

Working Paper No. 104
RULNR Working Paper No. 12
September, 2011

Formulation and Implementation of Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) in Kerala

<https://cess.ac.in/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/CESS-Working-Paper-No.104.pdf>

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(Supported by Jamsetji Tata Trust)



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Acknowledgements

This working paper is the first part of a research study on 'An Assessment and Comparative Analysis of Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) in Kerala and Andhra Pradesh' of the Research Unit for Livelihoods and Natural Resources (RULNR) in the Centre for Economic and Social Studies (CESS) Hyderabad, with the financial support of Jamsetji Tata Trust, Mumbai. We thank the Director, Faculty and Administrative Staff of CESS, Hyderabad, for providing all support to the project. We are also thankful to the Centre for Rural Management (CRM) Kottayam, Kerala and Laya, Visakhapatnam for the organizational support. Our thanks are due to Dr. V.N.V.K. Sastry, Former Director, Tribal Research Centre, Government of Andhra Pradesh for offering critical comments on the report as a external referee. We acknowledge the support of Mr. T.V. Thilakan and Ms. Rekha. V. Research Associates of CRM, Kottayam.

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Introduction:

In a liberal democratic political system, most communities are able to articulate and represent their interest in the decision-making process. But in the case of excluded communities, it is often this lack of routine access to decisions affecting them that lies at the root of their grievances. Although excluded communities in Kerala have been an aggrieved group, they could not be mobilized for their own cause due to their geographically dispersed character and numerical insignificance in the elected terms. It is very clear that the tribal communities in Kerala have been largely left out of the gains of the Kerala model of development. Among the outliers, the tribal communities are the most vulnerable groups. All developmental experiences which played an important role in shaping the political economy of Kerala seem to have fully eluded the tribal communities. In this paper, an attempt has been made to describe the socio-economic profile of tribal communities, development programmes, institutions for Scheduled Tribes, participatory planning and Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) in Kerala.

Part 1: Profile of Tribal Communities in Kerala

Comparative Status:

In Kerala the status of Scheduled Tribes is slightly better than their counterparts in the country. This comparative status is evident from a number of indicators: At the national level, nearly half the tribal population is below poverty line whereas in Kerala the corresponding figure is less than one-fourth. Literacy among the tribal population in Kerala is high (64.35%) when compared to their counterparts at the all India level, and so is female literacy (58.11%). The sex ratio of the tribal communities is also favourable for women in Kerala, whereas that is not the case at the all India level. The percentage of tribal population living in slum areas is negligible in Kerala, whereas 2.4 percent of the total tribal population lives in slum areas at the national level. The comparative status of tribal population in Kerala is clearly evident from the Table No.1.

Demographic Profile (Population Size and Distribution):

In Kerala the tribal population is 3,64,189 as per the 2011 Census which works out to 1.14 percent of the total state's population. The decadal growth of ST population has been 13.75 percent, which is 4.1 percent higher than the growth of the total population in 1991-2001. This can be attributed to a number of factors such as demographic phenomenon, cultural dimension and inclusion of a few communities in the Scheduled Tribe list. It is argued that the inclusion of new communities in the list may be the

major factor for the high tribal population rate in the state. However, it is important to note that population growth rate also varies among the tribal communities. As per the analysis of 2001 Census, there is some difference between the age structure of the tribal population and that of the general population. According to Zachariah and Rajan (2004) the general population in Kerala has reached the last stage of demographic transition and it resembles that of developed countries, whereas the tribal population structure of the nation resembles that of developing countries with large dependent population. Relatively younger population is predominantly higher among the tribal communities. As per the population pyramids constructed for major tribal communities in Kerala by Rajasenan *et al.* (2009), younger population is higher among backward tribal communities of *Muthuvan*, *Paniyan* and *Kattunayakans*. This is because of lesser life expectancy among the tribal communities in general and backward communities in

Table No. 1: Status of STs in India and Kerala

Sl.No.	Parameter	India	Kerala
1	Population (in lakhs)	836	3.64
2	Percentage of total population	8.15	1.14
3	Decadal growth rate (%)	23.30	13.75
4	Child population to the total population	18.43	13.70
5	Sex ratio	948	1027
6	Literacy rate (in general)	47.08	64.35
7	Literacy rate (female)	34.75	58.11
8	Poverty as per (55 th Round)	45.80	24.20
9	Percentage of population in slum areas	2.40	0.20

Source: Census 2001.

particular. There are in all 35 Scheduled Tribes in the state, and all have been enumerated during the 2001 Census. Of these, five are primitive tribes. They are *Koraga*, *Kattunayakan*, *Cholanaickan*, *Kadar* and *Kurumbas*. The tribe-concentrated districts are the hill regions of Wayanad, Palakkad, Idukki, Kottayam and Thiruvananthapuram. The Scheduled Tribes in Kerala are overwhelmingly rural and geographically scattered. Three districts of Kerala (Wayanad, Idukki and Palakkad) account for over 60 percent of ST population in the state. The highest concentration is in Wayanad (17.4%) followed by Idukki (14%) and Palakkad (10.89%). In general, it appears that tribes are in minority populations and are largely confined to small pockets. In ten districts, the population of STs is less than one percent of the total population of the districts (Refer Table No. 2). Alappuzha has the lowest concentration at 0.15 percent, preceded by Thrissur, Kollam

and Kozhikode districts (0.2 percent each). Most of the tribes speak a local variant of Malayalam. As many as 17,156 tribal families are spread over 671 settlements in the forest. Out of the 35 Scheduled Tribes notified in the state, *Paniyan* is the most populous tribe with a population of 81,940, forming 22.5 percent of the total tribal population of the state. *Kurichchan* is the second largest tribe having a population of 32,746 constituting 9 percent of the total ST population. Six other STs, namely, *Muthuvan*, *Kanikaran*, *Irular*, *Kurumans*, *Marati* and *Malai Arayan*, having a population ranging from 21,000 to 32,000, along with *Paniyan* and *Kurichchan*, constitute 73.6 percent of the total tribal population in the state. Seven tribes, including *Malayan*, *Malai Vedan*, *Mannan*, etc., having 5,000 -16,000 population account for another 20 percent, while the remaining 20 tribes along with the generic tribes constitute the residual 6.4 percent of the state's tribal population. Tribes having a population of less than 500 are 11 in number. Out of them, *Kota*, *Kammara*, *Kochu Velan* and *Konda Kapus* are the smallest groups, each having a population of less than 50.

Table No. 2: Population Details of Scheduled Tribes among the Districts

Sl. No.	Name of the District	Percentage Distribution in the District	Percentage to Total Population
1	Kasargode	8.33	2.52
2	Kannur	5.48	0.83
3	Wayanad	37.36	17.43
4	Kozhikode	1.63	0.21
5	Malappuram	3.36	0.34
6	Palakkad	10.89	1.52
7	Thrissur	1.33	0.16
8	Ernakulam	2.76	0.32
9	Idukki	14.00	4.51
10	Kottayam	5.04	0.94
11	Allappuzha	0.86	0.15
12	Pathanamthitta	1.80	0.53
13	Kollam	1.43	0.20
14	Thiruvananthapuram	5.74	0.65
	Total	100	1.14

Source: Human Development Report 2005, State Planning Board, Govt. of Kerala.

Literacy and Education Level:

Kerala ranks first among the Indian States in respect of both male and female literacy among the STs. The overall literacy rate of the Scheduled Tribes has increased from 57.2 percent recorded in the 1991 Census to 64.4 percent during the 2001 Census. It is higher than the national average of 47 percent in respect of the total STs. Similarly, male literacy has increased from 63.4 percent to 70.8 percent and female literacy has gone up from 51 percent to 58.1 percent during 1991-2001, showing significant improvement. Among the numerically larger tribes, *Malai Arayan* has the highest percentage of literates (94.5 percent) followed by *Kanikaran, Kurichchan and Kurumans* (71.4 percent). Furthermore, the *Kurumans, Kurichchan, Kanikaran and Malai Arayan* have shown higher female literacy ranging from 60 to 93 percent whereas *Muthuvan, Paniyan and Irular* have shown lower female literacy in the range of 31 to 43 percent. Therefore, targeted interventions of literacy and post literacy campaigns are needed among the tribal settlements.

As far as the levels of education are concerned, as many as 33.5 percent of tribal literates are either without any educational level or have attained education below primary level. The proportion of literates who have attained education up to primary and middle levels are 29.3 percent and 22.9 percent respectively. Persons educated up to matric/secondary/higher secondary, etc., have a share of only 12.4 percent in the total literate population among the tribal community. Graduates and higher qualified are 1.2 percent while non-technical and technical diploma holders are very negligible (0.8 %).

The proportion of the ST students in lower primary and upper primary during 2010-2011 is relatively higher than their population percentage, while in high schools the proportion is same as their population percentage.

Table No. 3: Enrolment of ST Students at Various School Levels as in 2010

No.	Level	Total	ST	% of the Total Students
1	LP	1665993	33781	2.02
2	UP	1452540	24449	1.68
3	HS	1427293	15882	1.11
	TOTAL	4545826	74112	1.63

Source: Directorate of Public Instruction.

It is observed that ST students constitute 1.63 percent of the total enrolment in the schools in the year 2010-2011 (Refer Table No. 3). The percentage of ST students in

government schools, private schools and private un-aided schools to the total students are 3.28 percent, 1.30 percent, and 0.36 percent, respectively in 2010-2011.

Dropout ratio among ST students is found to be higher than that of the other communities and castes including the Scheduled Castes; it is four times that of SCs and even more compared to the general category. This is another area of major concern. The dropout rate also varies among districts. Idukki has the least number of dropouts among the tribal-concentrated districts in Kerala. At high school level, Palakkad has a higher dropout rate than Idukki and Wayanad. The total dropout rate among the ST students is 3.54 percent. The section-wise breakup shows that in lower primary, upper primary, and high school, it is 2.28 percent, 3.29 percent and 6.59 percent, respectively (Refer Table No. 4). It is argued that the official statistics on dropouts is under-reported, and does not reflect the ground reality. The school managements and the teaching community generally maintain the names of tribal students in the school records even after they dropped out, for many reasons including rent seeking. The general dropout ratio in lower primary, upper primary and high schools are 0.42 percent, 0.40 percent and 1.20 percent respectively; and the dropout ratio among SCs in lower primary, upper primary, and high schools are 0.37 percent, 0.49 percent and 1.44 percent respectively.

Table No. 4: Dropouts among ST Students

No.	Level	ST Students	Dropouts	Percentage
1	LP	33781	773	2.28
2	UP	24449	806	3.29
3	HS	15882	1047	6.59
Total		74112	2626	3.54

Source: Directorate of Public Instruction, Govt. of Kerala.

It is noticed that 44.65 percent of the ST students choose private aided schools whereas the remaining students are studying in government schools. The intake of ST students in private unaided schools is relatively very low (Refer Table No. 5). This is another indication of the poor economic profile of the ST parents.

Table No. 5: Details of Students in Govt., Private Aided and Unaided Schools

Standard	Govt. Schools	Private Aided Schools	Private Unaided Schools
I	4392	3846	103
II	4478	3935	110
III	4571	3955	113
IV	4399	3792	87
V	4556	4089	162
VI	4285	3728	154
VII	3938	3385	152
VIII	3691	2421	140
IX	3022	2280	109
X	2439	1666	114
Total	39771	33097	1244

Source: Directorate of Public Instruction, Govt. of Kerala.

