and wastage of public money. Here workingwomen are paid only rupees 55 per day. Sixteen quarters are also built for the workers. Non-residential workers are attending duty with their mid-day meal. With their low wage they are not able to take food from outside. Even then a beautiful canteen building was built in the compound by spending 3.5 lakh from MPLAD Scheme in 2001-02, which was never opened and used so far. He

said that this building itself is an example of corruption and wastage of public money. Further he added that, from his experience most of the tribal schemes are implemented not for tribal beneficiaries but for its officials and contractors.

Another prominent person who participated and shared the ideas on tribal issues was Oothonthil Krishnan Kutty Vythiri (a non-tribal, tribal activist) and V. Mohamadali Kelpetta, Journalist. Both of them travelled with the investigator to different tribal colonies of Wayanad and showed unfinished and semi finished tribal schemes. The journalist has given a very pathetic picture of Paniyans of Wayanad projecting the facts and figures, which he had collected from time to time.

Krishnan Kutty has long years of experience with the tribals of Vythiri Taluk particularly with the rehabilitated tribals in Pookottu Dairy Project and Sugandhagiri Project. Both of them opined that though the government is spending huge amount of money for tribals, the tribals are not benefitted. The benefit is gone to the officials, contractors and middlemen. The tribals are not aware of their schemes and government allotments. Therefore before introducing a scheme they should be made aware of it. Likewise instead of contract labour the tribal labourers have to be used in the work according to their skill. They argued for a restructuring and re-orientation of the existing tribal development schemes. Both of them strongly viewed that tribal

development projects and schemes are creating new opportunities to non-tribals, intermediaries and officials to divert money and take advantages.

Generally it is believed and propagated that landlessness is the most crucial issue and it is the reason for tribal backwardness and underdevelopment. But it is found from field study that landlessness is not the crucial issue; it is only one among the basic issues. Land ownership alone can't help the tribals but its use and management is more important. Adiyans and Paniyans who are having small plots of land are using it only for housing and not even for homestead cultivation. Kattunaikans are still fond of Cave or Ala-dwelling without mingling with others. They are also not interested in agriculture. But on the other hand the Kuruchians and Kurumans having land are cultivating and earning income and leading good life as non-tribals of Wayanad.

The investigator had directly discussed with 50 newly landed tribals of Sugandhagiri and 25 from Pookkod about their present situation after assigning land ownership. 90% of them informed that it is very difficult to cultivate the land because they have no money to invest. If they want to employ hired labour to work in their new land they have to make daily payment. If they are cultivating themselves it is difficult for them to lead their daily life. As per their present opinion, they want regular employment not too much of land. Land is needed only for house and homestead cultivation.



Acres of land cannot be cultivated and managed individually. Most of them opined that collective farming and its benefits in the form of wage, bonus, provident fund, medical aids etc, are better than the individual farming. Now the Sugandhagiri and Pookkod tribals are repenting on the liquidation of the projects and stopping collective farming.

The member beneficiaries of Priyadarshini Estate also expressed the same opinion. They never demand the project land to be distributed but want regular employment and other benefits. Whenever the project is managed properly and efficiently without corruption and wastage it was profitable. In such periods they had received 15% bonus. They have employee's provident fund, Insurance and Sick leave benefits. These benefits are only to the member beneficiaries. The tribals outside project may get more wages than the project tribals, but the project tribals are enjoying more real wages than the outsiders. The Priyadarshini Estate itself has undergone a period of prosperity and decline depending upon its management. Till 1998 it showed a period of growth and prosperity and afterwards the project was about to close down with liability and loss. The tribals also suffered a lot even without getting minimum subsistence. This situation arised due to the corruption, mismanagement and wastage of project fund. In March 2007 Dr. Balkar Singh (Sub-collector Mananthawady), took over the charge as Managing Director of the project and rectifying the defects and clearing the liability. He gave a new birth to the project. Now it shows a sign of revamping. He is

planning to re-start the closed factory also. Now tribals are happy and confident in their new Managing Director.

To conclude, both the Central and State Governments spend huge amount on tribal schemes and projects. But the qualitative development is not up to the mark because of its defective planning and implementation. Maintaining accounts of the projects is only at its source and after that no proper account is maintained at various stages of expenditure. Implementation of tribal schemes and project through various agencies also give opportunities for mal-practice and manipulation in expenditure and accounting.

Tribal participation and involvement in selecting and implementing projects and plans are very low. The beaurocratic decision making and political over interference spoil the intention of the programmes and welfare of tribals. A major portion of the allotment is used for infrastructure and constructions which are common to all at the cost of tribal development. Construction work and administrative expenses create more opportunity for leakage and wastage of fund

Measures like compulsory education, awareness programmes and prohibition of alcohol in tribal area can ensure the development of tribals and their welfare. Strict and effective monitoring of tribal schemes and accountability of fund may reduce leakage and wastage of tribal funds.

# **Chapter 6**

## **IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS ON THE TRIBALS OF WAYANAD**

### **Impact on**

- **Education**
- **Income and Expenditure**

- **Employment**

## **IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS ON THE TRIBALS OF WAYANAD**

Education, Employment and income are the three important variables used to assess the socio-economic changes in the society. They are equally important and inter related in the process of social transition. Education makes changes in customs, beliefs, occupation and lifestyle. Those who attain education initiate to change themselves with changing circumstances. The study shows that tribals living along with the general population have changed a lot. Their children are attaining good quality education and higher jobs. Development of the Scheduled Caste is an example for this. They are comparatively better in all respects.

### **6.1. Impact on Education**

Now the attitude of tribals has changed. They began to accept the changes in the modern society. They are interested to send their children to school. However, the survey data show that majority of the tribal children especially of Adiyans and Paniyans discontinue at Upper Primary level. Previously very small percentage of tribal children were completing S.S.L.C. One of the positive impacts of governmental programmes is that among the new generation children, all are enrolling schools and get minimum level of learning. Table 6.1 and Figure 6.1 shows the educational attainment of tribal children below the age of 17.

