

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
OF TRIBALS IN KERALA
(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WAYANAD
DISTRICT)

Thesis Submitted to
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For the Award of the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
Under the Faculty of Social Sciences

By

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Under the Guidance of

Dr. Abraham George



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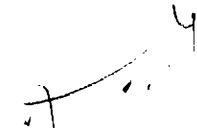
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Dr. Abraham George
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Certificate

I hereby certify that the thesis entitled "**Socio-Economic Development of Tribals in Kerala**" (**With Special Reference to Wayanad District**) submitted for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, to Mahatma Gandhi University, Kottayam is a bonafide record of research carried out by Mrs. Thresiamma Varghese under my supervision and guidance and that no part of this thesis has been previously submitted for any other degree, diploma, title or recognition in any university.

Place *Thiruvalla*
Date *5-8-2002*


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Declaration

I, Thresiamma Varghese, do hereby declare that the thesis entitled "The Socio-Economic Development of Tribals in Kerala " (With Special Reference to Wayanad District) is a bonafide record of research carried out by me under the supervision and guidance of Dr. Abraham George, Principal, Mar Thoma College, Thiruvalla and that no part of this thesis has been presented for any other degree, diploma or title, earlier.

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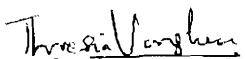
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Thresiamma Varghese

Dedication

This Thesis is Dedicated to

My Parents

and

Husband



Abbreviations Used

K.S.D.C	-	Kerala State Development Corporation
S.T.D.C	-	Scheduled Tribes Development Department
T.E.O	-	Tribal Extension Office
N.C.V.T	-	National Council For Vocational Training
R.D.D	-	Rural Development Department
S.C/S.T	-	Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe
M.F.P	-	Minor Forest Produce
T.S.P	-	Tribal Sub-Plan
S.C.A	-	Special Center Assistance
C.S.S	-	Centrally Sponsored Scheme
T.R.I	-	Tribal Research Institute
D.I.W.G.S	-	District Level working Groups
D.L.C	-	District Level Committees
S.T.D.D	-	Scheduled Tribes Development Department
G.S.S	-	General Sector Schemes
ITDP	-	Integrated Tribal Development Project
T.D	-	Tribal Development
T.D.O	-	Tribal Development Officer
C.G.A	-	Central Government Assistance
Kg	-	Kilograms
A.M.R.I.D	-	Ambedkar Memorial Rural Institute For Development
K.S.E. B	-	Kerala State Electricity Board
B.L.E.C	-	Block Level Expert Committee
S.L.E.C	-	State Level Expert committee
C.L.E.C	-	Corporation Level Expert Committee
I.R.D.P	-	Integrated Rural Development Programme
J.R.Y	-	Jawahar Rogscar Yojana
I.A.Y	-	Indira Awas Yojana
M.W.S	-	Minimum Wage Scheme
E.A.S	-	Employment Assurance Scheme
K.W.A	-	Kerala Water Authority
K.S.H.B	-	Kerala State Housing Board
M.L.E.C	-	Municipality Level Expert Committee
C.L.E. C	-	City Level Expert Committee
D.P.C	-	District Planning Committee
L.S.G	-	Local Self Government
I.H.D.P	-	Integrated Housing Development Programme
N.R.E.P	-	National Rural Employment Programme

TRYSEM	-	Training for Rural Youth for Self Employment
D.R.D.A	-	District Rural Development Agencies
P.M.R.Y	-	Prime- Ministers Rosgar Yojana
M.A.D.A	-	Modified Area Development Approach
T.D.B	-	Tribal Development Block
D.P.A P	-	Drought Prone Area Programme
S.F.D.A	-	Small Farmers Development Agency
M.F.A.L	-	Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Development Agency
S.M.P.T	-	Special Multi-Purpose Tribal Block
E.A.S	-	Employment Affirmation Scheme
I.L.O	-	International Labour Organisation
G.N.P	-	Gross National Product
H.D.I	-	Human Development Index
H.P.I	-	Human Poverty Index
G.D.I	-	Gender Disparity Index
G.E.M	-	Gender Empowerment Measure
U.N.D.P	-	United Nations Development Programme
H.D.R	-	Human Development Report

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The tribal population is identified as the aboriginal inhabitants of our country. They are seen in almost every State of India. For centuries, they have been living a simple life based on the natural environment and have developed cultural patterns congenial to their physical and social environment. References of such tribal groups are found even in the literature on the ancient period, right from the Ramayana and the Mahabharatha periods.

- Broadly speaking the tribals may be geographically located in four groups:

- i North-east India : Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Nagaland.
- ii Eastern India : West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa.
- iii Central and Western India : Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat, part of Maharashtra and Northern Andhra Pradesh.
- iv Southern India : The Hilly regions of Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Western and Northern Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh.

1.1 Meaning of 'Tribe'

As the name implies, tribals are 'Adivasi' or original dwellers, living in the subcontinent from unrecorded time and possibly driven into the forests by more

aggressive settlers - Aryans being the earliest one to socially subjugate them. In order to resist complete domination, tribals evolved their distinct identity through endogamy, their cropping pattern, hunting and food gathering. Above all, in their intensely personal relationship with the forest around them, they formed perfectly balanced rhythms which can best be described as symbiotic.¹

According to L.P. Vidyarthi; the tribe is a social group with definite territory, common name, common district, common culture, behaviour of an endogamous group, common taboos, existence of distinctive social and political system, full faith in leaders and self-sufficiency in their distinct economy.²

P.G. Krishnan defines "tribe is a social group of simple and kind, the members of which speak a common dialect, have a single government act together for common purposes and have a common name, a contiguous territory, a relatively uniform culture or way of life and a traditions of common descent."³

A.B. Bardhan defines the tribe as "course of socio-cultural entity at a definite historical stage of development. It is a single, endogamous community with a cultural and psychological make up."⁴

According to D.N. Majumdar the tribe is "a collection of families or common group bearing a common name, the members of which occupy the same territory, speak the same language and observe certain taboos, regarding

marriage, professions and have developed a well assured system of reciprocity and mutuality of obligations.”⁵

Kamala Devi Chatopathayaya defines “a tribe ordinarily has an ancestor or a patron deity. The families or groups composing the larger units are linked through religions and socio-economic functions.”⁶

In Irish history, however, the term meant families or communities of persons having the same sur name. In certain other areas of Western countries and certain period of history, it stood for a division of territory allotted to a family or community.⁷

Similarly various authors have described the tribes by different nomenclature. Dr. Ghurya named them 'backward Hindhus', Dr. Das and Das rename them as 'submerged humanity'. The other names are Aborigines, Primitive tribe, Adivasi, Vanyajati, Vanavasi, Adimjati etc. In the ancient literature of India such as the Vedas, the Puranas, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the tribals appeared as Nishad, Sabarars, Kiratas, and Dasyas. They are believed to be the earlier among the present inhabitants of the country.

The term 'tribe' have not been defined clearly anywhere in the Indian constitution . Only the term 'Scheduled Tribe' explained as “the tribe or the tribal communities or parts of or group within tribes or tribal communities”. These

groups are presumed to form the oldest ethnological sector of the people.⁸

The term 'Adivasi' (Adi = original and Vasi = inhabitant) has become current among certain people. The International Labour Organization has classified such people as 'indigenous'. According to ILO conventions the aboriginals or tribals have been defined as the “tribals or semi tribal groups of the independent countries deprived socially or economically and having their own customs, traditions and traits or they have their own special customary laws/ conventions.”⁹

1.2 A Note on Constitutional Safeguards for Tribals

Pre-independence tribals living in forests, hills and even on the plain were isolated from the mainstream. The status of the tribals were unsatisfactory during princely and colonial region. It was a policy of neglect and saga of exploitation. Due to this, their land and forest were slowly and gradually grabbed by the rich people like landlords and money lenders. They were turned into bonded labourers, leading a life of extreme poverty and misery. The excessive encroachment on their rights in forest land led to an expression of anger in the form of riots. Thus independent India inherited a complex tribal problem' from the British colonial system. The major thrust is to solve the tribal problem in view of our commitment to the objectives of social justice, social, economic and political equality of status and opportunity as enshrined in the preamble to the

constitution. The makers of the constitution paid special attention towards the tribal problems and tried to eradicate it for ever.

The concern of the constituent members of the constitution for protection and promotion of the interests of the deprived sections is amply reflected in the preamble of the constitution which was amended in 1976. It succinctly proclaims the aims and objects of the constitution, i.e., to constitute into a Sovereign, Socialist, Secular, Democratic Republic.

The Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission for the Tribal Welfare and Development, 1961 headed by Sri U.N Dhebar observed that the constitution arranged for the provision of resources and provided the required institutional apparatus. Some of the safeguards for the tribals in the constitution were initially in co-operated for ten years. In fixing this period, the constitution had envisaged an effective follow - up programmes which would have obviated the need for their continuance. This hope has not materialised and the period has been extended. But it is observed that this has not been due to any deficiency in the constitution itself. It is the result of deficiency in performance.¹⁰

The constitution deliberately laid emphases on both aspects - protective as well as developmental. The members of the constitution were keen that the tribals join the mainstreams of the national life, in order to retain their traits and cultural heritage. Keeping this in view, the tribal status in constitution,

therefore, made special provision for their social and economic development. The provisions are contained in Articles 46, 244, 330, 332, 334, 335, 338, 339, 342 and schedules V,VI to the constitution of India. The constitution also permits for change in laws, according to the tribal situation in concerned area.

1.3 Concept of Development

The term development has been used in a wider sense. The purpose of development is to provide increasing opportunities to all people for a better life. It is essential to bring about more equitable distribution of income and wealth for promoting social justice and efficiency of production, to provide a greater variety of facilities like education, health services , nutrition, housing etc.

According to ILO, Development involves 'humans' as distinct from material product. It is defined as a process which involves improvement in the quality of life of weaker sections and a greater participation and involvement of the masses in the process of decision making in the economic, social, political and cultural life of a society. To Denis Gonlet “development is not a cluster of benefits given to the people in need, rather a process by which a populace acquires a greater mastery over its own destiny.”¹¹ Schumpeter defines development as only such changes in economic life that are not forced upon it from without, but arise by its own initiative from within.

According to Dedley Seers, "Development means creating condition for the realisation of human potential."¹²

Development is an elusive concept and evolves mobilization of natural resources, augmentation of trained manpower, capital and technical know how and their utilisation for attainment of constantly multiplying national goals, higher living standards and the change over from a traditional to a modern society. The essence of development is generally perceived as industrialisation and modernisation. Development is a multi-dimensional and multi - linear process.¹³

Development is usually conceived as an aspect of change that is desirable, broadly planned and administered or at least influenced by governmental action. Thus the concept of development consists of (a) an aspect of change (b) a plan or prediction and (c) involvement of the government for the achievement of that planned or predicted goal. The term development is also used for the process of allowing and encouraging people to meet their own aspiration.¹⁴

The main aim of development is to increase national as well as per capita income and to raise the standard of living of the people and secure justice, freedom, equality and security for them in society.¹⁵ The focus of development is now increasingly on (a) equitable distribution of wealth and income (b) full utilisations of manpower. (c) better utilisation of natural resources, and (d)

protection of human environment, etc.¹⁶ Hence, Development means change plus growth i.e., it includes growth, modernization, increase in social facilities, etc.

1.4 Tribal Development : Meaning and Scope

The goal of tribal development in India were best summarised in Nehru's forward to Verrier Elwin's Book on NEFA . It is otherwise known as "Tribal Panchsheel."¹⁷ The Nehru's Panchsheel (five point) are:

- i People should develop along lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional art and culture.
- ii Tribal right in land and forests should be respected.
- iii. We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical people from outside will no doubt be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.
- iv. We should not over administer these areas or overwhelm them with multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through and not in rivalry to their own social and cultural instructions, and
- v. We should guide results not by statistics or the amount of money spend but by the quality of human character that is involved.

This five point formula enunciated by Nehru stand as the corner stone of the India's government policy. This was further elaborated by Elwin, who emphasized the need for the tribal people to come to terms with their own past avoiding danger of pauperism and without creating a sense of inferiority. Elwin stressed on recognising the contribution of the tribal people in helping the Indian Society as a whole, so that they may feel as they are the part and parcel of India as any other citizen.¹⁸

Dr. B.S. Guha explained the tribal welfare goals in such a manner that “schemes for tribal welfare must fulfill two essential conditions namely, conformity to the social values and patterns of the people for whom they are intended and the psychological receptivity and ability of the tribal population to absorb them. Theoretical perfection of a scheme or its suitability to people in general must not be regarded as the criterion for tribal people. Ignorance of these basic facts and inability to appreciate them are responsible for the failure of many developmental programmes which by themselves are unexceptionable.”¹⁹ Dr.Guha further commended about tribal development that, isolation and absence of interaction with other communities are injurious to the people. The views put forward here are motivated by these consideration only and not framed with the purpose, conscious or unconscious of attempting to keep the tribal people as “museum specimens” as is so often wrongly attributed to the anthropologists. To allow a tribe to retain its traditional value and the mode of

life in its natural setting and give it the chance to develop along its own genius is the very reverse of the 'museum specimens' idea!²⁰

Tribal development aims at increasing the incomes and strengthening the material aspects of tribal culture through better utilization of the environmental resources, i.e, forests, minerals, flora and fauna, agriculture, animal husbandry, industrial potential as well as skill of the tribal people.

The goals of tribal development can be summarised into

- 1). Long term objectives and
- 2). Short term objectives.

The long term objectives are (a) to narrow the gap of development between non-tribals and tribals. (b) to improve the quality of life without disturbing their ethnicity.²¹

The short term objectives are-

- (a) elimination of exploitation by all means, by rapid socio-economic development ,
- (b) improving organisational capabilities and
- (c) building up inner strength of the tribal people.²²

Tribal development is often taken as synonymous with rural development.

The tribal situation in the country presents a varied picture. Some areas have

high tribal concentration, while some have no tribals. The developmental parameters of each tribe is different and it depend on the inhabitants and their settling conditions. The tribal development scene was critically reviewed on the eve of Fifth Plan. The review of the first Tribal Plan 1974-79 was also discussed in the report of the working group on tribal development, during the Sixth Plan (1980 -85) under the chairmanship of B.G. Deshmukh. In respect of “tribal concentrated areas”, it was decided to accept an area development approach with focus on a family oriented programme for tribals and for dispersed tribals.

1.5 Approaches for Tribal Development

There are mainly five approaches which have been employed so far in the welfare of tribals in India. ²³ The approaches are :

- i Political approach.
- ii Administrative approach.
- iii Religious approach with special reference to missionary approach.
- iv Voluntary agencies approach.
- v Anthropological approach.

1.5.1 *Political approach*

The political approach for the tribal welfare may be understood in the context of the pre and post-independence period. The colonial rule created “excluded” and “partly excluded” areas and gave separate political representation to the tribes. Nationalists opposed these measures as part of a diabolic conspiracy

to a new separatism.

After independence, the constitution has given the tribals a number of safeguards by considering them to be the weaker section of the population. In the first instance a period of 10 years was given to achieve the goal, but as the problem was too complicated to be solved through a single decade, it has persisted through decades.

1.5.2 *Administrative Approach*

The administrative approach is closely followed by the political approach. The government of India has constituted a vast administrative machinery for tribal welfare.

At the State level, the governor has been made responsible and on his behalf the chief minister and welfare minister are in charge of the special schemes to be implemented in the tribal areas. In some major concentrated tribal areas, the State has an independent tribal welfare ministry. The welfare ministry is advised by two bodies. The Tribes Advisory Council and the Tribal Research Institute are framing the political programmes for tribal welfare.

1.5.3 *Religious Approach*

The religious approach has been attempted by different religious agencies like Christian missionaries, the Ramkrishna mission, the Arya samaj and other

local religious institutions which are engaged in the welfare works for the tribals.

The Christian missionaries have been active in tribal India. For both types of work, spiritual and material, the missionaries did realize the importance of understanding the tribal culture and language. Missionary welfare activities have been viewed by different persons in different ways.

1.5.4 Voluntary Agencies Approach

Under the voluntary agencies approach social workers, social welfare agencies, social movement agencies, social reformers, etc., are working to uplift the weaker section of our society in their own ways. Voluntary social services organizations have done considerable humanitarian work in the tribal areas but their idealism and spirit of service have not been matched by their understanding of tribal organisation, values and problems.

1.5.5 Anthropological Approach

Anthropologists believe in the ultimate integration of tribes into the mainstream of national life. After independence, some anthropologists came out with several papers and addresses, dealing with the importance of applied anthropology in tribal welfare programmes. The various tribal research institutes are engaged in conducting researches on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled

Tribes. Besides, many University Departments in the country undertake research on them.

Whatever the approaches are being taken, it is important to integrate the tribal people in the national mainstream. But the problem is that national mainstream is very wide. Unfortunately the main propose to integrate these tribals with the mainstream is left aside since there are innumerable problems that have emerged on account of their so called integration in the national mainstream: The important problems identified as the “Chaos of Values” and “Counter Values” and the consequent break up of the social structure.²⁴ The contacts of the tribals with the urban people have also created problems of adjustment. The tribals suffer also due to inferiority complex. There are problems of alienation of land in their native places. The fertility of land also get reduced due to carelessness. There is heavy economic loss due to indiscriminate deforestation. Owing to the impact of governmental programmes and modernisation, tremendous changes took place in the living conditions of the tribal community. The tribals in India are passing through a phase of economic change along with the rest of the society. Modern technology and concepts are penetrating their culture. The factors that are shaping the future of the tribal welfare are (a) education, (b) exposure to urban market forces (c) the co-operative movement and (d) banking.

1.6 Research Problem

The tribal development measures adopted during the second half of this century are found to be insufficient in improving the economic conditions of the tribals. Even after the introduction of several welfare measures, the tribals are still facing several economic and social constraints. Therefore, it is necessary to evaluate the various developmental programmes undertaken during the last five decades. Moreover, an analysis of the socio-economic development of tribals in Kerala and the extent of the human development they achieved are also imperative.

1.7 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are :

- i) to trace an overview of tribal population in Kerala with special reference to Wayanad.
- ii) to evaluate the tribal development programmes and the role played by the government.
- iii) to identify the role of non- governmental organizations in the tribal development.
- iv) to analyse the socio-economic profile of Paniya tribal community in Wayanad.
- v) to make a comparison between the Paniyas and the main stream population on the basis of human development indices.

1.8 Methodology

In order to measure the socio-economic development of tribals in Kerala, the researcher relies on United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) methodology of constructing human development indices like Human Development Index (HDI), Human Poverty Index for developing countries (HPI- 1), Gender Disparity Index (GDI) and Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM). These indices were formed for both tribals and non- tribals in order to facilitate comparison in their human development. Other relevant tools have also been employed.

1.9 The Data Base

Both primary and secondary data are used in the study. Available secondary data are obtained from Census of India Publications; Tribal Welfare Department, Kerala; Planning Board, Kerala and the Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP), Wayanad. Publications of Non-Governmental Organisations like Sreyas, Fedina, High Land Development Agency (HILDA), Wayanad Social Service Society (WSSS), Solidarity are also used to analyse the participation of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in the tribal development programmes. Since the available secondary data are found to be inadequate to carry out a comprehensive analysis of the objectives of the study, a primary survey was conducted.

1.10 The Study Area And Sample Design

A stratified sampling technique is used for the primary data collection. Household Survey was conducted with questionnaires and interviews (as shown in Appendix I) in Pullpally and Mullankolly villages of Sulthan Bathery Taluk of Wayanad District in Kerala. There are many tribal communities spread throughout the Wayanad district. As it is extremely difficult to conduct an elaborate study on all these tribal communities, the proposed study is confined to the Paniya community, the major tribal community in Wayanad. For empirical support, 270 households from Paniya tribal community and 100 households from non-tribal groups were selected and relevant data collected in order to compare their socio-economic development.

1.11 Reference Period

The primary data were collected from March 1st 2000 to May 29th 2001.

1.12 Organization of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into nine chapters. The first chapter serves as an introduction. A review of literature related to tribal studies is carried out in the Second chapter. A note on the policies, plan and programmes for tribal development in India since independence is sketched in the Third chapter. The Fourth chapter gives a brief account of the tribals in Kerala and Wayanad district in particular. Fifth chapter gives an overview of the role played by the

government in tribal development. Sixth chapter sketches the role of non-governmental organizations in tribal development. Seventh chapter presents an insight into the socio-economic profile of the Paniya tribe in Wayanad. In the eighth chapter, a comparison between Paniya tribal community and the mainstream population on the basis of human development indices is attempted. Finally the ninth chapter presents a summary, major findings and implied policy suggestions.

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CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The term tribe is derived from the Latin word 'tribes' meaning the 'poor or the masses'. In English language the word 'tribe' appeared in the sixteenth century and denoted a community of persons claiming descent from a common ancestor. This chapter attempts to give an insight into the tribal studies in India and Kerala in particular.

2.1 Tribal Studies in India

The Indian tribal society is a unique society with diversity of nature and people. In our country, known for the extreme poverty of the masses, the tribals constitute the core of the poor. Poverty, poor health and sanitation, illiteracy and other social problems among the tribals are exerting a dragging effect on the Indian economy. The Five Year Plans formulated the implementation of a series of investment-backed schemes and projects for the betterment of the conditions of the tribals living in the rural and urban areas. Many of the tribes with their forest-dwelling culture do not have the motivation or the skill of settled cultivation. As a result, their land has been alienated to their better endowed tribal neighbours or non-tribals. There have been many tribal studies in India based on tribal economy, land alienation, socio-economic development, tribal

culture etc. It is highly imperative to have a look at these tribal studies by various Anthropologists, Research scholars, etc.

A new trend in ethno methodology which came during the British period was a theory propounded by Verrier Elwin (1943)¹ who suggested that tribals should be kept isolated in their hills and forests. Elwin's theory is known in social anthropology as 'public park theory'. He suggested that ordinarily the non-tribal people should not be allowed to enter into tribal pockets without permission of the state government. This system would guarantee the isolation of the tribals.

G.S. Ghurye (1943)² contested the theory of public park. He argued that the tribals were nothing more than backward caste Hindus. They should be treated at par with the Hindus.

Following Ghurye's argument, D.N. Majumdar (1944)³ took a slightly different position. His suggestion was that the cultural identity of the tribals as far as possible should be retained. He feared that if the isolation was broken the tribals would lose their ethnic identity. To maintain it, he hypothesized that there should be 'selected integration' of the tribals. While spelling out, he argued that not all the elements of civilization should be allowed to enter the tribal area. Only those which have relevance with tribal life should be permitted into such area. Such a policy would keep the tribals away from the vices of urban life.

The scientific study of tribal economy in India was first undertaken by two scholars D.D. Nag and R.P. Saxena. Nag (1958)⁴ made an extensive field tour in the areas of Madhya Pradesh like, Mandla, Bilaspur, Durg, Balaghat and studied the Baiga economy in the context of general economic theories lying emphasis on the sources of economy of Baigas. Saxena followed a model of Nag and studied the tribals of Western Hills in Madhya Pradesh and presented the economy of five tribes. These two studies have some limitations like, exclusion of socio-cultural conditions of the tribes on their study areas.

Verma (1959-1960)⁵ has discussed the socio-cultural organisations of the Sanria paharias, Mal- paharias and Knmarbhag. He has examined various phases of the tribal life, pregnancy and birth, puberty, widow remarriage, place of women in the society, religion, village council and political institutions.

N.N. Yyas (1967)⁶ presents the historical, social and economic life of the Baniyas of Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab and Gujarat. Yyas thus points out the differences in customs and practices of the Baniyas of different States. This study has a good comparative background, still it has a limitation like unsuitability of the methodology.

Vimal Shah (1969)⁷ studied the tribal economy of Gujarat based on the All India Rural Development and Investment Survey of the RBI (1961-62) and the study undertaken by the Gujarat State. Shah selected a sample of 1120 rural

households selected from 28 villages. This study has very effectively brought out the tribal economy in Gujarat. He points out that, there is very little diversification in occupation. Agriculture continues to be the main stay of tribal population, very little investment is made to modernise it, very few inputs are made to increase the productivity of land, and many people mostly depend upon traditional agencies for their credit requirements. All these are obviously, the characteristics of a subsistence economy.

L.P. Vidyarthi (1970),⁸ attempted to examine the impact of urbanisation on tribal culture. He studied the impact of the emergence of a heavy engineering complex in a tribal belt of Chotanagpur, and by analysing the pattern of socio-economic changes that occurred in this region owing to large scale industrialisation.

Speaking about the process of modernisation among the tribal people in India's borders, Roy Burman (1973),⁹ rightly maintains that, tribals live among the non-tribals, but hardly share a common life. Their contacts are few and formal. In fact, according to him, the tribals in urban areas are in neither of the two worlds fully. Many of them adopt the technology, skill of the modern world, still retaining the emotions of the tribal world. At the primitive level of aspiration, tribals were not concerned with the fact that they were a minority at the regional level. Now, with political and occupational aspirations at the

regional level and national levels, tribals begin to feel themselves as a significant minority. This is the gift of modern education in particular and the modernisation in general. Through his study he expresses his dissatisfaction regarding the strategies for tribal's modernisation.

Dean Joros (1973),¹⁰ in his study, presents his views on the relation between political socialisation of the tribals and integration process or the effect of tribal welfare programmes on their political socialisation. He reveals that by analysing the political socialisation process of tribals, a more complete evaluation of tribal welfare programmes would be ensured. This view is also explained by P.R.G. Mathur (1977).¹¹ He points out that induction into political culture and integration into the mainstream of national life are part of one and the same process and without political socialisation being achieved, tribals integration into the national social life is impossible. Political socialisation must precede their integration into national life. Motivation and objective underlying the tribal welfare programmes and political socialisation are common.

Nirmal Kumar Bose (1977),¹² gives some insight into the tribe's social life. "Tribes differ from others in their social system. They have retained their own marriage regulation. Almost all marry within their restricted local group, and are some times guided by their own elders or political chief in internal and external affairs. In other words, they form socially distinct communities who

have been designated as tribes and listed in the Schedule for special treatment, so that within a relatively short time they can come within the mainstream of political and economic life if India”.

S.L. Doshi (1978)¹³ takes a case study of Bhils, on the process of unification and integration. He said that, a sort of integration is achieved by the tribals' with the wider society as a result of political unification. They are aware of the working of democracy, democratic institutions and identification with the level of values. This study has limitation like neglecting the economic aspects of tribals.

Gopala Rao. N. (1978)¹⁴ examines the process of transfer of land from the tribals to the non-tribals and the various factors influencing such transfers, by taking a case study of Mondemkhal, a mixed village of tribes and castes, at Parvathipuram taluk of former Srikakulam district. Data were collected by canvassing schedule and by holding prolonged interviews with the tribal elders and village officials. Land has been alienated by some people to finance agricultural operations. Cultivators require cash to buy cattle and to pay the labourers. It is clear from the study, that credit being taken on pledging land led to land alienation. Land has a tremendous prestige value in the rural context and it could stand as a security both for borrowing and lending.

Roy Burman (1978)¹⁵ speaking about the tribal integration process, points

out that, present context integration means four things: independent thinking, democratic style of life, secularism and planned economy. These are urgently needed for the tribals to integrate themselves into the mainstream.

R.S. Sharma (1980)¹⁶ has discussed the status of tribals in India during ancient times. The epistemological theoretical perspective about the tribals of this period is very clear. It was the time when the Aryans and, at a later period, the high caste Hindus make all efforts to have their hegemony over the tribals. Sharma has applied material approach to the study of history. This study of tribals is based on the assumption that the mode of production involving the theory of surplus leading to class formation continues to the best working hypothesis, notwithstanding countless assertions to the contrary.

Jaganath Panday (1981)¹⁷ tries to analyse the classes and class relations in three villages of Orissa and considers the particular mode of production operating in the economy. The study covers predominantly a tribal village, a village characterised primarily by feudal relationships and a village mainly showing signs of capitalist development in agriculture.

Pradeep Kumar Bose (1981),¹⁸ in his paper, questions the validity of observing stratification pattern among Indian tribes on the basis of caste hierarchy or 'Sacred' hierarchy or division on class basis. This is observed in the context of Gujarat tribes. Tribal population in modern market and production

systems and their incorporation into modern political systems are shown regional variations in occupations, use of modern machinery etc. Data were collected from seven districts of Gujarat, through survey method and random sampling, identifying four distinct classes: rich peasant, middle peasant, poor peasant and agricultural labourers.

Renuka Pameche (1985)¹⁹ has studied political aspects of the Bhils and the process of the formation of elite in Bhil Society - Elaborate accounts of the traditional political system of Bhils and the impact of the modern system on them are given. A serious limitation of this book is that, it has not taken into consideration the socio-economic aspects of the poor tribals.

Alock Kumar (1986)²⁰ has attempted to analyse and interpret the socio-cultural organisation and economic structure of Mal-paharias tribe, Santal-parganas district Bihar in the light of regional geographical complex. Based on his extensive field work, he examines the land use, income expenditure pattern, size of the families and its geographical ratification. This book provides innate glimpse on the habit of Mal-paharias in regard to their dress, religious ceremonies, customs, hunting, agricultural instruments and musical instruments. Finally the author observed the major requirements of their settlements and has opined that paying adequate attention to the facilities lacking in their settlements can hasten emerging of Mal-paharias in the mainstream of Indian life. This book

will be helpful to scholars and researchers of Geography, anthropology and planners of regional development.