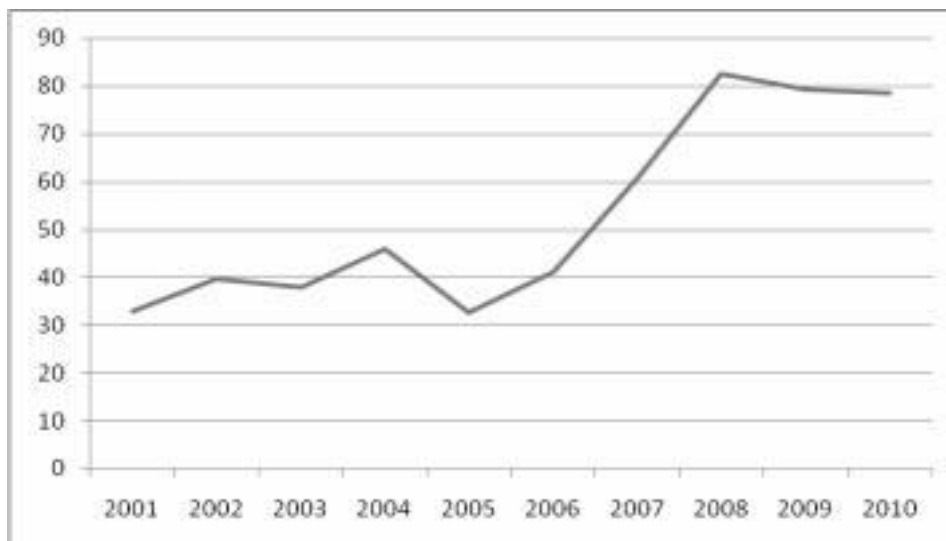
The performance of ST Students in SSLC examination is another indicator of educational development among the different social groups. In the regular SSLC examination of 2010, the percentage of passed ST students is 78.39 percent, which is below the overall state percentage of 90.76 (Refer Table No. 6). The table shows that though there is an improvement in their performance in SSLC examination, the students are far behind the others (Refer Diagram No. 1).

Table No. 6: Performance of ST Students in SSLC Examination (Percentage)

Year	Total Students	Scheduled Tribe Students
2001	56.22	32.85
2002	60.62	39.69
2003	64.85	37.72
2004	70.06	45.95
2005	58.61	32.55
2006	69.33	41.18
2007	82.23	60.67
2008	92.08	82.46
2009	91.89	79.21
2010	90.76	78.39

Source: Commissioner for Govt. Examinations, Govt. of Kerala.

Diagram No. 1: Performance of Students in SSLC Examination



Source: Table No. 6

Table No. 7: Performance of Students in Higher Secondary Examination (2009-10)

No.	Category	No of Students Appeared	No of Students Passed	Percentage
1	Total	323846	272342	84.09
2	SC	30182	15744	52.16
3	ST	3926	1740	44.32

Source: Directorate of Public Instruction, Govt. of Kerala.

The performance of students in Higher Secondary examination also reveals that the pass rate of ST students is lower than that of the other social groups including SCs (Refer Table No. 7).

The details of ST students in Arts and Science Colleges during 2010-11 are given in Table No. 8. It is seen that the participation of ST students in Arts and Science colleges is lower than their counterparts from other communities, and their participation in professional education is negligible.

Table No. 8: Details of ST Students in Arts and Science Colleges

Sl. No.	Name of Course	Number of Students			
		Scheduled Tribe		Total	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1	Ph.D	1	0	109	133
2	M.Phil.	0	0	7	54
3	MBA	3	1	57	61
4	MA Music	0	0	5	37
5	MA	62	95	1259	4790
6	M.Sc.	56	70	1267	5855
7	M.Com.	25	29	558	1514
8	MSW	1	0	29	85
9	MCJ	0	0	5	16
10	MTA	2	2	29	32
11	MMH	0	0	28	16
12	B.P.E.Certificate Course	1	0	42	10
13	B.P.Ed. One year Degree Course	9	10	14	20
14	BBA	36	32	1288	1517
15	BCA	12	6	438	700
16	B.Li.Sc.	0	0	0	16
17	BVMC	0	0	68	61
18	BA	550	917	21243	49645
19	BA Music	2	0	32	168
20	BA Dance	0	0	0	20
21	B.Sc.	244	379	18374	46845
22	B.Com.	206	216	10252	15236
23	OR &CA	0	0	3	6
24	FSMD	0	0	0	17
25	BT & SP	0	0	39	12
26	CM & Electronics	0	0	68	24
27	PGDAHS	0	0	10	1
28	MHRM	0	0	5	28
29	Music BA (Music Colleges)	0	0	204	314
30	Music MA (Music Colleges)	0	0	29	87
31	BFA (Music Colleges)	0	0	116	29
32	MFA (Music Colleges)	0	0	39	13
33	B.Ed. (Training Colleges)	5	35	346	3002
34	M.Ed. (Training Colleges)	0	0	38	157
35	PG Diploma in Home Science	0	0	0	15
36	PG Diploma in Therapeutic Counselling	0	0	2	4
37	Preliminary-Afsal-UI-Ulama in Arabic	0	0	251	578
38	BA-Afsal-UI-Ulama in Arabic	1	0	242	462
39	MA-Afsal-UI-Ulama in Arabic	0	0	39	106
		1216	1792	56535	131686

Source: Directorate of Collegiate Education, Govt. of Kerala.

Employment/Category of Workers:

In Kerala the participation of ST population in agriculture is much higher than the general population. The highest proportion of the tribal workers in the state is that of 'agricultural labourers' (47.1 percent) as against the national average of 36.4 percent. 'Other workers' form 38.6 percent and this proportion is also significantly higher than that recorded by the total STs at the national level (16.3 percent). Persons working as 'agricultural laborers' and 'other workers', together constitute 85.7 percent of the total working population. 'Cultivators' constitute 11.2 percent, which is considerably lower than the national average of 44.7 percent. Workers in House-Hold Industry (HHI) constitute 3.1 percent, which is comparable with that of all STs at the national level (2.1 percent). Among the major tribes, *Paniyan* constitute one-thirds of the total workers, engaged as 'agricultural labourers', followed by *Irular* and *Kurumans*, while among *Malai Arayan* and *Kanikaran*, 70 percent belong to the category of other workers. The district with a large concentration of STs (Wayanad) is the least urbanized and has shown practically no growth in urban economy. Kannan and Hari (2002) argue that the lower economic diversification among tribals, which has impact on the level of wages earned in agriculture, gets translated into poorer material conditions of life and in turn constrained access to basic social amenities, be it housing, electrification, good sanitation or drinking water.

Occupational Pattern:

According to the 2001 Census, 25.87 percent of the total population was under the category of 'main workers' (Refer table No. 9). The respective figure for SCs is 29.75 percent. In the case of STs, the corresponding figure is much higher at 30.17 percent. It gives an impression that a moderately higher proportion of STs both male and female are under the category of 'main workers'. It is observed that the percentage of females in the category of 'main workers' belonging to STs is almost 20 percent, whereas that of their counterparts among the total population is less than 11 percent. During one decade, the decline of 'main workers' among the total population was only 2.66 percent, whereas among the STs it was 10.11 percent, which is substantial. In other words, the decline of 'main workers', both male and female, from 1991 to 2001 was substantial among the STs and this is an indication of growing unemployment, underemployment and deprivation among the ST communities.

The STs excessively depend on agriculture for their livelihood. It is revealed that 54.79 percent of the ST population depends on agriculture whereas in the case of general population, the corresponding figure was only 19.52 percent. Majority of the general population (77.13%) depends on 'other services', while only 42.65 percent of the STs depend on the same sector. The ST population is far behind in the changing occupational structure of the Kerala economy.

Table No. 9. Distribution of Workers (in percentage)

Sl. No.	Category	Total		Scheduled Tribes	
		1991	2001	1991	2001
1	Main Workers	28.53	25.87	40.28	30.17
2	Main Workers - Male	44.82	41.77	51.11	40.66
3	Main Workers - Female	12.81	10.85	29.42	19.90
4	Percentage of Cultivators to Main Workers	12.24	7.12	16.66	13.67
5	Percentage of Agricultural Labourers to Main Workers	25.54	12.4	55.47	41.12
6	Percentage of Main Workers Engaged in Household Industry	2.58	3.35	0.47	2.57
7	Percentage of Main Workers Engaged in Other Services	15.17	77.13	5.28	42.65
8	Marginal Workers	2.90	6.43	5.76	16.18
9	Work Participation Rate	31.43	32.30	46.04	46.35

Source: Scheduled Tribe Atlas of India.

Again in Kerala, as per Rule 14(a) of the Kerala State Subordinate Service Rules 1958, two percent reservation in public service is provided to the STs, but this has not even been achieved. However, as regards STs, the government employees in gazetted posts, non-gazetted posts and last grades are more than their population percentage. The exact total representation of ST employees in government services at present is 1.78 percent (Refer Table No. 10).

Table No. 10. Details of Scheduled Tribe Employees in Government Service

Sl. No.	Category	2007 (83 Depts.)		2008 (81/83 Depts.)		2009 (75/83 Depts.)		2010(45/83 Depts.)	
		Total	ST	Total	ST	Total	ST	Total	ST
1	Gazatted	33272	322	33636	364	23996	329	10420	140
2	Non-Gazatted (Excluding Last Grade)	247026	3783	237351	3837	173062	3048	57302	1609
3	Last Grade	38722	721	39574	979	29471	663	12390	280
	Total	319020	4826	310561	5180	226529	4040	80112	2029

Source: General Administration (Employment Cell-A) Department, Govt. of Kerala.

Landholdings:

As per official data, the average size of landholding among the STs is 0.68 acres. Nair and Menon (2007) argue that though the average size of land ownership is higher among the STs, given the historical experiences of land encroachment, acquisition of forest land by government and tribal displacement, the STs remain vulnerable; and the proportion of households of more than one hectare are declining over time. The field situation gives an impression that landlessness is higher among the STs. Though various efforts have been made to protect and promote the land rights of the ST population through affirmative action, the outcome is far from satisfactory, considering their major dependence on land and agrarian economy. In Kerala as per the record, under the land reforms legislation, only 1.35 lakh acres of land was declared as surplus. Out of this, 47 percent was distributed among vulnerable sections as on March 1996; this has benefited nearly five percent of ST population. In this context, Ravi Raman (2003 and 2005) argues that the tribal population has not benefited from land reforms initiated by the Government of Kerala.

The average size of land made available to the STs was 71 cents. As per the national guidelines, 50 percent of the surplus land declared is to be distributed among the SCs and STs. However, Kerala did not meet this stipulation and lags behind with only 47 percent.

Work Participation Rate:

The Work Participation Rate (WPR) among the tribals is relatively high when compared to the general WPR rate of Kerala, which is 32.3 percent. However, the WPR of the ST population is 46.3 percent which is lower than that of all STs at the national level (49.1 percent). The WPR of males (57.5 percent) is higher than that of their female counterparts (35.4 percent). There has been an increase in male WPR from 55.1 to 57.5 percent whereas female WPR has decreased by 1.5 percentage points during 1991-2001. Among the total workers, 65.1 percent are main workers and this proportion is lower than that of all STs at the national level (68.9 percent). Among the major tribal groups, *Irular*, *Muthuvan*, *Paniyan*, and *Marati*, have higher WPR than the state average and the average of ST population.

Sex Ratio:

In a society, sex ratio can be considered as one of the indicators for analyzing the social status and the degree of discrimination. This is also applicable to tribal societies. The ST sex ratio is favourable like the overall sex ratio in Kerala. The sex ratio of tribes is 1,027, whereas for the general population it is 1,058 (Refer Table No. 11). The sex ratio has increased since the year 1971; however, the decadal increase in the sex ratio among

tribals is a debating issue. Further probing is essential to see if it is a reflection of migration of males. In the three districts of Kerala (Idukki, Ernakulam and Palakkad), it is observed that the sex ratio is not favourable to ST women (Refer Table No. 12). There is significant variation in sex ratio among the tribal communities. Among some of the backward tribal communities, the sex ratio is not in favour of women. This is the case with *Irular*, *Muthuvan* and *Kattunayakan* - the sex ratio of these tribal communities is 993, 975 and 981 respectively. The unfavourable sex ratio among these communities may be the manifestation of increased maternal mortality, high morbidity among women and poor access to health facilities.