Table 6.1

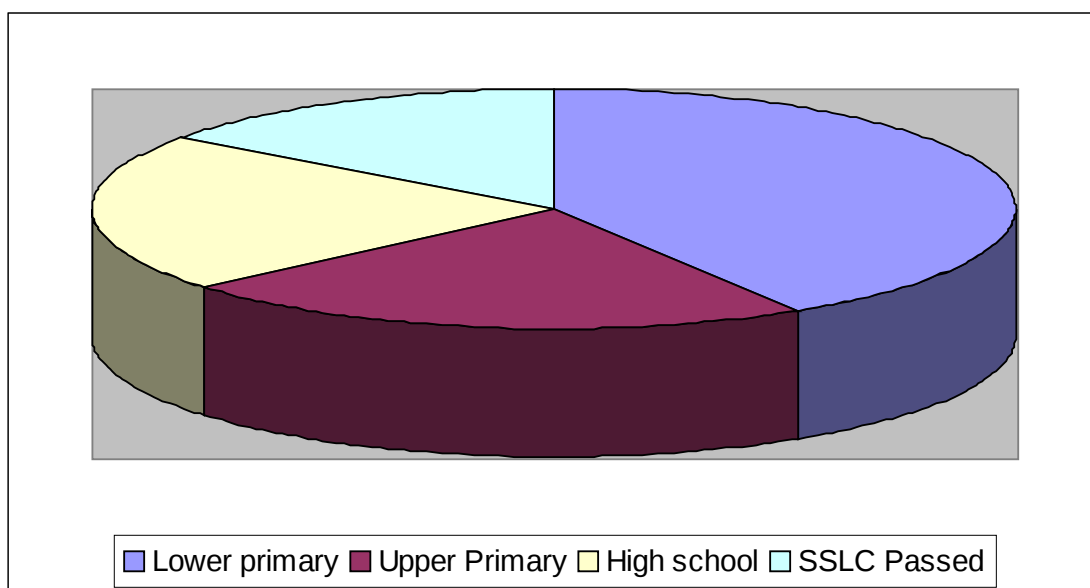
**Distribution of Tribal Children by their Education, 2007**

Levels	Adiyan	Paniyan	Kuruchian	Kuruman	Kattu- naikan	Total
LP	76 (50.67)	86 (53.08)	25 (26.88)	24 (23.76)	28 (59.57)	239 (43.22)
UP	45 (30.0)	36 (22.22)	21 (22.58)	25 (24.75)	12 (25.53)	139 (25.14)
HS	17 (11.33)	24 (14.81)	26 (27.96)	28 (27.72)	5 (10.63)	100 (18.08)
SSLC Passed	12 (8.0)	16 (9.89)	21 (22.58)	24 (23.77)	2 (4.27)	75 (13.56)
Total	150 (100)	162 (100)	93 (100)	101 (100)	47 (100)	553 (100)

Source: Survey Data 2007, Figure in bracket show percentage.

**Figure 6.1**

**Distribution of tribal children by their education, 2007**



Enrolment of Scheduled Tribe students is slightly increasing from 2000 onwards. It increased from 0.52 lakhs in 2002 to 0.67 lakhs in 2007. Pass percentage in SSLC examination also has a similar trend. In 2001 it was 32.85% and after five years it was raised to 52.99%. In 2008, 4836 tribal students appeared for SSLC examination and out of them 82.46% passed. This is the first time that the ST students' pass percentage neared to the general pass level.

It is observed that only an insignificant number is joining for higher studies. Our sample shows that only 14 students are attending technical courses in ITI(Industrial Training Institution) and Polytechnics, 22 are doing plus two, 4 for degree courses and only 3 for TTC(Teacher Training Course). Nobody was there for Post Graduate Courses. It requires sustained efforts from the part of government and NGOs to reduce drop outs at higher levels of education, especially among the scattered tribals living in their settlement in remote areas.

## **6.2 Impact on Income and Expenditure**

Due to the constraints in the primary data, we are unable to measure quantitatively all the variables that determine the socio-economic changes in the tribal society. A look at the monthly income (Table 6.2) reveals that now they have small income from agriculture also, other than minor forest

produce and labour. Further Kurichians and Kurumans have larger income and they are economically better group.

Table 6.2

**Distribution of Average Monthly Income of Tribal Families, 2007 (in Rs.)**

Source of income	Adiyan	Paniyan	Kurichian	Kuruman	Kattu-Naikan
Agriculture	127	56	923	791	17
labour	729	714	952	878	288
M.F.P	261	219	Nil	121	675
Other source	142	129	640	610	86
Total	1259	1118	2515	2400	1066

Source: Survey data, 2007.

Their average monthly expenditure (Table 6.3) indicates that tribals other than Kurichians and Kurumans, spend more than their income. Further only Kurichians and Kurumans spend for education of their children. Other groups send their children to schools because of mid day meals and other incentives .Paniyans and Kattunaikans generally spend very marginal amount for clothes.Alcohol is the second most important item for Adiyan, Paniyan and Kattunaikans.But other two groups spend comparatively small amount on alcohol.



Table 6.3

**Distribution of Average Monthly Expenditure of Tribals, 2007 (in Rs.)**

Items	Adiyan	Paniyan	Kurichian	Kuruman	Kattunaikan
Food	725	600	875	810	615
Clothes	110	50	250	212	Nil
Education	Nil	Nil	400	326	Nil
Entertainments	200	150	210	201	50
Alcohol	300	350	115	200	315
Others	150	110	223	167	146
Total	1485	1260	2073	1916	1126

Source: Survey data 2007

It is found from Table 6.4, except Kurichians and Kurumans, other three groups spend more than their income. These groups are found most of the time in debt trap with moneylenders and local merchants (Figure 6.2).