Devendra Thakur (1986)²¹ made an elaborate study about the Santhals in Bihar. The study highlights their socio-economic conditions. It has been observed to what extent they were responsive to the projects and programmes undertaken during the different developmental plans.

Before the introduction of Five Year Plans, during the colonial rule, the tribals in the country as a whole remained in isolation. If the problem of untouchables in pre-independent India was that of pollution, vis-a-vis purity, the problem of tribals or adivasis was that of isolation. They were considered backward and savage. Lamenting on such an approach to the study of Indian tribals, Yogendra Singh (1986)²² observes: The colonial ethnographers, for instance, took a placid, even a synchronic view of the tribal society. The conceptional framework development by the British administrators-turned ethnographers and by anthropologists was inspired by the then prevailing model in anthropology. Tribal communities were treated as isolates and the primitive condition was described as a state of Arcadian simplicity.

Geetha Menon (1987),²³ reveals that the impact and the loss of common property resources is very severe on tribal women. She shows that the hardship of the tribal women have been increasing. Thus tribal women are the major

victims of the deprival of the traditional rights of the tribals in common property resources.

V.S. Ramamani (1988),²⁴ presents a descriptive analysis of the main features of tribal economy. She also postulates in this study the gap between the tribals and non-tribals, and the protective and promotional measures in order to reduce this gap.

Christoph Von Furer - Harnendart (1988),²⁵ has discussed the pattern and causes of disintegration of the traditional tribal system, failure of welfare programmes by taking the example of two tribes, Apa Tanis of Arunachal Pradesh and Gonds of Andhra Pradesh. He found that the two tribes stood at opposite ends of a spectrum today. While Apa Tanis were clearly set on upward path, the Gonds were threatened by an apparently irreversible decline in their fortunes. He claims that Apa-Tani tribe of Arunachal Pradesh numbered about 15000, achieved development and integration without losing its identity because of protection given by the Government of India.

Ramakant Prasad (1988),²⁶ deals about the tribe of Bihar which has little population and living in different ecological settings. This tribe represents variations within a culture due to various ecological settings. It depicts the total way of the tribe name 'pabhaiya'. This book further illustrates how a small tribe exists with its socio-ecological conditions and the problems they are facing

today. It deals with the problems and prospects of the tribe and gives an outline for development and protection of such a marginal tribe in Indian continent.

L.C. Mohanthy (1989),²⁷ has remind us of the urgent necessity of evaluating how far tribals have improved their economic-conditions and how far they have been integrated into the larger Indian society. He believes that giving tribals full freedom to manifest their genius will help their integration.

S.L. Doshi (1990)²⁸ who has conducted researches on the Bhils of south Rajasthan, argues that in ancient India the tribals did not constitute the core of society. They were always marginalised. Though there are no accounts of their collective identity, it is stated that they practised a pastoral life characterized by animism. They were, by and large, a classless stateless society.

Nirmal Sengupta (1990)²⁹ maintains that the process of rapid industrialisation since independence has added dimension to the problem of the tribals, as the majority of the tribal concentration in the country are in the areas endowed with rich natural resources. The establishment of resource-based industries in such areas has inevitably led to the displacement of the tribals.

Madhusudan Trivedi (1991)³⁰ presents his views regarding the entrepreneurship among the tribals. He has taken the case study of Bhils in Rajasthan. According to him entrepreneurship is an unorthodox venture for the

tribals. In the wake of development they have to take new crops, commercialisation and mechanisation in their agricultural practices. The economic transformation which the tribals witnessed today led them to a capitalist economy. Capitalism has created class stratification among the tribals. This book focuses on the emergence of capitalism among the tribals and its social consequences on class formation.

Buddudeb Chaudhaudi's (ed.) (1992)³¹ 'Tribal Transformation in India', in five volumes, is a collaborative effort of Indian scholars to capture the changing tribal scenario and a whole diversity of issues related to tribal economy, agronomy, politics, ethnicity, ecology, education, technology transfer, social political movements, religious faiths and rituals in an indigenized, yet more articulate framework, with both diagnostic and remedial models. With the latest concepts/research tools in anthropology and related disciplines, the authors make a fresh look at micro and macro level dynamics of the tribal situation in India. vis-a-vis the socio-cultural relations.

S.G. Deogaonkar (1994)³² traces the origin and growth of the efforts for the development of tribal population in India. Apart from examining various approaches to tribal development, it enumerates the administrative structures and organisational strategies adopted during the last many years of planning, the outlay on tribal development during the plans and the priorities adopted have also

been indicated. The Tribal Sub-Plan strategy and its implementation has been examined elaborately. The personal policy adopted in tribal development finds a special and critical treatment.

Rudolfe Heredia (1995),³³ reveals his view that "if the developmental dilemma that confronts our tribals is to be successfully addressed, tribal integration will require their mobilization not just to preserve their cultural autonomy but to redress their minority status as well". So that they can participate in their own development. For this, tribal education will have to play a major role.

P. Sudhakara Reddy (1995)³⁴ in his comprehensive study, discusses the processes and problems of displacement, rehabilitation and socio-cultural changes occurred among the displaced Scheduled Tribe, Yanadis of the Shriharikota Island in Andhra Pradesh where the rocket launching station was established by Indian Space Research Organisation, government of India. The author also tries to portray the traditional social and cultural fabric and adaptation of the Yanadi islanders prior to their displacement, which serves as the basis for understanding the continuity and change in the environment, society and culture. He analyses the rehabilitation programmes and the resultant factors and the forces behind the system of forced migration and adaptation of the Yanadis to the new environment, outside the rehabilitation centres. He also describes the

pattern and processes of continuity and change on the socio-cultural set up of Yanadi islanders.

Bhujendra Nath Panda (1996),³⁵ has made sincere attempt to study the personality adjustment, mental health, attitude and academic achievements of more acculturated Saora tribes. Through an in-depth analysis, this book gives practical suggestions to teachers, and policy makers to realise the pros and cons of tribal acculturization. Thus the findings have obvious implication for policy makers in tribal education and development.

In his thought-provoking study, A.K. Pandey (1997)³⁶ presents an important correction to the tendency of western researchers and conservative scholars. He has successfully tried to investigate the problem of underdevelopment, the culture of powerlessness and culture of poverty among tribals vis-a-vis the Indian society.

Amita Baviskar (1998)³⁷ who has studied the erosion and destruction of environment in her study of Narmada valley, argues that positivism has failed to comprehend the tribal conflicts over the developments in the valley. She says that in such researches positivism is in conflict with the epistemological situation of the tribal people.

The methodology of 'critical enquiry' postulated by Baviskar argues that

there are two important variables: (1) the perspective of the tribals on the life as they live; and (2) the perspective of the researcher who 'interprets' the meaning of life given by the objects of study. Here it is very clear that the researcher becomes a strong variable. It is his ideological bias, his values and his definition of life which interpret the life of the tribal. Perhaps the authentic perspective of the tribals remain unexplained or not properly represented by the researcher.

S.N. Tripathy's (1999)³⁸ book contains eleven selected contributions of eminent authors relating to various issues and problems of tribals along with policy options. The role of financial institutions and co-operatives in mitigating the tribal economic problems, the impact of development plans and poverty amelioration schemes, etc., have discussed at length. Based on secondary as well as field data collected through survey, this work portrays the evaluation and analysis of tribal problems and policy paradigms to tackle the problem of backwardness in tribal regions.

P.C. Jain (1999)³⁹ gives some insight into the Bhils and Minas of Rajasthan. The objective of the study is to find out the development attained by these two tribal groups. The development is through various sources. In the First Year Plan, the State government is committed on constitutional ground to bring the tribals at par with the other tribal groups who are economically and socially advanced.

S.R. Bakshi and Kiran Bala (2000)⁴⁰ presents the sociol-economic status of several scheduled tribes inhabiting in various regions of our sub-continent. Their life-style, customs and traditions are quite different from the population in our rural and urban areas. In fact 'they live in their own world'. Their social backwardness has been assessed at various levels and schemes have been launched for the education of their children, to provide them health facilities and jobs for their daily needs.

Prakash Chandra Mehta (2000)⁴¹ presents an over all review of the tribal development measures adopted during the 20th century. According to him the government failed to provide them basic minimum needs for their subsistence. The first half of the century were administered by the British government and the local rulers. They were not bothered about their needs and welfare. Hence, during the first half of century they were exploited by the then rulers.

2.2 Tribal Studies in Kerala

The tribals of Kerala are living at different stages of economic development. Some still are in the stage of hunting and food gathering and leading a nomadic life. some are still practising shifting cultivation and a few are settled agriculturist. A microscopic minority is working in plantations. The tribal communities who are generally educationally more advanced are at a higher level of economic development than those who are educationally backward. There

were a few tribal studies in Kerala. Let us have a look at some of these studies undertaken by famous authors.

Anantha Krishna Iyer⁴² has published 'The Travancore Tribes and Castes' in three volumes. Iyer concentrated his study on the hill tribes which were fast dying out or were deteriorated. In the first volume (1937), he had discussed seven hill tribes, namely the Kanikkaran, the Mala Kurumbans, the Malapandaram, Malapulaya, the Malavetan, the Malayarayan and the Maison. The second and the third volumes (1961) deals with the accounts of the tribes of Travancore. In a later study (1961) he described the hill tribes of Kerala as pre-dravidian. Iyer also undertook the ethnographic survey of the hill and jungle tribes of Cochin and published its result in four volumes. The first volume of his work 'Cochin Tribes and Caste' (1909) includes description of the tribes like Kadar, the Malayan, the Nayadi, the Ulladon, Paniya and others.

Logan. William (1951)⁴³ mentioned the 'adima' system prevailed among the aboriginals and untouchable classes of Malabar. The exploitative attitude of the feudal lords towards adima was vividly explained by him. Logan's pioneering work has shed light on the exploitative system of feudal landlordism in Malabar in the Nineteenth century.

Ayyappan⁴⁴ made several systematic studies on the various tribes of Kerala, 'Nayadis of Malabar' (1937) and 'Erulas of Kerala' (1944) are the

important studies. Later he conducted a subsequent study on Erulas in 1965 and the results were published which gives an insight into the socio-economic changes that took place in the Erula community.

A.A.D. Luiz (1962)⁴⁵ made a detailed study of all the 48 tribes of Kerala. He has discussed their mode of living, occupation, diet, religion, taboos, marriage and rituals. He provides an insight into the changing pattern of the tribal's social life in the context of the socio-economic conditions of the State as a whole.

Thurston's (1966)⁴⁶ monumental study was a systematic study and a detailed ethnographic survey on the whole of South India and we find an account of the changing pattern of the hill tribes of Kerala. He noted the settled way of life adopted by Paniyas of Wayanad as a result of their contact with the outside world. He also focuses attention on the way of life, customs and traditions of other communities in the region.

P.R.G. Mathur (1971)⁴⁷ traces the socio-linguistic evolution of the tribes of Kerala. In addition to giving some valuable statistical information, the author describes some of the important problem facing the tribals like land alienation, bonded labour, indebtedness, status of tribal women etc. This book also mentions briefly some of the recent political development among the tribals like the formation of tribal organisations and the influence of naxalite movement on

them etc.

M. Kunhaman (1982)⁴⁸ in his book examined the inter-regional variations in the level of socio-economic development of the hill tribe of Kerala and the underlying causes.

Though there are studies on various tribes in Kerala, the Paniya community in Wayanad and their socio-economic development on the basis of human development indices has not been analysed so far. So the researcher hopes that the present study will fill the gap in the literature.

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CHAPTER III

POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES FOR TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

According to 1991 census 67.76 % of persons belong to Scheduled Tribe (ST) in different States and Union Territories excluding Assam, Jammu and Kashmir. This constitute 8.08% of the total population. The percentage of Scheduled Tribe population has marginally increased from 7.83% in 1981 to 7.95% in 1991.¹ The Scheduled Tribe population has increased by 25.67% during the decade of 1981 -1991. The growth rate is high in comparison to the total population of the country (23.79%).² This chapter gives an insight into the policies, plans and programmes for tribal development in India.

3.1 A Brief Account of the Demographic Particulars of Scheduled Tribe Population in India

Out of the total Scheduled Tribe population of 67.76 million, about 49% of the Scheduled Tribe population lives in three states *viz.*, Madhya Pradesh (27.73%), Maharashtra (10.80%) and Orissa (10.38%), while Hariyana, Punjab, Chandigrah, Delhi, Pondicherry have not a single Scheduled Tribe.³

About 93 % of the Scheduled Tribe population is rural based. Out of the major 15 States, only three states, *viz.*, Karnataka, Maharashtra, and Tamil Nadu

had more than 10% of the Scheduled Tribe population residing in rural areas, the respective percentages being 14.94, 12.47 and 12.01. The percentage share of Scheduled Tribe population in the total population of the following states are Andhra Pradesh (7.6%), Assam (3.4%), Bihar (7.0%), Gujarat (8.1%), Kerala (3.5%), Madhya Pradesh (4.8%), Orissa (5.1%), Rajasthan (4.6%), Utter Pradesh (5.9%) and West Bengal (5.2%).⁴

State wise ranking of Scheduled Tribe population and the size, proportion of Scheduled Tribe population in the total population of the various states as per the 1991 census are given in Table 3-1.

Table 3-1

**Ranking of States and Union-Territories by Size of Scheduled Tribes
Population (1991 census)**

<i>S. No</i>	<i>State / Union -Territory</i>	<i>Total scheduled tribe population.</i>	<i>Percentage of scheduled tribe population to total state population. 1991</i>
1	Madhya Pradesh	15,399,034	23.27
2	Maharashtra	7,318,281	9.27
3	Orissa	7,032,214	22.21
4	Bihar	6,616,914	7.66
5	Gujarat	6,161,775	14.29
6	Rajasthan	5,474,881	12.44
7	Andhra Pradesh	4,199,481	6.31

8	West Bengal	3,808,760	5.59
9	Assam	2,874,441	12.82
10	Karnataka	1,915,927	4.26
11	Meghalaya	1,517,927	85.53
12	Nagaland	1,060,822	87.70
13	Tripura	855,345	30.95
14	Mizoram	653,565	94.75
15	Manipur	632,173	34.41
16	Tamil Nadu	574,194	1.03
17	Arunachal Pradesh	550,351	63.66
18	Kerala	320,967	1.10
19	Uttar Pradesh	281,901	0.21
20	Himachal Pradesh	218,349	4.22
21	Sikkim	90,901	22.36
22	Goa	376	0.03
Union Territories			
1	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	101,380	78.99
2	Lakshadweep	48,163	93.15
3	Andaman&Nicobar Island	26,770	9.54
4	Daman & Diu	11,724	11.54

Source : *Census of India 1991,*

The Table 3-1 shows that in some of the States and in the Union Territories, the population is predominantly Scheduled Tribe viz., Mizoram 94.75%, Laksha Dweep (93.15%), Nagaland (87.10%), Meghalaya (85.83%), Dadra Nagar Haveli (79.98%) and Arunachal Pradesh (63.66%). Among the 15

major states, Madhya Pradesh has the largest proportion of Scheduled Tribe population (23.27%) followed by Orissa (22.21%).

The children in the age group of 0-6 constitute 20.18% of the Scheduled Tribe population in India as against 17.94% for the total population of India and 19.63% for the Scheduled Caste population.⁵ Thus the Scheduled Tribe population has relatively higher proportion of children as compared to general and Scheduled Caste population. The sex ratio for Scheduled Tribe population was 972 (Per 1000 males).⁶

- According to 1991, census 29.6% of the Scheduled Tribe population in the age group 7 years and above were literate, the literacy rate being 40.65% for males and 18.19% for females. These figures are much lower than the corresponding figures for the total population of India. The tribal literacy rate is low in Andhra Pradesh (17.16%) and Rajasthan (19.44%). In the case of females, the literacy is extremely low in states like Rajasthan (4.4%), Andhra Pradesh (8.7%), Orissa (10.2%), Madhya Pradesh (10.7%), Bihar (14.8%) and Uttar Pradesh (15.0%).

The work participation rate of Scheduled Tribe population is 49.30% which is much higher than that of the general population (33.46%) and of the Scheduled Caste population 39.25%.⁷ This is primarily due to very high participation rate among the Scheduled Tribe women. In case of males, the

work participation rate of Scheduled Tribe population is 54.74% which is higher than the corresponding figure for the total population (51.55%) and the Scheduled Caste population (51.48%). But the female work participation rate among the Scheduled Tribe is 43.7% as against 25.98% for Scheduled Caste and 22.25% for total population of the country.⁸ The female work participation rate of Scheduled Tribe population is generally quite high in most of the states and union territories. The highest female work participation rate among the Scheduled Tribe was found in Andhra Pradesh (50.63%) and the lowest in West Bengal (23.43%). Among the Scheduled Tribe population, 96.03% of the main workers rely on the primary sector, 3.85% depends on the secondary sector and 6.12% on the tertiary sector for livelihood. 54.51% of the Scheduled Tribe main workers in agricultural sector are cultivators, while 32.69% are agricultural labourers. This is in sharp contrast to the proportion of Scheduled Caste as well as the total population of the country.⁹

The tribals live mostly in the sparsely populated parts of hills and forests of sub-Himalayas and north east region, in the mountain belt of central India between Narmada and Godawari rivers, and southern parts of the Western Ghats extending from Wayanad to Kanyakumari. It is seen that there is a wide gap between the tribals and the non-tribals even today.

3.2 Pre-Independence and Post- Independence Approaches for Tribal Development.

In a democratic state, one group of people should not remain outside the mainstream society. Tribals have to be involved in all the matters concerning their country. After independence, Planned development started and broadly three different approaches were advanced (1). Isolationist (2). Assimilationist (3). Integrationist.¹⁰ The first approach was a legacy of the British regime, and is usually described as 'leave them untouched'. The policy was to isolate the tribal population from the masses. The British took deliberate efforts not to develop communication in the tribal areas. Tribals were kept away from the rest of the population. Verrier Elwin (1934) supported the establishment of a sort of 'National park' or 'specimens in a human Zoo' of the tribals and advised that their contact with the outside should be reduced to the minimum. But this approach was not followed for long.

The 'assimilationist' approach is the approach which paved the way for the tribal people to mingle with the neighbouring non-tribals. In India, the process of assimilation took place in different parts of the country, resulting in the gradual acceptance of Hindu culture by the tribals. The main criticism against this approach was that this tried to change the tribals by imposing the non - tribal customs and traditions. The Advocates of this view supported a direct

assimilation without waiting for a slow and long-drawn change over. The approach is also considered to be a failure.

The past experience of the policies of isolation and assimilation, forced the planners to take the middle way between the two, which is called the integrationist approach. This approach was mainly the brain child of Jawaharlal Nehru. The policy of integration consists of two types of measures for tribal development. (1) Protective (2) Promotional measures.

The former consists of land policies, forest policies and the policies to protect tribal culture and traditions, while the latter is the same as development and welfare programmes undertaken by the government (through plans) and other voluntary agencies to make the tribal life better through the integrationist approach. P.D Kulkarni states that “the policy of protection and development is undoubtedly same in itself, but it remains to be seen whether development is possible without upsetting the harmony that exists in the placid tribal life”.¹¹

The constitution of India initiated the tribal welfare programmes by incorporating important provisions. These provisions not only put an end to the policy of indifference which had been followed during the pre-independence period, but also gave testimony to tribal welfare programmes, making them a constitutional obligation for the future governments of the country.

3.3 Constitutional Provisions

- (a) Statutory recognition of tribal communities.
- (b) Creation of scheduled areas for the thorough development of the tribals.
- (c) Special representations in the parliament, in the legislative assemblies and local bodies.
- (d) Special privileges in the form of reservation of a certain percentage of posts in government services and seats in educational institutions.
- (e) Recognition of the right to use local language for administration and other purposes and to profess one's faith.

In addition to the above, three provisions of the constitution deserve special mention. According to the fifth schedule, Union Executive is given the power of giving direction to the States in matters relating to the administration of scheduled areas. The sixth schedule designates tribal areas in Assam and Meghalaya where autonomous district councils and regional councils have been constituted with powers to make laws for management of land, forests, shifting of cultivation, appointment or succession of chief and headman, inheritance of property, marriage and divorce, social customs and matters relating to village or town administration. Article 275 (1) of the constitution provides for grant-in-aid from the Union to the States for promoting the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes or for raising the level of administration of the Scheduled Areas. The constitution also provides for the appointment of a commission for Scheduled

Tribe's for safeguarding their interests. Thus, tribal development in the true sense and in the present context of India is in fact a post independence concept and draws the spirit from the constitution itself.

The national committee on the development of backward areas under the chairmanship of Sri Sivaraman (Sivaraman committee) has recommended the "Sub-Plan approach" with suitable adaptation for other backward areas for the better planning and development. Some committees were formed by government of India under the chairmanship of prominent politicians / government officials. These committees were included in the working group report of Fourth Plan 1980-85. The Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes commission set up under the chairmanship of Sri. U.N. Dhebar in 1961 referred to this policy approval and observed that "the problem is not to disturb the harmony of tribal life but simultaneously work for their advance, not to impose any thing upon the tribals but work for their integration as members and part of the Indian family".¹²

A study team appointed by the Planning Commission headed by P. Shilu A.O. opined that "the aim of tribal welfare policy should be defined as the progressive advancement, social and economic betterment of tribals with a view to their integration with the rest of the community on a footing of equality within a reasonable distance of time."¹³ The period has necessarily to vary from tribe to tribe and it may be five or ten years in the case of certain tribes.

The Debar commission (1961) stressed an integrated approach. According to them, “problem of economic development for the bulk of the tribals cannot be solved unless that resources of land, forests, cattle wealth, cottage and village industries are all mobilized in an integrated basis.”¹⁴ In 1972 under the chairmanship of S. C. Dube an Expert Committee set up for advising on the formulation of a new strategy during the Fifth Five Year Plan.

3.4 Five Year Plans and Tribal Development

The planning commission laid down the objectives and strategies for tribal development from time to time. The following are the account of the tribal welfare programmes in India during the various plans.

3.4.1 *The First Five Year Plan (1951-1956)*

The First Five Year Plan outlined a positive policy for assisting the tribals as under:-

- i Assisting them to develop their natural resources and to evoke a productive economic life wherein they will enjoy the fruits of their own labour and will not be exploited by more organized economic forces from outside;
- ii. It is not desirable to bring about changes in their religions and social life, except at the initiative of the tribal people themselves and with their willing consent;

- iii It is accepted that there are many features in tribal life which should not only be retained but also developed; and
- iv. The qualities of their dialects, and the rich content of their arts and crafts also need to be appreciated and preserved.

Taking into consideration the conditions of the tribal people, The First Planning Commission quoted that “There may be a good deal of justification for such (isolation) a policy of non-interference; but it is not easily practicable when tribal life has been influenced by social forces from without, and tribal communities have reached a certain degree of acculturation accompanied by the penetration of communications in the tribal areas, and of social services for the betterment of their lives.”¹⁵

In the First Five Year Plan, Community Development Projects for all round development of rural areas especially the weaker sections were started.

3.4.2 *Second Five Year plan (1956 -1961)*

During this plan the Ministry of Home Affairs provided fund to the Ministry of Community Development to establish Special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks (SMPT) in areas with prominent tribal population.

3.4.3 *Third Five Year plan (1961 -1966)*

Towards the end of the second plan, i.e., in 1959, the government of

India appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Verrier Elwin to review the SMPT Blocks. According to the recommendations of this committee, during the Third Plan period, SMPT Blocks were renamed as Tribal Development Blocks (TDB) and suggested it to be opened in all areas where over 60% of the population were tribals. In addition to the normal allotment of Rs 12 lakhs to a community development block, a provision of Rs 10 lakhs for 1st stage, and Rs 5 lakhs for 2nd stage for TDB was also made.

3.4.4 Three Annual Plans (1966 -1969)

During this period no special funds were provided for tribal development. However in 1969-70 a decision was taken to extent the total life of TDBs to 15 Years by incorporating a new stage three. During the 3rd stage each TDB was given Rs 10 lakhs.

3.4.5 Fourth Five Year Plan (1969- 1974)

During the Fourth Five Year Plan, a series of programmes were conceived and addressed to specific target groups. The Small Farmers Development Agencies (SFDA) and Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Development Agencies (MFAL) were the first two in the series. In these cases, attention was shifted from area development to development of identified individuals who qualified for special attention according to certain objective criteria.

The Drought Prone Area Programme (DPAP) was another measure in the same direction but with a difference. Here the attention is given to the problem faced by an entire region which is depressed because of its agro-climatic situation. The specific target-group approach, however, was adopted to cater attention on the weaker sections of the society. In the wake of establishment of these area specific and weaker-group oriented projects, the programme for tribal areas were also on a pilot basis. Tribal Development Agencies (TDA's) were established on the pattern of SFDA which addressed themselves to the problems of the tribal population. The level of investment in the new programme was much higher compared to TD Block. Six tribal development agencies were started during the Fourth Plan. Each Tribal Development Agency covered a group of TD Blocks. Tribal Development Agencies were expected to comprise elements of economic development, social services and prospective measures.

By the time of Fourth Plan, one of the drawbacks of the functioning of TDBS became clear that their activities were not properly integrated with the general development plans for the region. The Fourth Plan tried to rectify this drawback by adopting the integrated area development approach.

Sectoral outlays for tribal development during the First Five Year Plan to the Fourth Five Year Plan is shown in the Table 3-2 below.

Table 3-2**Sector -Wise Outlays for Tribal Development (Rs in crores)**

<i>Plan period</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Economic upliftment</i>	<i>Health, housing etc</i>	<i>Total</i>
Ist plan	5.10	8.46	3.81	17.37
IIInd plan	8.05	22.70	9.76	40.51
IIIrd plan	13.23	30.72	7.10	51.05
1966-69	9.32	24.07	1.93	35.32
IV th Plan	31.50	42.25	10.45	84.20

Source : Fourth Five Year Plan Approach Paper

The Table 3-2 shows that the investment in (sector wise) successive Five Year Plans have progressively increased and the sector-wise out lay on education has increased sharply. Sectoral outlay of economic upliftment was given the highest priority in different plans.

3.4.6 Fifth Five Year Plan (1974 -79)

During the middle of the Fourth Five Year Plan, i.e., in the year 1972, the Planning Commission set up a “Task force on Development of Tribal Areas” with L.P. Vidyarthi as the Chairman. In their appraisal, the task force observed that in spite of various kinds of investment by the State and Central governments for tribal development in successive plans, the problem of the tribals reflected in primitive methods of agriculture, land alienation, indebtedness, adverse effects of industrialization, low rate of literacy, poor health of nutrition etc., had not

been solved.¹⁶ The committee opined that one of the important factors for the lack of impact so far was that development of Scheduled Tribes and tribal areas had been looked upon as a problem of 'welfare' as distinguished from 'development'.

Taking into account of the recommendations of the task force and other previous committees, during the Fifth Five Year Plan, an altogether new approach was adopted towards tribal development. This was termed as Tribal Sub-plan. It envisaged the total development of the tribal areas and provided the mechanism for integrating the developmental activities of the government and the semi government organizations by financing through the Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP). The Sub-Plan aimed at narrowing the gap between the levels of development of tribal and other areas, and to improve the quality of life of the tribal communities in general.

The investment in the tribal areas from the First Five Year Plan to the Fifth Five Year Plan is presented in the Table 3-3. The following Table shows that the investment in tribal development has been increasing step-by- step in the proceeding plans .The percentage wise investment for tribal development was high during the Fifth Five Year Plan with 3.01% of total plan outlay.

Table 3-3**The Investment in the Tribal Areas from the First Plan to the Fifth Plan****(Rs in Crores)**

<i>Plan</i>	<i>Total Plan outlay</i>	<i>Tribal development</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
First Plan	1,960	19.93	1.0
Second plan	7,672	42.92	0.9
Third plan	8,577	50.53	0.6
Annual plans(1966-67)	6,756	32.32	0.6
Fourth plan	15,902	75.00	0.5
Fifth Plan(1974-79)	39,322	1,182.00	3.01

Source : The Sixth Five Year Plan Approach Paper.

The Tribal Sub-Plan 1974-79 basically represented disaggregation of sectoral programmes and the total out lay was a derived figure from this sector wise qualification. The First Sub-Plan 1974-79 accorded the highest priority to elimination of exploitation.

During the Fifth Plan, agricultural and allied sectors claimed the highest investment amounting 26% followed by education and health services Which accounted for about 21%. Co-operation has been given a very high step up during this plan period with a total investment of Rs 60 crores largely meant for marketing of agricultural and minor forest produces. Transport and communication had been kept at a low key claiming only about 8% of the total investment.

For each Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP), an Integrated Area Development Plan focusing attention on the specific problems of the area and the tribal people has been formulated. The Sub-Plan areas in each state thus comprised a number of viable projects.

3.4.7 Sixth Five Year Plan (1980 -85)

The Sixth Plan continued the Sub-Plan approach of the Fifth Plan. This was to be supplemented by target beneficiary approach with the objective of narrowing the gap between the level of development of the tribals and other developed communities and bringing about a qualitative change in the life of a tribal community.