Table No. 11: Sex Ratio of General Population & Scheduled Tribes in Kerala, 1971-2001

Census Year	General Population	Scheduled Tribe Population
1971	1016	995
1981	1032	992
1991	1036	996
2001	1058	1027

Source: Census of India 1971-2001.

Table No. 12: District-wise Sex Ratio of Scheduled Tribes

Name of District	Sex Ratio of Scheduled Tribes
Thiruvananthapuram	1113
Kollam	1121
Pathanamthitta	1057
Alappuzha	1001
Kottayam	1044
Idukki	998
Ernakulam	978
Thrissur	1105
Palakkad	984
Malappuram	1046
Kozhikode	1031
Wayanad	1019
Kannur	1039
Kasargode	1005

Source: Census of India 2001.

Marital Status:

Marital status shows that 'never married' (unmarried) persons with a proportion of 47.2 percent exceed 'married' persons (46.1 percent) as per the 2001 Census. 'Widowed' persons comprise 5.4 percent, while only one percent is 'divorced and separated'. Marriage of girls and boys under the legal age of 18 years and 21 years respectively is not common among the tribals of Kerala. The data show that both the married girls below 18 years as well as married boys below 21 years constitute only 1.4 percent each. These proportions are significantly lower than those at national level (2.1 percent and 2.8 percent respectively). The mean number of children born per married ST woman (age group 45-49 years) is three, which is less than that of all STs at national level (four).

Poverty Ratio:

In Kerala, poverty is more concentrated in certain segments of the population, mainly belonging to STs and other marginal communities. In respect of the rural ST population, Kerala has succeeded in reducing the level of poverty from 37 percent to 24 percent between 1993-94 and 1999-2000 (Refer Table No. 13). Increase in wages of rural labourers, a range of anti-poverty measures undertaken by the Central, State and Local Governments, and the growth of the general economy are the major factors for the decline in poverty among the tribal population. However, rural poverty among the STs remains more than two and a half times of that of the total rural population below poverty line in the state, which stands at 9.4 percent. The over-representation of STs in the population below poverty line in the state is a matter of serious concern which needs special targeted attention.

Table No. 13: Percentage of Population Below Poverty Line

Sl. No.	NSSO Rounds	India		Kerala	
		Total	ST	Total	ST
1	38 th Round (1983)	45.6	63.8	39.1	NA
2	50 th Round (1993-94)	37.1	52.2	25.5	37.3
3	55 th Round (1999-2000)	27.1	45.8	9.4	24.2

Source: Economic Review 2010, State Planning Board, Govt. of Kerala.

Human Development Index:

The Human Development Index (HDI) reflects the capabilities that people have in removing their unfreedom (lack of freedom) to enjoy a better standard of living. Economic poverty is not the only unfreedom that people have; lack of choices in social, political and cultural factors are also reflected in HDI. Malappuram District ranks at the bottom with the 14th position, while the ST-concentrated districts of Wayanad,

Idukki and Palakkad are also in the same range of backwardness, as Malappuram with the 13th, 12th and 10th ranks respectively. The same is the case with Gender Development Index (GDI). Among the districts in Kerala, again the ST-concentrated districts are ranked at the lowest positions of 12th, 11th and 10th respectively in the case of GDI.

Deprivation Index:

Deprivation index can be used as a tool to capture the shortfall in the quality of life. UNDP's deprivation index measures the shortfall based on four deprivation criteria including the quality of housing, access to water, good sanitation, and electrification. Based on these general criteria, the Centre for Development Studies (CDS), Thiruvananthapuram, has developed a deprivation index based on seven variables which also include not having banking facilities, and consumer durables. As per the deprivation index based on household items, ST-concentrated districts of Wayanad, Idukki and Palakkad have the highest deprivation among all the districts in Kerala. The relative asset deprivation is also co-related in the housing conditions and lack of facilities in the

Table No. 14: District-wise Deprivation Index of Scheduled Tribes

Name of District	Deprivation Index of ST		Deprivation Index of All	
	%	Rank	%	Rank
Thiruvananthapuram	60.1	10	39.5	11
Kollam	50.7	5	30.4	8
Pathanamthitta	54.6	7	31.1	9
Alappuzha	40.1	3	29.6	6
Kottayam	43.1	4	25.1	3
Idukki	65.3	13	42.7	13
Ernakulam	37.2	1	15.5	1
Thrissur	37.5	2	24.7	2
Palakkad	65.3	12	40.4	12
Malappuram	56.8	8	28.6	5
Kozhikode	50.9	6	28.3	4
Wayanad	66.0	14	46.3	14
Kannur	57.7	9	29.7	7
Kasargode	61.3	11	37.6	10
Kerala	57.9		29.5	

Source: Human Development Report, 2005, State Planning Board, Govt. of Kerala.

households among all the districts. There is a wide disparity in the 'unmet basic needs' across the districts. The CDS study also highlights that household amenities and facilities are relatively poor in ST-concentrated districts of Kerala. The incidence of deprivation is 29.5 percent in Kerala, whereas the deprivation index with regard to STs is 57.9 percent. Again, ST-concentrated districts of Wayanad (46.3), Idukki (42.7) and Palakkad (40.4) have the highest deprivation index of more than 40 percent. In Wayanad, the deprivation index of the ST group is 66 percent and in the districts of Idukki and Palakkad it is 65.3 percent (Refer Table No. 14).

Tribals under EDC and VSS:

The Kerala Forest Department (KFD) has constituted 389 *Vana Samrakshana Samithis* (VSS) as a preparatory and pre-conditional step for the implementation of the Participatory Forest Management (PFM). It is reported that about 13,431 tribal families have become members of different VSSs in the tribal areas. There are in total 11 wildlife divisions in the state, and there are altogether 196 Eco Development Committees (EDCs) in all the wildlife divisions. It is estimated that in the EDCs around 65 percent of the total families are from tribal communities. The VSSs and EDCs are the major social organizations of the tribal people in the forest habitations in the fringe areas of forests. The formation and working of VSS and EDC have opened a wide scope for the implementation of forest and eco-development programmes. This gives an impression that the tribals under these organizations which are operating in the forest environmental settings have imbibed the spirit of participatory forest management. The level of absorption of funds in different parts of the project areas varies with the depth of dependence on forests. It is noted that the activities undertaken by the tribals in these organizations are moving towards achieving the desired objectives to a certain extent. The scheme governance has transformed the tribal VSSs and EDCs as centres of local development and has helped in the improvement of their soft skills, associational life, and social capital. More importantly, it has provided additional employment opportunities and food security to several tribal families enabling them to come out of absolute poverty. However, certain aberrations during its governance need to be rectified in the subsequent years to enable positive benefits to the community and forest wealth, leading to a sustainable development model for the tribal community.

Tribal Women under *Kudumbasree*:

The tribal special project is an initiative of *Kudumbasree* in collaboration with the Tribal Department to address the special issue of the tribal population of the state, in a systematic manner. The project primarily targets the marginalized tribals under the aegis of the *Kudumbasree* network and provides them with facilities which were otherwise less accessible or denied, as part of its poverty eradication mission. The objectives of the

mission are planned to be achieved with the active convergence of various government and non-government agencies as well as departments. It was initiated as a pilot project in select 10 Panchayats of four districts, namely Idukki, Wayanad, Palakkad and Kasargode in the first phase. In the second phase the project was extended to 10 more Panchayats of the remaining districts, excluding Alappuzha owing to the small number of tribal inhabitation in the district. In the third phase, the project was extended to all Panchayats of the four districts in the first phase, with tribal inhabitation. The tribal special project facilitates the creation of ST Neighbourhood Groups (NHGs) as well as at ADSs, if necessary, in areas where there are more than two tribal NHGs. The project provides a corpus fund of Rs.2500 at all newly-formed ST NHGs. Micro finance and micro enterprise activities are given special focus among the tribals as part of the project activities. Measures have also been taken to ensure cent percent tribal participation in the MNREGS activities. Formation of special *Ashraya* projects, provision of supplementary food for the malnourished aged, infants and adolescent girls, formation of ST *Balasabhas*, etc., are some of the highlights of the project.

Problems in the Tribal Areas

a) Unwed Mothers in Wayanad:

A large number of tribal women face extreme forms of social exclusion and discrimination in the public sphere of life. It is reported that tribal women in Wayanad are victims of sexual exploitation and physical harassment. Their innocence and simplicity have been misused by the mainstream community. Most of them are victims of direct sexual exploitation or false promise of marriage from outsiders - mainly the settlers, owners of tea and coffee estates, fellow workers, and police personnel deployed to check the radical political movement. The tribal area was a punishment posting for most government employees including policemen. All these resulted in growing number of unwed mothers among the tribals. Most of them are victims of seduction or one night stands. Hence C.K. Janu, leader of the tribal coordination committee, says "The settlers have taken over our lands, turned our men folk into drunkards and desecrated tribal women. We have to declare self rule for our self protection to prevent more fatherless children from being born. An adivasi colony is not a brothel for outsiders to come and go". The epicenter of this phenomenon of unwed mothers is Thirunelli of Wayanad District. A rough estimation shows that there are more than 500 unwed tribal mothers in this area alone. The same phenomenon also prevails in other tribal areas of Attappady of Palakkad District where it is estimated that there are over 300 unwed mothers. Some of them are less than 20 years of age.

The Kerala Women's Commission, which has been tracking down unwed mothers over the years and fighting for their cause has made some headway. A committee on Kerala

Legislative Assembly also studied the problem and submitted a report to the government recommending various steps, but no proper action has been taken. K. Panur, a social critic who made rich contribution to tribal studies says “It is a shame for a high literacy state like Kerala that these unwed tribal women continue to live in a state of penury and neglect, years after their problems came into public attention. A disturbing fact is that their number continues to rise and they became more vulnerable to further exploitation”.

The case of unwed mothers is not an old story but continues, in terms of number, and extends to new areas. A report in *The Hindu* daily on 24 April 2011 says, “The Anti-Human Trafficking cell under the State Government has filed 21 First Information Reports (FIRs) on charges of rape against non-tribals on complaints from unwed tribal mothers at Attappady tribal area”. The major problems of tribal unwed mothers are poverty, unemployment, rejection, isolation, neglect, and lack of shelter, along with different health problems (including sex-related) such as malnourishment and psychological problems. In this context, it is worth mentioning that a project sanctioned and funded as the very first installment of the Local Area Development Fund of MP (MPLAD) to rehabilitate the unwed mothers in the area has not yet been completed. It is reported that there are also other schemes for rehabilitation of unwed mothers, but they have not been properly implemented in any of the tribal areas in the state.

b) Sickle-Cell Anaemia:

Sickle-cell anaemia is prevalent among the tribal people in Wayanad particularly the *Paniyans* and the *Kattunayakans*. Sickle cell anaemia is an autosomal recessive genetic blood disorder, with over dominance, characterized by red blood cells that assume an abnormal, rigid, sickle shape. Sickling decreases the cells’ flexibility and results in a risk of various complications. The sickling occurs because of a mutation in the hemoglobin gene. Sickle-cell anaemia is perceived as a debilitating disease for the individual sufferer, the family and the community. Life expectancy is shortened, with studies reporting an average life expectancy of 42 in males and 48 in females. The Swami Vivekananda Medical Mission at Wayanad, in collaboration with the Department of Genetics, All India Institute of Medical Sciences, New Delhi, claims to have screened 60,980 persons and found 1,838 persons to be affected with anaemia and 8,228 persons with the sickle-cell trait.