Table 6.4

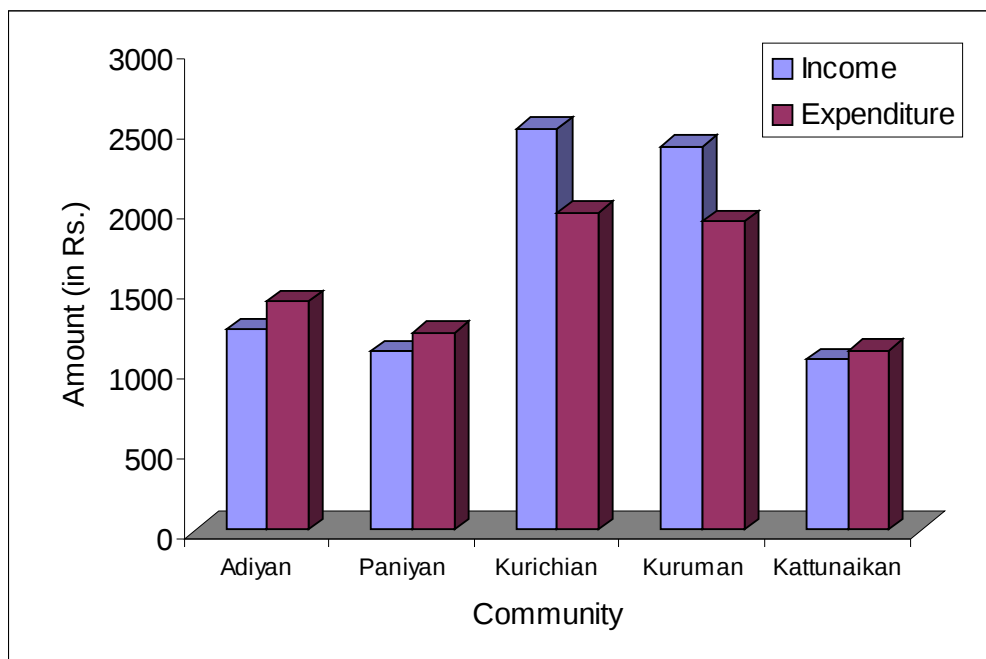
**Comparison of Income and Expenditure of Tribals, 2007 (in Rs.)**

Community	Income	Expenditure	% of expenditure to income
Adiyan	1259	1485	117.95
Paniyan	1118	1260	112.70
Kurichian	2515	2073	82.43
Kuruman	2400	1916	97.83
Kattunaikan	1066	1126	105.63

Source: Survey data, 2007

**Figure 6.2**

**Comparison of Income and Expenditure of Tribals, 2007**



### **6.3. Impact on Employment**

A distribution of employed workers shows occupational diversification among various groups (Table 6.5). It is interesting to note that out of the total employed labour force among the Adiyans, 16.34 shifted to other jobs from agriculture. This shift is 15.97 among Paniyans, 36.97 among Kurichians 27.61 among Kurumans. The case of Kattunaikans is different. About 51% of them are still in the collection of Minor Forest Products and other forest resources. Further among Kuruchians and Kurumans more of the shifted workers are government servants. It is also observed that some Kurichians are employed in higher grade dignified jobs. Thus occupational

diversification is positive among the advanced groups, Kurichians and Kurumans.

Table 6.5

**Distribution of Occupational Shift of Tribals from Agriculture, 2007**

Category	Adiyan	Paniyan	Kurichian	Kuruman	Kattunaikan	Total
Agriculture	215 (83.66)	221 (84.03)	104 (63.03)	97 (72.39)	28 (34.57)	665
Construction	19 (7.39)	20 (7.60)	13 (7.88)	2 (1.49)	10 (12.35)	64
Motor vechile works	8 (3.11)	7 (2.66)	18 (10.91)	12 (8.96)	2 (2.47)	47
Government/semi-Govt	8 (3.12)	3 (1.14)	26 (15.75)	16 (11.94)	1 (1.23)	54
Company/Mills	4 (1.55)	8 (3.04)	3 (1.82)	4 (2.99)	Nil	19
Others	3 (1.17)	4 (1.53)	1 (0.61)	3 (2.23)	40 (49.38)	51
Total	257 (100)	263 (100)	165 (100)	134 (100)	81 (100)	900

Source: Survey Data, 2007. Figures in brackets show percentages.

Early tribals who had own land were alienated by new elite class settled in their area. It was easy to exploit them because of their non-awareness, illiteracy and their non-restricting nature. Their innocence and blind belief also made the process of alienation and exploitation very easy. They had no savings because they had no idea about the future. For their livelihood they mainly depend on forest and nature. Due to Government intervention and organised programmes, the new generation is adopting changes and new life styles. They are found deviating from agricultural labour to some other works like construction, driving and hotel service. The tribals who are rehabilitated under some organised plantations and projects are enjoying the benefits under Plantation Labour Act. Some tribals are shifted to cultivation either in own or leased land. Table 6.6 shows the mobility of labour and work pattern.

Table 6.6

**Distribution of Tribal family heads Based on the Work Pattern, 2007**

Tribal Communities	Own Land	Agri... Labour	Construction Work	Self Employed	Kudum-bashree	Driver	Conductor	Semi Govt.	Govt .	M FP	Total
Adiyan	8 (4)	152 (76)	14 (7)	Nil	6 (3)	2 (1)	Nil	8 (4)	10 (5)	Nil	200 (30.76)
Paniyan	6 (3)	158 (79)	10 (5)	Nil	8 (4)	2 (1)	2 (1)	4 (2)	8 (4)	2 (1)	200 (30.76)
Kurichian	40 (40)	12 (12)	20 (20)	5 (5)	Nil	8 (8)	5 (5)	10 (10)	Nil	Nil	100 (15.38)
Kuruman	35 (35)	24 (24)	12 (12)	6 (6)	3 (3)	6 (6)	2 (2)	6 (6)	6 (6)	Nil	100 (15.38)
Kattunaikan	3 (6)	11 (22)	7 (14)	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	29 (58)	50 (7.72)
Total	92	357	63	11	17	18	9	28	24	31	650

Source: Survey Data, 2007. Figures in brackets show percentages.