The broad objectives of the Sixth Plan were:

- i) A progressive reduction in the incidents of poverty and unemployment.
- ii) Improving the quality of life through minimum needs programme.
- iii) A reduction in inequalities of income and wealth.
- iv) Infra structure development for further exploitation of potential of the tribal region.

The strategy of development lays emphasis on consolidation of the gains of protective measures, programmes of full employment, education and health services. The programmes under different sectors of development are required to be intensified with suitable modifications to remove the present inadequacies

in implementation. The States have to give due importance to the integration of programmes in the field and effective delegation of powers to the Project Authorities in ITDPs. The approach in the Sixth Plan for the development of backward areas in general was to rely, to a greater extent, on the development of agriculture, village and small-scale industries subsidiary occupations and related services and also the Minimum Need Programmes and Area Development Programmes. Improvement of economic status of the tribals should be the first concern and suitable programmes of horticulture, cattle development, poultry and piggery etc were carried out.

Emphasis was placed more on family- oriented programmes than on infrastructure development unlike in the previous Plans.

3.4.8 *Seventh Five Year Plan (1985 -90)*

The basic premises of the Tribal Sub-Plan continued in the Seventh Plan also. During the Seventh Plan, the Tribal Sub-Plan strategy comprised the following.

- (a) Identification of the Development Blocks where tribal population is in majority and their constitution into ITDPs with a view to adopt there an integrated and project - based approach for development.
- (b) Marking of funds for the Tribal Sub-Plan and ensuring the flow of funds from the control of State plan, sectoral outlays and from financial

institutions.

- (c) Creation of appropriate administrative structures in tribal areas and adoption of appropriate personnel policies.

The programme of tribal development with ITDP pattern was continued in the Seventh Plan also without any basic or major changes in the approach, Pattern or structure, but better co-ordination was sought between various agencies, and social services were given priority .LAMPS (Large Agricultural Marketing Societies) were to be strengthened through broadening their popular base. Seventh Plan paid attention towards the rehabilitation of poor tribals and the removal of tribal women's backwardness.

Expenditure in different plan periods for development of Scheduled Tribes were shown in the Table 3-4. The following Table shows that funds from State Plan is higher than the funds from the Special Central Assistance (SCA). SCA was low during the Fifth Five Year Plan and high during the Seventh Five Year Plan. The total expenditure for tribals development has been increasing sharply. The seventh Plan's investment was highest with 7951.82 crores. During the Seventh Plan the funds from the state Plan is high with 7100.57 crores.

Table 3-4**Expenditure in Different Plan Periods for Tribal Development****(Rs. in Crores)**

<i>Plan</i>	<i>Funds From State Plan</i>	<i>Funds from Special Central Assistance</i>	<i>Total</i>
Fifth Plan	759.44	186.76	946.20
1979-80(Actual)	382.45	59.45	441.90
Sixth Plan	3387.89	486.11	3874.00
Seventh plan	7100.57	851.25	7951.82

Source: A Note on Review of Programmes during the Seventh Plan, Planning Commission, New Delhi.

3.4.9 Eighth Five Year Plan (1992 -97)

In the Eighth Plan, taking in view of the problem related to the implementation of schemes for tribal development, the planning commission tried to be more realistic. The Plan largely emphasizes the re-orientation of administrative structure at all levels for functional co-ordination, integration and effective delivery of services. The strategy of Eighth Plan also specifically aimed at improving the living environment of the tribals by giving them better social and civic amenities and facilities. The working group has recommended that the objective of the Seventh Plan would continue for the eighth plan period. The objectives for the Eighth Plan are detailed below.

- (a) Progressive reduction in poverty and creation of employment thereby providing reduction in income inequalities.
- (b) Improving the quality of life through a minimum needs programme.
- (c) Development and strengthening of infrastructure for further economic exploitation of the Tribal Sub-Plan area.
- (d) Development of confidence of tribals along the desired lines through intensive educational efforts.

In the Eighth Five Year Plan, Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) area, MADA (Modified Area Development Approach), Scattered Development Plans, and Primitive Tribe Development Plans for the tribal development approach have been stressed.¹⁷ Despite the effects to diversify economic activities in non-formal sectors, the predominant source of livelihood in TSP area continues to be agriculture. The main thrust would be on the development of fisheries, sericulture, horticulture, plantation on waste land and growing vegetables. During the Eighth Plan these areas would provide supplemental income and new avenues of employment to the tribals. Human resources development through education, vocational/craftman training would be taken up to improve the skills of the tribals. Expansion of irrigation facilities and electrification of tribal settlements, expansion of irrigation wells, fertilizers, improvement of cattle breed and mining activities have also been given. In this plan, family oriented

schemes have been also stressed to uplift the tribal families. The community development programmes are given second priority.

3.4.10 *Nineth Five Year Plan (1997-2002)*

Nineth Five Year Plan (1997-2002) has the strategy to achieve a seven percent growth rate for the economy. The main objectives of the Ninth Plan are the generation of adequate productive employment, eradication of poverty, empowerment of women and socially disadvantaged groups. It aims to ensure food and nutritional security for all, particularly the vulnerable sections of society. The Nineth Plan therefore, contemplates to implement people oriented planning in which the government and the people particularly the poor can fully participate.

The approach paper to the Nineth Five Year Plan reiterated in the document that “the principal task of the Nineth Plan was to usher in a new era of people oriented planning, in which not only the government at the Center and the States, but the people at large, particularly the poor, can fully participate.”¹⁸

A participatory planning process is an essential precondition for ensuring equity as well as accelerating the rate of growth of the economy. For approaching to this goal, the government of India enacted an amendment to the constitution of India (73rd Amendment) for ensuring representation of backward and marginalised communities eg. Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe and women in

Panchayati Raj institutions. The draft report of the working group on decentralized planning and Panchayati Raj for formulation of the Ninth Five Year Plan (1997-2002) noted that "... large parts of the country and vast section of the population have been untouched by this progress. It is now felt that the fruits of development could have been multiplied manifold with the involvement of people at the grass-root level in the process of development."¹⁹

The approach for the Ninth Five Year Plan has drawn attention to the need for national policy for tribal development. Effects will be made to ensure that the tribal economy is protected and supported against threats from the external markets. The ownerships/patent rights of the tribal people in respect of minor forest produces vis a vis the use of medicinal plants will be protected as per the provision of intellectual property Rights (IPR). Ninth Plan is a process and it would be able to fulfill the ambition of tribals is the initiation of 21st century and may able to bring them more nearer to national mainstream.

3.5 Schemes for Tribal Development

The tribal majority areas in the country are broadly divided into three categories, viz., (i) predominantly tribal states/union territories (ii) Scheduled area, and (iii) Non-Scheduled areas in the states. All the tribal-majority States and Union Territories are placed in a special category for availing funds. The development and administration of tribal areas is accepted as a special

responsibility of the central government even though they are integral parts of the concerned states. Financial provisions for their development were considered in detail by the constituent assembly itself.²⁰

The schemes have been divided into two categories, viz., (i) central sector programmes which are fully financed by the central government. (ii) the centrally sponsored programmes which are partly financed by the central government, and rest of the expenditure meted out by the concerned State government.

According to Dr. B.D. Sharma, financial resources for developmental programmes in a state may comprise the following elements.²¹

- i) investment in the central and centrally sponsored schemes;
- ii) state revenues;
- iii) share from certain central revenue;
- iv) plan assistance from the central government and
- v) grants under Article 275 (1) on the basis of the recommendations of the Finance Commission.

The utilisation of State funds is broadly classified under two categories. Plan and non-plan. The plan technically covers all those items which are included in the State or the Central plan. The non-plan includes expenditure on general administration as also on the maintenance of development schemes.

The Special Central Assistance (SCA) for tribal sub-plans is allocated between different states on the basis of three criteria as under.

- i) the tribal population of Sub-Plan area;
- ii) the geographical area of the Sub-Plan; and
- iii) the per capita gross output of the state.

The weightage for these three elements has been fixed in a certain proportion. While the first two criteria are simple, the quantum of assistance on the basis of the third criterion is determined with reference to the difference between the inverse of the State's per capita gross product and the inverse of the per capita gross national product.

The financing agencies rendering their services in the tribal areas are Central Government, State Governments, institutions, viz., commercial banks, co-operative banks, NABARD and voluntary organisations.²²

3.6 Programmes for Tribal Welfare

A number of employment oriented and developmental programmes for tribals have been introduced by the government of India. The major programmes are Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), Jawahar Rosgar Yojana (JRY), Prime Ministers Rosgar Yojana (PMRY) and Training For Self Employment For Rural youth (TRYSEM). IRDP scheme is absolutely for rural people those belong to below poverty line and others are for both rural as well.

as urban youth. All these schemes are implemented in the state by District Rural Development Agencies (DRDA's) in collaboration with Commercial and Co-operative Banks. PMRY was initiated in October 1993 to tackle the burning problem of educated unemployment. PMRY relates to setting up of self-employment ventures through industries and services. Any unemployed youth who is metric failed/passed or above or ITI passed, is eligible for the benefits of the scheme subject to the condition that if he is between the age group of 18 to 35 years and his family income does not exceed Rs 24,000 per annum.²³ The youth should also be the permanent resident of the areas for at least three years and he should not be defaulter to any bank or financial institution. The scheme envisages 22.5% reservation for Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe and 27% for OBC. A maximum loan of Rs 1 lakh per candidate is provided under this scheme, at an interest rate of 12.5% to 15.5%. The entrepreneur has to contribute 5% of project cost as margin money. No collateral security guarantee is asked on such loans. Period of repayment starts after a moratorium of six to eighteen months and range over 3 to 7 years. The government provides subsidy to the extent of 15% of the total loan disbursed with a ceiling of Rs 7,500 per entrepreneur. In case of joint venture each partner may be provided a loan of Rs 1 lakh subsidy. In such cases the interest is calculated for each partner separately at a rate of 15% of his share in the project cost limited to Rs 7,500 for each partner.

The provision of compulsory training to entrepreneurship development is a salient feature of the scheme. Duration of this training is one month and trainees are provided stipend of Rs..500 during the training period.

With the objective of providing technical skills to rural youth to enable them to take up self employment in the fields of agriculture and allied activities, industries, services and business activities, the scheme of TRYSEM was introduced in the year 1979 on the independence day. The scheme works as a part of Integrated Rural Development Programme and aims at imparting training to about 2 lakhs rural youths every year from the 5,011 development blocks of the country and to lift them above the poverty line.²⁴

Under this scheme, those rural youth who are in the age group of 18 to 35 years with annual timely income from all sources are not exceeding Rs 8,500/- are eligible for selection. Preference is given to Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe (50%) women (40%) and physically handicapped (3%). The selected beneficiaries are trained into the field of agriculture and allied activities, industry, service and business activities. The trainees are paid a monthly stipend or daily allowance during the training period. The training institution is provided honorarium along with Rs 75 per trainee per month for purchase of raw-materials.

After completion of training, the beneficiaries are assisted in getting finance from the banks. A maximum of Rs 35,000 /- can be sanctioned to each beneficiary as a composite loan. Trained youths are granted a subsidy by the government at the rate of $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ of the cost of the project to set up self-employment venture.²⁵ Beneficiaries are also provided marketing support for their finished products. The amount spent on this scheme is contributed by the Central and the State governments in 50:50 ratios. Since 1983 the scope of TRYSEM scheme has been enlarged.

The main thrust of the development strategies during the recent past has been on the removal of poverty in tribal areas. The main causes of poverty are identified as illiteracy, unemployment, under employment and low productivity in agriculture. Since farmers in TSP area have land holding mostly on hill slopes, the fertility of land is very low. Further, droughts and soil erosion are now recurring features in the tribal areas. This has reduced employment opportunities of the tribals. For improving the economic status of tribals, special programmes were launched, during 1980's, mainly (a) the Asset Programme and (b) the Employment Programme.

The Asset Programme aims at the over all integrated development of rural life through the removal of poverty and unemployment in rural areas. In this programme productive assets are directly given to the poor. It is believed

that income generated from these productive assets would not only be sufficient to repay the bank loans but will help the assisted families to cross the 'poverty line'. This programme is popularly known as Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP).

The Employment Programme on the other hand aims at providing employment through public works during the adverse agricultural season. The employment programme asserts that poverty persists because of the lack of employment opportunities. The earlier employment schemes were adhoc in nature but the employment programme launched from Oct 1980, popularly known as National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) is considered as a permanent plan programme.

The travails of tribal development need to be understood properly. The programmes should be related to the specific needs of the tribal community. Also, tribal development programmes should be integrated with the ongoing rural development programmes meant for poverty alleviation. A pragmatic and holistic approach to tribal development alone can produce good results.

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CHAPTER IV

TRIBALS IN KERALA : A CASE STUDY IN SULTHAN BATHERY TALUK OF WAYANAD DISTRICT

Kerala holds a unique position in the tribal map of India. According to the 1991 census of the Scheduled Tribe population in Kerala is 3,20,967 constituting 1.10% of the total population. The composition of male and female are 1,60,812 and 1,60,155 respectively. This chapter gives a brief account of the tribals in Kerala, with special reference to those in Wayanad.

4.1 Tribals in Kerala

There are forty eight tribal communities throughout the State, out of which thirty eight were scheduled tribes and the rest are denotified tribal communities. Among the tribal communities in Kerala, the most numerically dominant are Paniyas (45,562), Maratis (17,556), Malayarayans (13,813), Kuravans (15,116), Kurichians (15,700) and Erulas (14,856).¹

The tribal communities of Kerala not only differ from the non tribals but also from one another. But they have some uniform characteristics. Vimal Chandra points out some main characteristic common to all Scheduled Tribes in the State : (a) Tribal origin (b) primitive way of life (c) general backwardness in all respects. An attempt to classify the tribes of Kerala on the basis of their

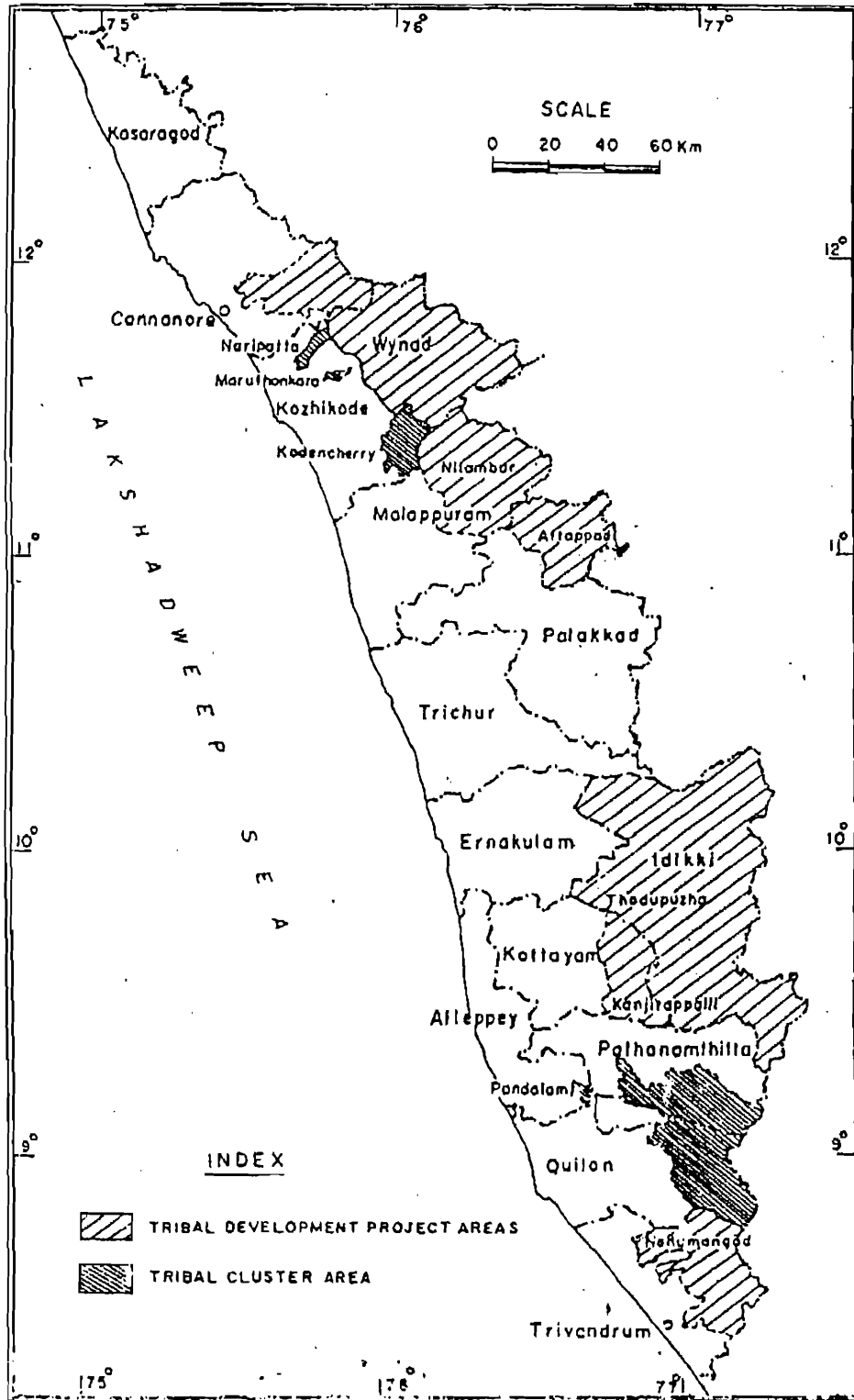
economy reveals that they are food gatherers, hunters, shifting cultivators, farm labourers and agriculturists. The general name for tribes in Travancore-Cochin area is 'Kattujathi' and in Malabar 'Kattukuruman'. Both these names mean people of the forest.

According to the 1991 census, the population of the Kanikkaran constituted 11,876 and the Muthuvan of Travancore and Mudugas of Attappady together numbered 7,932. The Adiyas constituted 7,073. The population of Kattunayakan, Mannan, Velladen and Malayan ranged between 3,000 and 5,000 each, while the tribes like Oorali, Hill Pulayas and Malai Arayan numbered between 2,000 and 3,000. The Cholanaikan found in the Nilambur forests of Malappuram district, is the most primitive tribal community of Kerala. They live in caves. Their number has been estimated to be 281.²

Every district in Kerala has some tribal population. They are found significantly in the districts of Wayanad, Kannur, Kozhikode, Palakkad and Idukki.³ These districts are having 80% of the tribal population in Kerala. However, the main tribal communities are in the taluks of North Wayanad, South Wayanad, Mannerghat, Devikulam and Thodupuzha.⁴

Map of Kerala showing tribal area is shown below.

MAP OF KERALA SHOWING TRIBAL AREA



Major tribal groups in Kerala are the following :

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Adiyan | 2. Arandon |
| 3. Eravalian | 4. Hill playa |
| 5. Irulan | 6. Irualar |
| 7. Kadar | 8. Kanikkar |
| 9. Kanikkaran | 10. Kammara |
| 11. Kattunayakan | 12. Kochu velan |
| 13. Kondareddis | 14. Koraga |
| 15. Kota | 16. Kudia |
| 17. Kurichehan | 18. Kurumans |
| 19. Mahamalar | 20. Mali pandaram |
| 21. Mali Arayan | 22. Malivedan |
| 23. Malakkuravan | 24. Malasar |
| 25. Mulayan | 26. Malayarayan |
| 27. Mannan | 28. Mathuvan |
| 29. Muthuvan | 30. Mudugar |
| 31. Muduvan | 32. Palliyen |
| 33. Palliyan | 34. Paniya |
| 35. Viladan | 36. Uraly |

District wise distribution of tribal population as per the 1991 census are shown in the Table 4-1.

Table 4-1**District - Wise Distribution of Tribal Population -1991 Census**

<i>District</i>	<i>Total person</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>% wise details of the district total to the state total</i>
Kasargod	29283	14841	14442	9.12
Kannur	18243	9167	9076	5.68
Wayanad	114967	57386	57583	35.82
Kozhikode	5407	2654	2753	1.69
Malappuram	10555	5213	5342	3.29
Palakkad	35465	17927	17538	11.05
Thriśsur	4051	1990	2061	1.26
Ernakulam	4941	2551	2390	1.54
Idukki	50269	25512	24751	15.66
Kottayam	179996	8902	9094	5.61
Alappuzha	2801	1407	1394	0.87
Pathanamthitta	6922	3459	3463	2.16
Kollam	3884	1943	1941	1.21
Trivandrum	16181	7860	8321	5.04

Source : Census Report 1991, Kerala

The Table 4-1 shows that percentage wise population(District total to the State total) is highest in the Wayanad district (35.82%) followed by Idukki district (15.66%), Palakkad ranks Third (11.05%) and Kollam district has the least tribal concentration (1.21%). Highest number of tribals are in Kottayam district with 179996 persons (8902 male and 9094 female). Wayanad ranked

second with 114967 persons (57386 male and 57583 female). Alappuzha district has the least number with 2801 tribals (1407 male and 1394 female):

District wise literacy and work participation rates of scheduled tribes as per 1991 census are furnished below in the Table 4-2.

The following Table shows that the highest rate of literacy among Scheduled Tribe population are in Idukki district (88.69%). Ernakulam ranks the second (79.96%). Palakkad has the least literacy rate (34.87%). The literacy of the tribal population in Wayanad is 50.63 percentage.

Work participation rate is highest in Palakkad district with 54.67%. Thrissur has the second position (49.02%) and Wayanad is in the third position with 48.88%. The work participation rate is lowest in Kottayam and Idukki districts with 34.84% each.

Table 4-2

District - Wise Literacy and Work Participation Rates of Scheduled Tribes 1991

<i>State/District</i>	<i>Percentage of total district population</i>	<i>Percentage of state scheduled tribe population</i>	<i>Effective literacy rate of scheduled tribes</i>	<i>Work participation rates</i>
1	2	3	4	5
Kasargod	2.73	9.12	66.38	43.13

Kannur	0.81	5.68	58.61	41.99
Wayanad	17.11	35.82	50.63	48.88
Kozhikode	0.21	1.69	52.36	38.71
Malappuram	0.34	3.29	43.93	45.47
Palakkad	1.49	11.05	34.87	54.67
Thrissur	0.15	1.26	51.4	49.02
Ernakulam	0.18	1.54	79.96	38.55
Idukki	4.66	15.66	88.69	34.84
Kottayam	0.98	5.61	62.78	34.84
Alappuzha	0.14	0.87	74.48	40.7
Pathanamthitta	0.58	2.16	73.21	38.76
Kollam	0.16	1.21	62.42	42.12
Kerala	1.1	100	57.22	46.04

Source: Primary Census Abstract for Scheduled Tribes in Kerala, 1991.

District wise distribution of number of tribal families living below the poverty line are shown below in the Table 4.3. The following Table shows that tribals in Wayanad are the most poverty stricken group in Kerala with high poverty rate percentage (60.38%). Idukki ranks second (55.76%). Kannur (5.39%) and Alapuzha (7.21%) are rated as low tribal poverty districts.

Table 4-3

Number of Tribal Families Living Below the Poverty Line

District - Wise Classification

<i>SI No</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Total number of scheduled tribe families</i>	<i>Number of scheduled tribe families below poverty line</i>	<i>Poverty rate (%)</i>
1	Thiruvanthapuram	4059	2161	53.23
2	Kollam	925	95	10.27
3	Pathanamthitta	1647	722	43.83
4	Alappuzha	651	47	7.21
5	Kottayam	3999	749	18.72
6	Idukki	11516	6422	55.76
7	Ernakulam	1212	118	9.73
8	Thrissur	967	430	44.46
9	Malapuram	2363	1247	52.77
10	Palakkad	8610	45.75	53.08
11	Wayanad	23287	14063	60.38
12	Kozhikode	1215	288	23.7
13	Kannur	3635	196	5.39
14	Kasargod	5355	2555	47.71
	Total	49441	33664	48.47

Source: Vikasana Guide 1993-Rural Information Bureau , Rural Development Department, Trivandrum

4.2 Major Communities in Wayanad District

Wayanad is not far from Calicut, the city of Zamorins. It is a quiet place where scenic beauty, wild life and tradition matters. This land has a history and mystery, culture and social epistemology yet to be discovered. It is located at a distance about 76 k.m. from the sea shores of Calicut in the Western Ghats. This hill station is full of plantations, forest and wild life. Wayanad has a history of bloody wars between Vedar Kings and Kottayam Rajas. The war between Pazhassy Raja (Kerala Varma) of Kottayam and Tippu Sulthan of Mysore came to an end with the death of Pazhassy Raja in 1805.⁵ The name Wayanad is believed to have derived from the word Vayal- Nadu - The land of paddy fields. Tribals communities and non-tribal communities are the two main groups in Wayanad.

4.2.1. Tribal Communities

The native Adivasis mainly consist of various sects of Paniyas, Kurumas, Adiyas, Kurichiyas, Ooralis, Kattunaikkas etc. They have their own special life styles, culture, customs, traditions and religious practices. Tribals do not have a written script. Their history can be traced only through their oral tradition and religious practices. As a result of the changes taking place, even their practices are becoming extinct. Now-a-days many tribals blindly follow the modern culture. As a result they are losing their unique culture, land, language, etc. They have become a minority community exploited by others. Let us have a look at the major tribal communities in Wayanad.

i) **Mullakurumar** : Mullakurumars are considered as the followers of the royal family of Vedar. Mullakurumar believe in god Shiva. There are four sections among them. They consider marriage from their own particular section as taboo. Mullakurumar have a feeling that they are superior to other tribal groups. They speak a mixed language of Tamil and Malayalam. Their language does not have scripts. They live in Wayanad and Gudallur taluk in Tamil Nadu. Mullakurumar have better education than others and some of them have government jobs as well. They have some land of their own. They are experts in hunting.

ii) **Uralikurumar** : Uralikurumars have special skills to make items from bamboo and cane. Uralikurumars also make items of iron, like sword, knife, arrow guns, etc. They speak a mixture of Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil and Tulu. This tribal group too do not have a script. They are found in southern Wayanad and Vythiri taluk. They are very backward in education.

iii) **Kattunaikan** : Kattunaikans are also known as Thenkurumer and they are experts in collecting honey and prefer to live in the forest. Kattunaikan speak a Dravidian language mixed with Kannada. Their language also has no scripts. They have no education and do not possess any land. They are found in Wayanad, Nilgiris and Karnataka.

iv) **Paniyas** : Paniyas outnumber the other tribals found in Wayanad. They

have some similarity to the Negroes. This section of people are seen in Nilgiris, Wayanad, Kozhikode, Kannur, Kudagu areas. Paniyas speak primitive Malayalam without any script. Most of them were slaves of the non-tribal land lords in the early periods. Majority of them do not have education and land. At Present majority of Paniyas are casual agricultural labourers.

v) *Adiyas* : Adiyas live in Wayanad and Kudugu. They are divided into many clans. This tribal sect speak a mixture of Kannada and Malayalam. There is no script for their language. Adiyas too, do not have education or land. Majority of them are agricultural workers.

vi) *Kurichiyar* : Kurichiyar were actively involved in the wars. They are found in Southern and Northern Wayanad and in Kannur district. Like Mullakurumer, they too consider themselves as superior to other tribal groups. They are experts in hunting. Untouchability is prevalent among them. Majority of Kurichiyar possess some land. They are forward in educational status than other tribal communities.

Apart from the above mentioned groups there are also smaller groups like Kadar, Kalanadi, Karimpalan, Kunduvadiyar, Thechanandom, Pathiyar and Mada.

Some of the common features of majority of tribal communities in

Wayanad are as follows:

- No script for their languages.
- Lack of technical skills.
- Lack of education.
- Lack of interest in individual ownership of land.
- Lack of interest to oppose others or challenge.
- Prefer community living.
- Worship forest Gods.
- Give respect to others.
- Accept the leadership of the traditional leaders.
- Marriage, death, reaching puberty age of girls etc. are considered as community events.
- Acceptance of different community obligation.
- Interested in consuming alcohol.
- Have their own traditional art forms, folk dances.
- During harvest seasons they perform festivals and rituals.
- They are afraid of the souls of the departed.
- They are afraid of the outside world.
- They are fond of nature.