Another study by the Health Department as well as AIIMS, New Delhi, shows that nearly 15 percent of the tribal families in Wayanad and Palakkad districts have traits of the genetic problem “sickle-cell anaemia”, and it is known as a “tribal disease”. This is of a very serious concern. There are only a few agencies offering care for this disease. Kozhikode Medical College has recently set up a sickle-cell anaemia unit. Other

programmes for rehabilitating sickle-cell anaemia patients are also undertaken in Wayanad District. During 2009-10, Rs.40 lakhs were provided for extension of vocational-cum-production centers for rehabilitating sickle-cell anaemia patients belonging to the ST communities in Wayanad. When we consider the gravity of the problem, the programmes intended to rehabilitate sickle-cell anaemia patients are not adequate at all. More medical attention both in terms of prevention and cure of the disease is very much needed.

c) Low Monthly Per Capita Expenditure (MPCE) among Tribals:

Household consumption expenditure was worked out in a tribal-dominated Panchayat (Pulappally of Wayanad District) by K.N. Nair *et al.*, recently. This was used as a tool to measure the household welfare and the livelihood outcomes (Nair *et al.*, 2007), and also as a proxy variable for household income. Three major consumption items namely: (i) food, *pan*, tobacco, intoxicants, fuel and light; (ii) clothing, footwear and the like; and (iii) miscellaneous goods and services and consumer durables, were considered. The expenditure incurred by a house for a reference period of 30 days was taken as monthly household consumption expenditure. The Monthly Per Capita Expenditure (MPCE) for a household was calculated by dividing the total monthly household consumer expenditure by the household size. The result shows that the MPCE varies across social groups: while Rs.889 was the mean MPCE of the households in the study village, the highest MPCE was found among the Christians (Rs.1,407) and Ezhavas (Rs.1,340), and the lowest MPCE was found among the tribal communities in the village. And within the tribal communities there were wide variations; for e.g., Rs.287 was the MPCE of the *Paniyan* tribe whereas Rs.482 was the MPCE of the *Kattunayakans*. Without any hesitation, one can safely assert the major findings of the study and it can be generalized by saying that MPCE among the tribals in Kerala is very low.

d) Disparate Levels of Development among Tribal Communities:

The Standard of Living Index (SLI) was constructed among nine major tribal communities in Kerala by Rajasenan *et al.* Ten different indicators on living standards such as type of housing, availability of toilets, drinking water, possession of different types of durable assets, fuel used for cooking, energy used for lighting, etc., were used for the study (Rajasenan *et al.*, 2009). Each indicator was given a score on a range of one to three. The minimum value of one was considered as 'low', whereas the maximum value of three was 'high'. Two was considered as 'medium'. Therefore, one tribal community could score a maximum value of 30 and a minimum of 10. Finally these tribal communities were classified into three groups (high SLI, medium SLI and low SLI).

It was found that the *Malayaraya* tribal community secured the highest value, and hence, they can be classified as high SLI group. On the other hand, *Paniyan*, *Adiyan*,

Uruli, Kattunayakan, Muthuvan and *Irular* tribal communities secured the lowest values and hence, they have low SLI; and *Kuruman* and *Kurichchan* attained values between the highest and lowest and hence, their status can be classified as medium SLI group. The study gives an overall impression that the different tribal communities are at different levels of development; a division has emerged among the communities as backward tribal communities and forward tribal communities. This division is also evident from other social indicators such as the asset position, employment, representation in government and private sector jobs, level of indebtedness, livelihoods option, health care, food consumption, etc. There is an argument that each tribal community needs to be addressed differently since there are variations at different levels of the development ladder. There is some amount of discomfort in accepting the broad categorization of 'Scheduled Tribe' since it does not capture all the ground realities in the tribal settings of Kerala.

e) Impact of Global Financial Crisis and Agrarian Distress on Livelihood Strategies of Tribal Population:

Since the tribal economy has not been much commercialized and modernized, there is limited impact of global financial crisis on the livelihoods strategies of the tribals. However, there are some indirect impacts: It is argued that the financial crisis exposed and widened the growing inequalities among the social groups and marginalized communities due to the absence of inclusive growth wedded to pro-poor development strategy. There were a few cases of suicides reported among the tribals during the period of agrarian distress. Besides indebtedness, the other reasons reported for suicides include ill health, mental agony, conflicts within families, liquor addiction, divorce, and separation after marriages. However, it is observed that these deaths could have been avoided if the tribals had a well-developed package for survival strategies. It is also important to know that poverty is one of the common denominators of these deaths. Economic growth and dynamism in the market forces alone will not ensure the inclusive growth and governance. Therefore, a paradigm shift is very much needed for addressing the livelihood strategies of the tribal population.

f) Existing Alarming Situations in Tribal Community:

A quick analysis of the tribal situations by the State Planning Board, Government of Kerala, has identified 17 alarming issues in the tribal community. They are: (i) Extreme levels of poverty, deprivation and vulnerability; (ii) High levels of exclusion, both developmental and social; (iii) Extreme low levels of empowerment (political, social and economic); (iv) Rapid marginalization due to unfair, unequal and exploitative relations of production, and exchange between tribal communities and others; (v) Low level of access to entitlements; (vi) Practically zero participation in development matters

with no autonomy in any form of decision making; (vii) Abnormally huge siphoning of developmental resources and benefits meant for tribal people by middlemen; (viii) Poor human development with low levels of literacy and access to health care; (ix) Rapid alienation of assets like land; (x) Alarming depletion of social capital, especially traditional forms of organization and leadership; (xi) Quick deterioration of traditional knowledge systems and cultural attainments; (xii) Fast-increasing tendency to use tribal people as cat's-paws in criminal activities like illicit distillation, cultivation of narcotic plants, stealing of forest wealth, etc.; (xiii) High levels of exploitation of women by outsiders; (xiv) Weak delivery system of public services; (xv) Dependency-inducing developmental programmes relying on distribution of benefits, rather than building up of capabilities; (xvi) Implementation of ad hoc and stereo-typed developmental programmes in the absence of proper planning; (xvii) Very weak monitoring systems.

g) Untouchability among Tribal Communities:

Baviskar and Mathew (2009) argue that the tribal community does not suffer the stigma of untouchability; and it is also generally assumed that tribal communities are outside the caste system. However, some sort of hierarchical structure has been noticed among certain tribal communities in Kerala. For example, the *Kurichchans* and *Kurumans* - two landed tribes in Wayanad District - claim a different social status in the district. It is reported that they used to practice some kind of 'untouchability' with other tribal communities. The *Adiyans* and *Paniyans* occupy a lower position in the hierarchical structure. Furthermore, Rajasenan *et al.* also noticed a patron-client relationship within the tribal communities; the patron position is with the *Kurichchan* and *Kuruman* whereas client status is with *Adiyans* and *Paniyans*.

Part 2: Development Programmes and Institutions for Scheduled Tribes

Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP): Two-Pronged Strategy and Plan Outlay:

It is noticed that a two-pronged strategy is followed for development of the Scheduled Tribes in the state. Infrastructure facilities like roads, electricity and water supply are provided in habitats having more than 50 percent ST families: For implementing minor irrigation works, more than 50 percent of the area should be owned by Scheduled Tribes, whereas, for projects benefiting individuals and families, 100 percent of the beneficiaries should belong to the STs. In proportion to the ratio of population of Scheduled Tribes to the total population of the state, the Kerala Government earmarks funds for TSP from the State Plan outlay. Out of the total TSP Plan outlay a certain percentage of funds are allocated to Local Self Government Institutions for implementation of schemes under decentralized planning. Also a portion of funds was considered as national flow to other departments till 2008-09. This is for implementing schemes exclusively for the ST population in the respective sectors. The concept of

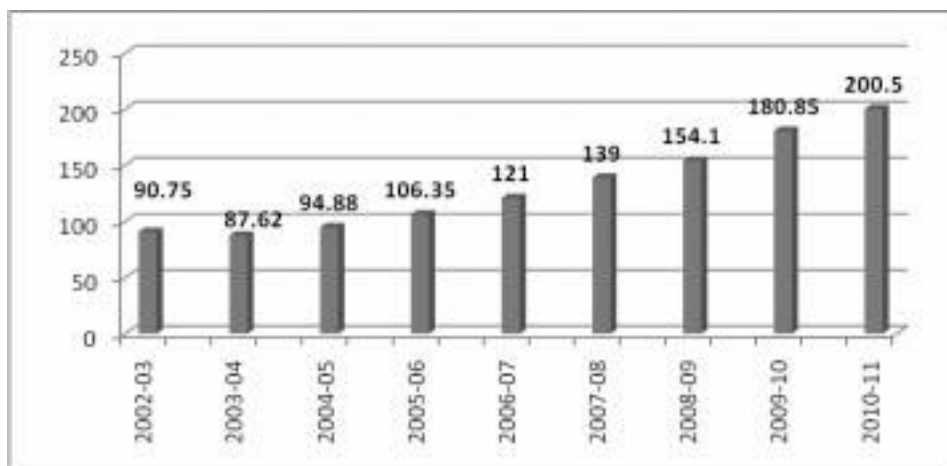
national flow was dispensed with from the Annual Plan 2009-10, as this experiment was not found successful. Instead, a system of earmarking certain amount of TSP as pooled fund under TSP for taking up various schemes adopting a project approach was introduced. The project approach aimed to implement a wide range of schemes with varied objectives and physical targets which put together would help the all-round development of the targeted groups. During 2010-11 a total plan provision of Rs.200.50 crores was set apart for the development of the Scheduled Tribes. The year-wise details from 2002-03 onwards are given in Table No. 15 and Diagram No. 2.

Table No. 15: Year-wise Outlay of TSP

Year	TSP (Rs. in crores)
2002-03	90.75
2003-04	87.62
2004-05	94.88
2005-06	106.35
2006-07	121.00
2007-08	139.00
2008-09	154.10
2009-10	180.85
2010-11	200.50

Source: Economic Review 2010, State Planning Board, Govt. of Kerala.

Diagram No. 2: Year-wise Outlay of TSP



Source: Economic Review 2010, State Planning Board, Govt. of Kerala.

Programmes of Scheduled Tribe Development Department

The ST Development Department received an amount of Rs.100.34 crores earmarked during 2009-10 for the development programmes, and the expenditure is estimated at Rs.94.41 crores. During 2010-11, Rs.200.50 crores (2 percent of the total state plan outlay) was earmarked for the development of the Scheduled Tribes under the State Plan provision. Out of this, Rs.112.03 crores was earmarked as state share for the development programmes of the ST Development Department including Rs.10.13 crores for rural development schemes. An amount of Rs.88.47 crores was provided as a grant-in-aid to local bodies. For the implementation of centrally sponsored schemes, Rs.41.21 crores was set apart and another Rs.5 crores was earmarked as Special Central Assistance (SCA) to TSP with state budget.

a) Educational Programmes:

Educational programmes have been given more thrust under the tribal development programmes. It is felt that educational backwardness must be removed for changing the existing socio-economic conditions of the Scheduled Tribes. It is noticed that 50 percent of the total budget provision (both plan and non-plan) is set apart for the education sector. The department is distributing educational concessions, scholarships and other kinds of assistance to the tribals from pre-primary to post-graduate level. They are given a lump sum grant for the purchase of books, stationery, dress materials, and monthly stipend at varying rates. There are nearly 78,000 pre-matric and 12,500 post-matric tribal students in the state. The details of the amount spent during the period 2002-03 to 2010-11 as educational concessions are given in Table No.16

Table No. 16: Details of Educational Concessions Distributed by ST Department

Year	No. of Students [pre-matric & post matric]	Plan [post matric] (Rs. in lakhs)	Non-Plan [pre-matric & post-matric] (Rs. in lakhs)
2002-03	62766	100.00	331.00
2003-04	69809	96.31	492.28
2004-05	78382	199.77	545.13
2005-06	82935	399.97	781.45
2006-07	82935	257.22	704.38
2007-08	84849	526.80	845.95
2008-09	83044	585.36	1157.05
2009-10	92276	172.2	1136.38
2010-11	88384	302.07	604.52

Source: Directorate of ST Development, Govt. of Kerala.