The majority of Adiyans and Paniyans are still sticking on normal agricultural works since they are unskilled and unfit for sophisticated and modern works. Due to globalisation agriculture also has undergone changes. It became more export oriented and graded; mass agriculture was replaced by scientific agriculture. This change also caused unemployment of tribals and hence deprivation of their means. This compelled them to seek employment in some other alternative sectors. The study reveals that though they have the protection of reservation and concessions, only very few members are employed in government and semi-government organisations. Adiyans and Paniyans still depend on agricultural labour. The representation of Kuruchians and Kurumans in government and semi-government sectors are found increasing, but not satisfactory. Kattunaikans are still primitive without much changes and they are depending on minor forest products for their livelihood. Though the government is providing special care by spending to improve their skills, there is not much qualitative and quantitative change. They are in their hunting and food gathering stage itself. However, young Adiyans and Paniyans are gradually shifting their labour to other fields including construction. Thus occupational diversification is gradually taking place.

Priyadarshini Motor Co-operative Society guides the tribals to new line of employment and earning. This unit trains them as drivers, conductors and

other category of workers in motor transport. This also caused mobility and shift of tribal labour from agriculture to other new avenues. The tribal drivers in both public and private motors are the contribution of Priyadarshini Motor Co-operative Society, Mananthawady.

The Co-operative Spinning Mill at Thrisslerry was a new venture in tribal employment. The mill was closed down in 2003. But during its short period of functioning it has trained some tribals in spinning and weaving works and this provided an opportunity for them to obtain employment in some private cotton mills in Coyambathoor. Handloom-powerloom Co-operative Mill, at Anappara in Thirunelly Panchayath also trained tribals in spinning, weaving and dyeing. This industrial project was designed to provide employment to tribal women, particularly unwed and separated mothers. The Mill produces and exports the cloth items. The wage level is only Rs.55 per worker for eight hours of work and hence the mill is a tribal exploitation centre. Though it is designed for tribals, the benefit of the mill is enjoyed by non-tribal officials and controlling politicians.

The loss of income from labour and untimely distribution of government assistance compells the tribals to migrate to other areas for employment. Agricultural labourers migrating to Kodagu in Karnataka to work in ginger field at reasonable wage rate is the typical case. When young

tribal women moved to Kodagu and some other places for both agricultural and household work it resulted in harassment and sexual exploitation.

The tribals, who are ready to cultivate in the available land was not ready to use the modern seeds and fertilizers; but followed their traditional approach. Hence their productivity is very low. They are doing this cultivation with borrowed money from the merchants or local money lenders and not utilising institutional finance. Hence immediately after the harvest or even before it they have to sell their product to the merchants or money lenders at low price. This spoils a chance for direct sale of their product in the market for maximum available price. Hence the tribal society is not in a position to pull on their life eventhough they are ready to work and earn through cultivation. It requires more coordinated effort from the part of the government for financing the activities and marketing their products.

When we analyse the tribal development, it cannot be measured with a single yardstick to all tribals. Their tradition, way of living and other internal factors are also to be considered. The study identified the differences in the tribal life under some organised projects and in various settlements. Government programmes could change the socio-economic levels of tribals only to a very small extent. When some projects made positive impact, some others created negative changes. Sugandhagiri Cardamom Project and Pookkod Diary Project are two government investments with heavy loss.



Priyadarshini Tea Estate and Motor transport unit are now running at profit; the workers are getting regular employment, rise in real wage and other service benefits. Thus these units have some positive impact on tribals. This is because of the proper management and monitoring of these projects.

# **Chapter 7**

## **SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

## **SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION\_**

The study had provided an insight on the tribal life and tribal rehabilitation projects and programmes. The study deals with the life style, education, income, employment and labour mobility of the tribal communities. The impact of the projects on the development of tribals is briefly looked into. The paucity of field data and non-co-operation of the concerned officers constrained the investigator to go deep into several pertinent issues. Our analysis leads to the following findings.

### **Findings of the study**

- Rehabilitation projects and settlements are far away from tribal administrative offices, schools, hospitals, public markets and other facilities. It is the main reason for the non-transition of tribals to modernity by mingling with the general public. Separate colony system of living in hilly and remote areas do not provide cultural transition.
- Tribals are backward in educational attainment. They can't properly utilize the existing educational facilities and programmes. The educational incentives are nominal and not sufficient. Even the allotted incentives are not distributed in time.

- Distance of schools from settlements, absence of awareness and motivation, poverty and economic backwardness are the major constraints on the way of their educational attainment. First priority must be given for education in their development schemes.
- Some tribals are educated and employed. Pathetically, these tribals who reach higher socio-economic level, are leaving the colony and settling among non-tribals as per their convenience. They are not bothered about their counterparts. This evacuation creates a sense of detachment and causes lack of inspiration for the remaining tribals.
- The dropout percentage of tribal students is very high and they are irregular in school. This is because many of their parents are very poor, not able to send their children to school properly and some children need to help their parents to look after the younger ones. The study shows that the children of the tribals living along with the general population get good quality education and high jobs.
- The major share of tribal fund is used for infrastructure and administrative expenses. It is proportionately higher than the actual amount spent for welfare and development
- Kuruchians and Kurumans are comparatively advanced among the tribal communities. This is the result of their hard work and discipline.

They are still in joint family and practise division of labour. Kuruchians are also better in providing good quality education to their children.

- Adiyans and Paniyans are very poor and they always depend on the government for their existence. Even for minor repair and maintenance of their houses they are looking for the financial assistance of the government.
- The young Adiyans and Paniyans are gradually shifting their labour to other areas including construction. Thus occupational diversification is gradually taking place.
- The normal official programmes are not enough for their drastic socio-economic change. Compulsory education and effective awareness programmes are essential to revamp them.
- Liquor consumption and smoking habit are common among the tribals irrespective of their age and sex. This spoils their health and work efficiency. This causes loss of work and low productivity.
- Unwed motherhood is a crucial social issue and its major victims are Adiyans. Social activists reported that poverty and ignorance, brewing and sale of alcohol, and the consequent influence of outsiders in the colonies are the major causes of this social evil.