4.2.2 Non-Tribal Communities

Nambuthiris and Nairs are considered to be the oldest inhabitants of

Kerala.⁶ Hence, these two communities are believed to be the major and oldest non-tribal communities in Wayanad also.⁷ Another major community in Wayanad is the Ezhavas. They are considered as the young generation of Ezhava sect who had migrated to Kerala from Ceylon (Sri Lanka) in early days.⁸ Now the majority of people in Wayanad belong to Ezhava or Nair community and its sub-sects. But, Wayanad has its own history of migration. Migration is a process whereby people from other country or different States in India or different places in Kerala became the settlers of a new place. These people are known as migrants. Apart from original inhabitants, the major migrants in Wayanad are Jains, Chettys, Muslims and Christians. It is observed that tribal's life patterns have changed mainly due to the influence of these four communities. Let us have a look at these migrants.

i) *Jains* : Jains were considered as the first migrants to Wayanad. In all probability the Jain period extended from the eighth or ninth century AD to the twelfth or thirteenth century.⁹ A proper perception of the impact of Jainism is severely handicapped by lack of details. In Edakkal caves of Sulthan Bathery we can see a few inscriptions of Jainism. The Ganapathivattom area near Sulthan Bathery, twenty one miles from Vythiri and thirteen miles from the Mysore border was an important Jain center. There are many Jains in and around Kalpetta, Manathavadi and other places in Wayanad. The most interesting of the temples at Sulthan Bathery is the Vasti temple, an old Jain temple.¹⁰ There is a

small colony of Jains in the Kuppathode of North Wayanad. Kalpetta has a Jain population of two thousand, they are said to be migrants from Mysore during the incursions of Tippu Sulthan.¹¹ In Varatur near Panamara, Vennayottu and Palakkunnu in Wayanad are extant remains of Jain influence. With the arrival of Jains, changes had taken place among the tribals who were not settlers in a particular place. Jains started to cultivate the land. They also introduced new agricultural practices. Their unity and religious beliefs have had its impact on tribals.

ii) **Chettys** : Though there are different section of Chettys, the group which had its origin in Tamil Nadu are mainly found in Wayanad. It is observed that they came to Wayanad in the fourteenth century.¹² Their contacts and influence on the Mullukurumar helped them to make other tribal groups under their control. In course of time the temples of Kurumars were taken over by the Chettys. They become a formidable force in Wayanad.

iii) **Muslims** : They arrived from North India, Karnataka and Malabar in the sixteenth century for trade and to spread their religion.¹³ Slowly they became the settlers of Wayanad and the entire trade in the region came under their control. The profit which they made from the trade was taken to Malabar.

iv) **Christians** : Christian groups migrated to Wayanad in 1930s.¹⁴ Most of them came from Travancore. As a result of second world war there was acute

shortage of food and the government encouraged people to grow more food. This promoted the migration of Christians to Wayanad.¹⁵ With the arrival of Christians, new methods of agriculture and new varieties of crops were introduced in Wayanad. Even the little land which the tribals had become the property of Christians. The missionaries who followed the Christians, introduced a new educational system. There was an improvement in the work opportunities for tribals. This development took place at a rapid speed.

4.3 Present Situation of Wayanad

For administrative purpose, Wayanad was divided into two areas, viz, North Wayanad and South Wayanad. North Wayanad became a part of Kannur district while South Wayanad a part of Kozhikkodu district. In the year 1980, north and south Wayanad were joined together to form Wayanad district with its headquarters at Kalpetta. Wayanad district consists of three taluks, namely, Sulthan Bathery, Vythiri and Mananthavady. The main Road connecting Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu passes through Wayanad.

Wayanad is a place where majority of the tribal population of Kerala live. It is also the place where lots of tribals die due to lack of food and chronic diseases. Though, Kerala can be proud of its high level of education, Wayanad still lags behind the state average.

There are two types of citizens in Wayanad tribals and non-tribals. The tribals are an oppressed community, exploited by others and thrown out from their own land. The non-tribals are organised and the laws are in favour of them. They are considered as the elites of the society. Tribals lack unity and ability to organise themselves. In this context, there is a constant struggle for survival.

The Table 4-4 below shows the administrative set up of Wayanad.

Table 4- 4

Administrative Set -Up of Wayanad

Taluks	3(Sulthan Bathery, Mananthavady and Vithyri
Block	3(Sulthan Bathery,Mananthavady and Kalpetta
Head quarters	Kalpetta
Municipality	1
Panchayath	24
Revenue Village	49

Source :ITDP Wayanad, Project Report 1998-99

The Table 4-4 shows that the Wayanad district is divided into three taluks, Sulthan Bathery, Mananthavady and Vythyri. There is three blocks in Wayanad district namely, Sulthan Bathery, Mananthavady and Kalpetta. Kalpetta is the Head Quartes of the district. Kalpetta is the only municipality in wayanad district. There are twenty four Panchayats and twenty nine revenue villages in Wayanad district.

Table 4-5 presents the 1991- census details of Wayanad district.

Table 4-5

1991-Census Details of Wayanad

Area (sq.km)	2125.66
Agricultural land	1143 sq.k.m(53.6%)
Forest	787 sq.k.m
Total population	672128
Density of population	3162 (per sq.k.m)
Female	330170
Male	341958
Scheduled Tribes	114969
Scheduled Caste	27835
Literacy of Scheduled Tribes	51%

Source : Census Report Kerala, 1991

The Table 4-5 shows that the entire area of Wayanad district covers 2125.66 sq. k.m constituting 1143 sq.k.m of agricultural land and 787 sq.k.m of forest land. Total population strength of the district is 672128. Density of population is 3162 (per sq.k.m). Among the total population 1,14,969 people are Scheduled Tribes. The total Scheduled Tribe literacy in the district is fifty one percentage.

Mainly twelve tribal communities live in Wayanad. According to 1991 census, the mortality rate of the tribals is 17(in 1000) and birth rate is 27(in

1000). The infant mortality rate is 60(in 1000). A survey conducted by the Shreyas an NGO, observed that life expectancy of tribals is 50 years and the sex ratio is 1000 men for 1003 females. Seventy nine percentage of the enrolled children are drop out from the school and only 28% of the potential children are going to schools. The hygienic condition is pathetic; ninety nine percentage of the tribals lacking sanitary latrines. Sixty two percentage of the tribals are addicted to alcoholism and other bad habits. Seventy eight percentage of the tribals are malnourished. Average weight of a new born baby is 2.2 kgs.¹⁶

4.4 Tribals in Sulthan Bathery Taluk

Proper information about the tribals in Wayanad is lacking. The government has only the details of the census. (Appendix II shows the census details of Wayanad district). This does not give a clear picture about the socio-economic situation of the tribals. In order to know about the socio-economic conditions of tribals in Sulthan Bathery taluk, the researcher relies on the data furnished by Fedina, a non-governmental organisation. Sulthan Bathery taluk consists of eight panchayats namely Sulthan Bathery, Nenmeny, Nool Puzha, Pulpally, Mullankolly, Poothady, Meenangady and Ambala Wayal. The identified tribal communities are Paniyas, Kurumas, Naikans, Uralis, Kurichiyas, Adiyas etc. According to 1991 census, the total tribal population of the taluk is 1,84,074 constituting 22,688 male and 22,646 female population.

The Table 4.6 below shows the distribution of panchayat, ward and tribal colonies in Sulthan Bathery taluk.

Table 4-6

Break - up of Sulthan Bathery Taluk

<i>SI. No.</i>	<i>Panchayat</i>	<i>Ward</i>	<i>Tribal Colonies</i>
1	Sulthan Bathery	13	76
2	Nenmeny	14	123
3	Nool Puzha	10	172
4	Pulpally	12	89
5	Mullankolly	12	24
6	Poothady	13	134
7	Mennagadi	12	137
8	Ambala Wayal	12	71

Source : Survey Report (1999-2000) Fedina, a Non-Governmental Organization

The Table 4- 6 shows that there are 826 colonies and 98 wards in Sulthan Bathery taluk. Nool Puzha panchayat stands first in the number of colonies (172 tribal colonies) among eight panchayats. Pulpally panchayat have 89 tribal colonies and Mullankolly panchayat posses 24 tribal colonies. It together consists of 111 colonies.

The Table 4-7 shows the tribe-wise classification of families and

members in Sulthan Bathery taluk in Wayanad district.

Table 4-7

Tribal Communities of Sulthan Bathery Taluk, Wayanad District

<i>Tribe</i>	<i>Family</i>	<i>Members</i>
Paniyas	4636	18 195
Kurumas	3376	14712
Naikan	1988	7088
Uralis	577	2114
Kurichiyas	25	97
Adiyas	118	488
Total	10720	42694

Source : Survey Report (1999-2000) Fedina , a Non-Governmental Organization

The Table 4-7 shows that among the tribal communities in Sulthan Bathery taluk, Paniyas are the numerically dominant group. There are 4636 Paniya families constituting 18195 members. Kurichiyas are the minority group with 25 families and 97 members. Altogether there are 10720 tribal families with 42694 members.

A survey carried out by Fedina, a non-governmental organisation during 1999-2000 observed certain findings regarding the socio-economic profile of tribals living in Sulthan Bathery taluk. Their findings are furnished below.

According to Fedina's findings enrolment of tribal children in lower primary school is comparatively high in Sulthan Bathery taluk. The enrolment ratio of students in the upper primary, high school, pre-degree and graduation level has been decreasing step by step. The drop out rate is very high among the tribals (See Appendix III (3-1) for further reference).

Fedina's study points out that the majority of tribals in Sulthan Bathery taluk are wage labourers. Female work participation is high among the tribals. There are 8793 female wage labourers in the Sulthan Bathery taluk. Unemployment rate is comparatively low among the women. Ninety two boys and seventy girls below the age fourteen are going for work (See Appendix III (3-2) for reference).

From the Fedina's study it is observed that 1749 families do not have housing facilities. Among those people who own houses, only 303 families have concrete houses. Other houses are made of they, coconut leaves etc. There are 4264 self constructed houses and the other houses are totally financed by government and NGOs (See Appendix III (3-3) for further reference).

The study reveals that 7474 families have ration cards and 3246 families are not even aware of ration cards in Sulthan Bathery taluk. Those people without ration cards do not even have title deeds of land and other land

documents(See Appendix III (3- 4) for further reference). Pension benefits are very useful for tribal people. Four hundred and twenty three people avail themselves of old-age pension, 29 handicapped, 199 agricultural workers pension and 122 widows pension etc. As majority of tribals are ignorant and illiterate, process of availing pension is a tough task for the tribals (See Appendix III (3-5) for further reference).

It is observed from the study that land alienation is a very serious problem faced by the people in Sulthan Bathery taluk There are 5810 families out of 10720 are landless. It is a very pathetic condition that more than 50% of the tribals are landless (See Appendix III (3-6) for further reference).

Fedina's study reveals that majority of tribals are faced with some Anaemia problems. It is observed that 4609 anaemic patients are living in Sulthan Bathery. It is interesting to note that diseases like blood pressure, ENT problems, Goiter etc., which are seen very frequent among the mainstream communities are not common among the tribals (See Appendix III (3-7) for further reference).

It is observed that majority of the tribals are using allopathy treatments in order to cure diseases. Homeopathy is the least interested mode of treatment. tribals are also interested in their own traditional treatment practices (See Appendix III (3-8) for further reference).

The study points out that source of drinking water for 7453 families is wells. Three hundred and seventy two families are using pipe water supply, 249 are using bore well, 2446 families using from small ponds in Sulthan Bathery taluk (See Appendix III (3-9) for further reference).

It is noted that tribals have great interest for smoking and drinking. Majority of them are addicted to pan chewing. (See Appendix III (3-10) for further reference).

It is observed that majority of the tribals do not have any interest towards saving. A small proportion of them do save for tomorrow. Among them small post office savings are often used as the mode of saving (See Appendix III (3-11) for further reference).

Fedina's study reveals that accessibility to small towns for day to day purposes is difficult for tribals because of their transportation problems. Majority of the colonies are far from small towns in Sulthan Bathery taluk. (See Appendix III (3-12) for further reference). There are 758 families having place of worship in colonies. Fifty five families rely on forest gods for worship and thirteen families go to temples for worship. (See Appendix III (3-13) for further reference) According to Fedina's study, 325 tribal families bury their relatives in common burial grounds. Two hundred and forty five have their own

burial land and 256 families use forest as their burial place (See Appendix III (3-14) for further reference).

4.5 General Information Regarding Health and Land Ownership

Wayanad district administration is aware of the health problems of adivasis. With the support of various agencies including tribal and health department, a 'Health Action Plan' has already been implemented. As a result, a 'Wayanad Health Project' was started in Nalluruad. The project has a speciality hospital providing all facilities to tribals for diagnosis and treatment of major diseases. The district hospital and T.B. centre at Mannanthavady are also giving special attention to those adivasis suffering from Tuberculosis. As per the proposal of KIRTADS (A Tribal Research Institute at Calicut), the state government started a Centre For Tribal Medicine on 15th September 1993 at the hamlet of Valat in Wayanad. The tribal medicine centre is also seen as a ray of hope for our suffering tribal brethren. Kolichal Acheppen an old Kurichiya tribal man is the chief tribal healer at Centre for Tribal Medicine, Valat in Wayanad. There are some other tribal healers too for assisting him. The patients from various parts of Kerala are given medicine free. Ten tribal youth in the age group of 18-30 are now attending a 1 Year Certificate Course in tribal medicine. They are taught by 25 tribal healers from five different tribal communities viz, Kurichiya, Paniya, Adiya, Kattunakka and Kuruma.

For better health and hygienic care, some non-governmental agencies

are also functioning there. In this regard, the services of Swami Vivekananda Medical Mission located in Muttill Village are commendable. The Medical Mission is running a 30 bedded well equipped hospital giving free treatment to tribals. Anaemia diagnosis and counselling centre has also been established by All India Institute of Medical sciences (AIIMS) Delhi. This mission is also having a mobile dispensary for visiting the distant tribal colonies regularly.

Today health is recognised as a fundamental right of every human being. The World Health Organisation has set up a target of "Health for all" by 2000 AD. But we have to go several miles for attaining this goal.

Land is the very basis of tribal identity. The state has recognised this principle by declaring tribal land inalienable by law. But much of it is being alienated by fraudulent means in favour of non-tribal individuals and even public sector enterprises. This is mainly by faulty tenancy legislation.

Tribals live in resource rich regions. As such, they are considered only sources of cheap raw materials and cheap labour. They are displaced with little consideration for their future. But this fact does not prevent the state from displacing the tribals. At least 10% of all the tribals in the country have been displaced during the last four decades.

In Sulthan Bathery taluk more than 50% of the tribals do not have land.¹⁷ Their culture did not encourage them to keep individual property or land

document. They believe that every thing that grows on this earth belongs to all people. Non-tribals took advantage of this tribal belief and occupied their land. Because of conscientisation, tribals are now convinced about the importance of land for their survival. The Cheengeri tribal project in Ambala Vayal, in Sulthan Bathery taluk which consists of 526 acres of land is an important venture in this respect.¹⁸ The original plan of the government was to complete the project in five years and give it to 100 tribal families at the rate of 5 acres per family. Even after many years, this land was not given to the tribals. Now this land belongs to the agricultural department. Only seven families are living at Cheengeri on 1.15 acres of land.¹⁹

It can be concluded that some tribals in Wayanad have gained much self-confidence. Once they were afraid of the non-tribals. Today they question and challenge. Now they are not afraid to go to the police station or government offices or to appear in courts. Some of them have also succeeded to project the problem of landless tribals as an issue both among the public and also in the government. For example C.K. Janu a tribal woman is the strong force behind projecting the problems of tribals behind the public and the government.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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CHAPTER V

A BROAD SPECTRUM OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT : ROLE PLAYED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF KERALA

The tribal population constitute only 1.10 percentage of the total population of Kerala. As per 1991 census, the Scheduled Tribe population in the State is 320,967. They belong to 35 distinct communities. There are 69441 Scheduled Tribes (ST) households in the State, while in 1981 it was only 52421. The decadal growth rate 1981-91 for the ST population is 22.75 percentage whereas for the general population growth rate is only 14.75 percentage. Similarly, while the growth rate in the number of households for the general population showed an increase of 24.64 percent, but tribal households grew at the rate of 32.47%. Wayanad has the highest tribal concentration in the State - 35.85 percentage of the Scheduled Tribe population in the State is in Wayanad. This figure records to 17.11% of the total population of that district. Idukky comes next with 15.66 percentage tribal concentration and constitute 4.66% of the district population.¹

The literacy rate of tribals in Kerala during 1991 was 57.22%, while the general literacy rate was 89%. Tribal literacy rate is high in the districts, Kottayam, Ernakulam, Alappuzha and Pathanamthitta (above 70%), whereas, it is relatively low in Palakkad (34.87%), Malappuram (43.93%), Wayanad

(50.63%), Thrissur (51.40%), and Kozhikode (52.36%).² Majority of the tribals in the State are residing in rural areas (96.51%). The Agricultural sector provides them with the main means of livelihood. Among the workers, 55.47 per cent depends on Agriculture and 16.66 per cent are turned as cultivators and the remaining numbers are distributed in various other occupations.³ Tribal agricultural labourers in Wayanad district constitute 44.04 per cent of the total tribal labourers.⁴ The magnitude of tribal cultivators are recorded as Idukky (38.55%), Wayanad (21.48%), Thiruvananthapuram (11.98%) and Palakkad (11.03%).⁵ This chapter gives an idea about the role played by the government for improving the standard of living of the Tribals in Kerala and Wayanad district in particular.

5.1 Tribal Development Programmes of the State

Tribal development programmes of the state can be divided into promotive measures and protective measures.

5.1.1 Promotive measures

Promotive measures means the on going tribal development programmes in different fields like education, health, housing etc for their upliftment.

i) Education

In all the Five Year Plans, priority was given to educational development of Scheduled Tribes. The main reason for the very slow spread of education

among Scheduled Tribes is the peculiar nature of their dwelling. Majority of the Scheduled Tribes are living in remote areas far away from educational institutions. The social and economic conditions prevailing in the tribal settlements are not conducive for studies. Lack of sufficient educational institutions in tribal areas, poverty etc. curtail effective educational development among Scheduled Tribes. Moreover, the parents of the tribal children being generally illiterate, they neither attach much importance to education nor insist their children to attend classes regularly.

In order to promote education among Scheduled Tribes, the primary effort should be on eradication of poverty. The parents of the tribal children have to be provided with regular employment for earning income to meet their day to day requirements which will inspire them to send their children to school. Scheduled Tribe students have to be provided with boarding and lodging. Opening of more Creches/Balavadies/ Nursery schools in tribal areas will not only promote early childhood education but also lessen the burden of elder children in looking after the younger when the parents go for work.

As a part of the total literacy programme of the State, a sub project for Tribal Literacy Programme was launched in September 1991. This programme could make nearly 64,000 tribals literate. The tribal literacy rate estimated by the Kerala Saksharatha Samathi as on 03. 07. 1993 was 80.71%. Indeed, the

programme could not achieve the desired level of impact in certain remote tribal pockets. Hence, to bridge these gaps and to consolidate the literacy status already achieved by the tribals, the State Saksharatha Samithi launched the post-literacy and continuing education among the tribals in September 1993. This programme covered not only literacy but included several other programmes incidental to the cultural and socio-economic advancement of tribals. During 1995-96, the literacy programmes were transferred to the Panchayat Raj Institutions.

Major chunk of the non-plan expenditure of Scheduled Tribes Development Department is set apart for educational developmental activities including scholarships, boarding and loading charges, incentive to parents etc. During 1998-99 Rs. 807.33 lakhs were budgeted for these purposes under non-plan. The plan provision of Scheduled Tribe Development Department for Education Programme during 1998-99 was Rs. 858 lakh.⁶

The Scheduled Tribes Development Department gives prime importance to the education of the Scheduled Tribes. Accordingly, the department is granting educational concessions and other kinds of assistance to the Scheduled Tribes from pre-primary stage to postgraduate level. Apart from exempting them from all kinds of fees, they are given lumpsum grant meant for purchase of books, stationery, dress and monthly stipend at varying rates depending on the

course of study. In order to ensure proper and regular attendance of tribal children in primary schools, parents are granted a monthly incentive of Rs. 10 per student.⁷

For providing quality education to Scheduled Tribe students, two model residential schools (Ashram) were started during 1990-91, one for boys at Nallornadu, (Wayanad) and another for girls at Kattela, (Triruvanathapuram). Scheduled Caste students are also admitted in these schools. One Ashram school each (Primary) was started at Noolpuzha during 1991-92, which is specially meant for primitive tribes in Wayanad district, and at Manjery in Malappuram district. High school classes were started in the Noolpuzha Ashram school in 1998-99. The Manjery ashram school have been upgraded to the high school level during 1999-2000. Three more model residential schools were started in 1997-98 at Munnar (Idukky district), Attappady (Palakkad district) and in South Wayanad. Some more model residential schools were started at Kasaragod, Thrissur, Kannur and Pathanamthitta during 1998-99. It is proposed to start one ashram school at Palakkad and another one at Wayanad for Adiya and Paniya communities.⁸

ii) *Health and Nutrition*

Various measures are taken for timely medical attention to Scheduled Tribes. Since the tribal settlements are situated far away from hospitals and

health centres, the Scheduled Tribes are not able to make use of available medical facilities. Epidemic diseases spread fast in tribal areas. Seventeen Ayurveda dispensaries, one Ayurveda hospital, one Allopathy hospital, one Allopathy OP clinic, three Midwifery centres and two Mobile Medical units are working under the Scheduled Tribes Development Department. All these institutions except the Mobile Medical units, Allopathy OP clinic, and the Allopathy hospital have been transferred to the respective Grama Panchayats. The full fledged Allopathic hospital constructed as part of the Mananathavady Health Project, Wayanad is now functioning in its new building. The Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Government of India, have given assistance for this hospital under article 275 (i) of the Constitution.⁹

Apart from this, Primary Health centres, Ayurveda dispensaries, Homeo dispensaries are functioning in tribal areas under the Tribal Sub Plan of the respective departments. The Health Department conduct medical camps every year in tribal areas to diagnose diseases. Patients with serious diseases treated during the camps are referred to district/taluk hospitals and financial assistance is given for their further treatment. Provision is also made in Annual Plan for extending financial assistance to voluntary organisation engaged in health related services to Scheduled Tribes. Necessary financial assistance is also given to Scheduled Tribes for immediate medical treatments.¹⁰

In spite of the health facilities already existing in tribal areas, tribals of certain localities are found prone to several communicable as well as malnutrition based diseases. The Mananathavady Health Project is beneficial to around 35,000 tribals in Wayanad. Non- availability of Doctors and para-medical staff in the medical institutions in tribal areas is a major problem. As recommended by the Monitoring and Steering Committee on SC/ST Development for the formulation of Ninth Plan, suitable rules and regulation for ensuring doctors and paramedical staff in tribal areas are to be framed at the earliest. Proper health extension work is lacking in many tribal areas. In order to solve this problem, health workers trained by KIRTADS are being posted in all needy tribal areas.¹¹

During 1998- 99, social activists like tribal youths who belong to the tribal settlements have been posted in Attappady and Wayanad tribal areas. These activists also do health extension work in their own settlements.

iii) Housing

The problem of housing among Scheduled Tribes is very crucial. The number of homeless Scheduled Tribes families at the end of Eighth Plan was estimated as 12,700. During the Eighth Plan, an amount of Rs.517.50 lakhs was budgeted for housing and a total number of 4523 houses constructed. The Scheduled Tribes Development Department, Rural Development Department,

Forest Department, Kerala State Development Corporation for Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes and Housing Board are the major agencies involved in tribal housing in the state. The newly introduced 'Maithri Housing' programme of Housing Board is highly beneficial to Scheduled Tribes.¹²

During Ninth Plan also high priority was given for tribal housing. For the proper execution and monitoring of housing programmes, uniform rates for the various agencies engaged with tribal housing have been introduced from 1997-98. During 1999-2000 also priority was given to primitive tribal housing programmes. More emphasis is also given to the completion of incomplete houses.¹³ An amount of Rs. 5073.82 lakhs is estimated for the construction of houses to these families by the end of Ninth Plan. Nearly 36% of these houses is expected to be constructed by local bodies directly.

5.1.2 Protective Measures

Protective measures are measures intended to safe guard the interest of the tribals.

i) Bonded Labour

Till 1983, eight hundred and twenty three bonded tribal labourers were identified in the state. All the identified bonded labourers have been rehabilitated. Majority of them are rehabilitated in the projects viz. Collective Farm Vattachira, Priyadarshini Tea Estate etc. They are given regular employment in these

projects. They are also provided with houses and other basic amenities.¹⁴

ii) Land Alienation

Alienation of land is a serious problem faced by the Scheduled Tribes. The number of landless tribals has increased during the last decade. Several reasons can be attributed to this phenomenon. The socio-economic survey of tribals conducted by the Economics and Statistics Department during 1976-78, reveals that tribals are alienated from their lands mainly for meeting their domestic expenses and for clearing their past debts. Other causes for land alienation are marriage ceremonies and medical treatment.

The Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Restriction on Transfer of Lands and Restoration of Alienated Lands) Act 1975 passed by the Legislative Assembly on 11-08-75, was brought into force with effect from First January 1982 vide Government notification dated 18.10.86. The Act was intended for restricting the transfer of land by the members of the Scheduled Tribes in the State and also for the restoration of the alienated land.¹⁵ As per the Revenue Department, till 31-10-1996, 8462 applications have been received for the restoration of alienated tribal lands. Unfortunately the area of tribal lands restored is negligibly small in the State. Lack of funds and inadequate staff in the Revenue Divisional Offices, resistance from non-tribals and lack of adequate provision to evict non-tribals are the problems faced by the Government while implementing the Act.¹⁶

From 1995- 96 onwards a plan scheme Viz,"Implementation of Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Restriction of Transfer of Lands and Restoration of Alienated Lands) Act 1975" was in existence with token provision. It means that expenditure associated with the restoration of lands have to be incurred by the Revenue Department.

The State Legislative Assembly passed a Bill in 1996 and Amended the Act in 1996. The Amended Act gave the validity for the land alienations took place up to 01-01-1986. The non-tribals who had purchased or encroached land extending up to one hectare have not been evicted under the Amended Act. In this case, the Revenue Department would have to locate alternative land and assign to the affected tribals. In the case of land involving more than one hectare, the non- tribals have been given an option to avoid eviction by paying suitable compensation fixed by the Revenue Authorities. The affected tribals would have been given maintenance allowance at the rate of Rs. 25,000. The Amended Act was rejected by the president of India.¹⁷ Since the President of India rejected the Amended Act of 1996, the State Government framed a new Act viz. "Kerala Scheduled Tribes Act" (Restriction of Transfer of Lands and Restoration of Alienated Lands Act 1999). This Act has been brought into force with effect from 24-01-1986.

As per this Act, all transactions of tribal lands to non- tribals between 01-01-1960 and 24-01-1986 are invalid. But if the area of land transferred to the

non-tribals is less than 2 hectares, such transactions are invalid. In such cases, the affected tribals are entitled to get an equal extent of land from the government.¹⁸ The Act says that if the land alienated by the tribals is less than 1 acre, he will be given a minimum of one acre of land by the government however small the land lost to him. The Act also mentioned that all landless tribals in the State would be given a minimum of 1 acre of land in the same district within a period of 2 years from the date of publication of this Act (i.e., 09-03-1999). Moreover, all tribals in the State who possess less than one acre of land is eligible for land from the Government so as to make the minimum land possessed by them at least one acre.¹⁹ A welfare fund has been envisaged under the Act for the welfare and rehabilitation of the tribals affected by land alienation.

iii) Minor Forest Produce Collection

From time immemorial, tribals have been living in the forest. Forest produces and hunting are the two traditional means of livelihood for them.

Consequent on the Nationalisation of Forests in 1974, hunting was banned in the State. The collection of minor forest produces was entrusted to private contractors who employed mostly non-tribals for the purpose. Subsequently, government stopped this practice of entrusting collection of MFPs (Minor Forest Produces) to private contractors. The right to collect minor forest produce from

the forests was exclusively assigned to the SC/ST Co-operative Development Federation from 1978.²⁰ The minor forest produce committee allot forest ranges to Girijan Co-operative Societies for the collection of minor forest produce. There is a fairly well-organised network of Tribal Co-operative Societies in the State. Out of the eighty two societies, thirty five are engaged in the collection of minor forest produce. The Kerala State Development Co-operative Federation for Scheduled Castes/ Scheduled Tribes is engaged in the marketing of the minor forest produce at the State level. Around twelve percent of Scheduled Tribe families are engaged in the collection of minor forest produces. Their percentage is comparatively low in the Northern districts. The co-operative set up for collection and marketing of MFP has eliminated the exploitation of Scheduled Tribes by middlemen to a certain extent.²¹

As per the guidelines issued by the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, government of India, at least 75 per cent of the sale value of MFPs, should reach the collecting tribals. In Kerala, the State SC/ST Co-operative Federation retains 5 per cent of the sale value as overhead charges, (earlier this rate was 10% and the Federation reduced it to 5% in August 1993). Fifteen per cent of the sale value is given to the Scheduled Tribes Co-operatives and the balance is supposed to be given to the tribals. Action is being taken to ensure that the balance eighty percent is reaching the tribals. The sales turnover of MFPs increased from Rs. 54.20 lakhs in 1990-91 to Rs. 325.40 lakhs in

1996-97. During 1996-97, the sales turn over of MFPs was Rs.125.40 lakhs.²²

The government of India have approved an action plan costing Rs. 356 lakhs prepared by the SC/ST Co- operative Development Federation for improving collection, storage and marketing of MFPs in the State. The Federation has utilised the amounts released by the government of India for meeting the margin money requirement and for the construction of godowns.

iv) Excise policy

Because of the peculiar nature of the habitations of the tribal population, no separate excise policy seems to be possible in the State. However, so as to release the tribals from the grip of alcoholism and drug-addiction, sale and manufacture of liquor should be prohibited in the areas of tribal concentrations.²³

v) Forest Policy

As per a survey conducted by the Forest Department in 1992, 17156 Scheduled Tribe families belonging to 671 settlements are living in the forest. These families are also being assisted through various schemes. The Forest Conservation Act 1980 prevents several development activities to the forest dwellers. Construction of houses, infrastructural facilities such as electricity, minor irrigation etc. cannot be taken up for these families.²⁴ Majority of these families are engaged in the collection of minor forest produce and forest protection works. Forest Department is also implementing several schemes for

these families. Apart from the Tribal Sub-Plan of Forest Department, they are using funds generated under the World Food Programme for launching various family oriented/ infrastructure based programmes. In order to solve the problems faced by the tribals living in forests, the Forest Department has prepared a comprehensive perspective plan.²⁵

vi) Atrocities

The progress of registration of cases under the Atrocities Act are being higher in Kerala compared to other states. In order to prevent atrocities against Scheduled Tribes, effective steps have been taken up in accordance with the provisions of the Prevention of Atrocities Act of 1989. For a speedy disposal of cases registered under the Atrocities Act, a Special bench is constituted in all District Courts. The victims are paid compensation. Legal and police aid is also provided to them. During 1992-93, a centrally sponsored scheme for the complete rehabilitation of the victims and their dependants has been launched in the State. A Special Mobile Police Squad is functioning in Wayanad for the prevention of atrocities.