It is revealed that nearly 10 percent of the tribal habitats are very remote and lack even primary school facility within a radius of 2 km. In fact the position has improved to some extent during the last two Five-Year Plan periods. A major portion of the non-plan outlay of the ST Development Department has been allocated for educational development activities including scholarship, boarding and lodging charges, incentive to parents, etc. The plan provision for the ST Development Department for educational programmes during 2009-10 was Rs.3,957.98 lakhs of which 80.72 percent was utilized. With a view to provide residential education to tribal students from remote areas, the ST Development Department is running 108 pre-matric hostels and three post-matric hostels in the state. There are 29 single teacher schools for providing pre-primary education to tribal students living in very remote and inaccessible areas. Under local self government department and the ST Development Department, 35 kindergartens/*balawadies* are functioning for providing pre-primary education to the tribal students. These institutions are providing nutritional requirements for the children to a certain extent. Out of the total seats in educational institutions, two percent of the seats are reserved for the ST students. Furthermore, 18 model residential schools (15 *ashram* schools, two '*ekalavya*' model residential schools and one special model residential CBSE school) are functioning, in order to provide quality education to the ST students,. Under another scheme (Ayyankali memorial scheme), selected students from Standards IV and VIII are provided with continuous special tuition and counselling. There is also another programme for imparting primary education to primitive tribe children living in remote tribal settlements and 24 centres are functioning under the scheme. Moreover, the department pays the tuition fee for ST students who get admission into professional courses in self financing colleges under government quota. The ST Development Department also runs 20 technical training centres. The plan outlay and expenditure during 2002-03 to 2010-11 in the educational sector are furnished in Table No. 17

However, the ground reality manifests a different picture. School facilities in primitive tribal areas are still very poor. It is noticed that more than 70 percent of such areas are lacking LP school facilities within a radius of 1 km. Tharakan (2000) argues that Kerala's higher achievement in literacy and education is mainly because of the easily accessible settlement pattern that has existed for long. This opportunity has been denied to the Scheduled Tribe communities due to their inaccessible locations. Therefore, access to educational intuitions is still a major factor in determining the educational backwardness of the tribal communities, despite a relative progress in educational packages to the ST students.

In the case of higher education, inaccessibility is more severe. The inaccessibility to educational institutions has made different impacts on different tribal communities.

Forward tribal communities such as the *Malayaraya*, *Kurichchan* and *Kuruman* have greater access to schools than the other backward tribes. There are a number of other factors which also have negative impact on the tribal students. The schools in tribal areas have only limited basic necessities; there is shortage of teachers, laboratories and other teaching aids. Absenteeism is very high in the tribal schools and the schools which are located in remote areas. Tribal insensitivity of the teachers is another major impediment in tribal education. There are problems also in tribal hostels, which are overpopulated; and the existing food menu is insufficient and nutrition-deficient in many cases.

. Table No. 17: Outlay and Expenditure of Education Sector (Rs. in Lakhs)

Year	Outlay	Expenditure
2002-03	1106.60	931.97
2003-04	953.60	725.83
2004-05	1223.50	1068.23
2005-06	1242.14	1062.10
2006-07	1918.98	1735.33
2007-08	1878.85	1753.17
2008-09	2965.70	2757.25
2009-10	3957.98	3194.90
2010-11	7302.00	1237.58

Source: Directorate of ST Development, Govt. of Kerala.

b) Housing:

Top priority has been given for providing houses to all houseless STs in the state during the 11th Five-Year Plan, and it proposes to construct houses for all houseless families in a time-bound manner. The present requirement of new houses is estimated at around 25,000; and there are a number of agencies involved in the tribal housing area in the state including local bodies. During 2009-10, Rs.500 lakhs was provided under general housing for the construction of 400 new houses. However, the number of houses completed, including spillover during 2009-10 was 224. Similarly, during 2010-11 Rs.10 crores was sanctioned for undertaking construction of new houses and for the completion of the spillover houses.

The outlay and expenditure of the housing schemes under the plans implemented by the department during 2002-03 to 2009-10 is given in Table No. 18. It is observed that

the quality of housing varies among different tribal communities. The quality of housing among *Kattunayakan* and *Urali* is poor, compared to other tribal communities, and they live in very small houses - in many cases it is less than 200 sq feet. Most of their houses can be classified as *kucha* houses, which are made out of *kucha* material. Not even a single *pucca* house is visible among the community. The quality of houses of the *Muthuvan* community is also very low. The plinth area of the *Muthuvan* houses is between 200-500 sq feet. The *Malayaraya* community has better housing facilities and majority of their houses can be classified as *pucca* or semi-*pucca*. Moderate housing facilities are visible among the *Kuruman*, *Kurichchan*, *Paniyan* and *Adiyan* communities. Most of the *pucca* and semi-*pucca* houses are built with the assistance from the government and other agencies.

Table No. 18: Details of Housing Programmes undertaken by the ST Development Department

Year	Plan (Rs. in lakhs)	
	Outlay	Expenditure
2002-03	311.68	308.01
2003-04	211.68	188.11
2004-05	-	-
2005-06	100.00	99.16
2006-07	1227.19	1194.36
2007-08	300.00	296.98
2008-09	400	390.04
2009-10	500	498.54
2010-11	1000	380.45

Source: Directorate of Scheduled Tribe Development, Govt. of Kerala.

c) Health:

It is reported that various measures are taken up for providing timely medical attention to the STs. The Health Services Department runs 63 PHCs in the tribal areas. Besides, the ST Development Department has four midwifery centres, 17 Ayurveda dispensaries, three Allopathy dispensaries/OP clinics, one Ayurveda hospital, two mobile medical units, and one Allopathy hospital. During 2007, two hospitals under the ST Development Department were transferred to the Directorate of Health Services (DHS) for better coordination. Apart from the PHCs and ayurveda dispensaries, Homoeo dispensaries are also functioning in tribal areas under the TSP of the respective department. However, all these health institutions are ill-equipped with facilities and a

number of medical and paramedical posts have been vacant in these institutions for a long period.

The Health Department conducts medical camps in the tribal areas. Serious diseases detected are referred to district hospitals and financial assistance is provided for treatment. As stated by the department during 2010-11, an amount of Rs.274.16 lakhs was provided by the ST Development Department for health programmes under the Plan and Non-Plan. During 2007-08 a new scheme called the “Complete Health Care Programme for the Tribals” was implemented by the department and so far, 27,657 people have benefited from it. There are a few remote settlements in different districts where such health care facilities are still lacking. The outlay and expenditure for Plan and Non-Plan health programme for the period 2002-03 to 2010-11, given in Table No. 19, are indicators of the health facilities in the tribal areas. It is observed that under the ‘Plan’ head the total expenditure is 86 percent and in the case of ‘Non-Plan’ it is 77 percent (Refer Table No. 19).

Table No. 19: Details of Health Programmes (in lakhs)

Year	Plan		Non-Plan	
	Outlay	Expenditure	Outlay	Expenditure
2002-03	120.00	120.00	76.11	56.95
2003-04	229.56	119.42	68.81	66.02
2004-05	137.50	183.09	85.46	75.42
2005-06	120.00	106.90	91.33	85.50
2006-07	280.00	129.86	130.73	100.98
2007-08	1217.00	1201.62	148.76	115.98
2008-09	170.00	116.11	137.58	114.96
2009-10	80.00	79.99	149.83	130.36
2010-2011	100.00	57.29	174.16	77.21
Total	2454.06	2114.28	1062.77	823.38

Source: Directorate of ST Development, Govt. of Kerala.

A general observation is that the overall achievement in the health sector for the general population has not reached the tribal community. Asthma and other respiratory diseases dominate the tribal diseases pattern. Poverty-induced diseases are also more prevalent in the tribal areas. For example, sickle-cell anaemia, a life-long hereditary disease due to blood disorder, is noticed among the tribal communities of Wayanad and Attappady

regions of Palakkad District. According to the study report by Feroze and Aravindan, among the tribal communities, 25.8 percent in Wayanad and 21.8 percent in Attappady are affected by this disease. In addition, the morbidity prevalence rate for the tribal communities is also very high; it is 433 per thousand people. The health status and the morbidity rate are also seen to be varying among different tribal communities.

d) Resettlement of Landless Tribes:

A Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission (TRDM) was formed to undertake rehabilitation activities based on a master plan. Under this, schemes for land to the landless and houses to the houseless are being implemented in the state. About 22,052 landless tribal families and 32,131 families having less than one acre of land have been identified, and about 83,45,341 acres of land was distributed to 6,175 tribal families (For more details see Table No. 20).

Table No. 20: District-wise Details of Land Distribution

Sl. No.	District	Families (No.)	Extent (acres)
1	Thiruvananthapuram	Nil	Nil
2	Kollam	128	114.68
3	Pathanamthitta	28	12.19
4	Kottayam	19	19
5	Alappuzha	35	7.67
6	Idukki	949	1460
7	Ernakulam	296	418.9
8	Thrissur	20	5.68
9	Kozhikode	420	600
10	Palakkad	10	4.44
11	Malappuram	61	46.38
12	Kannur	3102	3006.37
13	Wayanad	997	2526.601
14	Kasargode	110	1233.43
	Total	6175	8345.341

Source: TRDM, Govt. of Kerala.

The *aralam* farm with an extent of 7,612 acres was purchased by the State Government at a cost of Rs.42.09 crores. Half the area of the farm was retained as farm itself and the remaining portion (about 3,779 acres) was distributed to 2,557 families during the years 2006 and 2007. In addition to this, the Government of India has been approached for diversion of 12,196 hectares of forest land for assignment to the landless families. The resettlement activities involves the following items, viz. (i) preliminary work such as identification of land, survey and demarcation of the plots, completion of procedures for selection of beneficiaries in a transparent manner prior to the resettlement; (ii) the actual resettlement by providing land and facilities such as housing, drinking water, sanitation, health care, education, etc; (iii) the development of the plots into self-sufficient agricultural farms, through crop husbandry, animal husbandry, soil conservation activities, irrigation facilities, etc; and (iv) providing other essential infrastructure development. Major projects such as *Sugandhagiri* cardamom project, *Priyadarshini* tea estate, *Pookot* dairy project, *Attappady* Co-operative Farming Society (ACFS), *Vattachera* tribal collective farm, etc., were started to improve the socio-economic conditions of the STs and to free them from exploitation. These five projects could rehabilitate 1,089 ST families in 3,295 hectares of land. The rehabilitated families have been given housing and other amenities and employment in the farms of the project. According to a policy decision of the State Government to issue land to landless tribal families, land belonging to *Sugandhigiri* cardamom project, *Pookot* dairy project and *Vattachira* tribal collective farm were distributed to the tribal families within the project area. Under MGNREGS, attempts are being made for effective farm management of the tribal communities by improving the quality of land, water and bio-mass under the sector 'land development work for SC/ST/IAY/ BPL and beneficiaries of land reforms'. Two group farms are functioning, viz. ACFS and *Priyadarshini* tea estates, and the grants-in-aid for these two farms were given out of the budget provision under 'Support to Group Farms'.

e) Corpus Fund:

Under the corpus fund Rs.1,135.11 lakhs was allocated and Rs.1,129.57 lakhs was expended during 2009-10 for undertaking various development activities. The components of the corpus fund include provision for self employment, skill development, water supply and sanitation, communication facilities, foot bridges, technology transfer, improvement of education and health, etc. The outlay and expenditure under corpus fund from 2002-03 to 2010-11 are given in Table No. 21.