- The study reveals that except Kuruchians and Kurumans others are not cultivating their available land. This aggravates poverty and their dependence on market. The practice of 'use and throw' consumption is also existing among the young tribals. Kuruchians and Kurumans are not only cultivating their own land but engaging in lease and share cultivation also.
- The tribals of well managed and organised projects have regular employment, pension, provident fund, sick leave and other benefits. Scattered tribals do not have these benefits.
- The representation of tribals in the decision making process of the projects is nominal. Hence their actual involvement in the projects is limited.
- Lack of effective monitoring and evaluation causes corruption and mismanagement in tribal projects and schemes. Wastage and leakage of public funds at the cost of tribal development are also observed. It is identified that tribal houses constructed under various schemes are of poor quality. Water taps and wells without water, electric lines without power supply are examples of wastage and leakage of public money in tribal areas.

- Sugandhagiri cardamom project and Pookkodu dairy project had miserably failed due to mismanagement and wastage of funds and resources.
- Tribal development projects are functioning under the joint control of various departments mainly Revenue, Forest and Co-operation. Inter departmental egos make unnecessary delay in effective planning and implementation.
- Growth of population among tribal communities has come down. It is not due to their improved awareness or adoption of family planning. But because of poor health of mothers, malnutrition, premature death and infant mortality.
- Modernisation in agriculture and decrease in paddy cultivation made tribal labourers underemployed and unemployed. Their irregular, irresponsible and lethargic attitude keeps them away from skilled and industrial labour. Besides tribal labour is still low paid and exploited. The low paid mill workers of Handloom- Powerloom mill at *Anapara* is an example for this.
- The study realised that mere distribution of land alone cannot solve the tribal problems. They are not efficient enough to manage and cultivate their own land. They have no money to invest in agriculture. Hence

besides land, they should be supported with interest free agricultural loan, guidance and control. Basic marketing facilities with proper infrastructure should also be provided.

- Adiyans and Paniyans do not save for future. What they earn, they consume on the same day. If they have any balance amount they wont go for work. Hence income consumption equality is seen among this group.

After spending crores of rupees and the effort of years, the development of tribals is not realised so far. This development is not possible by keeping them away from general population. Dispute between the departments, mismanagement of the projects and programmes, political interference, wastage of public fund, lack of proper awareness and education are the restrictive factors.

Tribal participation and involvement in selecting and implementing projects and plans are very low. The beaurocratic decision making and political over interference spoil the intention of the programmes and welfare of tribals. A major portion of the allotment is used for infrastructure and constructions which are common to all at the cost of tribal development.

It is better to have a single window operating system for tribal development programmes. It is also better not to keep them in the isolated



settlements in remote areas. Both general and technical education is the most essential pre-requisite for their socio-economic development. So it is better to provide strict residential type education with more effective incentives. Measures like compulsory education, awareness programmes and prohibition of alcohol in tribal area can ensure the development of tribals and their welfare. Strict and effective monitoring of tribal schemes and accountability of fund may reduce leakage and wastage of tribal funds. Above all, a coordinated, comprehensive and sincere effort from all concerned are essential for the upliftment of this poor and hapless lot.

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# **APPENDICES**



## 2. `qan p sXmgnÂ

kz´w `qan	:	
Ds- nÂ hnkVXoÀ®w	:	-G-iÂ ..... skâv .....
kz´w `qan e`n¨ coXn	:	ss]Xrlw ..... hm§n- bXv .....
`qan-bpsS kz`mhw	:	lc ..... hbÂ ..... h\w .....
sslh-i-`qan	:	Dv / CÃ
Ds- nÂ hnkVXoÀ®w	:	GiÂ ..... skâv .....
sslh-i-`qan e`n¨ coXn	:	]m«w / Kh. A\p-h-Zn-¨Xv / h\ `qan
]«bw e`n-¨n-«ptm	:	Dv / CÃ
`qan-bpsS kz`mhw	:	lrjn-tbmKyw / Xma-k-tbmKyw / cn\pw ]äm-¨Xv
`qan-bpsS Ct,m-gs¯ D]- tbmKw	:	]pc-bnSw / lrjn / lmen hfÀ-Â / ] m«-¨n\v slmSp-iÂ
lrjn-sN-ÿp¶ hnf-IÄ	:	sX§v / s\Ãv / ]¨-idn / hmg / lm,n / C©n / l, / lpcp-ap-flv
DÂ]m-Z\ an¨w	:	Dv / CÃ
Ds- nÂ F´v sNÿpw	:	hnÂ,\ / lcp-XÂ
lrjn-bnÂ\n¶v hmÀjnl hcp- am\w	:	.....
]qÀÆen-lÀiv `qan	:	Dm-bn-cp¶p / CÃ
`qan A\ym-[o-\-s, -«n-«pt- m?	:	Dv / CÃ
Ds- nÂ F§ns\	:	NXn / ISw / Itzäw
A\ym-[o-\-s,« `qan-bpsS hnkVXoÀ®w	:	..... .....

Kh→saâv ]lcw `qan : Dv / CÃ  
 X¶n-«ptm?

Ds-|nÂ hnkVXoÀ®w : .....

In«nb `qan-bpsS D]- : Irjn / Xmakw / H¶pw CÃ  
 tbmKw

In«nb `qan `mKn-l-am- : Dv / CÃ /  
 tbm, ]qÀ®-amtbm sslam- hnkVXoÀ®w .....  
 dn-bn-«ptm?

Ds-|nÂ sslam-dm³ ImcWw : .....