As per the data furnished by the Police Department, the cases registered with them on different atrocities in the state on Scheduled Tribes shown a marginal rise between 1992 and 1995. It increased from 171 in 1992 to 175 in 1995. Out of the 190 cases registered under the Prevention of Atrocities Act 1989

from 1992 to 1998, only eighteen cases (9.47%) could be settled after investigation.²⁶

vii) Primitive Tribes

Tribal communities with pre-agricultural stage of development, stagnant population and have very low literacy rate are recognised as primitive tribes by the government of India. Cholanaickas, Kattunaickas, Kurumbas, Kadars and Koragas are the Primitive Tribes in Kerala and they constitute nearly 4.8 percentage of the total Scheduled Tribe Population in the State. Various schemes are being implemented for the development of primitive tribes.²⁷

The Special Central Assistance funds released by government of India separately for primitive tribes are fully utilised for their development programmes. Special emphasis is given for the rehabilitation of landless and houseless primitive tribes during 1999-2000. An amount of Rs. 90.44 lakhs has been earmarked for the housing of primitive tribes under article. 275 (i). The Ashram schools at Noolpuzha, Wayanad and Manjery are meant for educational advancement of primitive tribes. As advised by government of India, a detailed project report/ action Plan for the development of primitive tribes during Ninth Plan period has been prepared and it has been modified in consultation with the KIRTADS.²⁸

New scheme of the government of India for primitive tribes during 1999-2002 have three component viz., The components of scheduled Tribes Development Department, Voluntary Organisations and the State's Tribal Research Institute. The State has already received Rs. 8.154 lakhs in favour of a voluntary organisation namely RASTA, Wayanad as against their proposals submitted to government of India.²⁹

viii) Monitoring

Until the constitution of the present District Level Committees for SC/ST, the Tribal Sub-Plan schemes were monitored by the District Level Working Groups (DLWGs) in all districts. Now the task is undertaken by the District Level Committees (DLCs) with District Panchayat President as Chairman and Panchayat members as committee members.

Monthly progress reports on Tribal Sub-Plan schemes are furnished by the District collectors to the government and to Scheduled Tribes Development Department. The Department heads are also sending progress reports to government and to the Directorate of Scheduled Tribes Development Department. At the State level, the SC/ST Development Department in government is monitoring the implementation of Tribal Sub-Plan Schemes with the assistance of the planning and monitoring cell of the Planning Department which is under the administrative control of the Secretary to the government

SC/ST Department. At the State level, review meetings of the heads of departments are also conducted. The Planning Department (Central Planning and Monitoring Unit) monitors Tribal Sub-Plan schemes along with the general sector schemes.³⁰

Release and utilisation of Special Central Assistance (SCA) to Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) funds in the State from 1974-75 to 1998-99 is presented in the Table 5.1 shown below.

Table 5-1

Release and Utilization of SCA to TSP Funds in the State from 1974-75 to 1998-99
(in Rs lakhs)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Budget provision</i>	<i>Actual release from government of India</i>	<i>Expenditure</i>
1974-75	2.5	2.5	0.1
1975-76	0.001	15	15.522
1976-77	49.9	26	24.613
1977-98	20	25	21.287
1978-79	32.5	26	31.8
1979-80	40	40	20.87
1980-81	40	57	65.11
1981-82	165	48	52.36
1982-83	162	56	47.59
1983-84	75	62.51	67.24
1984-85	125	64.01	66.67
1985-86	100	70.01	71.94

1986-87	100	77.76	69.58
1987-88	100	83.74	53.8
1988-89	100	115.78	113.08
1989-90	100	123.71	120.07
1990-91	200	275	276.7
1991-92	200	133.27	128.54
1992-93	200	207.23	192.46
1993-94	200	167.252	152.25
1994-95	200	126.3	185.97
1995-96	200	181.2	153.16
1996-97	200	153.71	164.69
1997-98	250.000	196.120	231.777
1998-99	180.000	308.170	208.140
Total	2611.901	2241.060	2095.402

Source: Planning and Economic Affairs Department, Trivandrum

The Table 5.1 shows that expenditure of the State for tribal welfare increased from 1974 to 1999. During 1998-99 the expenditure was 208.140 lakhs only while the government realised funds was 308.70 lakhs. But in 1997-98, expenditure is higher (230.77 lakhs) than the government release funds (196.12 lakhs). The expenditure was highest during 1990-91 with 276.70 lakhs. But the realise of funds from the government of India is highest in 1998-99 with 308.17 lakhs.

Progress in the implementation of Special Central Assistance scheme is also regularly monitored both at District level and State level. The new district level committees in each district and director of Scheduled Tribe Development Department are monitoring the SCA to TSP schemes at their levels .

5.2 Integrated Tribal Development Projects in Kerala

Considering the peculiar nature of the Scheduled Tribes concentration and to ensure effective co-ordination of developmental programmes, Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDP) were started during the Fifth Five Year Plan. The first ITDP in the State was started at Attappady in Palakkad district by converting the Tribal Development Block, Attappady. Subsequently, four more ITDPs viz. Punalur, Idukky, Nilambur and Mananthavady were formed. These ITDPs were formed on the basis of the proportion of Scheduled Tribes population. Out of the total Scheduled Tribes population, 40.47 Percentage was covered by these Projects. All the ITDPs except Attappady were spread over more than two or three revenue districts which naturally created several administrative problems. Moreover, majority of the Scheduled Tribes could not enjoy the benefits under ITDPs as they were outside the project and were treated as dispersed tribes.

During 1989-90, the ITDPs and the field level offices were reconstituted to seven Project offices and seven Tribal Development offices. Later , a Tribal

Development (TD) office started during 1995 at Palakkad and now eight Tribal Development offices are functioning in the State. The Integrated Tribal Development Projects are:

1. Nedumangad (Trivandrum)
2. Idukky
3. Nilambur (Malappuram)
4. Kanjirappally (Kottayam)
5. Attappady (Palakkad)
6. Kalpetta (Wayanad)
7. Kannur

Tribal Development offices are functioning at Punalur, Ranni, Moovattupuzha, Palakkad, Sulthan Bathery, Mananthavady, Thamarassery, Kasaragod, Idukky and Wayanad districts are entirely covered under the ITDP areas. Since the highest Scheduled Tribes concentration is in Wayanad district, three offices are functioning there viz., Project Office at Kalpetta, Tribal Development offices at Sulthan Bathery and Mananthavady. In this arrangements, 74.96 per cent of the Scheduled Tribes in the State (as per the 1991 census) are covered by the ITDP.

The total area covered by the ITDP is 11782.98 sq.k.m. The details of the Scheduled Tribe population in ITDPs and total area covered are shown in the Table 5.2.

Table 5- 2

Particulars of Integrated Tribal Development Projects in Kerala

Sl. No	Name of ITDP	Total ST population in the district. (1991 Census)	ST population (1991 census in the ITDP area)	% of ST population that of total STs in the district.	Area under ITDP sq.km	% of the total area of the district sq.km
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Nedumangad	16181	13976	86.37	1097.5	50.07
2	Kanjirappally	17996	13874	77.09	604.60	27.44
3	Idukky	50269	50269	100.00	5019.0	100.00
4	Attappady	35465	24228	68.31	703.23	15.70
5	Nilambur	10555	9046	85.70	1429.2	40.26
6	Wayanad	114969	114969	100.00	2131.0	100.0
7	Kannur	18243	13449	73.72	798.36	20.91
		263678	239811	90.95	11783	30.31

Source : Census Report 1991, Kerala and 1991 Census in the ITDP Area

The Table 5-2 shows that tribal population is higher in Wayanad ITDP with 114969 people strength. Idukki ITDP ranked second with 50269 tribals. It is observed from the Table that tribals in Wayanad and Idukki districts as per 1991 census are fully covered in the respective ITDPs (100%). Attappady ITDP covers only 68.31% of the total tribals in the Palakkad district as per the 1991 census. Nedumangad ITDP covers 86.37 percentage of the total tribal population

in the Trivandrum district and Kanjirapally ITDP covers 77.09 percentage of the tribals in the Kottayam district. Nilambur ITDP covers 85.70 percentage of the tribals in the Malappuram district and Kannur ITDP covers 73.72 percentage of tribals in the Kannur district. The Nilambur ITDP covers the lowest tribal population with 9046 tribals. By area wise ranking, Kanjirapally ITDP ranked the last with 604.60 square kilometres and Idukki ranked first with 5019.00 square kilometres.

The Tribal Development Officer (TDO) Punalur is in-charge of Kollam and Alappuzha districts and TDO Moovattupuzha is in charge of Ernakulam and Thrissur districts. The Tribal Development Officer at Thamarassery attends to the schemes for Scheduled Tribes in Kozhikode district. Dispersed tribes in Palakkad is looked after by TDO, Palakkad. Tribal Development office at Sulthan Bathery and Mananthavady in Wayanad district are in the ITDP area.

5.3 Major Development Projects in Wayanad

The major tribal development projects in Wayanad are the following:

1. Sugandhagiri Cardamom Project
2. Pookot Dairy Project
3. Priyadarshini Tea Estates

Except Priyadarshini Tea Estates other two projects were started during Fifth Five Year Plan period. Grant-in-aid given by the government is the major

source of income of these projects. It was originally anticipated that budget support (financial assistance) might be given to these projects only during the first two to three years of the Eighth Plan period. But, due to the inability of the projects to tap institutional finance, several managerial, administrative and labour problems, diminishing returns from the farms caused by certain unforeseen factors, accumulation of debts etc., most of these projects had to be financed during Ninth Plan also.³¹ A brief note on the activities and achievements of these projects is given below.

5. 3.1 *Sugandhagiri Cardamom Project*

This Co-operative farm for cultivation of Cardamom in south Wayanad was started under the Western Ghats Development Programme in 1976-77. The scheme envisaged the settlement of 750 Scheduled Tribe families in 1500 hectares of forest land. Joint farming Co-operative Society was formed in 1978, mainly for cultivation of cardamom.³²

The administration of the society is vested with the administrative committee comprising the District Collector (as the Chairman and the Managing Director of the project), the District Planning Officer, the Joint Registrar of Co-operative Societies, the Joint Director of Agriculture, the Regional Manager of Kerala State Co-operative Agricultural and Rural Development Bank and the Director of Tribal Development Department are as members.

The original cost of the project tentatively approved by the planning commission was Rs. 160.86 lakhs including an amount of Rs. 102.60 lakhs to be obtained as institutional finance which was revised in 1984 to Rs. 531.90 lakhs with Rs. 376.65 lakhs as government grant and Rs.155.25 lakhs as institutional finance. The grant from Western Ghats Development programme so far received is Rs. 370 .10 lakhs. The institutional finance availed from Kerala State Co-operative Agricultural Development Bank amount to Rs.96.00 lakhs (1983-84).³³ During 1998-99, Rs. 100 lakhs was budgeted for the project and as against this, Rs 110 lakhs was given. During 1999-2000 also Rs. 60 lakhs has been provided in the budget for the project.³⁴

All the working members of families settled in the project are being employed as wage labourers. Against the original target of 750 families, there are only 521 families in the project now. These families have been provided with permanent houses. But drinking water, sanitation and other facilities have not reached all the families. Balavadies, creches, school etc. are also functioning in the project. The project originally had a road network to the extent of 11 Kms, which was quite inadequate to ensure effective supervision and management of the project.

Of the Total area of 1500 hectares, the society cultivates various crops which includes (1) cardamom 800 hectares (2) coffee 13 hectares (3) pepper 160 hectares (4) mulberry 23 hectares and (5) fuel trees 42 hectares (6) area covered

by roads, buildings, grass lands etc. 342 hectares.

The project employees 865 labourers (835 tribal and 30 non-tribals) and seventy seven staff members (43 tribals and 34 non-tribals). The unprecedented droughts during 1982-83 and 1986-87 were affected the cardamom yields adversely. Similarly, the steep fall in prices of cardamom and considerable shortage in the production also contributed to an unhealthy situation for the project. A major chunk of the expenditure incurred by the project every year is for the payment of salaries. Moreover, a major section of labourers are old having a low productivity of labour. It is distressing to note that the income accrued to the project from 1980-81 to 1997-98 was only 945.86 lakhs, while the expenditure was as high as Rs. 1874.24 lakhs. During the Seventh Five Year Plan period the Scheduled Tribes Development Department and other sectoral departments gave Rs. 318.52 lakhs and Rs. 87 lakhs as budget support to the project.³⁵

Cardamom production has shown a declining trend since 1985-86. It fell to 12.5 tonnes in 1991- 92 from 37.27 tonnes in 1985-86, but it is observed a slight improvement in production during 1992-93, 1993-94 and 1994-95. During 1996-97 cardamom production was decreased to 9.58 tonnes from 16 tonnes in 1995-96. During 1997-98 the production of cardamom was worth of Rs. 20.80 lakhs.³⁶

Coffee and pepper production also show large scale fluctuations. Lack of timely application of inputs, lack of timely agricultural operations, plant diseases, adverse climatic conditions etc contribute to this situation. However, coffee has better scope in Suganthagiri, considering the market prices and ideal climatic conditions.

During the Eighth Plan period Rs. 405.52 lakhs was given as budget support to the project, utilising this, programmes like selective replantation, minor irrigation works, soil conservation etc. were carried out. The returns from the farms in the period was worth Rs. 370.74 lakhs only against a huge expenditure of Rs. 714.37 lakhs. This depicts poor functioning of the project. The major problems being faced by the project are :

1. Lack of efficient management of the farms in the project and deterioration of the quality of cardamom produced and diminishing yield rates.
2. Excess staff and low- productivity of labour.
3. Lack of essential infrastructure facilities.
4. Repayment of overdue of long term loan taken from Kerala State Financial Co-operation.
5. Lack of multi- cropping and crop- differentiation strategies.

In order to tackle the problems and to rejuvenate the project, a

revitalisation project report, which ensures break-even of the project within three years, was prepared in 1996-97 by a Chennai-based plantation expert and it is being implemented now. The project gives emphasis to coffee cultivation and to raise the area under coffee to 250 hectares. Cardamom will be selectively replaced by High Yielding Variety plants gradually.³⁷

For implementing the revitalisation programme, an amount of Rs. 10 lakhs was given to the project in 1998-99. During 1999-2000 special measures have been taken to clear the debt burden of the project nearly Rs. 242 lakhs in the Kerala State Co-operative Agricultural Development Bank.³⁸

During 1999-2000 Rs. 60 lakhs has been provided in the budget for continuing the revitalisation programmes. The co-operation of the local bodies are also expected in achieving the targets set in the revitalisation project.

5.3..2 Pookot Dairy Project

This project started during 1979 in Wayanad district under the Western Ghat Development Programme. The programme envisaged the settlement and rehabilitation of 110 bonded labourer families, but 100 families were actually enrolled as members of the society. Out of this 84 families have been given permanent houses and they are settled in the project.³⁹

The management of the project is vested with a committee headed by the

District Collector, Wayanad as the Chairman. The Joint Director, Animal Husbandry, The Assistant Director, Dairy Development and the Joint Registrar Co-operative Societies (Wayanad District) are members of the committee. There are 5 selected representatives of Scheduled Tribes also in the committee. A full-time managing director is supervising the activities of the project.

The major components of the project are dairy farming, cultivation of cardamom, coffee, pepper, other miscellaneous crops etc. The project envisaged an investment of Rs. 68.00 lakhs during 1979 under the Western Ghat Development Programme. The cost estimates were revised upward in 1980 to Rs 111.61 lakh with central government assistance of Rs. 57.08 lakh and institutional finance of Rs. 54.53 lakhs. During 1985-86 , the project received Central Government assistance of Rs. 74.46 lakh and institutional finance of Rs. 21.71 lakhs.⁴⁰

Unfortunately, the cattle in the farm were affected by brucellosis, an infectious disease found among cows and other animals and the dairy farm was closed down in 1994-95. The farm area was subjected to careful veterinary examination and made thoroughly disease-free during 1996-97. The dairy unit has already been re-started by purchasing 20 milch cows. Now there are 82 milch animals in the project.⁴¹

The Project has received Rs. 263.87 lakh as assistance (Rs. 74.51 lakhs under Western Ghat Development programme and Rs. 7.00 lakhs as Special Central Assistance(SCA), Rs 158.44 lakhs under Tribal Sub-Plan and Rs. 12.95 lakhs as loan from State Bank of India). Twenty lakhs was given as grant-in-aid to the project during 1998-99.

The cumulative income of the project including the assistance from various sources from 1979-80 to March 1999 was Rs. 515.72 lakhs, while the expenditure was Rs. 482.49 lakhs. The real income accrued from the dairy and other subsidiary programmes till 1997-98 was only Rs. 201.49 lakhs.⁴²

Government had issued orders to transferring 100 hectares of land belonging to the Pookot Dairy Project to Priyadarshini Tea Estates for launching tea cultivation, which would have satisfied the twin objectives of employment to the Pookot tribals as also to provide raw materials (green tea leaves) to the Priyadarshini Tea Factory. But this government order could not be implemented so far due to various administrative problems.

The revitalisation of the dairy project is going on now, an amount of Rs. 15 lakhs was provided during 1999-2000 for this purpose. The major component of the revitalisation programme is the improvement of agricultural farms by adopting multi-cropping strategies. The issue of clearance (nearly Rs. 44 lakhs) of past debt of the project with State Bank of India is under the consideration of

the government. The government has issued an order to transfer 100 acres of land belonging to the project for starting a veterinary college. This may improve the viability of the dairy unit.

5.3.3 Priyadarshini Tea Estate

Priyadarshini Tea Estate was established in 1984 at Pancharakolly in Mananthavady taluk, Wayanad with 534.26 acres of land for the rehabilitation of 118 freed bonded labourers with the assistance from Government of India, and Tea Board. The project was implemented by the Mananthavady Tribal Plantation Co-operative Ltd. registered under the Kerala Co-operative Societies Act 1969 with District Collector, Wayanad as Chairman and Sub-collector, Mananthavady as the Managing Director. The settled families have been provided with basic amenities such as housing, water supply etc.⁴³

A tea factory was set up at the tea estates through the financial assistance mainly from government of India and it started production in July 1993. The set up cost of the tea factory was Rs. 163 lakhs. The installed capacity of the tea factory was 5 lakh kg. of manufactured tea. The tea factory is functioning well and it has already crossed its production by more than double that of the installed capacity. The estimated profit of the tea factory during 1998-99 was Rs. 15 lakhs. In order to consolidate and to further improve the production and marketing of the manufactured tea, Rs.1 lakh was earmarked in the budget

proposals 1999-2000. The produced tea has been recognised to have international standards. The project ensures employment to nearly 250 tribals on a regular basis.⁴⁴

5.4 Schemes for Tribal Welfare

Special Central Assistance (SCA) is released under three categories viz. Integrated Tribal Development Projects, Dispersed Tribes and for Primitive Tribes. Economic development programmes for landless and other Scheduled Tribes, habitat/hamlet development, rubber cultivation, employment programme for tribal men and women, construction of small check-dams/wells, etc. are the important economic development schemes being implemented utilising Special Central Assistance.

The important scheme/programmes proposed to be implemented under SCA during 1999-2000 are listed below.

1. Hamlet Development
2. Rubber Cultivation in association with Rubber Board.
3. Financial assistance for agricultural development.
4. Self employment programme for unemployed Scheduled Tribes.
5. Employment programme for tribal women.
6. Supply of workbulls/ milch cows.
7. Various training programmes to unemployed Scheduled Tribes.

8. Assistance to voluntary organisation.
9. Development of primitive tribes.
10. Horticulture (fruits & vegetables) development in tribal areas.
11. Establishment of single teacher schools in remote tribal areas.
12. Setting up of naturopathic/ traditional tribal medicine centre.
13. Financial assistance to KSDC for SC/ST for implementation of loan/margin money schemes.
14. Cultivation of medicinal/aromatic plants in potential tribal areas.
15. Girivikas.
16. Health workers.

An amount of Rs. 219 lakhs is proposed for the implementation of SCA to Tribal Sub-Plan during 1999-2000. The State had utilised Rs. 107.01 lakhs based on Article 275 (1) for the construction of the Mananthavady Health Project hospital in Wayanad. As on February 1999 it has an unutilised balance of Rs. 242.19 lakhs under Article 275 (10). Of this Rs 100 lakhs had to be utilised for the construction of the school building of model residential school at Pookot. In order to utilise the balance amount, the following proposals had been made in the TSP 1999-2000.

The scheme was intended to provide better treatment and rehabilitation of tribals affected by sickle cell anaemia, tuberculosis, leprosy and such other

diseases. Organising of medical camps, posting of health workers, transport of patients to nearby hospital, ensuring nutritious food, purchasing drugs, rehabilitation of cured patients etc. were the main components of the scheme. An amount of Rs. ten lakhs was provided for implementing the scheme during 1999-2000.⁴⁵

In order to generate employment, alleviation of poverty and improvement of health and nutritional status of tribal families during monsoon, a food support programme was implemented. Emphasis was given for the creation of assets in needy areas.

A Girivikas (residential tutorial School) scheme to Pre-degree failed students in Palakkad district is also under the consideration of the government. Depending on the availability of SCA funds, assistance was given to Kerala State Development Corporation for SC/ST to meet their subsidy requirements in implementing economic development programmes which benefits tribals. During 1998-99 an amount of Rs. 20.35 lakhs given to the Corporation.⁴⁶

Ambedkar Memorial Rural Institute for Development (AMRID), Wayanad, envisage multifarious developmental programmes for Scheduled Tribes viz. conducting tutorial classes for SSLC, Pre-degree, Degree Students with accommodation facilities, conducting leadership training, conducting

various self-employment training programmes including handicrafts, tailoring etc. An amount of Rs. 3.00 lakhs was provided in 1999-2000 for the above purposes.⁴⁷

Scheduled Tribes Development Department is providing boarding and lodging facilities to Scheduled Tribe students near their schools. Out of the 82 boys hostels run by the Scheduled Tribe Development Department, only 37 have permanent department buildings. The building construction is going on for 10 hostels. New buildings are needed for 35 hostels.⁴⁸

-Model residential school for boys was started at Nalloornadu, Wayanad during 1991 for providing better educational facilities to Scheduled Tribe male students on the pattern of public school system.

The model residential school (Ashram School) for primitive tribals at Nollpuzha, Wayanad was started during 1991-92. High school classes have already begun in the school. Building construction for upper-primary school section has already been completed. New buildings are needed for high school classes and for the teacher's quarters.

In order to give more emphasis to the Paniya, Adiya and other relatively backward tribal children to continue their studies, a model residential school was started in South Wayanad during 1997-98.⁴⁹

Special incentives are given to brilliant scheduled tribe students securing highest marks in SSLC, Pre-degree and Degree Examinations. Scheduled Tribe students securing first class in the respective examination are given incentives. Those who secure highest marks below first class in the above examinations are also awarded incentive according to the quota fixed for them. Post- graduates (Academic) are also given incentives under the scheme.

Scheduled Tribes Development Department conduct sports camps for tribal students. Sports festivals for pre-matric hostels at district and State level are also conducted. It is also intended to give special incentive to school children who won first or second prize in the sports competitions held in the district/State levels. Under this scheme, meritorious Scheduled Tribe boys are taken up for an All India tour enabling them to have an orientation of development. For tribal girls, South India tour are arranged. This programme is known as Bharat Darsan.

Youths of the age of 15-35 are allowed to compete at district and State levels in various traditional and modern sports and arts items. A portion of the outlay will be utilised for the selection of the best teams in each Tribal Extension Office Area. Awareness seminars are organised during festivals.⁵⁰

Non- enrolment of children in first standard and dropouts at the early

stages are the major issues in tribal education. It is due to the reasons like lack of cloth, incidence of poverty, need for child labour to support the family income, need to look after younger children etc. These children can be motivated and permanently enrolled by providing supporting incentives in time. Awareness programmes can also be conducted in the schools with the involvement of local bodies.⁵¹

Adiyas, Paniyas and the primitive tribal groups are the most backward tribal people compared to other tribal communities. Therefore, need-based and location specific package programmes for the benefits of these groups are to be formulated and implemented with special emphasis on education, health and economic development programmes.

Same scheme is intended to provide houses to puramboke-dwellers belonging to the Scheduled Tribes. Title deeds given to those who do not possess it in consultation with Revenue Department. Assistance for self employment are also given to those who have aptitude.

It is observed that the Scheduled Tribe youths who come out successfully from the Departmental Industrial Training Institute do not get immediate employment even after completing the regular apprenticeship. In such cases, it is proposed to provide stipend by the department for an additional apprenticeship for a period of one year or till their employment, whichever is earlier.

The educated tribal youth is selected from every tribal dominated panchayats for functioning as a facilitator for channelising and extending the benefits of tribal development schemes to the tribals and also to act as a link between the beneficiary tribals and the panchayats/sectoral departments. The activist is to given a monthly honorarium of Rs. 1000 per month. Considering the number of tribal dominated panchayats, government have already issued orders for the posting of 300 social activists in Attappady and Wayanad areas ⁵²

The Scheduled Tribes Development Department impart vocational training to Scheduled Tribe Youths for enabling them to acquire technical qualifications and secure employment in skilled, technical jobs. Under the scheme 50 selected tribal youths are being given training in electrical trade. The government of India have stipulated five trades namely- Radio and Television, Air Condition and Refrigerator, watch repairs, Electrical and welding. These five trades have the approval of National Council for Vocational Training. It has been decided to run the institute on National Council for Vocational Training (NCVT) pattern and the equipments necessary for this has already been arranged.

The programme namely Adikala Gramam, encourage the tribal organisation associated with various forms of adikala (tribal arts). Conducting workshops for adikala artists, arts festival, adikalalolsavam, financial assistance

to Scheduled Tribe organisation associated with adikala, etc., are the main activities of this programme.

The Scheduled Tribes Development Department engaged in the construction of houses for shelterless Scheduled Tribes families. The present rate of assistance for the construction of the house is Rs. 35000. Besides this, 20% excess fund are given for housing in remote areas. Moreover, Rs. 800 for wiring grant and Rs. 400 for improved choola are also given to each house.⁵³

5.5 Review of Tribal Sub - Plan 1998-99

While formulating and implementing the Tribal Sub-Plan for the year 1998-99, the priorities set up for the development of tribals during Ninth Plan were taken into account in all possible ways. Accordingly, the sectors like housing, health, revitalisation of tribal co-operatives, electrification of scheduled tribe habitats and houses, creation of needy infrastructures like water supply and sanitation, implementation of poverty alleviation programmes, programmes for the relatively backward tribal communities and primitive tribes etc were taken up and implemented during 1998-99⁵⁴

Educational programmes were given high emphasis during 1998-99. As a part of the strategy, model residential schools were opened in the places like Kannur, Kazaragod, Pathanamthitta and Thrissur. Thus altogether the State has 9 model residential schools and 2 Ashram schools.

As a part of the Attappady health project, an OP clinic was opened at Kalkandi in Attappady during February 1999. Action has also been initiated to start a similar health project at Idukky. Under the Manananthavady health project at Wayanad, a speciality hospital was constructed.

Housing for homeless/ landless Scheduled Tribes families had highest priority during 1998-99. In response to this, nearly 3000 houses were targeted under various tribal housing programmes and nearly 2500 houses were completed during 1998-99.

Apart from the above housing programmes, the State launched a special housing programme namely "total housing for SCs/STs in selected 17 panchayats". Out of the 17 panchayats, Thirunelly in Wayanad, having a homeless Scheduled Tribes population of 1440 is the selected panchayat for Scheduled Tribe families.

As a part of the economic development programmes, the SCA and TSP schemes were formulated and implemented by the Scheduled Tribe Development Department, during 1998-99 benefiting nearly 5000 tribal families.⁵⁵

More than $\frac{2}{3}$ of the TSP funds were given as grant-in-aid to the local bodies for formulating need-based programmes for the tribals. The remaining $\frac{1}{3}$ amount which was available as Pooled Fund for the formulation of State level

programmes benefiting tribals. This $\frac{1}{3}$ amount was distributed among the relevant sectoral departments including Scheduled Tribes Development Department⁵⁶. Accordingly the departments like Forest, Co-operation, Technical Education, Vocational Higher Secondary Education, Medical and Public Health, Kerala Water Authority, Kerala State Electricity Board, Rural Development Department, KIRTADS and Scheduled Tribes Development Department were given TSP pooled fund for such programmes.