Table No. 21: Outlay and Expenditure under Corpus Fund since 2002-03

Yar	Outlay	Expenditure
2002-03	813.26	1019.36
2003-04	1485.02	1001.96
2004-05	1277.76	1187.50
2005-06	635.45	631.84
2006-07	671.38	649.09
2007-08	664.87	648.39
2008-09	813.15	806.05
2009-10	1135.11	1129.57
2010-11	412.25	193.50

Source: Directorate of ST Development, Govt. of Kerala.

f) Other Schemes:

There are also other schemes namely: (i) for covering marriage expenses of daughters; (ii) care homes for tribal destitute; (iii) special programmes for primitive tribal groups, *Adiya & Paniyam*; and (iv) counselling services in pre-matric hostels and model residential/*ashram* schools.

Implementation of the Scheduled Tribes and other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006

The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006, enacted by the Government of India is under implementation in the state, and various committees envisaged under the act have been constituted. There are in total 504 elected Forest Rights Committees in the state and these committees have received applications from the tribal families for recognition of their rights. It is reported that the applications are being scrutinized; and around 33,000 tribal families are anticipated to benefit from the implementation of the act. The Government of India has already released a sum of Rs.27.61 lakhs under Art. 275(1) of the Constitution, as one-time grant to cover the expenditure related to the implementation of the act. However, the ground reality reveals that the tribal communities are highly dissatisfied with the slow process of implementation. The general feeling of the tribal community is that though the act is expected to address historical injustice, the poor implementation of the same may reinforce the same.

Pooled Fund for Special Projects Proposed by Other Departments under TSP

Under the scheme 'Pooled Fund for Special Projects Proposed by Other Departments', an amount of Rs.563 lakhs was provided during 2010-11. However, only 26.76 percent was utilized.

SCA to TSP:

The Special Central Assistance to Tribal Sub-Plan released by the Government of India as an additive to State Plan funds is meant for undertaking employment-cum-income generation activities and the infrastructure incidental to activities based on family and self-help groups. The expenditure details of SCA to TSP from 2002-03 onwards are given in Table No. 22.

Table No. 22: Statement Showing the Outlay and Expenditure under SCA to TSP during 2002-03 to 2010-11 (Rs. in lakhs)

Year	Outlay	Expenditure	Physical Achievement (Families)
2002-03	275.00	348.45	5499
2003-04	350.00	355.36	6098
2004-05	350.00	379.30	4667
2005-06	246.00	244.45	2764
2006-07	350.00	241.20	1444
2007-08	350.00	330.90	3143
2008-09	350.00	349.38	1741
2009-10	450.00	189.56	856
2010-11	500.00	364.00	952

Source: Scheduled Tribe Development Department, Govt. of Kerala.

Scheduled Tribe Promoters:

The Government of Kerala appointed a cadre of educated youth described as social activists, and currently known as tribal promoters, for effective implementation of tribal development schemes. The terms of their service are brought under the Gram Panchayat. They were paid an honorarium of Rs.1,000, which was later enhanced to Rs.2,000, and recently to Rs.3,000 per month. Educated tribal youth (both boys and girls) with a minimum qualification of matriculation are selected from different tribal settlement colonies and tribal neighbourhoods - the Gram Panchayat selects them on the recommendations of the concerned tribal development office. The basic idea for

appointing this group of tribal youth was that they can play an important role under the decentralization process, because they are the people who have the opportunity to know the ground realities of the tribal communities, and hence would help the community as well as the Gram Panchayat to constantly interact with the officials, elected representatives and tribal communities. They are expected to work as an official link between government agencies and tribal communities. They are positioned at the Integrated Tribal Development Programme (ITDP) office.

The terms of service for the ST promoters are: (1) to assist the ITDP in identifying the issues and problems in the tribal settings allotted to them as their respective service area; and (2) to help the tribal community in getting the benefits from different government departments. In addition to this, the guideline for the preparation and implementation of TSP by Panchayats says “Using the tribal promoters it should be ensured that every child attends *anganwadis* or goes to school. Dropout rates should be brought down to zero. Where hostel accommodation is required, it has to be provided. These promoters should watch the academic performance of tribal students and give feedback for remedial coaching”. ST promoters are given training at different levels and on different subjects to develop their capabilities. As a result, they could involve to a certain extent, in various local initiatives such as formation of *Kudumbasree* units, women SHGs, neighbourhood committees, and conducting of Gram Sabha, *Oorukoottams*, and awareness classes and preparation of projects. It is observed that in two areas the ST promoters have done commendable work. The first is the service of the ST promoters in awareness creation, organising of the Gram Sabha, formation of FRCs, filling the claim forms, mobilizing the necessary documents like ST certificates, meetings of FRCs, and documenting the minutes of the FRCs. This has resulted in asserting the rights of the tribal communities in the implementation of FRCs in certain areas, and in the assistance of the ST promoters in the recent BPL survey, which was a paid job for conducting house visits of ST families by the teachers in order to ensure that all ST families who are living in forest and inaccessible areas and are in absolute poverty are not left out.

When the tribal promoters were initially appointed the general expectation was very high, as one observes “All these would educate and prepare the new generation of tribal leadership in effectively dealing with the agencies of local power and intervening in the larger civil society”. However, it is noticed and widely understood that the above expectations did not materialize. The ST promoters were not politically empowered enough to understand the complex power relations at the grass-root level and the larger political economy questions of the tribal situations in Kerala. As a result, some of them lacked motivation and political education. Certain sections of them have already become

bureaucratized in their approach and another section is co-opted in the power structure either by the Gram Panchayat or by the Tribal Department. It is also argued that the services of the ST promoters are not accessible to the tribal community and the *Oorukoottams*. Hence, it is suggested that ST promoters must be appointed by the *Oorukoottams* and the agenda for building up their empowerment and capacity need to be addressed.

Performance of TSP in Centrally Sponsored Programmes

a) *Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY)*:

The SGSY was launched with effect from 1.4.1999 to provide assistance to poor families (*swarozgaris*) by ensuring an appreciable sustained level of income. A large number of micro enterprises have been established in rural Kerala under this programme. The SGSY is conceived as a holistic programme of micro enterprises covering all aspects of self employment, viz., formation of Self-Help Groups (SHGs), capacity building, planning activity, clusters and infrastructure build up, technology, credit and marketing. This programme lays emphasis on skill development through training courses. The total number of members covered in SHGs in Kerala is 70,841 and out of that only 3,254 (4.59 %) are ST members. In the case of individual *swarozgaris*, only 7.15 percent are STs (Refer Table No. 23). Among groups of *swarozgaris* as well as individual *swarozgaris*, a total of 4,461 tribal persons were benefited under the SGSY. Though the participation of tribal communities in the scheme is observed to be higher than their population share, by considering the socio-economic status of the tribal community, the participation rate in the scheme is negligible.

Table No. 23: Physical Achievement of SGSY

Year	Self Help Group (No. of Members Covered)		No. of Individual <i>Swarozgaris</i>	
	Total	ST	Total	ST
2008-09	28448	984	7474	474
2009-10	31894	1738	7356	618
2010-11	10499	532	2049	115
TOTAL	70841	3254	16879	1207

Source: Commissionerate of Rural Development, Govt. of Kerala.

b) *Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY)*:

The objective of *Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY)* is to provide financial assistance to the rural

poor living Below Poverty Line (BPL) for construction of house. The BPL rural households of SCs, STs, non-SCs, non-STs, and freed bonded labourers are eligible to get assistance under this programme. The beneficiaries of the scheme are selected by the Gram Sabhas. The beneficiaries should have at least two cents of land for house construction, and they should not have dwelling units fit for occupation. The assistance is sanctioned to the female members of the family or in the joint name of husband and wife. The house constructed under the scheme should have not less than 20 sq m of plinth area, though no plan or design is prescribed for the houses. The total number of houses constructed is 92,920 and out of those only 5,520 houses (5.94%) were constructed for ST families (Refer Table No. 24). In the case of upgradation of houses, only 962 ST houses (2.80%) were upgraded. When we consider the number of ST people living below poverty line and the magnitude of absence of dwelling units fit for occupation among the tribal communities, the houses constructed for them is quite inadequate.

Table No. 24: Physical Achievement of IAY

Year	New Houses (No.)		Upgradation (No.)	
	Total	ST	Total	ST
2008-09	36845	1963	15013	485
2009-10	38758	2408	12614	358
2010-11	17317	1149	6654	119
Total	92920	5520	34281	962

Source: Commissionerate of Rural Development, Govt. of Kerala.

c) Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS): The primary objective of the National Employment Guarantee Act is to enhance livelihood security in rural areas by providing at least 100 days of guaranteed wage employment in a financial year to every household whose adult members volunteer to do unskilled manual work. Its auxiliary objective is to strengthen natural resources management through works that address causes of chronic poverty like drought, deforestation and soil erosion and thus encourage sustainable development. The types of works implemented under the scheme include water conservation and water harvesting, drought proofing (including afforestation and tree plantation), irrigation canals, including micro and minor irrigation works, provision of irrigation facility to lands owned by households belonging to the SC/ST, or to land of beneficiaries of land reforms or that of the beneficiaries of IAY, renovation of traditional water bodies - including desilting of tanks, land development, flood control and protection works - including drainage in

water logged areas, rural connectivity to provide all weather access. Any other work, which may be notified by the Central Government in consultation with the State Government, is also considered. As per the official statistics, a total of 29,37,242 families registered under MGNREGS in the state so far. Out of these, as many as 29,10,045 families (99.07%) have been issued job cards, out of which 93,098 (3.20%) are ST families. Only 11,62,033 households have been provided employment, which works out to 39.93 percent of the total job cards issued to households. A total of 4,63,22,335 person days have been generated in the state, out of which STs worked for 14,45,560 days (3.12%). The participation of the ST community in MGNREGS is three times their population share. The scheme interventions resulted in improving the educational prospects of members from tribal households; and instances of migration of labourers to other districts and nearby states have also come down. Several *Kudumbasree* units started granting loans to members of tribal communities, as they are more likely to repay the debt. Untouchability among different tribal communities like *Kurichchan* and *Paniyan* has been on the wane, owing to the interactions between the members during the scheme execution.