### 3. IS-<sub>m</sub><sup>2</sup>yXm hnh-c-šÄ :

hmbv] Øew	Xpl	Jeni \nciv	k_vknUn	Bhiyw	Xncn- <sup>..</sup> - Shv	aäp hnh- c-šÄ

### 4. Xmak kulcyw:

- hoSv : kz´w/hmSI/Kh.X¶Xv/]qÄÆnlw
- hoSnsâ kz`mhw : tlm→{loäv/HmSv/Hme/]pÂlp-SnÂ
- NpaÀ : lÄv/a→l«/CjvSnI/knaâv l«/acw/Hme/apf
- \new : ssSÂ/knaâv/a®v/NmWlw sagp-Inb Xd
- sshZypXn : Dv / CÃ
- Ds-|nÂ : kz´w Nne-hnÂ/Kh. kuP\yw/ aäp ]<sup>2</sup>-Xn-lÄ
- liqkv kulcyw : Dv / CÃ
- Ds-|nÂ GXp-Xcw : C.-F-kv.-]n./sk]vânlv Sm|v / lpgn
- hoSv \nÀ½n-im\pw dn,-b-dn\pw Kh. klmbw : ln«n / CÃ
- Ds-|nÂ Fšs\ : kz´w/lnWÀ/s]mXp-ln-

	WÀ/s]mXp Sm <sub>v</sub>
s]mXp Sm <sub>m</sub> -sW-!nÂ ho«nÂ\n-¶pÂ Zpcw	: .....
shÂ- <sup>-</sup> n-\pÂ aäv kul-cy-§Ä	: ]pg/tXmSv/lpfw/lpgn
ss] <sub>v</sub> shÂw	: Dv / CÃ
Ds-!nÂ	: kz´w Nne-hnÂ / Kh. Nne-hnÂ
hoSn\v F{X apdn-lÄ Dv	: .....
Aäm¨vUv _m <sup>-</sup> vdqw	: Dv / CÃ
{]tXyl ASp-if	: Dv / CÃ
]mNI CÔ\w	: Kymkv/hndlv/as®®/NmW-l-i«
hnd-l-Sp- <sub>m</sub> -sW-!nÂ	: ]pl CÃm- <sup>-</sup> Xv / ]g-b-coXn
tdj <sup>3</sup> ImÂUptm	: Dv / CÃ
tdj <sup>3</sup> IrXy-ambn e`n-im-dpt- m	: Dv / CÃ
e`n-ip¶ tdj <sup>3</sup> km[-\-§Ä	: Acn/tKmX <sup>1/4</sup> v/]©- kmc/as®®/ .....
GXv ] <sup>2</sup> -Xn-bnÂ	: _n.-]n.-FÂ / F.-]n.-FÂ.
tdj <sup>3</sup> IS-bn-te-ipÂ Zqcw	: ..... ln.-ao.
aäv Kh: kul-cy-§Ä	: amthen tìmÀ / \oXn tìmÀ / sslcfn tìmÀ
km[-\-§Ä hm§p¶ aäp Øe-§Ä	: s]mXp-amÀiäv/kq <sub>v</sub> À amÀiäv/ amÀPn <sup>3</sup> {^o
apjym-lmcw	: Acn/tKmX <sup>1/4</sup> v/cmKn/l <sub>v</sub>
Znhk `£W Xh-W-lÄ	: 1/2/3/4
`£-W-coXn	: shPv/t\m→ shPv
elcn ]ZmÀ°-§Ä D]-tbm-Kn- im-dptm?	: Dv / CÃ



Ds- nÂ GXv	:	IÂv / Nmcmbw / hntZ-i-aZyw
hmäv tl{µ-šÄ kao-]v Dtm	:	Dv / CÃ
aäp ioe-šÄ	:	shäne apdpiv / ]pl-hen / asä-s´- nepw
]pXnb Xe-ap-d-bnÂ aZy-]m\w	:	Dv / CÃ
]pXnb Xe-ap-d-bnÂ shän- e-ap-dpiv	:	Dv / CÃ
]m³]-cm-Knsâ D]-tbmKw	:	Dv / CÃ
ho«nÂ t^m→ kulcyw	:	Dv / CÃ
samss_Â t^m→	:	Dv / CÃ
amkm´ t^m→ _nÂ	:	.....
ho«nse aäv kul-cy-šÄ	:	Sn.-hn./{^nUvPv/tdUntbm/hn.- kn.-]n./ anlvkkn/ss{KÂ/hmjnšv sajo³
ho«nÂ I¼yq-«Â Dtm	:	Dv / CÃ
Ds- nÂ Fšns\ e`n`p	:	kz´w sNe-hnÂ / Kh→saâv sNe- hnÂ / asä-s´- nepw amÂxw .....
kz´-am-bpÅ hml\w	:	sskinÄ/kvlq«À/ss_iv/ Hmt«m- dn£/.....
Hmt«m-dn£ Ds- nÂ	:	hmšn-bXv / Kh. X¶Xv
D]-tbmKw	:	hmSI / kz´w Bhiyw
kzbw sXmgnÂ ]²Xn hmbv]	:	tem→ e`n`p / CÃ
e`n-s`- nÂ ln«nb kwjy	:	.....
]Xw hmbn-im-dptm	:	Dv / CÃ
Ds- nÂ hcn-im-c\mtWm	:	AsX / AÃ
]X-nsâ t]cv	:	..... .....

s]mXp-hm-b\ tl{μ-aptm	:	Dv / CÃ
Ds- nÂ Alew	:	.....
s]mXp Sn.-hn. tl{μ-aptm	:	Dv / CÃ
Ds- nÂ F{X Zqc-¯nÂ	:	.....
k©m-c-tbm-Ky-amb tdmUv Dtm	:	Dv / CÃ
tdmUv SmÀ sNbvXn-«ptm	:	Dv / CÃ
hml\ kulcyw Dtm	:	Dv / CÃ
Ds- nÂ GXv hml\w	:	_Êv/Po_v/sl.-F-kv.-BÀ.-Sn.-kn.