The local bodies also formulated and implemented TSP schemes on the basis of the needs raised by the tribals in the Gramasabhas/ ward conventions concerned. These schemes/ programmes were suitably appraised/ vested in the appropriate vested bodies like Block Level Expert Committee (BLEC), State Level Expert Committee (SLEC), District Level Expert Committee (DLEC), Corporation Level Expert Committee (CLEC) etc. In all tiers of the local bodies the responsibility of formulation of TSP programmes are vested with the Task Forces on SC/ST development. The local bodies used to seek the assistance of the relevant sectoral departments in formulating and implementing their on TSP grant-in aid programmes. The Scheduled Tribe Development Department help the local bodies to formulate the educational, housing, health and other economic development programmes. The Scheduled Tribes Development Department watch-dog *vis-a-vis* adhering to the guidelines stipulated for the local bodies in implementing TSP programmes.⁵⁷

Though the panchayat/ nakarapalika system was launched in the State from 1995-96 and they were assigned more powers and finance only from 1997-98. The local bodies still find it difficult to formulate and implement the TSP schemes observing the guidelines. It is hoped that the system will improve in the years to come and gradually benefit the tribals in all possible ways, ensuring their participation in the formulation, implementation and monitoring activities.

5. 5.1 Financial Targets and Achievement During 1998-99

. An amount of Rs 6116.82 lakhs including central assistance was budgeted under TSP 1998-99. Of this, Rs. 3900 lakhs was given as grant-in-aid to the local bodies as mentioned earlier. The balance Rs. 2216.82 lakhs forms the TSP pooled fund for the state level programmes. Out of the TSP pooled fund, Rs. 343 lakhs and Rs. 423 lakhs were given to the local bodies for the implementation of State sponsored programmes (Schemes transferred to the local bodies) of the Scheduled Tribes Development Department and Rural Development Department respectively. The TSP provision of Scheduled Tribes Development Department in the pooled fund was Rs. 1418 lakhs. Besides the TSP allocation, the State had Rs. 180 lakhs as provision for SCA to TSP.⁵⁸

As against the TSP provision of Rs. 6116.82 lakhs, Rs. 5845.29 lakhs (95.56%) has been spent during 1998-99. The Panchayats spent Rs. 3861 lakhs

against their provision of Rs. 3900 lakhs (99%). The Scheduled Tribes Development Department could spend Rs. 1331.78 lakhs out of their TSP provision of Rs. 1418 lakhs. Other sectoral department also could spend more than 80% of their provision under TSP 1998-99.⁵⁹

5.6 Tribal Sub-Plan 1999-2000

During 1999-2000 also, the objectives of the Ninth Plan were given high priority. Continued emphasis to educational programmes like starting of model residential schools, providing better educational facilities to brilliant Scheduled Tribe students through local bodies, drop out prevention programmes for the tribal students, nutritional improvement programmes of Scheduled Tribe students, health care and health extension work through health volunteers, animation and extension work in tribal areas through tribal social activists, starting of single teacher schools with residential facility in remote tribal areas, revitalisation of major tribal projects, rehabilitation of tribals living in remote areas and purampoke areas, housing and rehabilitation of landless, homeless Scheduled Tribe families etc are the important objectives for the Tribal Sub-Plan 1999-2000.⁶⁰

During 1999-2000, Rs 6011 lakhs (1.85% of the State Plan) was proposed as flow to Tribal Sub-Plan. Out of this Rs. 4000 lakhs was given as grant-in-aid to the local bodies for their own TSP programmes. The balance 2011 lakhs was

characterised by the Pooled Fund for TSP 1999-2000. Out of the pooled fund, Rs. 1375.96 lakhs was meant for the TSP programmes of Scheduled Tribes Development Department, which included the proposed outlay Rs. 219 lakhs for SCA to TSP. The balance amount was distributed among various sectoral departments for implementing their own TSP programmes, which had state level nature.⁶¹

5.7 Tribal Sub-Plan in the Context of Local Bodies

Panchayat Raj/Nagarapalika system has been introduced in the State from 1995-96. During 1995-96 and 1996-97 a portion of the sectoral schemes and institutions were transferred to the panchayats at 3 tiers. The availability of administrative machinery, ability to deliver the services etc. were the criteria for transferring these schemes and institutions to each tier of the local bodies.

The strategy adopted during Ninth Plan (1997-2002) was to earmark and give more than two third of the TSP funds as grant-in-aid to the local bodies. The balance, one- third portion formed the pooled TSP funds, utilising which the State level programmes under TSP were formulated and implemented. The local bodies formulated region- specific and need- based TSP programmes with tribal's participation.⁶²

In each local body ward-wise committees, viz Gramasabhas are formed. These gramasabhas design schemes and are compiled to form the plan of the

local body. There are Task Forces on SC/ST to assist local bodies in formulating TSP schemes. It is the responsibility of the Task Force to prepare project proposals relevant to satisfy the need of the tribals in the jurisdiction of the local body. They can also advise other relevant sectoral Task Forces to formulate suitable tribal development projects for the tribals in the area of the local body. Before the finalisation of the plan document, it is to be submitted to the elected committees of the local bodies. The Task Forces hold discussion with ward/gramasabhas in the development seminars.⁶³

Majority of the members of the Task Force on SC/ST development shall be from these communities. The chairman of the Task Force shall be an elected representative from SC/ST communities. Monitoring of the TSP programmes is also vested with the Task Force.

While formulating the plans of Block Panchayats and District Panchayats, ward convention/gramasabhas need not be convened. But before finalising their plan documents, the Block Panchayats have to convene a meeting of all the members of Grama Panchayats in their jurisdiction to discuss the draft proposals. Similar meetings have to be convened by the District Panchayats also after inviting all Block Panchayat members in the district.

The District Planning Committee gives final approval to the plan prepared at various departments and later the local bodies can implement the schemes.

Expert Committees at various levels help the District Planning Committee in appraising the schemes of the local bodies. The Block Level Expert Committee (BLEC) scrutinises the plans of the village panchayats. The District Level Expert Committee (DLEC) appraises the plans of the District Panchayats and Block Panchayats. Similar committees are functioning for the Municipalities and City Corporations (MLEC and CLEC).

The Scheduled Tribe Development Department and Rural Development Department has transferred a good number of schemes to the different tiers of the local bodies. Prior to this, these schemes were implemented directly by these two departments. Housing, better education etc. are the main schemes of Scheduled Tribe Development Department, while Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY), Indira Avas Yojana (IAY) etc., are that of the RDD (Rural Development Department). These State-sponsored/ Centrally sponsored schemes are implemented by the local bodies as per the guideline fixed for them. The monitoring of TSP schemes is done by the District Planning Committee through the district level local committee with SC/ST elected members. The local self-government can also implement schemes which are formulated by different departments and handed over to them for implementation.⁶⁴

The Panchayat Raj has established a single window type system as far as

the tribals are concerned. In the erstwhile system they were required to meet different agencies for different purposes. The Panchayat Raj Institutions can take into account the real needs of the tribals while the schemes are prepared. The delivery of goods and services also will be better in the present system.

The foremost objective of the Panchayat Raj institutions is people's participation in the formulation and implementation of development plans and programmes. Though the erstwhile DLWG concept in the districts could achieve the objectives of decentralisation to some extent, its inability to draw up grass-root level plans and programmes after assessing the real needs of the people was always desirable.⁶⁵

The voices of the tribals will have little impact in the general gramasabhas. Being well aware of this, government, have issued orders for the setting up of tribal's own gramasabhas for the formulation of TSP schemes, and the selection of tribal beneficiaries etc.

The State decided to formulate the Nineth Plan and Annual Plan 2000-2002 of the local bodies by ensuring participation of people through massive plan campaign. Issue of guidelines and instruction for the formulation of schemes and projects, rules pertaining to financial property, fund utilisation, conduct of seminars, workshops and training programmes for the panchayat personnel as well as the departmental officers, orientation programmes for the Gramasabhas etc. were the highlights of the campaign. As a part of the campaign a state level

workshop for the formulation and implementation of TSP schemes was organised in December 1997 for the benefit of the Panchayat Presidents, Secretaries of the Panchayati Raj Institutions and the Chairman, Commissioners etc. of the urban bodies.

5.8 Government's Role in Tribal Development : A Critical Appraisal

Over the years the government of Kerala has thus launched different programmes for improving the standard of living of the tribals. Since education is the most powerful force behind the progress of a society, the State Government launched the tribal literacy programme in 1991. The government claims that this programme would make nearly 64000 tribals literate. However, during the field study about the tribal literacy programme, the author could understand that this programme was a success only in the beginning. Most of the beneficiaries of the programme at present couldn't even write their name. This is mainly due to the failure in follow-up programmes. During all the Five Year Plans, priority was given to the promotion of tribal education. In each district, the government has set up tribal residential schools where free boarding and lodging was provided to the tribal students.

In tribal health and nutrition also the government has played a crucial role. Several allopathy and ayurveda hospitals were opened in tribal concentrated areas. Non-availability of doctors and para-medical staff in the medical institutions poses a major problem.

Ninth Five Year Plan gave priority to tribal housing. For the proper

execution and monitoring of housing programmes, various agencies are at work. However, their performance cannot be said to be satisfactory. As envisaged by the Panchayat Raj System, the tribal housing was transferred to Block Panchayats in 1995-96.

Bonded tribal labourers of the State are rehabilitated in the projects like Collective Farm Vattachira, Priyadarshini Tea Estate etc. In order to alleviate the problem of alienation of land of the tribals, protective measures are adopted by the state. These protective measures are not properly functioning due to lack of funds, inadequate staff in the Revenue Divisional offices, resistance from the non-tribals etc.

The expenditure of the State for tribal welfare has been increasing from 1974 to 1999 especially after the introduction of Tribal Sub-Plan Strategy during 1974-75. Since the Panchayat/ Nagarapalika system was launched in the State from 1995-96, local bodies were assigned more powers. But the local bodies still find it difficult to formulate and implement Tribal Sub-Plan schemes observing the guidelines. Though the Panchayat Raj has established a single window system for the tribals, the system needs to be improved much in the years to come in order to benefit the tribals better.

This study has given special emphasis to the major tribal development projects undertaken by the State government in Wayanad. We have seen that the major tribal development projects in Wayanad are the Sugandagiri Cardamom Projects, Pookot Dairy Farm and Priyadarshini Tea Estates. Though

the Sungandagiri Cardamom Project could provide permanent houses for seven hundred and fifty tribal families, drinking water, sanitation and other facilities are yet to reach many families. Lack of efficient management of farms in the project, lack of essential infra structural facilities and deterioration of the quality of cardamom produced are the major limitations of the project. Pookot Dairy Project envisaged the settlement of 110 tribal families. Eighty four families have already been given permanent houses. However, the Dairy Project has not been functioning properly. Priyadarshini Tea Estate which was intended for the rehabilitation of 118 tribal families has been giving employment to nearly 250 tribals on a regular basis. Out of the three major tribal development projects, only this project is functioning satisfactorily.

In spite of, the various State sponsored tribal welfare programmes over the years and have been spending huge amount of funds for tribal development projects, it is distressing to note that a large number of the tribal families in Kerala are not yet provided with good housing, nutrition and health.

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CHAPTER VI

THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

The present chapter attempts to give an insight into the role played by the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in the process of tribal development in Wayanad, Kerala. For the preparation of this chapter, the author had interviews with the concerned authorities of various non-governmental organizations. Five major NGOs working in Wayanad are taken for detailed study. The areas of their work and the objectives were the special consideration. An attempt is also taken to give an account of an educational institution in Wayanad which have been imparting special education to tribal children.

There are many non-governmental organisations or social work organisations to be seen in every nook and corner of Kerala. They are working especially for the weaker sections of the society like Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes. There are many constraints for a social work organisations to function effectively in the society. This is particularly true in the existing situations of Kerala where the influence of the political parties and their affiliatory bodies is widespread. There is also a feeling among these political parties that all development activities should be implemented by them and through them. Political parties considered tribal colonies as their vote banks.

In the particular context of Wayanad, where the illiterate tribals were victims of various types of exploitation such as slavery, isolation, oppression etc. for many generations, involvement and intervention of social work organisations are difficult tasks. Let us have a look at the major non- governmental organisations which are working in Wayanad for the welfare of tribals and other socially weaker sections .

6.1 Wayanad Social Service Society (WSSS)

In 1974, the Wayanad Social Service Society was registered as a non-governmental organisation with the Bishop of Mananthavady Diocese as trustee, the late Dr. V.K. G. Nambiar as the president and other prominent citizens of different religious affiliations as members. This organisation was set up with the objective of starting developmental activities in the districts of Wayanad, Malappuram and Kannur in Kerala State and Gudallur taluk in Tamil Nadu.

The starvation deaths reported in the tribal areas of Wayanad became the focus of attention of Wayanad Social Service Society. WSSS started a special department for tribal welfare. During the period 1974 to 1978, micro- projects like drinking water, nursery schools, Mother and Child Health programmes, plant nursery and sponsorship programmes were started for tribals.

Though charitable activities form a part of WSSS, the main emphasis is on equipping the target groups to help themselves. It is their strong conviction

that charity alone will not solve social and economic problems.

6.1.1 *Peoples Organisation*

WSSS has been engaged in developmental activities for about a decade. The main aim is to organise and motivate the poor and the marginalised people. Initially the target group was agricultural labourers and small farmers. Later the WSSS focussed on landless tribal agricultural labourers subjugated by the land owning classes. The conscientisation programmes through WSSS helped the tribals to improve their human status.

6.1.2 *Objectives*

The objectives can be briefly explained as follows:

- a) Reorganising the activities of WSSS ensuring proper involvement of the target groups on strict democratic lines.
- b) Reorganising and reviving developmental activities through organising and activating groups in villages in the target area for sustainable community development.
- c) Awareness- building, transfer of technology and skills for rural development.
- d) Promotion of intensive remunerative agriculture.
- e) Supplementary income- generation measures in agriculture.
- f) Promotion of indigenous low cost, community- based and participatory health-care.

6.1.3 *Planned Measures*

- Organisation of groups in 30 villages.
- Training and motivation of village leaders, and core team consisting of office- bearers of local units.
- Intensive and extensive training programmes in different development disciplines for the rural groups.
- Staff development through exposure programmes, external training and periodical sharing sessions.
- Planning and implementation of self- help programmes.

6.1.4 *Accomplishments*

WSSS emphasised the need for effective and genuine participation of the villagers, irrespective of their caste or creed, and the emergence of properly enlightened and equipped leadership among the rural and tribal population. Similarly, issues pertaining to the under development of the people in the rural areas especially the tribals were discussed at length and possibilities of organised efforts towards the integrated growth of the underdeveloped were explored. On the basis of real understanding, organisation of the people were evolved in thirty three villages in the districts of Wayanad, Malappuram and Kannur in Kerala State and Gudallur taluk in Tamil Nadu. Of these, thirty centres have attained proper organisational structure on democratic lines. All the centres have a general body and an elected executive of seven numbers. These groups

have an average membership of fifty, consisting of people from different religious groups. The vast majority of the members in the group belong to the age-group of 20 to 35. Women are also included in the group. The parish priest of the concerned village is the patron of the village group which is known as Social Welfare Society (SWS). The WSSS has been implementing all its field level activities through these Social Welfare Societies. Ensuring people's participation to its maximum is the main aim of the society. Another important function of SWS is to organise and co-ordinate the activities of farm clubs, health clubs, credit unions, women's forums etc.

6.1.5 Leadership - Building

WSSS has involved itself in the rural leadership building. Identification of leaders is made by the participating groups. Further, it seems that changes are aspired for the interests of the larger community, rather than for personal gains. The nature of the group is also commendable, with due recognition and involvement of the poorer section of the society. The need for the organisations of the rural poor and their networking and the evolution of a true and genuine leadership on democratic lines, is felt essential by the majority of the village groups.

The groups at village level have initiated measures to ensure more involvement of tribals in the programme. For example, almost all units have

taken active participation in the literacy programme of the government mainly involving the tribals.

Participation of the target group in the implementation of various developmental activities of WSSS is ensured properly through the infrastructure built up at the village level by themselves. The leaders of SWSs are purely volunteers and they do not avail themselves of any emoluments either in cash or in kind.

6.1.6 *Women's Programme*

Social work in the diocese of Mananthavady perhaps begins with the supply of food materials through Community Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (CWCRA) during 1974. Different dimensions have been given to CWCRA programme from time to time as an integral part of the social work. Distribution of food has been used basically as an instrument to mobilise the womenfolk, who otherwise remain marginalised from the mainstream of development.

6.1.7 *Mother and Child Health Programme*

Mother and Child Health programme with the food aid from CWCRA continued in 45 centres till 1989 and 35 centres during 1990. The families covered under the programme were 8635 till 1989 and 6908 in 1990. Out of the beneficiaries, nearly 40% belongs to tribals and the remaining 60% are Hindus, Muslims and Christians.

6.1.8 *Education and Motivation*

The programme is aimed at education and motivation for women flock especially tribal women. Monthly seminars were conducted for women at all centres. Further, women were organised in small groups of 10-15 and discussions were conducted. The topics discussed during the seminars were i). Hygiene and sanitation, ii). Drinking water, iii). Communicable diseases, iv). Home remedies - Herbal medicines, v). Low - cost nutrition and vi). Credit Union etc.

Training of programme - promoters was given the highest priority in order to equip them for taking classes for the women. Further, training programmes were arranged for imparting organisational skills. Certain programmes like kitchen gardening, construction of latrines, small income generation programmes, etc, through loans from banks and other credit unions were implemented.

6.1.9 *Community Health Programme*

WSSS had implemented a rural health programme in the first half of the 1980's as an out-reach programme through hospitals. Training has been imparted to unit level health promoters as well as group leaders. One- month residential training was conducted for the sixty unit-level health promoters. The training covered both theoretical and practical aspects. Reading materials and

reference books were made available to the trainees. Motivation, upgrading of knowledge and acquiring skills were the main aims of the training. The need and advantages of popularising herbs in the treatment of diseases were well explained to the group in the seminars. Further, planning of the implementation of 'Wayanad Health Programme' at field level was also given priority.

The people participating in the programme are attaining knowledge about the present social system and its impact on health. Exhibitions of essential herbs, which are used for curing the diseases, have been conducted. As the people have become familiar with herbs and their uses, the exhibitions have become more meaningful. Another remarkable achievement of WSSS is the publication of the book, 'Health in the Kitchen' by Sister Innocent. Further, a hand- book for the use of community health workers has been prepared. A State level convention and workshop was organised by WSSS for the traditional physicians of Kerala on behalf of LSPSS.(Lok Swasthya Parampara Vaidya Samvadhan Samithi).

A naturopathy centre has been established at Boystown in Wayanad with facilities for mud bath, steam bath, hydrotherapy and magnetic therapy. Further, a clinical laboratory has also been established.

6.1.10 *Co-operation*

With a view to promoting the spirit of co-operation, small saving schemes were initiated in all the social welfare societies. Those villages with a higher level of participation in small saving scheme are given priority for economic programmes. It is aimed at developing the scheme into a full-fledged co-operative credit union, which will stand as a strong economic institution to the poor people.

6.1.11 *Family Sponsorship Programme*

Very poor families which do not have any regular source of income and are willing to take up self-reliance programmes are supported under 'Save A Family Plan'. Regular beneficiaries of the programme will get monthly assistance of the Rs. 250 each, apart from special gifts.

Seminars were conducted for the beneficiary families at different regions. Apart from regular beneficiary programmes, 'Integrated Village Development Projects' are also implemented through SWSs. Various schemes for improving the living conditions of the poor are implemented. Rural Co-operative banks are the basic financial support behind this project.

6.1.12 *Housing Scheme*

Under this scheme, 28 houses were built in various villages. A sum of Rs. 5000 had been raised for each house as loan from bank. The beneficiaries could

build a small but strong durable house by mobilising their own resources like labour and materials.

6.1.13 *Sanitary Latrines*

Though latrines are very important for health and sanitation, poor people find it difficult to construct a latrine investing a minimum of Rs. 2000. Under this circumstance, the WSSS helped 24 such poor rural families to build latrines, mobilising Rs. 1500 from banks as loan and Rs. 500 as grant.

6.1.14 *Self Employment Programme*

Loans were availed for poor people from various banks for starting income-generation projects like tailoring units, domestic dairy, goat-rearing, petty shops, bee-keeping etc.

6.1.15 *Rehabilitation Housing Scheme*

Five hundred and three houses were built in the districts of Wayanad, Kannur and Malappuram, under the scheme sponsored by the government of Kerala. The beneficiaries could get Rs. 6000 in three instalments from government through WSSS. Of this Rs. 1500 was in the form of grant. The remaining amount has to be paid in easy instalments within a period of nine years. The assistance for housing given through a bank account jointly operated by the beneficiary and secretary of WSSS. The Construction work was monitored by WSSS and subsequent instalments were made available to the beneficiary on

the basis of verification certificate given by WSSS. This ensured the proper utilisation of the assistance by all the beneficiaries.

6.1.16 *Emergency Relief and Rehabilitation*

Natural calamities like flood and drought had been a regular feature every year in the Wayanad district. Programmes implemented to help the victims can be briefly described as follows.

a) Drought Relief Programmes and Drinking Water Projects

Community pitwells were made in different drought hit areas. Each pitwell benefits eight to twelve families. The assistance given varied from Rs. 5000 to Rs. 6000 per pit well. Twenty pit wells were thus constructed so far. Similarly, assistance was given for the deepening of the few existing wells so as to enable the people to meet the drinking water scarcity.

b) Soil Conservation and Water Management

Sixty five thousand meters of contour trenches were made (with partial financial assistance of 50 paise per metre from WSSS) in order to check soil erosion and to enhance water recharge efficiency.

c) Afforestation

Seedlings of various local varieties of trees were raised and distributed free of cost. Nearly 50,000 seedlings were distributed under the programme.

d) *Flood Relief*

Victims of flood were helped partially through immediate assistance, which included food and shelter. Food materials were distributed through various rehabilitation camps organised by the government. Further, assistance was given for the repair of houses of the very poor families.

6.1.17 *Audio- Visual Programme*

An audio visual unit with two 16 mm film projectors and a generator has been functioning. Screening of various feature films and documentaries which have educative and entertainment values have been conducted in various villages. Further, audio visual equipments like television, VCR and slide projectors are available with WSSS.

6.1.18 *Snehanidhi*

Wayanad Social Service Society has started a new venture for mobilising funds from the people in the diocese namely 'Snehanidhi'. The amount raised is given as assistance for education, employment, treatment of diseases, house repairs and marriage.

6.1.19 *Bio-gas Technology*

WSSS initiated the promotion of Bio- gas technology for the first time in Wayanad. Janatha model plants were being constructed in the beginning. From the year 1989 onwards, low cost Deenabandhu model plants are being

constructed. More than fifty percent of the cost of the plant construction is met by the government subsidy along with loans from banks.

6.1.20 *Other Programmes*

Training is being imparted to ladies in tailoring and garment making. Two types of courses are arranged.

i) Tailoring, embroidery and needle work course, recognised by Technical Education Department of Kerala State for two years, for those who have passed SSLC.

ii) Non- formal training in cutting and tailoring: No academic qualification is insisted on for this course.

6.2 Shreyas Social Service Centre

Shreyas is the official organisation of the Malankara Catholic Diocese of Sulthan Bathery for development and justice. It is situated at Sulthan Bathery of Wayanad district in Kerala State. It was constituted in 1979. The operational area of Shreyas covers thirteen civil districts spread over the States namely Kerala, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. Geographically the area is predominantly confined with in the high lands of Western Ghats. The target groups are small and marginal farmers, agricultural labourers, rural women and tribals.

Since the inception of Shreyas in 1979 it has been involving itself in the

tribal development programmes in various colonies of Wayanad district, covering 120 tribal colonies which come under Nenmeni, Noolpuzha, Sulthan Bathery, Poothady and Pulpally Grama Panchayaths. The main tribes with whom Shreyas is associated are Paniyas, Naikas, Kurumas and Ooralies.

6.2.1 Approach

A participatory research approach is being followed by Shreyas in its all developmental initiatives. All the interventions are initiated based on realistic data, generated and analysed in a participatory manner. The participatory learning process is the basis of every activity. For this grass root level people's structures have been given due emphasis. Each and every activity is being identified and implemented by the people's organizations formed in various tribal colonies.

6.2.2 Structure

Shreyas have a decentralized structure which is found to be more effective in the smooth functioning of the programmes. Here all the structures are independent in the sense that they are the recognized local institutions, which have the power and capacity to make developmental activities as their own. Self - Help Groups (SHGs), Mahilasamajams, Balawadis and Tribal Colony Committees are the people's structures. So far they could form 105 SHGs, of which 109 are of women and 41 are of men groups. Thirty three

Balawadies are formed so far. Tribal colony committees are also co-ordinated for the functioning of Balawadis. Three SHG federations are functioning at the area level to co-ordinate, guide and facilitate the activities of SHGs, Balawadis and colony committees. Apart from this, 14 registered Mahilasamajams are co-ordinating the activities of women groups. Shreyas is facilitating the entire activities through its tribal development department.

6.2.3 Objectives

a) Formation and Empowerment of People's Organisations and Local Leadership

It aims at organising and empowering the marginalised by making them critically aware of their situation. It also envisages formation of participant, critically conscious, value based, committed and self managing leadership.

b) Promoting Decentralisation and Institution Building Process

This objective enables the people's structures to own power and resources by undertaking development functions such as situational study, analysis, micro planning, monitoring and evaluation and to enter in to dynamic linkages, collaborations and networking for local self governance and development.

c) Initiating Development Movement

It is a process to bring about cultural transition through evolution of collective behaviour, value base, awareness and relationships which are

developmental.

6.2.4 Main Activities

a) *Formation and Strengthening of People's Organisation* : So far they could form One hundred and fifty SHGs, 63 balawadis, 120 colony committees, 14 mahilasamajams, 3 SHG federations. They are initiating various capacity building process and technical capacity building activities for the strengthening of these people's organisations. All the activities under tribal development are being facilitated through these organisations.

b) *Community Based Health Promotion Programmes* : As health is the core element in the development of tribal sector, health workers are engaged in monitoring the health promotion programmes. Ongoing participatory health study and analysis in the colony level are the main activities.

c) *Medical Camps and Distribution of Medicine*: General and special medical camps are initiated as ongoing activities with the help of government hospitals and private hospitals. Apart from this, traditional medical know-how of the tribals is also being promoted through conducting the gatherings of traditional healers, medical camps etc. Moreover separate camps are organized for immunization programme with the help of concerned Public Health Centre.

6.2.5 *Training and Awareness Programme*

Need based training and awareness programmes in health are also being organized at colony level, area level and central level for various target groups. Hospitalization of patients is another activity. The health workers are doing this with the help of people's structures.

6.2.6 *Thrift and Credit Programmes*

SHGs and SHG federations are conducting thrift and credit programmes. They collect money during the meetings from its members and distribute the amount as loans to the needy people.

6.2.7 *Formal and Non- Formal Education*

Tribal literacy is a main concern of Shreyas. They have nursery schools and literacy centers run by the SHGs and Mahilasamajams for this purpose. Literacy centers are promoted by the State Literacy Mission, government of Kerala.

6.2.8 *Promotion of Co- operative Initiatives*

There are five co-operative societies of tribals engaged in tailoring and garment making, hollow-brick making etc.

6.2.9 *Research Studies and Documentation*

They are conducting studies on various topics such as health and education for identifying new areas of intervention. Now, they have a

collaboration with the School of Folklore Studies, University of Calicut, in a research on tribal culture with special focus on Kattunaika tribe. During the year 2001 they initiated a programme called village development planning which comprises participatory problem analysis, objective/ activity setting, project preparation and organisation.

6.2.10 *Women and Child Development Programmes*

These programmes are being co-ordinated by the mahilasamajams and women SHGs. Various training and awareness programmes, immunization camps, income generation programmes, special day celebrations, are some of their activities. A programme named "Ammala" is launched by Shreyas for the health improvement of mother and child. Distribution of nutritious food to mother and child is also one of the main activities under this scheme.

6.2.11 *Entrepreneurship Development Programme*

General and technical entrepreneurship development training programmes under this head is meant to help the tribals to start income generation programmes and micro enterprises. So far they could initiate two income generation programmes and five micro enterprises in the colonies. Apart from these, three training institutes are also functioning to train the tribals.

6.2.12 *Capacity Building Programmes*

The main training programmes intended for the tribals are the following:

- i) Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA).
- ii) Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation (PME) .
- iii) Health and Hygiene practices.
- iv) Institution Building of Systems and Structures.
- v) Leadership and Communication.
- vi) Financial Management and Accounting.
- vii) Entrepreneurship Development.
- viii) Developing Skills for Better Management.

6.2.13 *Agriculture Development Programme*

It is a programme to promote the agricultural activities for food security.

Main activities under this head are i) Training and awareness activities, ii) Bio-intensive vegetable gardening, iii) Cultivation of tissue- culture plantains and banana, iv) Group cultivation of banana, ginger, tapioca, paddy and v) Animal husbandry.

6.2.14 *Monitoring and Evaluation*

They are employing participatory monitoring and evaluation methodology evaluating all the developmental activities at the levels of SHG, Mahilasamajam, colony committee, regional and central committees. These monitoring and evaluation meetings are being conducted every month. Apart from these, half yearly and annual evaluations of the entire programme are also initiated in all

the above- mentioned levels. The members of the staff working under the tribal development department of Shreyas are paying frequent visit to the programme and are reporting to various levels.