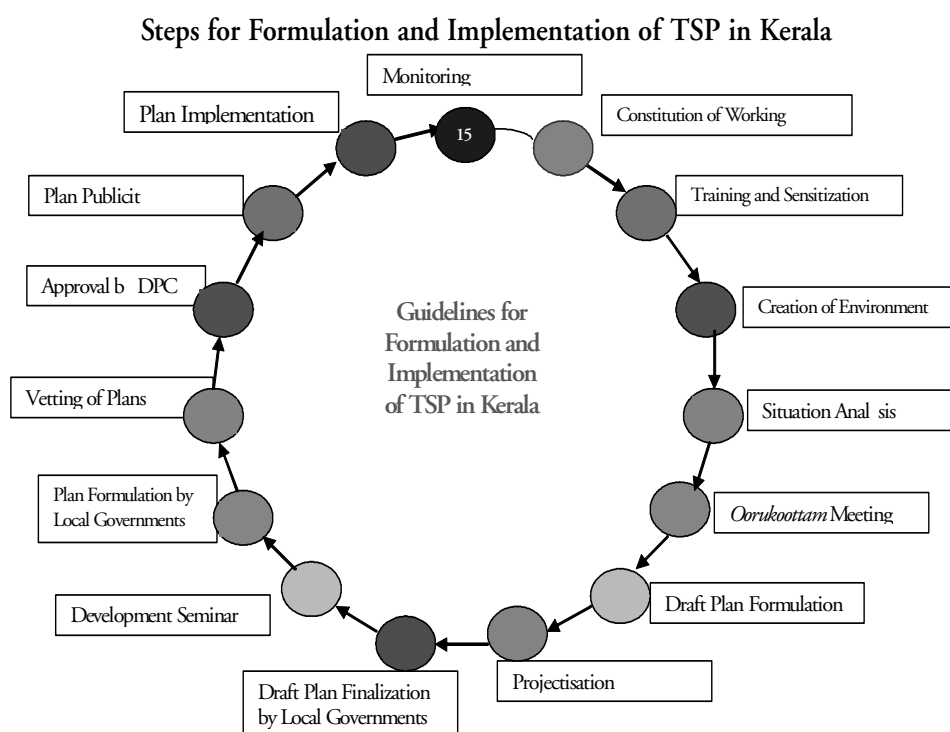
A close study of the socio-economic profile of the tribal beneficiaries and MGNREGS governance in the tribal-concentrated districts indicates that there is a wide scope for such a scheme in the tribal settings. It is noted that the scheme resulted in creating reasonable employment opportunities for the tribal communities. More significantly, there are variations in the receipt of the scheme benefits among the different categories of tribals in the state, primarily owing to the lack of focused efforts in making them aware about the scheme. It is observed that the awareness levels of the *Kurichchan* and *Kuruman* communities are reasonably high. However, among the members of *Paniyan*, *Adiyan*, *Kattunayakan*, *Koragan* and *Karimpalan* communities, awareness about the scheme was found to be very low. This was coupled with lack of adequate tribal sensitivity in operationalising the scheme and unfriendly attitude of the scheme managers. However, it is noticed that wherever the work supervisor was from a tribal community, there was a tendency to take due interest in providing employment opportunities to the community members. A large section of tribals being illiterates or neo-literates, the scheme could not make the desired impact among them, which is 'understandable' to the scheme managers. But the point is that appropriate efforts to draw them closer to the scheme were not made, due to several reasons. It may be concluded that only an in-depth analysis can reveal all the reasons for the exclusion of certain tribal communities from the scheme and its unevenness among the Panchayats.

Part 3: Participatory Planning and Tribal Sub-Plan

The TSP is the major programme that seeks to address the problems of the STs. The

TSP was introduced way back in 1975 with the objective of formulating a decentralized plan appropriate to the demands of the STs. Constitutional Amendments have broadened opportunities for the hitherto excluded community of STs. Kerala utilized situations at the time of the Ninth Five-Year Plan by transferring the responsibilities of formulation and implementation of TSP to the Panchayats.

In Kerala, the Panchayats are involved in the planning and implementation of the TSP. An elaborate process and institutional framework for addressing the issues of the tribals was grafted in a decentralized planning process. The Government of Kerala has developed a detailed guideline for preparation and implementation of the TSP. It has the following 15 steps:



Step 1: Constitution of the Working Groups:

Constitution of the working groups is the first step. There is one working group under the leadership of the elected head of the Panchayat. The convener of the working group is the senior most officer of the Tribal Department functioning within the jurisdiction of the concerned local government. The members of the working groups are: (1) All the tribal members of the concerned local government; (2) The head of the standing committee in charge of tribal development; (3) The senior most officer of the line department; (4) All tribal members of the CDS executive committee; (5) All tribal

NGOs; (6) all NGOs working within the local government area in the field of tribal development; and (7) Tribal promoters from within the local government area.

The proposed major duties of the working group are: (i) Update the database on the tribal hamlet; (ii) Take stock of what happened during the last plan period; (iii) Identify the level of poverty and extreme forms of deprivation; and (iv) Identify gaps in infrastructure which are of direct relevance to the tribal community. The working group is expected to interact closely with the tribal promoters, *Ooru Mooppans*, who are representatives of *Oorukoottams*.

Step 2: Training and Sensitization:

All the members of the working group are expected to attend a detailed training programme. In consultation with the experts in tribal issues, the training content and other details would be framed.

Step 3: Creation of Environment:

Under this step, copies of the guidelines written in simple language (local dialect), would be distributed among the tribal population. Tribal promoters are expected to visit and conduct preliminary *Oorukoottam* meetings, meetings of tribal Neighbourhood Groups (NHGs) and *Kudumbasree* units of the tribal population.

Step 4: Situations Analysis:

In this step, *Oorukoottam*-wise information and data would be consolidated and presented for internal discussions in *Oorukoottams* and other forums of the tribal communities.

Step 5: *Oorukoottam* Meeting:

The *Oorukoottam* meetings would be held on a fixed day, the notice for which must be distributed two weeks in advance. The quorum for the meeting is fixed as 50 percent, and at least half of them should be women. A semi-structured schedule is suggested for the effective functioning of the meeting. There would be plenary sessions and a notice explaining the purpose of the meeting; the planning process would be read out and the participants would be formed into groups to facilitate intense group discussion. The tribal promoters are expected to work as facilitators for conducting the group discussions, which would be followed by a plenary session. Suggestions would be prioritized, recorded and read out. At least two copies would be given to the hamlet. Each *Oorukoottam* would identify two representatives (one female and one male) from the hamlet through a democratic process for attending the plan formulation exercise at the Panchayat level. The *Ooru Mooppan* also would be nominated from the hamlet.

Step 6: Draft Plan Formulation:

The expected outcome of the draft plan formulation meeting at the Gram Panchayat level is the action plan. The District Planning Committee (DPC) can send its representatives to the plan formulation meeting. In addition to the representatives of the DPC, the block and district Panchayat members of the area would participate as observers. Other members of the meeting are representatives of the *Oorukoottam*, president of the village Panchayat, chairman of the standing committee, concerned elected ward members, tribal promoters of the area and members of the working group. The meeting would discuss suggestions from different *Oorus*. In the meeting, four categories of schemes would be identified, and each category has a prioritized list. They are: (1) The schemes to be taken up by the village Panchayat; (2) The schemes to be taken up by the block Panchayat; (3) The schemes to be taken up by the district Panchayat; and (4) The schemes to be taken up by the tribal development department. This may include schemes for sectors not allowed under the TSP of local governments. This list would have to be submitted by the village Panchayat to the other tiers. The district and block Panchayats may take up individual beneficiary-oriented schemes under the TSP, which they may do directly or preferably through the village Panchayat. It is also mentioned here that Municipalities will follow the scheme procedure as the Gram Panchayats.

Step 7: Projectisation:

The projectisation will be done by the working group members. The eligibility criteria and prioritization criteria among eligible applicants need to be clearly spelt out. In the case of prioritization criteria, marks assigned for each criterion has to be noted, with the total being 100.

Step 8: Draft Plan Finalization by Local Governments:

As per the allocation under TSP, the Panchayat should finalize their Tribal Sub-Plans. This should be done with the priorities fixed by the plan formulation meetings at the village Panchayat level. In normal situations, the priorities fixed by the plan formulation meeting shall not be changed and changes if any may be possible with the prior concurrence of the *Oorukoottams*.

Step 9: Development Seminar:

The DPC may organize the development seminar at the block Panchayat or Municipality level in all cases which have an allocation Rs.10 lakhs or more. In other cases a common district-level development seminar will be held for all such local governments together. The members to be invited to the development seminar are: (1) all DPC members; (2) President/ Vice president/ Chairperson of the standing committee of all local governments

having TSP allocation; (3) three representatives from each plan formulation group at the village Panchayat / Municipality level; (4) all tribal members of the concerned local governments; (5) key members of the working group on TSP; (6) officers of ST Development Department not below the rank of Tribal Extension Officers; (7) representatives of selected NGOs; and (8) selected individuals having expertise in tribal development.

It is suggested that all local governments having TSP allocation must submit their plan proposals to the development seminar for discussion. In the development seminar, special focus will be given to block and district level plans. If there are any major suggestions in the seminar, it should be considered by reconvening the plan formulation meeting at the respective local government. However, the priorities fixed in the plan formulation meetings shall be changed only with prior concurrence of the *Oorukoottams*.

Step 10: Plan Finalization by Local Governments:

In this stage, the local government should formally approve their TSP and send it to the special committee of Technical Advisory Groups (TAGs) for vetting. It is mentioned that the plan document of TSP should have 10 supportive documents which include: (1) development scenario of the STs; (2) efforts on tribal development during the last two Five-Year Plans; (3) success and failure of the programme; (4) physical and financial achievements and outcomes in the previous Five-Year Plans (two periods); (5) strategic vision of local governments; (6) description of schemes, sector-wise, giving the existing scenario in each sector, the intended scenario, size of the gap and the phased filling up of the gaps with monitorable targets; (7) allocation of resources, sub sector-wise; (8) write up on credit linkages; (9) write up on integration of suggestion for higher tiers; and (10) write up on monitoring arrangements intended.

Step 11: Vetting of Plans:

General vetting would be done at the district level by the TAGs. In case the total allocation for TSP exceeds Rs.10 lakhs for the village Panchayats within a block area, a special TAG would be suggested. A special committee of TAGs would be constituted with experts from the government, academic institutions and NGOs. The District Collector would be the chairman, and the District Planning Officer (DPO), the convener of the district level special committee of TAG. The secretary of the block Panchayat would be the convener of the respective level of the special committee of TAG. The chairman of the special committee of TAG at block would be decided by the DPC. This special committee of TAGs can constitute the required sub-groups for detailed analysis of the projects in different sectors. Social maps are necessary for all projects under infrastructure. If the TAG feels that a scheme may not be beneficial to the tribal people, they would

refer it to the concerned local government with suggestions. It is also mentioned that before giving a response back to the TAG, the matter has to be discussed with the concerned *Oorukoottams*.

Step 12: Approval by DPC:

The vetted plans of the TSP will have to be approved by the DPC in this step.

Step 13: Plan Publicity:

A plan publicity meeting would be proposed at the *Oorukoottam* level. All the details (the amount earmarked, the mode of implementation, and the expected benefits) should be explained. It is also suggested that the summary of the schemes should be given in writing (local language) to each *Oorukoottam*.

Step 14: Plan Implementation:

Attempts are made to avoid *benami* contactors and to encourage accredited agencies for plan implementation. A training component may be built into the schemes for this purpose. These accredited agencies would also train the local tribal youth in the construction technologies and use these groups for construction. If accredited agencies are not willing to take up the implementation, the execution may be entrusted to the beneficiaries themselves under the supervision of any accredited agency / NGO / voluntary organizations without any remuneration.

Step 15: Monitoring:

This is the final step during which five monitoring systems would be worked out. They are: (1) quarterly meetings of *Oorukoottams* where social audit would be carried out as per the procedure prescribed separately for the purpose; (2) quarterly meeting of the plan formulation team including representatives of the *Oorukoottam* to review the plan progress and conduct a general social audit; (3) independent agencies would be nominated by the State Planning Board / LSGD to conduct online monitoring; (4) community-based monitoring through tribal NHGs, particularly for individual beneficiary programmes, would be put in order; and (5) the DPC would set up monitoring teams who would visit the field and report regularly.

As part of the guidelines for the preparation and implementation of the (TSP), a control mechanism to check malfeasance has also to be worked out. The following measures are the suggested for the control of malfeasance: (i) all records of development programmes would be public documents available for scrutiny by any individual or organization; (ii) capacity building of tribal organizations like NHGs, youth clubs, NGOs and *Oorukoottams* to conduct social audit; (iii) if TSP funds are diverted or misused, the person(s) would be proceeded against for recovery of the amount; (iv) a grievance redressal

cell would function with the District Collector as chairman consisting of representatives of the Tribal Development, Planning, and local self government departments. This committee would monitor grievances regarding plan formulation and implementation, conduct enquiries, and send report to the government for referring to ombudsman in case there is a *prima facie* case of malfeasance; and (v) wherever applicable the provision of Protection of Civil Rights Act and Prevention of Atrocities Act would be invoked against those guilty of misusing funds meant for tribal development.