### 5. BtcmKyw þ NnlnÕ

Bkv]{Xn	:	Dv / CÃ (K-h. / ss{]h-äv)
e`y-amb Nnln-Õm-coXn	:	Atem- _Xn/tlmantbm/BbpÀtÆZw/ tKm{X-coXn
Gähpw ASp-¯pÅ Bip-]-{Xn- bn-te-ipÅ Zqcw	:	.....
kuP\y NnlnÕ	:	Dv / CÃ
kzol-cn-ip¶ NnlnÕm coXn	:	(A-tem- _Xn/tlmantbm/BbpÀtÆZw/ tKm{X-co-Xn)
tUmlvS-dpsS thk\w	:	]qÀ® kabw / `mKnlw / Xosc CÃ
{]tXyl tcmK-šÄ hÃXpw Dt- m	:	Sn.-_n., se{]-kn, sskinÄ A\o- anb .....
BtcmKy C³jp-d³kv ]²Xn	:	Dv / CÃ
NnlnÕ In«msX ac-W-a-S-â- h-cptm	:	Dv / CÃ
Ds- nÂ GXv hÀjw	:	.....
]«nWn acWw Dm-bn-«ptm	:	Dv / CÃ
Ds- nÂ GXv hÀj-¯nÂ	:	.....

aäp-Å-h-cnÂ\n¶pw ]oV\w : Dv / CÃ  
Dm-hmdptm

P\{-{]-Xn-\n-[n-l-fpsS : A\p-lqew/{]Xn-lqew/Xr]vXn-l-c-  
kao-]\w aÃ

DtZym-K-Ø-cpsS kao-]\w : A\p-lqew/{]Xn-lqew/Xr]vXn-l-c-  
aÃ

]©m-b̄v A[n-lr-X-cpsS : A\p-lqew/{]Xn-lqew/Xr]vXn-l-c-  
kao-]\w aÃ

ss{S\_Â {]tam-«Àam- : AsX / AÃ  
cpsS \nb-a\w KpW-l-c-  
amtWm

**6. amkm-´c IpSpw\_  
Nnehv**

C\w	Xpl
`£Ww	: .....
hn-Zym-`ymkw	: .....
hkv{Xw (slm-Ã-̄nÂ)	: .....
]mNI CÔ\w (hn-d-lv)	: .....
NnlnÕ	: .....
sshZypXn	: .....
t^m↔_nÂ	: .....
bm{Xm Nnehv	: .....
elcn	: .....
hnt\mZw þ kn\na	: .....
]en-i-b-Shv	: .....
hmbv] Xncn-“-Shv	: .....
]Wn-bm-bp-[-§Ã	: .....
aX-]-c-amb sNehv	: .....

---

aäv C\-\$Ä : .....

---

Bsl : .....

---

**7. aäp-hn-h-c-\$Ä**

]c-¼-cm-KX sXmgnÂ : .....

]qÀÆn-lÀ ASn-a-]Wn : Dv / CÃ  
sNbvXn-«ptm

Xm|Ä ASn-a-]Wn : Dv / CÃ  
sNbvXn-«ptm

Ct,mÄ ASn-a-]Wn \ne-hn- : Dv / CÃ  
eptm

cfn-Xm-iÄiv hnZym- : Dv / CÃ  
`ymkw Dm-bn-cpt¶m

kv{Xo[-\k-¼-Zmbw Dtm : Dv / CÃ

Ds-|nÂ coXn : ]Ww/kz̄v/km[-\-\$Ä

B-]W k{¼-Zmbw Dtm : Dv / CÃ

k¼m-Zy-io-e-\$-fptm : Dv / CÃ

Ds-|nÂ hmÄjnl k¼mZyw : .....

tfa-\n-[n-bnÂ AwK-amtWm : BWv / AÃ

s]³³ e`n-ip-¶ptm : Dv / CÃ

Ds-|nÂ amkm´/hmÄjnl Xpl : .....

D]-sXm-gnÂ Dtm : Dv / CÃ

Ct,mÄ \ne-hnÂ IS-\_m-[y-X- : Dv / CÃ  
bptm

Ds-|nÂ AXv F§ns\ : .....

lp«n-lÄ hnZym-e-b-\$-fnÂ : Dv / CÃ  
t]mlp-¶ptm

hnZym-e-b-̄n-te-ipÅ Zqcw : .....

bm{Xm-amÄæw :

- lp<n-IÄiv kvlqfnÂ D"-`- : Dv / CÃ  
 £Ww e`n-ip-¶ptm
- tlmîÂ hnZymÂ°n-l-fptm : Dv / CÃ
- hnZym-`ymk B\p-lq-ey-§Ä :  
 ssi,âv / ewkw-{Kmâv e`n- : Dv / CÃ  
 ip-¶ptm
- lpSpw-\_-{io-bnÂ AwK- : AsX / CÃ  
 amtWm
- lpSpw-\_{io hgn sXmgnÂ : Dv / CÃ  
 e`n-ip-¶ptm
- \nt£] ]²-Xn-l-fnÂ : Dv / CÃ  
 tNÂ¶n-«ptm
- hfÂ`p-ar-K-§Ä/]£n-IÄ : ]  
 ip/Fcpa/BSv/]¶n/tlmgn/Xmdmh  
 V .....  
 .....

**8. Kh→saâv / Kh→saâv CXc klm-b-]-²-Xn-IÄ GP³kn-l-  
 fnÂ\¶v e`n-ip¶ klm-b-§Ä:**

] <sup>2</sup> Xn	In«p¶ Xpl	Xncn- "-S- hptm	k_vknU n	{]tbm- P\w	aäp hnh-c-§Ä
♣s]³j³					
hnZym-`ym-k- `n\v					
Nnln-Öiv					
kzbw sXmgnÂ					
lrjn / l"-hSw					
hcp-am\ -hÂ²\w					
hn[hm s]³j³					

**9. ]p\c-[n-hmk / hnl-k\w**

GsX-|nepw sXmgnÂ-p-]p-\- : Dv / CÃ

c-[n-hmk ]²-Zn-IÄ Cu {]tZ-  
i-̄ptm

Ds-|nÂ ]²-Xn-bpsS t]cv : .....  
hÄjw .....  
eÿyw .....  
.....

]²-Xn-bpsS {]tbm-P\w : .....  
.....