6.2.15 Cultural Promotion Activities

Tribal community is blessed with their own cultural art forms. Shreyas is promoting such art forms through conducting Art Festivals, Gramolsavams, Day Celebrations etc. Balawadis give due emphasis on conducting competitions and practising of various tribal art forms.

6.2.16 Partnership Profile

Shreyas realises its vision and objectives through the organisations at the grassroots level. They are the following:

Regional Structures	-	10 Nos
Women's Organisations	-	145 Nos
Farmer's Organisations	-	80 Nos
Village Level SHG Federations	-	84 Nos
Men Self Help Groups	-	700 Nos
Women Self Help Groups	-	1370 Nos
Tribal Men Self Help Groups	-	35 Nos
Tribal Women Self Help Groups	-	70 Nos
Tribal Youth Clubs	-	15 Nos

Tribal Women's Organisations	-	18 Nos
Target Family	-	40000 Nos

6.2.17 *Intervention Strategies*

- Promoting Sustainable Agricultural Practices.
- Eco-farming.
- Participatory Technology Development.
- Watershed Development Programme.
- Homestead Farming, Animal Husbandry and Income Generation Activities.
- Rural Entrepreneurship Development.
- Promotion of Micro Enterprises at the SHG level.
- Community Education for the Tribals.
- Tribal Nursery Schools and Lower Primary Schools.
- Promotion of Indigenous Health Practices.
- Promotion of Low Cost Housing and Sanitation Facilities.
- Promotion of Micro Level Development Collaborations.
- Thematic Research Studies.
- Documentation and Publication.

The vision of Shreyas is to create a more human and just society based on human values, irrespective of caste and creed. Shreyas is trying to internalise

a development philosophy which is people-led, people-based and people centred in which people are the subject and goal of development not its means.

6.3 Solidarity

The emergence of Solidarity in 1982 was motivated by the belief that development is a qualitative transformation of people, and not quantitative abundance of amenities of life. It has to be achieved through a conscious effort, by education, conscientisation and motivation of the people to mobilise their own power and critically exercise it for a gradual positive transformation of the society. Solidarity has been concerned with the marginalised sections of the society in Wayanad district of Kerala in the early stage, and later, concentrating on the Adivasis of the district particularly, and in general those in the Nilgiri biosphere, and still further at South Indian and national level, contributing meaningfully for their empowerment, that they themselves take up the responsibility of their own development and survival. In spite of the policies of the State and the welfare measures for the integration of the Adivasi's to the mainstream society, they are considered distinct people with their own social values, cultural traditions and language.

In the beginning, Solidarity programmes were confined to training and motivation aiming at the formation of leaders and facilitators for social change. They worked with local leaders, youth, students etc. These reflections and

analysis and assessments, led to the launching of a massive programmes like non- formal education and mass awareness building in 1984, with solidarity's extensive direct involvement.

The non- formal education programme was implemented, initially for the whole illiterates, but later, focussed on identified tribal community. The strategy was to start with a literacy programme which eventually paved the way for a continuing education characterised by local issues of the people. Solidarity provided training to the animators to the committees at unit, and village level.

- Many action programmes were started through Solidarity for tribals and the issues varied from equal wages to fair wages, demand for basic necessities like housing, drinking water, action against corruption in the government departments, construction of houses, wells, roads, reviving their own art forms and conducting cultural melas etc.

By the end of 1988, Solidarity realised the need for a strong tribal organisation. Accordingly, the informal organisational structures evolved at unit village-panchayat levels were co-ordinated to form a district level people's organisation. This new development had some effects on the life of the tribals; they became more confident of their strength.

From 1985 onwards, Solidarity launched a mass awareness building

programme through an established library and allied programme.

6.3.1 *Objectives*

- i) to generate a new awareness among the youth and the public.
- ii) to equip the youth to take up the responsibility of social development.
- iii) to create critical awareness on the social, political and cultural issues and problems.
- iv) to organise suitable consultations, seminars, workshops etc. in order to create a positive image and empathy for the tribals.
- v) to create reading habit and provide reference facilities for researchers.
- vi) to make available information services in the field of employment and higher education.
- vii) to promote tribal art and culture.

The Adivasi Sangamam - 1992 was held from on 12th - 19th October, 1992, at Mananthavady, Wayanad. The event was a joint venture of the concerned non-governmental organisations and Adivasi organisations. One thousand two hundred delegates from Adivasi organisations / movements from 11 states who belonged to 40 different Adivasi communities all over the country gathered together in the Adivasi Sangamam. Solidarity had the leading role and overall responsibility for making the physical arrangements for this historical event. The Adivasi Sangamam, besides bringing out various issues into focus, mainly reviewed the ongoing developmental programmes for the

tribals in different states.

6.3.2 Activities

The following are the Solidarity's supportive activities to facilitate the tribal development process.

- i) Strengthening local/ state leadership.
- ii) Providing theoretical and analytical inputs.
- iii) Information/data collection.
- iv) Researches/studies and documentation.
- v) Building up support systems.
- vi) Making linkage with wider network of non-governmental organisations/ tribal organisations.
- vii) Allied activities .
 - Resources and inputs for people's empowerment process.
 - Collaboration with other supportive processes and movements.
 - Library and mass awareness building programmes.

6.4 Fedina

Fedina is a social work organisation working in one of the most backward districts of Kerala. It was established in October 2nd 1987. The organisation works with the tribals of Sulthan Bathery taluk in Wayanad district. Tribals of Wayanad have been victims of all sorts of exploitation. Over the years, these

tribals who were the first inhabitants of Wayanad lost their land when the migration took place. Many of them have become bonded labourers and their only source of survival is wage labour which is only seasonal. Often they have to migrate to other places in search of work. Lack of education and technical knowledge have also contributed to their low standard of living. Most of them do not have proper food or good drinking water. Alcoholism is prevalent among them. All these contribute to their deteriorating health. Many of them do not have their own houses. Tribals have an isolated life and are not organised. Their leadership qualities are also very limited. They do not think about tomorrow. It is for the integrated development of these tribals that five young social activists started working in 1987. Their social work organisation is called Fedina. Now they have completed 11 years of active service for the tribals. Fedina is well known both in Kerala and other parts of India. The main reason for this is the vision and commitment of the team members who worked together as a united team with clear objectives in mind.

Fedina has contributed a lot to promote the right and responsibility among the tribals and have participated in their struggles. Though there were many ups and downs in this process, accepting both the successes and failures, they have committed themselves to fulfill the goals and objectives of the organisation.

6.4.1 *Fedina's Activities*

a) Awareness programmes

Tribals of Wayanad are socially and economically backward. They are also victims of all kinds of exploitation. Illiteracy and ignorance are the main reason for this. The main objective of this programme was to conscientise the tribals about their present situation and to make them aware of their rights in the society. Initially, they started with a non-formal education programme to create awareness among the tribals. Meetings, seminars, training, exposures, film shows, street theatre, etc., were effective for this purpose.

The programme has helped many tribals to come out of their seclusion and to become more vocal. However some of them find it difficult to accept the leadership of their own people.

b) People's organisation

As a result of the non-formal education programme, people started realizing many problems at the colony level. To address these problems and to find out solutions, colony level committees were formed. During their meetings, issues related to their local areas and family problems were taken up for discussion. It was felt that in order to address the tribal problems seriously, there must be a wider organisation of tribals. The colony level and panchayat level committee members decided to form an organisation at the district level. Fedina

formulated a people organisation named Adivasi Aikya Samithy (AAS). The official launching of this organisation called Adivasi Aikya Samithy took place on April 8th 1990. AAS was registered on July 20th 1994. At the time of registration there were only one thousand four hundred tribal families as members of AAS. Today the membership is more than five thousand.

The members of these committees (colony level, panchayat level and district level) were given regular training. The purpose of forming Adivasi Aikya Samithy was to ensure the active participation of all the tribal groups of Wayanad to come together to fight for their rights. There are many tribal groups like, Mullukurumar, Uralikurular, Kattunaikar, Paniyas, Adiyar, Kurichiyar, who are members in the Adivasi Aikya Samithy.

Adivasi Aikya Samithy is a well known entity both among the tribals and non- tribals. This organisation is well known in Kerala and other parts of India. They have successfully taken up a number of tribal issues and solved them in favour of the tribals. However the efforts of AAS to bring together all the different tribal groups have not been very successful. Another drawback is that the members of AAS belong to different political parties. This creates difficulties for their effective functioning. In order to get immediate solution to their problems, the tribals prefer approaching the local politicians to approaching the government departments.

6.4.2 *Adivasi Aikya Samithy and the Tribal Land Issue*

More than fifty percent of the tribals do not have land in Sultan Bathery taluk. Their culture do not encourage them to keep individual property or land documents. They believe that everything that grows on this earth belongs to all people. Non-tribals took advantage of this tribal belief and occupied their lands. As a result of the conscientisation work done by Fedina through AAS, tribals are now convinced about the importance of land for their survival. Tribals have been looking for ways and means to solve their land problem since the formation of AAS. AAS have approached the government to give back the tribal lands. The response of the government has not been favourable and AAS decided to launch a struggle for this purpose.

The Cheengeri tribal project in Ambalavayal, Suthan Bathery taluk, consists of 526 acres of land. The original plan of the government was to develop this land in five years and give it to 100 tribal families at the rate of 5 acres per family. Even after many years, this land was not given back to the tribals. In 1994, AAS demanded that this land should be divided and given to the landless tribals. But the government was not ready to accept their demand. Today this land belongs to the agricultural department.

On March 1st 1994 Adivasi Aikya Samithy put up their flag on this land and claimed that the land should be given back to the tribals. On January 26th

1994, under the leadership of AAS, 72 tribals forcefully encroached the land and put up their houses. All of them were arrested on the next day. But they were released on their own bail. On January 28th 1995 again 241 tribal families encroached the same land. AAS was keeping watch on these tribals, but on February 7th 1995 they were arrested. They were kept in prison for two weeks on remand custody and released on bail on 17th February 1995. The imprisonment of these tribals received wide publicity in Kerala. From March 1995 onwards, relay satyagrahas (dharnas) were organised in two batches at Cheengeri by AAS. Thirty tribals were arrested on account of this and later released on their own bail. Seven tribal families who were part of this encroachment continue to live at Cheengeri on 1.15 acres of land. Three tribal organisations (AAS, Adivasi Vikasana Pravarthaka Samithy and Kuruma Samudaya Smarakshana Samithy) jointly encroached government barren land at Ambukuthy in Mananthawady taluk on April 3rd 1994. They were evicted forcefully by the police and forest department officials. The tribals resisted and there was forceful confrontation which resulted in injury to many tribals.

These three tribal organisations again occupied another 18 acres of vested forest at Panavalli in Mananthawady taluk on March 15th, 1995. Seventy two families were placed here. Forest department filed a case against them and they were soon arrested and put in prison at central jail, Kannur. The case is going on. These 72 families continue to live there even today.

Under the joint leadership of AAS and Kuruma Samudaya Samrakshana Samithy a total of 11.30 acres of alienated land from 8 places have been recovered during the period 1995- 98. AAS succeeded in getting back the burial ground of tribals at Vazhavatta which non-tribals had encroached. Another burial ground at Onivayal in Kaniyampatta panchayat was also encroached by non- tribals. This was also recovered and restored to the tribals in 1998.

The foot paths and roads used by tribals for many years have been occupied by others. AAS protested against these and succeeded to get back their foot paths and roads, including the foot path to Pakkam colony in 1993, the road to their temple at Purakkady in 1998 and Karany Athipura road in 1998.

As a consequence of the re-survey, some of the places of worship of tribals were taken over by the government and others. Due to the efforts made by AAS, some of these places have been returned to the tribals. An educational institution called DIET had occupied the tribal worship place at Sulthan Bathery. This place also was given back to the tribals in 1999.

As a result of their involvement in all these struggles, the tribals of Wayanad have gained much self- confidence. Once, they were afraid of the non-tribals. Today they have started to question and challenge. Now they are less afraid to go to the police station or government offices or to appear in courts.

They have also succeeded to project the problems of the landless tribals as an issue both among the public and the government. They also get solidarity and support from different sources like intellectuals, social activists, broad minded people, etc.

6.4.3 *Fedina's Women's Development*

Adivasi women suffer from inferiority complex and are quite shy to interact with others in public. They are also subjected to various forms of exploitation. The main aims of women's development programmes have been to promote unity among them, to support them in their economic development, to get for them recognition and acceptance in society etc.

Fedina conducts literacy awareness classes, income generation programmes, credit management programmes, legal education programmes, and special day observations etc. Twenty mahila samajams have been formed. Women are also quite active in the self-help groups. Some of them have managed to find self-employment. Their social status has also increased to some extent. Today tribal women are in the forefront of the land struggle. They also strongly oppose atrocities on tribal women. Apart from these, tribal women have close collaboration with other women groups of Wayanad. The main weakness of the programme is their reluctance to accept the leadership of their own members. Lack of formal education is another weakness. As they have been

victims of exploitation, they are always suspicious of others.

6.4.4 *Fedina's Youth and Children's Programme*

Lack of encouragement from parents and poverty have deprived tribal children of proper education. This has discouraged them from regular schooling. Considering the importance of education in the present day society, Fedina started programmes for children and youth. The aim of this programme was to remove their fear and inferiority complex, encourage them for formal education, and develop their talents in sports, art, etc. Main activities were balawadis, meetings and trainings, vocational camps, youth clubs, arts and sports competitions, study tours, tuition classes, etc. Thirteen balawadis were formed. Nearly 200 children from these balawadis have been admitted to schools and they are attending classes regularly. Apart from this, a number of tribal children are admitted to tribal residential schools in Wayanad.

Due to the lack of education, the jobs which are reserved for tribals are not availed. Most of tribals are engaged in wage labour. They are also victims of the effects of modernisation. As a result, they imitate the bad habits of others like stealing, alcohol consumption, immoral activities, etc. The youth clubs are useful in encouraging the youth to work together for the upliftment of their society. There is also a drama group consisting of selected twenty tribal boys and girls from these clubs. Six vacation camps and five nature study camps

were conducted for the youth and children. Every year, sports and games competitions are conducted at panchayat and taluk level. As a result of all these activities, their inferiority complex could be reduced considerably.

6.4.5 *Community Health*

As a result of the migration of non-tribals to Wayanad and due to the deforestation that has taken place, there are considerable changes in the food habits of the tribals. Many of them had been depending on the forest for staple food. When the forests were destroyed, naturally their source of food also diminished. Many of the herbal medicines which they used for treatment were not available when the forests were cut down. This has led to the deterioration of their health. Tribals also consume alcohol. Lack of financial support to get specialised treatments in hospitals is another reason for their ill health.

The main objective of the programme is to convince the tribals of the importance of good health. They also encourage them to make the maximum use of the health facilities available locally. Activities of community health programmes include, health education classes, medical camps, referral services, eye camps, blood group identification, preventive vaccinations, family counselling, sex education, health workers training, promotion of herbal medicines, cleanliness of environment, latrine construction, provision of drinking water, AIDS classes, etc. Most of these programmes were implemented in collaboration with the government health department.

Twelve traditional tribal practitioners were identified to promote tribal medicine. Their services were made available to a large number of people suffering from various ailments like cancer, asthma, blood sugar, blood pressure, etc. Thirty tribal women were given training as health workers. Whenever there is a health problem in the colony, these health workers inform Fedina and also give necessary assistance. These programmes have encouraged the tribals to keep their surroundings clean.

6.4.6 *Self- Help Groups*

Tribals do not have the habit of saving for tomorrow. They worry only about their daily survival. Lack of daily wage labour makes it difficult for them to meet both ends. Often they have to borrow money from others on very high interest rates. To pay back the borrowed money they sell whatever they grow on their land even before the harvest. Since the tribals do not have the title deeds for their land, it is not possible for them to take any loans either from banks or financial institutions. It is in this context that Fedina has decided to introduce the concept of self-help groups.

At the moment they have 20 tribal self-help groups consisting of 331 members whose total savings amount to Rs. 1,30,299.00. There are also 7 non-tribal groups consisting of 121 members whose savings amount to Rs. 81,320.00. For 13 tribal groups and 2 non-tribal group, the district panchayat has given a

total of Rs. 60,000.00 as matching grant. They give loans to self-help group members at an interest rate of Rs. 2 per month per Rs. 100. This programme has helped them to avoid money lenders who charge exorbitant rates. The programme has also helped them to take loans for their immediate needs.

6.4.7 Skill Training

The only skill the tribals have is agriculture work. Apart from this, their illiteracy and ignorance deprive them of the chances of getting other work. Often they are unemployed. In the changed circumstances in which they live, it is a must that the tribals acquire other skills also. Fedina's aim is to help them to acquire some other skills like carpentry and tailoring which in turn will benefit them individually and community wise. For example a skilled carpenter is paid Rs. 200 per day. Tribal carpenter trained by Fedina would do the same work for a much lesser amount for his own community. Thus his skill can help the community to some extent.

Through training and awareness programmes the tribals are motivated to learn skills in carpentry, brick making, agarbathy making, metal crushing, plastic works, tailoring, mat weaving, etc. During the period 1994 to 1998, 120 tribal students were given training in carpentry in four batches. Ninety of them are going for regular work at Rs. 50 to 200 per day. Sixty seven tribal women were given training in making agarbathy in four units so far. Under the brand

name of Neelakurinji they started production and distribution of agarbathy. Between 1994 and 1998 twenty six tribal men were given training in brick making. Forty tribal families were involved in metal crushing at 4 units and one eighty six tribal girls were given training in tailoring and embroidery in 10 batches. Fifty two of them were given tailoring machines from the block panchayat at free of cost. Four houses were constructed by mud bricks prepared by the tribals. Twenty four tribal women were given training in plastic works. Twelve women were given training in mat weaving during the same period.

All the above programmes have not met with the same success as expected. Their aim was to convert the carpentry unit into a production centre. Unfortunately they had to vacate from the rented place where they had the unit and the new premise had no space to set up this unit. The brick making and metal crushing units also had their limitations. Those who were involved in these programmes were trainees and they did not have the expertise to make a profitable number of bricks every day. In fact they could earn more by going for wage labour and so many of them were not interested in these programmes. The agarbathy unit needs good marketing skills to make it viable. Tribals do not have this marketing skill and so they do not make good profit from this venture. The scope for plastic works also is very limited in Wayanad.

6.4.8 *Fedina's Role in Land Development*

The tribals of Wayanad possess very limited land. Majority of them have only five to ten cents of land. Since they depend on wage labour for their daily living, often the little land that they have is not developed properly. Some of them have planted pumpkins and other vegetables which do not need any special attention.

Fedina have identified tribals who have some land of their own and have created awareness among them about the importance of having crops which will yield them additional income. With the support of Churches for Social Action and under their food for work programme, they were able to take up some soil conservation programme in the tribal land. They have also given seedlings and saplings of tea, pepper, coconut, arecnut etc., to the tribals. Apart from these, Fedina also had their own nursery. Fedina was also able to procure some seedlings from the government agricultural department.

Four thousand two hundred coconut saplings were distributed to 280 tribal families and nine thousand two hundred arecanut saplings were given to 460 families so far in Wayanad district. Nearly two hundred tribal families were given pepper and tea saplings purchased from other organisations. A total of seventy acres of land have been thus developed. All these efforts of Fedina have helped to motivate the tribals to develop their land.

The main difficulty in making this programme a success is that during the summer season when there is acute shortage of water, the tribals are not able to give the necessary protection to the plants which they have planted in their land.

6.4.9 *Income Generation Programmes of Fedina*

Today the majority of tribals in Wayanad district depends on wage labour as their only source of survival. Their employment is only seasonal during paddy cultivation and harvesting of coffee and pepper. Consequently there is a high rate of migration to the nearby states of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. Most of them go to these states for ginger cultivation, in which the locals are not as-efficient as the tribals. At the same time there is also migration from Tamil Nadu and Karnataka to take up construction works in Wayanad. People of these states are ready to come and work in Wayanad for much lesser wages. This again contributes to the unemployment of tribals in Wayanad. These migrations have several adverse social consequences also.

In order to arrest this problem of migration, Fedina decided to introduce certain income-generation programmes in Wayanad. Some of these efforts were taken under the initiative of Fedina and there was also support from the government, especially from the Scheduled Tribe Development Department. The income generation programmes supported by Fedina included goat rearing, chicken rearing, pig rearing, individual and collective agriculture programmes like paddy, banana, ginger, etc.

6.4.10 *Housing Programme*

Majority of the tribals in Wayanad do not have land to construct even their houses. The government has helped to construct houses for some of these tribals. Tribal housing is a major problem which needs a lot of money to solve. Fedina do not have that much of money to launch a tribal housing programme. Their approach was to identify the tribals who have their own land and construct few model houses for them in their land which others can imitate. Fifty houses for tribals were constructed in different colonies by Fedina so far through the assistance from the Scheduled Tribe Development Department.

6.4.11 *Legal Education*

As a part of the legal literacy programme, classes were conducted at village level in various villages in Pulpally, Sulthan Bathery, Meenangady and Ambalavayal panchayats.

At panchayat level, one day legal seminars were conducted in Pulpally, Bathery and Ambalavayal panchayats. Apart from tribal laws, the general provisions like fundamental rights under the constitution and human rights are included in the discussion sessions. Special legal classes were also conducted exclusively for the landless tribals in Bathery and Pulpally panchayats. Classes were conducted on Consumers Laws, Minimum Wages Act, Laws governing Succession and Inheritance of Property. Legal classes were conducted

exclusively for tribal woman particularly on Atrocities Act, Gender Discrimination and Sexual Exploitation.

6.4.12 *Legal Assistance*

The Adivasi Aikya Samithi members were given intensive legal trainings to present tribal issues in a legal perspective. Selected members were enrolled in the legal training conducted by the People's Council for Social Justice Unit at Puliarmala in Kalpetta for fifteen weeks. Fedina has formed a legal cell also.

6.4.13 *Legal Advice*

Legal advice has been rendered by Fedina to the tribals on matters related to: i) Property disputes ii) Easement Act and iii) Service matters. Apart from this, the training programmes conducted for tribal leaders were also utilized to render legal advice to them on general matters like i) Necessity to keep records ii) Maintain property documents etc.

6.4.14 *Net- Working*

As a well known NGO in Wayanad, Fedina have succeeded to establish good rapport with other organisations and groups like i) Programme for social Action (PSA), ii) Voluntary Agencies Net- work in India (VANI), iii) Kerala Voluntary Agencies League (KAVAL), iv) Indian National Social Action Forum (INSF), v) Forum for Development Agencies in Wayanad (FDA), vi) Federation of Voluntary Organisation in Rural Development Karnataka (FEVORD -K), vii)

Joint Council for Tribal Action (JCTA), viii) Tribal Joint Action (TJA), ix) Tribal Solidarity Forum, x) Rajagiri College of Social Science, xi) National Alliance of Peoples Movement (NAPM), xii) Loyala College of Social Science, xiii) South Zone Adivasi Forum, xiv) Indian Social Institute, xv) National Front for Tribal Self- Rule ,xvi) South Zone Front for Adivasi Self- Rule, xvii) Narmada Bachao Andolan ,xviii) Indian Council for Indigenous and Tribal People, xix) Mahatma Gandhi University, xx) Adivasi Ekopana Samithy, xxi) Kuruma Smarakshana Samithy, xxii) Kerala Harijan Samajam, xxiii) Paniyar Mekhala Samajam, xxiv) Adivasi Federation, xxv) Adivasi Vikasana Pravarthaka Samithy and xxvi) Adivasi Vikas Parishath. Apart from these, they also have contacts with other smaller groups working in Wayanad.

6.4.15 *Environment*

The migration of non-tribals to Wayanad has caused massive degradation of the environment. As a result of the deforestation, the threat of wild animals on the tribals have also increased. These animals which had a peaceful life in the forests were threatened when their natural habitats were destroyed. Naturally they come and destroy the crops of the farmers. The different mega projects introduced by the government for various purposes have also had their impact on the environment of the area. In other words the environment has changed drastically in Wayanad.

To address this problem which threatens tribals not only in Wayanad but also other parts of Kerala and India at large, Fedina conducted various programmes like environment awareness classes, street theatres, seminars, publications, dharnas and protests, etc. They have also conducted studies on displacement and consequences of mega projects on tribal life. The environment activists of Wayanad strongly opposed the planting of acacia trees and they have cut down lot of these plants. Fedina also collaborated and joined hands with them in these efforts.

6.4.16 *Study, Research and Documentation.*

Fedina have done extensive studies on the tribals of Wayanad, particularly about Adiyars, Paniyas, Uralis, Kurumas and Naikas. A documentary video cassette on the Paniyas of Wayanad has also been produced. Tribals do not have written document about their origin. They have only oral traditions and folk songs which describe their history. Fedina have also succeeded to document the "pulappattu" (death after ceremony songs) on audio cassettes. A book called "AIVE" describing their traditions has been published. A Study has been made about the Urali tribal community of Wayanad as well. A video cassette on the cultural festival of south Indian tribals is also made available. Video cassettes related to various issues which the tribal cultural troupes presented through street theatres is also documented.

During the past eleven years, Fedina mainly focussed on the empowerment of tribals through awareness creation programmes and training. These programmes have helped to increase their consciousness to a great extent.

6.5. High Land Development Agency (HILDA)

Hilda trust is a non-profit, non-governmental organisation. The members of Hilda trust has an experience of 25 years in the field of rural/tribal development work. Hilda was founded in 1987 and became a registered charity organization in 1993. Hilda's initiatives are spread over the district of Wayanad for a target population of fifty thousand people. Hilda promote the ideals of self-reliance through people- centred development initiatives, community participation in development process and people's empowerment.

6.5.1 *Vision / Mission/ Strategy*

The vision of Hilda is to create a just society by fostering self-reliance and social, cultural and economic independence. People centred development is a continuing process designed to transform existing power relationship by empowering people, their organizations and their communities at local, regional, national, and international levels. The liberative process are based on the participation of all people at all levels of decision making and through people centred development approaches which aims to increase individual, collective and community self-worth, dignity and security. Recognising the diverse and

changing needs of minority and special needs of indigenous people, Hilda's policy and programmes are committed to achieve equality for all.

6.5.2 *Focused Groups*

Rural people, tribals and dalits, women and children and small farmers and economically backward are the major focused groups of Hilda.

6.5.3 *Akshaya Women's Self-Help Groups, Micro-Credit and Community Business*

Eight hundred and fifty women's self-help groups with ten members each were formed. Each self-help group is engaged in manufacturing one product and its marketing. Capacity building, training and leadership development of women are a major objective of women's self-help groups. Networking between the group and empowerment, health, social and gender based programmes and cultural event are also carried out through women's self-help group.

6.5.4 *Bodhana-Single Teacher School System in Tribal Language*

Tribal children between the age group of 5-12 are the students of Bodhana. Most of the students are those who have not yet gone to school or who have dropped out from schools. An important feature of this school is that the medium of instruction of study of this school is tribal language and school could publish special books in the tribal language. Alphabets are taught with the help of bamboo sticks. After one year coaching, the students are enrolled in the usual

schools. Six schools are in operation with more than 100 students each year. The school conducts arts and sports competitions based on tribal culture.

6.5.5 *Yuvadhara - Teen Age Children's Programme*

Yuvadhara is a programme which is meant for school going children. Promotion of leadership and saving among the high school students are its main objective. It covers two thousand membership and is spread out in 115 units. Regular leadership camps, career counseling, special coaching sessions etc are the basic features of this programme.

6.5.6 *Ecology / Land Development*

Awareness and training on environmental protection, conservation of biodiversity, soil protection programmes by terracing the land by contour system of bunding and watershed management, promoting organic farming/organic fertilizers, agricultural product marketing support, promotion of alternative rural energy, low cost house construction etc are the main activities under this head.

6.5.7 *Community Health*

Hilda conducts regular medical camps and follow-up programmes for the tribal people. Promotion of herbal garden, promotion of tribal medicine, reproductive health, health education, drinking water and sanitation programmes are the main activities.

6.5.8 *Community Based Sexual Health Intervention*

Hilda regularly conducts village level awareness seminars regarding sexual health. Sex education is imparted to the school and college going students. In order to promote awareness, posters, banners, leaflets etc are also made use of. The programmes include i) Street theatre on HIV / AIDS, ii) Treatment for the STD patients, iii) Promotion of condoms, iv) Care and support for the AIDS victims, v) Counselling service, vi) Research on sexual health and vii) Promotion of people's organizations for the sustainability of the programme.

6.5.9 *Research, Documentation and Training*

Studies on various social issues of importance, management training programmes to NGOs and government departments, documentation of experiences through slides, video, photos, news paper cuttings, publication of books and articles etc are the main activities under this head.

6.5.10 *Mobilising for Collective Action*

Hilda takes actions in order to conscientise the tribal women against atrocities. It also takes action against land alienation and displacement among the tribals and leads struggles against human rights violations.

6.5.11 *Post Graduate Studies in Social work*

The University of Calicut has entrusted Hilda to run its two year Post-graduate studies in social work in Wayanad, offering MSW degree. Twenty six

students are undergoing the coaching. There are fourteen qualified full time teachers and twenty two part- time teachers in this programme.