While developing a project proposal on Kerala Local Government Strengthening and Service Delivery Project (KLASSDP), a consultation workshop with the experts working on TSP had was held on 21 January 2009. The following are the major points reflected in the general discussion: (1) There is no improvement in the lifestyle of the tribal community in Kerala even though a huge amount of resources has been spent. 2) Scheduled Tribe people are not aware of their rights and developmental policies. 3) Though there are elaborate guidelines for the preparation and implementation of TSP, they are neglected. (4) Funds under TSP have not been considered seriously. (5) Projects under TSP have not been prepared on the basis of local needs. (6) During the implementation of TSP, there is no proper coordination from the line departments.

The above discussions in the consultation workshop have revealed that by and large the guidelines are only on paper; serious attention is needed to put them into practice while formulating and implementing TSP in Kerala.

Distribution of Grant-in-Aid under TSP:

The budgetary provision of grant-in-aid to LSGs has three categories, viz., General Sector, Special Component Plan (SCP) and Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP). It is also important to note that a major share of funds of the local governments in the service sector is earmarked for the implementation of programmes under social welfare including the programmes on tribal communities. For the intra-tier distribution of grant-in-aid to different tiers of LSGs, necessary criteria were developed. These criteria are used for the allocation of funds to different tiers of LSGs. As per the recommendation of the third SFC, the amount earmarked to LSGs during 2008-09 was Rs.1,694 crores. This amount was increased by 10 percent to fix the total outlay in 2009-10. Since the total outlay for the year 2009-10 was increased by 10 percent, the share under each tier of LSGs for the three categories was also increased by the same percentage from the amounts allocated in 2008-09. Thus, the total plan fund allocated in the Annual Plan 2009-10 to LSGs for the three categories was Rs.1,863 crores which is the recommended figure of the 3rd SFC. In addition to this, as per budget estimate 2009-10, an amount of Rs.222.13 crores was anticipated as contribution of LSGs from their own revenue. Consequently

the total plan share of LSGs during 2009-10 increased to Rs.2,085.13 crores. The details of category-wise allocation of Plan fund in 2009-10 are given in Table No. 25. Out of the total allocation of the grant-in-aid (Rs.1,86,300 lakhs) 4.32 percent (Rs.8,051.42 lakhs) was allocated for tribal communities under TSP (Refer Table No. 25). This is estimated to be around four times higher than the population share of the tribal communities. In other words, the allocation per person under TSP is roughly four times higher than that of the general population and two times higher than that of the SCs. This is because of the weightage given to ST communities while allocating the fund under TSP.

**Table No. 25: Category-wise Allocation of Grant-in-Aid to LSGs during 2009-10
(Rs. in lakhs)**

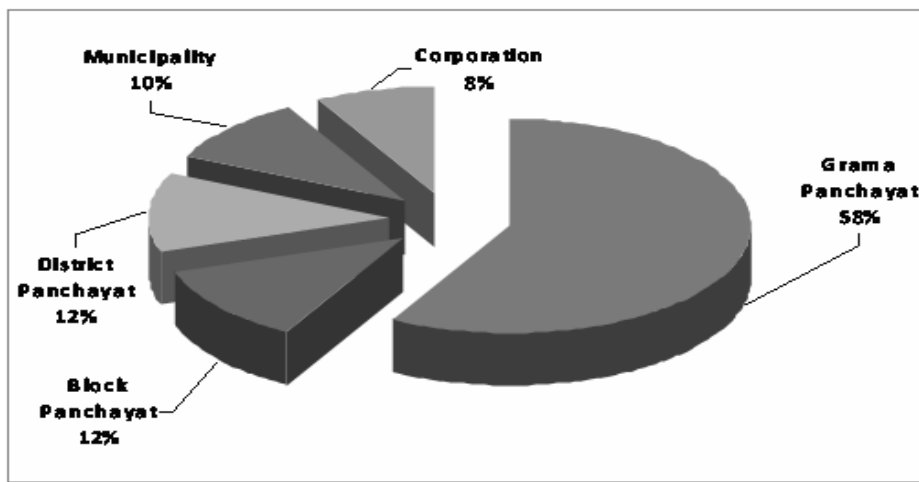
Type of LSGs	General	SCP	TSP	Total
Gram Panchayats	72420.70	28465.76	3980.05	104866.51
Block Panchayats	15518.90	9488.84	1591.88	26599.62
District Panchayats	15518.90	9488.84	2388.11	27395.85
Municipalities	11806.73	3325.61	91.38	15223.72
Corporations	9383.88	2830.42	0.00	12214.30
Total	124649.11	53599.47	8051.42	186300.00

Source: Appendix IV of the Budget 2009-10, Govt. of Kerala.

Different formulas have been developed to distribute the plan fund under different sectors (general, SCP and TSP) by considering a number of factors including the demographic distribution between rural and urban. It is also important to note that for general categories, it was 12 percent each for the district Panchayat and block Panchayat and 58 percent for the Gram Panchayat. Again under the general category, eight percent for Corporations and ten percent for Municipalities was allocated. (Refer Diagram No. 3). For Special Component Plan (SCP), it was 18 percent each for the district and block Panchayats and 53 percent for the Gram Panchayat. In the case of urban governments, under SCP, five percent and six percent respectively were allotted for Corporations and Municipalities (Refer Diagram No. 4). In the case of Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP), no amount has been allocated for Corporations, whereas one percent was allocated for Municipalities. The rationality behind this pattern of allocation is that only a negligible number of tribals are settled in Municipalities and their population is absent in the Corporations. Again under TSP, it was 30 percent for district Panchayat, 20 percent for block Panchayat and 49 percent for Gram Panchayat (Refer Diagram No. 5). In the case of TSP it was decided to vest a major share of the funds with the higher tiers

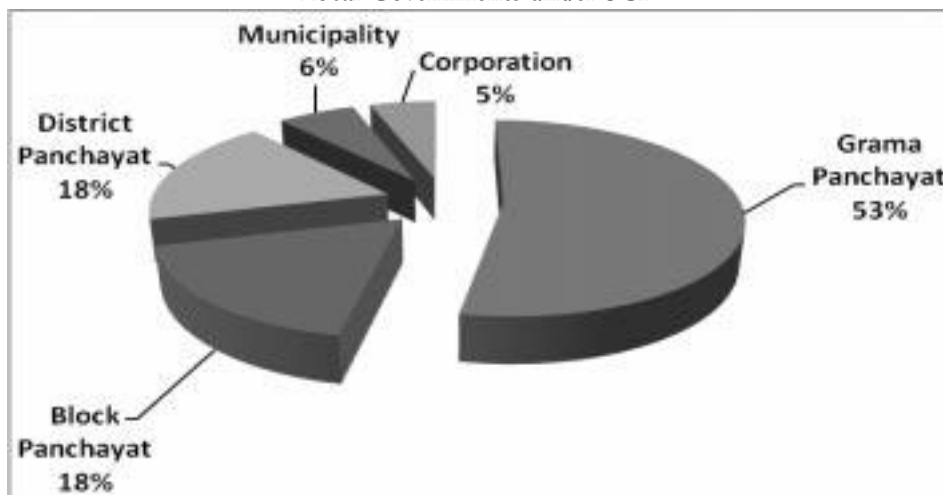
(district Panchayat and block Panchayat) than the general sector and SCP. The comparatively lower percentage of allocation of funds to Gram Panchayat is in response to a number of reasons such as organized trend of settlers against tribes, past experiences of under utilization of TSP amount by the Gram Panchayat and weakness of grass-root level tribal movements in Kerala.

Diagram No. 3: Percentage-wise Distribution of Plan Outlay among different Local Governments under General Category



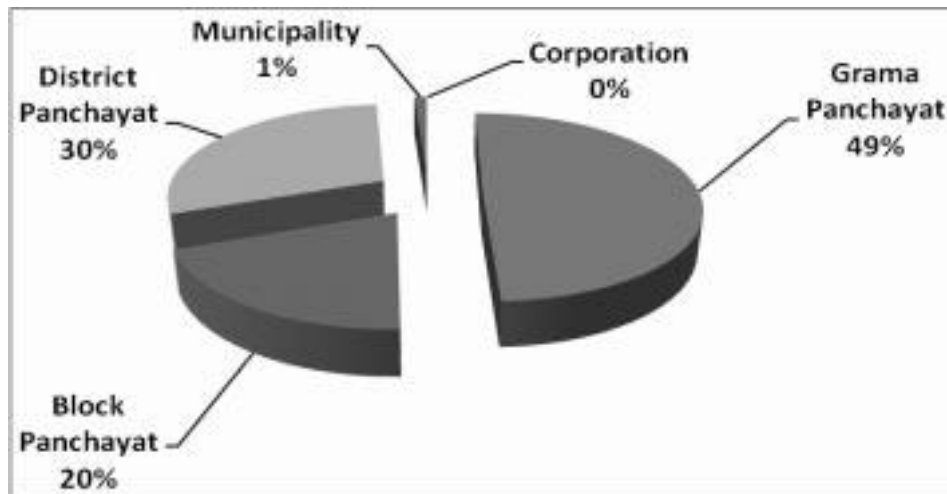
Source: Table No. 25

Diagram No. 4: Percentage-wise Distribution of Plan Outlay among different Local Governments under SCP



Source: Table No. 25

Diagram No. 5: Percentage-wise Distribution of Plan Outlay among different Local Governments under TSP



Source: Table No. 25

Utilization of Grants-in-Aid under TSP:

The block Panchayats achieved 84 percent of funds under TSP, but the local governments did not attain the desired level under TSP, compared to the performance under the general category. Under the general sector, the local governments (both rural and urban) have achieved 78 percent of utilization of funds out of the total outlay provided, whereas it was less by 5.28 percent in the case of TSP. The rate of the shortfall was comparatively higher in the case of Municipalities and Gram Panchayat. A common feature of shortfall in expenditure is noticed under TSP by the local governments. The same phenomenon is also noticed in the expenditure pattern under TSP in centrally sponsored programmes. This poor performance in utilization of TSP funds by local governments is a serious factor that requires immediate intervention. Though the quality of TSP governance and the improvement of the socio-economic conditions of the tribal communities were the major objectives of decentralized planning, it has not succeeded to the expected level. Serious efforts are needed to address this lacuna. The outlay and expenditure of TSP during 2009-10 are given in Table No. 26.

Table No. 26: Outlay and Expenditure of Grant-in-Aid under TSP

Type of LSGs	Budget Overlay (Rs. in lakhs)	Funds Available (Rs. in lakhs)	Expenditure (Rs. in lakhs)	%
Gram Panchayats	3979.28	5417.25	3667.83	67.71
Block Panchayats	1591.88	2051.46	1733.08	84.48
District Panchayats	2388.11	3360.45	2502.31	74.46
Municipalities	91.38	141.96	75.03	52.85
Corporations	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total	8050.65	10971.12	7978.25	72.72

Source: IKM & Appendix IV of the Budget 2009-10, Govt. of Kerala.

Conclusion:

Statistics clearly show that despite government initiatives including the Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) under the decentralized planning process, giving more emphasis on capacity building and empowerment of the tribals, the existing socio-economic profile of the tribal communities is low compared to the mainstream population. It is even low when compared to the other marginalized sections including Scheduled Castes. All forms of social exclusion and a high degree of deprivation are the major problems faced by the tribal community in Kerala. In almost all deprivation indices, they are behind the general population. The Scheduled Tribes in Kerala are still to gain more from affirmative action, tribal development programmes and institutions, Tribal Sub-Plan and decentralized planning. However, the status of tribal areas in the pre-TSP period with the present level on one hand, and a comparison of the present level of development (infrastructural and Human Development Indices), gives an impression that the profile of tribal community in Kerala has been improved in quantifiable terms, though it is not very significant.

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