]«n-l-hÄx ^p-IÄ ]qÀ®- : Dv / CÃ  
ambpw Nne-h-gn-im-dptm

]²Xn Xe-̄ nÂ sXmgn-ep-IÄ : Dv / CÃ  
e`n-ip-¶ptm

Kh. ]²-Xn-IÄ D]-tbm-K-{}-Z- : AsX / CÃ  
amtWm

Ducp-iq-«-§Ä hgn t\«-§Ä D- : Dv / CÃ  
m-bn-«ptm

Ds-|nÂ F´v t\«-§Ä : .....  
.....

Kh.sâ ]«nl hÄx hnl-k\ : AdnBMW / CÃ  
{]hÄ-̄-\-§-sf-ip-dn¨pw sNe-  
hm-ip¶ ]W-s-̄-ip-dn¨pw  
Adn-bmtam

hnl-k-\-hn-j-b-§-fnÂ Xm|- : Dv / CÃ  
fpsS A`n-{}]mbw AwKo-l-  
cn-im-dptm

AXym-h-iy-ambn ]cn-l-cn-i-s,-tS-p\v {]iv\-§Ä

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

## SCHEDULED TRIBES OF KERALA

## ]«n-I-hÀª eniv

[As Amdned by The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Act, 2002 (Act 10 of 2003) Vide part VIII – Kerala – Second Schedule notified in the Gazette of India, dt. 8.1.2003].

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Adiyan  | - ASn-bm <sup>3</sup>   |
| 2. Arandan, [Aranadan]   | - Ac-\m-S <sup>3</sup>  |
| 3. Eravallan   | - Cc-hm-e <sup>3</sup>  |
| 4. Hill Pulaya [Mala Pulayan, Kurumba Pulayan, Karavazhi Pulayan, Pamba Pulayan] | - InÂ ]pe-b, ae ]pe-b <sup>3</sup> , lpdp- <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> -]p-e-b <sup>3</sup> , lc-hgn ]pe-b <sup>3</sup> , ]m <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> ]pe-b <sup>3</sup> |
| 5. Irulan, Irular  | - Ccp-f <sup>3</sup> , Ccp-fÀ   |
| 6. Kadar [Wayanad Kadar]   | - ImSÀ, hb-\mSv ImSÀ  |
| 7. Kanikaran, Kanikkar   | - ImWn-im-c <sup>3</sup> , ImWn-imÀ   |
| 8. Kattunayakan  | - Im«p-\m-bn-i <sup>3</sup>   |
| 9. Kochuvelan  | - slm¨p-th-e <sup>3</sup>   |
| 10. Koraga   | - slmdK   |
| 11. Kudiya, Melakudi   | - lpSn-b, tae-ipSn  |
| 12. Kurichan, [Kurichiyan]   | - lpdn-¨y <sup>3</sup> , lpdn-¨n-b <sup>3</sup>   |
| 13. Kurumans [Mullu Kuruman, Mulla Kuruman, Mala Kuruman]                        | - lpdp-aÀ, apÀp-lp-dp-a <sup>3</sup> , apÀ lpdp-a <sup>3</sup> , ae-lp-dp-a <sup>3</sup>  |
| 14. Kurumbas, [Kurumbar, Kurumban]   | - lpcp- <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> À, lpcp- <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> <sup>3</sup>   |
| 15. Maha Malasar   | - alm-a-e-kÀ  |
| 16. Malai Arayan, [Mala Arayan]  | - asse Ac-b <sup>3</sup> , ae Ac-b <sup>3</sup>   |
| 17. Malai Pandaram   | - asse ]mcw   |

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 18. Malai Vedan, [Malavedan]  | - asse thS <sup>3</sup> , ae thS <sup>3</sup>   |
| 19. Malakkuravan  | - ae-ip-d-h <sup>3</sup>  |
| 20. Malasar   | - ae-kÀ   |
| 21. [Malayan, Nattu Malayan, Konga Malayan (Excluding the areas comprising the Kasargode, Cannanore, Wayanad and Kozhikode district)] | - ae-b <sup>3</sup> , \m«p-a-e-b <sup>3</sup> , slm§<br>ae-b <sup>3</sup> (Im-kÀtKm-Uv,<br>l®qÀ, hb-\m-Sv, tlmgn-<br>timSv F¶o PnÃ-lÄ Hgn-sl) |
| 22. Malayarayar   | - ae-b-c-bÀ   |
| 23. Mannan, [to be spelt in Malayalam script in parenthesis]  | - a¶m <sup>3</sup>  |
| 24. Muthuvan, Mudugar, Muduvan  | - apXp-hm <sup>3</sup> , apUp-KÀ,<br>apUp-hm <sup>3</sup>   |
| 25. Palleyan, Palliyan, Palliyar, Paliyan   | - ]Ån-b <sup>3</sup> , ]Ån-bmÀ, ]fn-b <sup>3</sup>  |
| 26. Paniyan   | - ]Wn-b <sup>3</sup>  |
| 27. Ulladan, [Ullatan]  | - DÅm-S <sup>3</sup>  |
| 28. Uraly   | - Ducmfn  |
| 29. [Malavettuvan (in Kasargode and Kannur districts)]  | - ae-th-«p-h <sup>3</sup> (Im-kÀtKm-<br>Uv, l®qÀ PnÃ-l-fnÂ)   |
| 30. [Ten Kurumban, Jenu Kurumban]   | - tX <sup>3</sup> lpdp- <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> <sup>3</sup> , tP\p lpdp- <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> <sup>3</sup>                        |
| 31. [Thachanadan, Thachanadan Moopan]   | - X"-\m-S <sup>3</sup> , X"-\m-S <sup>3</sup> aq, <sup>3</sup>  |
| 32. [Cholanaickan]  | - tNme-\m-bn-i <sup>3</sup>   |
| 33. [Mavilan]   | - amhn-em <sup>3</sup>  |
| 34. [Karimapalan]   | - lcnw-]m-e <sup>3</sup>  |
| 35. [Vetta Kuruman]   | - sh«-lp-dp-a <sup>3</sup>  |
| 36. [Mala Panickar]   | - ae ]Wn-iÀ   |