6.5. 12 *Membership and Networking*

Hilda is a member of District, State, National and International NGO networks. It is also keeping good tie-ups with local voluntary organizations like Rotary, Lions and Junior Chamber. It has developed a good relationship with different government departments and works hand in hand with them.

6.6 Kanavu

It is seen that in Wayanad, there are a number of NGOs and different agencies working for the educational upliftment of tribals. A Gurukulam model school named 'Kanavu' situated in Nadavayal is well known among them. It was started by K.J. Baby in the year 1993. He is an activist and writer, involved with the tribal communities for over two decades. School dropouts, who are unable to cope with the curriculum in regular schools form the first batch of students at 'Kanavu'. It was well - appreciated and accepted in the state for its practicability and innovations. Today 'Kanavu' is well - known all over India amongst those interested in alternatives in education and educational research.

Children from the village of Nadavayal across the rivulet of Narasi, learn and live together at Kanavu. They are divided into groups according to their age and mental ability. The younger ones are taught what is learnt by the senior

ones. The senior students take up a subject of their interest, learn it and share it amongst themselves.

Elders from different tribal groups come and stay with the children from time to time, teaching them traditional skills, tribal rituals, stories and songs. Eminent poets, writers, activists and educationists visit Kanavu from time to time and imparting knowledge on various topics. Farming and working in the paddy fields are integral to their learning. Music is central to Kanavu. Classes in folk songs and dance, carnatic music and dances, training in musical instruments etc. are regular features of the curriculum. Theatrical arts are also included. Children not only able to read and write fluently but also bring out their own little magazines, small books and plays. They critically evaluate even great works of literature. For the growth of body and mind yoga and Kalaripayattu (martial art form of Kerala) are taught, besides skills such as bamboo weaving, tailoring and pottery.

In this study we had taken five major NGOs functioning in Wayanad. In addition, a school which was started for imparting special education to tribal children was also included in this work. The objectives and activities of the NGOs are more or less similar. Religious and academic agencies also have been active in almost all parts of tribal areas in Wayanad. NGO's role in the field of education, health, hygiene and women empowerment are commendable. They

could transforming tribals from their primitive way of life through empowerment and conscientisation. Today the early conditions of the tribals has drastically changed due to the efforts of NGOs over the years. It was observed that the NGOs in Wayanad stand as milestones in the tribal development process. However, much more has to be accomplished through their co-ordinated works.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

For the preparation of this chapter, I had interviews with the concerned authorities of various non- governmental organizations. It was with an analytical mind that I conducted the case study of five major NGOs. The areas of their work and the objectives were the special consideration.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF PANIYA TRIBE

To get a clear idea of the socio-economic conditions of the tribals, a primary survey including 270 Paniya tribal households from Pulpally and Mullankolly villages of Sulthan Bathery taluk was carried out. In order to compare the human development of the tribals with the non-tribals, 100 households from the non-tribals were also taken. The sample families had 2430 members. Among this, 1870 were tribals and remaining 560 were non-tribals. This chapter discusses the demographic particulars pertaining to tribal families especially their market behaviour, work participation and sociological aspects.

Mainly five tribal communities have their origin in Wayanad. The Paniya tribe is numerically the largest among them. They are the largest scheduled tribes of Kerala also. They are mainly settled in Wayanad. A few of them are found in Malappuram, Kozhikode and Palakkad districts. The majority of the Paniya tribal population (71.95%) are found in Wayanad alone.¹ Even though Paniyas form the leading tribal community in Wayanad, they are the most backward in every respect. They are the downtrodden group holding very little land and having little amenities of life. Taking into account the various socio-economic indicators, Paniya tribe can be considered to be a better representation of the tribal population of Kerala. Hence we have taken Paniya tribe as the main focus of this study.

7.1 Paniyas

The etymological meaning of the term 'Paniya' indicates that they earn their livelihood from labour as the term 'Pani' in Malayalam means 'labour'. Thus the word 'Paniya' literally means 'labourer' or worker.²

i) Physical Appearance

The colour of the Paniyas varies from dark to dark-brown. Thurston observes that they are 'dark skinned tribe, short in stature, with broad noses and curly or wavy hair'. They speak a debased form of Malayalam mixed with Tamil words.³

ii) Sub- divisions

The Paniyas have two-sub division according to their dwelling pattern- Paniyas of the plain land having contact with own tribal people and those living in interior forests. The latter group is mainly found in Nilambur forests of Malappuram district.

iii) Dress

Normally the Paniya settlements (padis) may be a cluster of a few huts (pire or chala consisting of five to 15 families). The dress of Paniya is simple and easily distinguishable from that of the other tribal communities. The males wear a long cloth (mundu) which is wrapped around the waist and a small mundu on the shoulders covering the body. The Paniya women (panichi) wear a long

cloth and a smaller one above the bosom through the ampits. A coloured scarf either red or black which they call 'aratti' is tied around the waist of woman.

iv) Food

Traditionally Paniyas were food-gatherers enjoying the freedom and self sufficiency of nomadic life in the interior forests. They used edible roots, leaves etc. They also used to eat small creatures like crabs by entrapping them. Although rice is their staple food, considerable quantities of wheat or ragi are consumed by the Paniyas. Tapioca, vegetables, animal flesh, fish, crabs and some varieties of roots and tubes are all included in their food items. Besides drinking tea or coffee, they are addicted to drinking toddy and some varieties of illicit alcoholic beverages.⁴

v) Social customs

Ear-boring ceremony is usually performed when the child attains the age of three. Both ear-lobes of the child are pierced with sharpened bamboo needles. A mixture of ginger oil and turmeric paste is used for heeling the wound.⁵ Paniyas consider the first menstruation of a girl as an indication that she has reached the age of puberty. During this period she is considered ritually impure and is prohibited from doing household duties. On the day of attaining puberty the girl is kept confined in one corner of the hut. On the seventh day a purification ceremony is observed.

vi) Marriage customs

The most common form of marriage among the Paniyas is marriage by negotiation. Other modes of acquiring mate for a young man include marriage by elopement and marriage by service. Marriage by negotiation is always accompanied by the payment of bride price by the bride groom. The initiative for entering into a marital alliance starts from the boy's side. It is a custom among the Paniya community that the husband has to make an annual subscription known as Thalapattam to his wife's parents on the Annual festival day, which is known as Uchal. If any husband fails to do so, the wife will be called back by her parents. The quantity is fixed as 30 kolagam (one kolagam is equal to 750 gram) paddy during the first year and 10 kolagam paddy in the subsequent years.

vii) Funeral Rites

The place of burial of Paniyas is usually near their padi. Mourning is observed by the members of bereaved family for seven days. The mourner (Noombukkaran) in the house is supposed to perform the rituals on the seventh day. He is not permitted either to take bath or eat fish or meat, during the customary mourning period. A ritual called 'Eyampula kayikkal' is performed on the seventh day.

viii) Religion

'Kuttichathan', 'Kuliyar', 'Kattu Bhagavathi' or 'Kali', 'Malakkar',

'Mariyamma' and 'Ayyappan' are the chief god and goddesses of Paniyas. Paniyas give offerings to their gods during rituals and festive occasions. They observe a number of festivals in different seasons. Some of these festivals are exclusively their own whereas some others are those which are regionally spread throughout the State. Onam and Vishu are also being celebrated by them. The festival celebrated in honour of 'Mariyamma' is conducted during the month 'Edavam' (May-June). The annual festival in the locality, viz, 'Valliyoorkavu Ulsavam' is another important occasion for festivity.⁶

ix) Occupation

Paniyas are primarily agricultural labourers but very few families possess land holdings. Traditionally they were engaged in bonded-labour (Kundal pani). Now-a-days the economy of Paniyas is well-knit with that of the non-tribal settlers who control their occupational pattern and thereby influencing their economic conditions. Since they are employed for agricultural operations like sowing and harvesting only, they have to remain as unemployed for a period of 3 to 4 months. A Paniya male gets Rs. 85 per day as wage whereas Paniya female gets Rs. 50 as wage. Wage in kind, that is in the form of paddy in exchange for labour is also prevalent in some interior parts of Wayanad. Hard physical works are usually done by male members, example, ploughing, ridge making etc. Light works like weeding, harvesting are done by women. Since the wage rate is very low as compared to that of other areas in Kerala, Paniyas

continue to be victims of the vicious circle of poverty.⁷

x) Indebtness

Often debts are incurred for meeting the expenses of marriage ceremonies, death rites etc. In other words, money borrowing is the major factor behind land alienation. The Paniyas have no other alternative but to borrow money to meet expenses in connections with social obligations. Many Paniyas who were interviewed said that despite higher wages than before in agricultural operations, today they could not repay the debts to their money lenders including their traditional land lords. The prevailing custom is that the tribals have to clear off their debts before transferring their allegiance to a new patron.

xi) Community Life

Among the Paniyas there exists the institution of headman known as 'Chemmi' who is obeyed and respected by all the members of the community. The office of the headman operates through a hereditary principle. But in the absence of a son, daughter's husband is selected to hold the office. The Chemmi presides over the council of elders which takes decisions on important issues. Moreover, he acts as the priest particularly during marriage, funerals etc. He is authorised to settle disputes, cases of theft, quarrels, sexual offences etc. Punishment is generally inflicted upon the offender by imposing fines varying according to the nature of the offence. The traditional role of headman as the

supreme authority has weakened over the years and is now reduced to the position of presiding over communal rituals and ceremonies.

In spite of a long period of bondage, the Paniyas at present are trying to retain many aspects of their music and recreational activities. It is true that the modern recreational avenues like watching cinema have contributed to changes in the socio-economic behaviour. Changes in the consumption habits have also taken place among them due to changes in economic pursuits. Despite governmental efforts for their economic upliftment, the Paniya community still continue to 'eke' out a miserable life in the midst of ignorance, indebtedness, ill health and above all unhealthy economic practices.

7.2 Type of the Family

Paniya families are broadly classified into nuclear, joint and extended. Nuclear family consists of parents with two or three children. Joint family includes parents, grand parents and children. Extended family consists of parents, grand parents, uncle, aunts, sisters, brothers, children etc.

Based on the household survey conducted, the distribution of Paniya households by the type of the family is shown in the Table 7-1.

Table 7-1
Distribution of Paniya Households by the Type of the Family

<i>Type of the family</i>	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Nuclear	185	68.52 %
Joint family	60	22.22 %
Extended	25	9.26 %
Total	270	100 %

Source : Sample Survey

The Table 7-1 shows that out of the 270 households surveyed 185 families are nuclear families (68.52%). Twenty five families were interested to live in a joint family set up. It forms 22.22 percentage of the total 270. The extended family consists of only 9.26 percentage of the total household surveyed. It is observed that the majority of Paniyas prefer to live in nuclear families.

7.3 Family Size

The size of the family is a crucial factor in determining the well being of each and every individual. There is a marked difference between the size of the present tribal families and those in older days.

Distribution of Paniya households by the family size are shown in the Table 7-2.

Table 7.2**Distribution of Paniya Households by the Family Size**

<i>Family size</i>	<i>Percentage of households</i>
2 to 4	39%
4 to 6	45%
6 to 8	10%
Above 8	6%
Total	100%

Source : Sample Survey

The Table 7-2 shows that 39 percentage of the Paniya households have a small family size with two or three children. Forty five percentage have family size up to 8 members. Only sixteen percentage of Paniyas have big size families. It is observed that majority of the people surveyed are middle aged couples who do not have any idea of reducing the birth rate. But it was observed that newly wedded couples are aware of the need of reducing birth rate.

7.4 Head of the Household

Recent trends in migration have changed the concept of the head of the family among the Paniyas. Traditionally, there was male domination in the Paniya families. However, of late, some radical changes have taken place in the traditional headship of the family. Owing to paucity of agricultural land and several other factors, family heads often leave their parent village seasonally and migrate to the place of their work. In their absence, for a major part of the year,

female members work as head of the family. There are several such female-headed families.

Head of the household's age is considered as a determining factor of economic status. Table 7.3 shows the distribution of households according to the age of the head of the household.

Table 7.3

Distribution of Paniya Households, According to the Age of the Head of the Household

<i>Age of the head of household</i>	<i>Number of house hold</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Below 30	60	22.22 %
30 to 40	120	44.44 %
40 to 50	50	18.52 %
50 to 60	30	11.11 %
Above 60	10	3.71 %
Total	270	100 %

Source : Sample Survey

The Table 7-3 shows that 22 percentage of the head of the family are in the lower age group (Below 30). Forty four percentage of the head of the households are in the age group of 30 to 40. Eighteen percentage are in the age group of 40 to 50. It is clear that 82% of the heads of the households are in the economically active age group. Only 3.71 percentage are in the age group of above 60. From the employment point of view it is observed that majority of the

heads are hardworking.

7.5 Socio-Economic Indicators

Occupational mobility is considered as a major factor which provides tremendous changes in the socio-economic life of the people. The occupational distribution of Paniyas is shown in the Table 7- 4 below.

Table 7- 4
Occupational Distribution of the Paniyas

<i>Job</i>	<i>Percentage of people</i>
Owner cultivators	-
Casual Agricultural labours	90%
Self employed and private job	6%
Government and semi- government job	4%
Total	100 %

Source : Sample Survey

Above Table 7-4 shows a dismal picture of the occupational distribution of Paniyas. It is observed that ninety percentage of the Paniyas are casual agricultural labourers who depends on low wages and seasonal work. Majority of Paniyas are landless. No owner cultivator could be identified among the Paniya community in the survey. Six percentage of Paniyas were employed in private sector jobs. Paniyas participation in government jobs is very meagre (4%). This may be due to their low educational standard.

7.6 Income

Traditionally, the tribals earn their livelihood through agriculture. A new source of income besides land is employment in government and private sectors. Very few Paniyas are technically educated and only a limited number hold good jobs. The Table 7- 5 presents the annual family income of the Paniya working classes.

Table 7 -5
Distribution of Annual Family Income
of the Paniya Working Class

<i>Job</i>	<i>Annual family income (Rs.)</i>
Casual Agricultural labourers	8900
Self employed and private job	18000
Government and semi- government servants	36000

Source :Sample Survey

The Table 7-5 shows that annual family income of casual agricultural labourers were Rs. 8900. It is observed that 95% of the tribal workers were casual agricultural labourers. The Rural Development Department of Kerala have conducted a tribal family survey in 1992 in order to know the percentage of tribal families in Kerala which lies below the poverty line. The methodology adopted for this classification was, those families with annual family income below Rs.11,000 were to be considered as the family which lies below the

poverty line.⁸ In the present study, the author has defined the poverty line in the same way as the Rural Development Department did in 1992(taken 1992 as the base year). According to this classification the casual agricultural labourer's families were lies below the poverty line. The income groups above the poverty line are government and semi-government servants and private firm employee which consists a very small percentage of Paniyas.

7.7 Housing

A glance at the most conspicuous indicator of socio-economic status namely habitation and housing condition would provide a better understanding of the social life of Paniyas.

It is observed that due to the proximity to the forests most of the Paniyas live in rural areas. According to the 1991 census tribals in the rural areas constitute 96.5% of the total tribal populations. In order to get a clear picture of the habitation of the tribal society, we have classified the sample household according to the habitation namely rural, remote and very remote. This classification is based on the mode of transport available to the hamlet (rural by bus, remote by jeep, and very remote by foot alone).

Distribution of Paniya households by habitation is presented in the Table 7-6.

Table 7-6
Distribution of Paniya Households by Habitation

<i>Habitation</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Rural	10%
Remote	35%
Very remote	55%

Source :Sample Survey

A good portion (fifty five percentage) of the tribals have to walk a long distance from their home to town in order to meet their daily requirements. Only ten percentage of the Paniya habitation have bus facilities. As far as accommodations are concerned, it is noticed that majority of the tribals have already given up their traditional hut or caves and live in government-built or self-built small houses.

Eighty percentage of the tribal houses are government - built and 20% of them are self-built. Due to inaccessibility, government could not build houses in certain areas. Paniya houses consists of one or two rooms. Majority of the tribal houses do not have separate arrangements for kitchen. Bedroom is used for cooking also. They are not aware of the use of gas and kerosine for cooking purposes. Majority of the Paniya houses (93%) are not electrified.

7.8 Health and Sanitation

Health is an important determinant of a community's living status. Health

determines the mortality rate of different groups. Generally, the tribals are not much concerned about their health in the initial stage of the disease. They seek medical treatment only in the last stage.

During the field survey, it was observed that the majority of the Paniya houses appeared to be clean. But actually the tribals do not give much care for neatness and cleanliness. They do not give any importance to their daily bath. When the researcher enquired about this, majority of them stated that due to the acute shortage of water they could not keep themselves neat and clean. They are living in their unhygienic living conditions cause allergies and other diseases.

Major diseases common among the tribals are fever, T.B., heart diseases, body pain etc. Today, they have become more interested in allopathy medicines as they are looking for fast cure from their illness. It is noticed that dysentery is common among the tribal people. According to medical practitioners, it is mainly due to the bad drinking water.

It is understood from the sample survey that water scarcity is one of the major problems faced by the Paniyas. Sixty percent of this community depend on public taps for their water requirement. Thirty percent tribals use tub wells and five percent of them have their own well. But it is found that the public taps are very far from their habitats. As a result they have to walk quite a long distance to fetch water. It is also seen that five percent of the tribals take water

from 'Kani' (small pond), where the bathing of domestic animals and washing dresses are also carried out.

Clean environment is also essential for the well-being of any society. It is noted that tribals do not possess any separate arrangements for waste disposal. Only a low percentage of the households have toilet facilities near their house. Some of them use indigenous type toilets.

Health and life expectancy are related to each other. High life expectancy is an important indicator of development. As the tribals live in an unhygienic conditions, their life expectancy is very low (Fifty years).

7.9 Education

Paniyas give very little importance to education. Most of them are not yet conscious of the benefits of education and consequent economic gains. There is a feeling among the Paniyas that, after education their children will become alienated from their family when they migrate to the towns for taking employment. Moreover, they believe that the educated children are reluctant to take up their traditional occupations.

It is found that the problem of illiteracy is acute among the Paniya community. The literacy rate of Paniyas was thirty five percentage. This low literacy is considered to be the root cause of their socio-economic backwardness.

Adult literacy rate vary among the tribals. It is observed that there are very few beneficiaries of the literacy mission. Few tribal parents are concerned about the schooling of their children. Now-a-days, the drop-out-rate is also high among them. The enrolment ratio of Paniya students are shown in the Table 7-7 given below.

Table 7-7
Enrolment Ratio of Paniya Students

<i>Classes</i>	<i>Percentage of students</i>
Kindergarten (below age group 3 to 5)	15%
Primary school (5 - 9)	65%
Secondary school (9 - 13)	15%
Higher school (13 - 15)	5%

Source :Sample Survey

The Table 7-7 shows that the enrolment ratio of students (5-9 age group) is very high in the case of Paniyas, but the secondary and high school enrolment ratios of students are very low. This is mainly due to the high drop out rate of tribal students.

7.10 Social Awareness

Mass media is an important means of creating social awareness among people. The Table 7-8 below furnishes the details regarding the subscription/

possession / use of various media by the Paniyas.

Table 7- 8

**Distribution of Households According to the Possession /
Use of Various Mass Media**

<i>Mass media</i>	<i>Possession / use of various media, Percentage of Paniya households</i>
Radio	50%
Newspaper only	10%
Newspaper and Radio	2%
Radio and T.V.	3%
Nil	35%

Source :Sample Survey

The Table 7-8 shows that thirty five percentage of the Paniyas do not possess or use any kind of communication media. It is noticed that a few of them possess radio, which is used mainly for hearing songs and the like and not for hearing news. Newspaper is very rare in tribal areas. Major source of social awareness is tea-shops where they spend a lot of time chatting about political and social aspects. For women, this chatting centers are neighbouring houses.

7.11 Decision Taking

Decision taking on one's own can be considered to be a major indicator

of socio-economic advancement of any society. It is observed that eight percent of the sample population take self decision regarding any matter and forty percentage of them seek the help of political leaders and relatives and twenty percentage of them take decision with the help of 'samithi' which is constituted by some tribal people. We could also notice that majority of Paniya youths are not in favour of 'moopen's rule. They favour political parties, people's organisations etc.

7.12 Status of Women

The social structure of the tribal society in Kerala centres around the family. In most of the tribal communities in Wayanad, Paniya in particular, the women enjoy equal social status with their menfolk. The women are the cornerstone of the social structure of tribal societies of Wayanad. The women shoulder heavy responsibilities like feeding, raising the family and maintaining social relations. When cash economy was introduced, women became the custodian of cash and controller of the household in majority of families.

7.13 Markets

The traditional tribal society was predominantly a subsistence economy where people depend on the forest for their livelihood and were by and large very self sufficient. Barter economy existed there. Eventually, due to the population pressure in plains, the non-tribals forcefully evicted the tribals from their original

habitat. They were subjected to a great deal of exploitation by the non-tribals. Thus the tribals who occupied the position of the landlords in the society were brought down to the level of labourers. Even today, the products supplied by the tribals are sold out at low prices even though different types of co-operatives have been set up in tribal areas for the procurement of different commodities supplied by the tribals. The tribal people are exploited considerably in this manner too. Among the Paniya tribe of Wayanad, it is found that tribals have to buy even the basic necessities. But they purchase limited number of consumer goods for their daily use. It has been observed that government fair price shops are not sufficient to supply the commodities of minimum requirements of the tribal people. In Pulpally and Mullenkolly villages of Sulthan Bathery taluk, Wayanad, there is a flourishing consumer market for tribals and non-tribals.

In any society, there are mainly two markets : factor market and the product market.

7.13.1 Factor Market

Factor market is defined as the purchase of sale of factors which are used in the production process, which constitute land, labour, capital and organisation. Let us give a brief account of the above factors.

i) *Land*

Traditionally 'land' in the wider sense has been considered as the pivotal point of the tribal economy of Kerala. However, the question of who owns the land does not arise among the tribals since land is commonly owned. In the slash and burn agriculture, each family within a tribal group used to be allocated an area by the headman, according to its needs and ability to cultivate. So long as the family remained within the tribal organisation and cultivated the plot, its occupancy or operational right over that plot remained undisputed. Thus the tribe as a whole retained the ownership right and the individual tribal family enjoyed the operational right.

The above mentioned type of an institutional arrangement was possible because land was not at all considered a limiting factor of production in the evolution of the tribal economy. Later, the tribal peasantry came to be divided broadly into two categories, viz, landed and landless. Landlessness - a problem unknown to their traditional society became a grim reality. Obviously the extent of landlessness varies from one place to another.

Distribution of Paniya households according to the possession of land is presented in the Table 7-9 below.

Table 7-9
Distribution of Paniya Households Surveyed According
to the Possession of Land

<i>Land</i>	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Less than 1 Acre	80	79 %
1 to 3	30	15 %
3 to 5	10	6 %
5 to 10	-	-
10 to 15	-	-
15 above	-	-
Total	120	100 %

Source :Sample Survey

It is observed that out of the 270 house holds surveyed, only 120 households possess some land and 150 houses are landless. But the extent of land owned by Paniyas is very low. Among the 120 households with land, eighty households owned an extent of land varying from 5 cents to 20 cents. There is great inequality in the ownership of land holding of the non-tribals and the tribals. Fertile land is now mostly occupied by the non-tribals.

Land alienation is a serious issue faced by the tribal population. The single crucial factor attributing to this menace is non-tribal encroachment besides pledging of the land to the non-tribals to meet the credit needs of the tribals.

ii) ***Labour***

Owing to the migration to plains and the partial breaking of isolation, the Paniya have taken agriculture as their major source of livelihood.

Broadly speaking, the Paniya tribe in Wayanad lacks the motivation for occupational change. It was observed that the tribal society supplies cheap source of labour to the non-tribals.

The distribution of daily wages of Paniyas is presented in the Table 7-10 below.

Table 7- 10
Distribution of Daily Wages of Paniyas

<i>Category</i>	<i>Daily wage (Rs).</i>
Male	85
Female	55

Source :Sample Survey

There is a wide difference in the wages of tribals and non-tribals and also among the male and female labourers. Paniyas in government undertakings such as plantations and traditional units also face the same problem. So long as the question of wage difference exists, there can be no improvement in the economic condition of the Paniyas.

Work participation rate gives us a clear picture of the Paniya labourers.

Distribution of Paniyas by work participation rate is presented in the Table 7-11.

Table 7-11

Distribution of Paniyas by Work Participation Rate

<i>Total work participation rate</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
30.41	42.07	35.02

Source :Sample Survey

It is observed that Paniya women are very hard working like their men. In the 1991 census, work participation rate of Rural Indian was 37.68%. The male and female percentages were 51.56 and 22.73 respectively. The work participation rate for total working population in Kerala was 32.05% constituting 16.90% for female and 47.81% for male.

Taking into consideration the active participation of tribal people in plantations, industries, mines etc., the government should come forward to grant them incentives to work together with the non-tribal people and provide them reasonable wages. This will help a great deal to improve their lot.

iii) Capital

Capital in its broad sense means, investment in different sectors of the economy. Agriculture being the main occupation of the tribal population, the major part of investment goes to this sector. The major channels of investment

are irrigation, tractors and other machines, vehicle for transport and marketing of agricultural goods and provision of modern seeds etc. It was noticed that a small percentage of tribals make investments in these areas. The majority of tribals lack funds for investment. They seldom approach the government agencies for financial assistance in order to purchase these agricultural implements as they are already in debt. It was observed from the field survey that majority of the tribals, especially the Paniyas were not aware of the incentives provided by the various agencies like Krishi Bhavan, Blocks, and the like. Hence, the government and the voluntary organisations should provide them better employment opportunities and encourage them to make investments.

iv) *Entrepreneurship*

Entrepreneurship is an occupational enterprise taken at a personal level. It involves risk, quick decision, innovative adaptation, continuous investment and above all a temperament for profit making and development. Its genesis lies in capitalism but it is also an instrument to provide new avenues to the under developed segments of the society.

The government and the voluntary agencies as agents of development, have a crucial role in leading the tribals along the road of entrepreneurship. Though, community development programmes do bring forth agricultural development, only through better entrepreneurship can the techniques of

agriculture be changed. Self employment generation programmes like TRYSEM and EAS has imparted training to several tribals below 35 years in the field of art, craft, tool and furniture making which provides them with income and employment.⁹

7.13 .2 Product Market

Product market is another side of market participation where by the extent of purchase and sale of final goods in the market can be determined. Paniyas in Wayanad are basically farmers and daily wage earners. The major items of production and sale are agricultural products comprising rice, maize, ragi, vegetables, spices, minor forest products and furniture made of bamboo and wood. The transaction of goods within the tribe does not occur frequently. Tribal to non-tribal transaction is widely prevalent. The main items of purchase by the non-tribals from the tribals are honey, spices, medicines, bamboo, and other forest products. Paniyas depend on non-tribals for provisions and other food materials.

7.14 Expenditure Pattern

Expenditure pattern of a society gives a clear picture of their economic status. Expenditure in terms of money determines how much amount of money is spent for various amenities of life. The Paniyas do not have any account of what they purchase or consume. A few things such as sugar, salt, beedi, tea,

liquor, fruits, milk, fish, medicine, etc are purchased from the market whenever required. No record of such expenditure is kept by them. However, a rough estimate of such expenditures was made for Paniyas in this study. It was found that 93 percent of the Paniya households spend more than 55% of their income on food. Apart from food, major portion of their income is spent on fuel, clothing and medicine. Since tribals spend major portion of their income for day to day necessities, their saving is very low.

7.15 Cropping Pattern

Tribal economy is primarily based on agriculture. This sector provides employment to more than half of the working population. Cropping pattern is the central element of agricultural land use. Expansion of irrigation facilities, introduction of high yielding varieties of crops, agricultural tools and machines, creation of a wide market and development of infrastructural facilities in the form of link roads influence the cropping pattern to a large extent. But it is the non-tribals who are more benefited from these kind of development in this area. It was observed in the survey that 90% of Paniyas are not aware of the modern agricultural development and practices. The main cultivation of non-tribals is paddy, which is considered as a modern crop by the tribals and now the tribals are slowly following the foot steps of the non-tribals.

7.16 Diet Pattern

Traditionally tribals were food-gatherers enjoying the freedom of wandering life in the interior forests. They eat edible roots, leaves, wild berries etc. They used to eat small animals by entrapping them. Recently, the tribals use different items of food which differ from season to season. In earlier times they used to shift areas depending on the availability of food. Their food habits were closely related to the rhythm of the seasons.

It is interesting to note that 75% of the Paniya people do not depend on home cooked food throughout the year. Instead, they purchase food from nearby hotels or tea stalls. Their reluctance to cook food at home and the preference for wayside eating cannot be attributed to any single reason.

It is clear from the study that the consumption pattern of Paniyas is closely tied up with the employment opportunities. Most of them consume food twice a day if work is available, otherwise only once a day. Their staple diet is rice like the non-tribals. If rice is cooked twice, the second time they prepare it as kanji.¹⁰

Three meals a day is something which they enjoy rarely. Usually on working days meals include early morning tea (without milk, most of the time without sugar also) and lunch. Normally they take rice with salt alone or salt and chilli or with 'yellow kari' which is prepared by using potato or papaya. The

vegetables they usually purchase are onion, potatoes, beans etc.¹¹ Diet profile of Paniya tribe is characterised by lack of milk and milk products. There exists a wide difference between the calorie intakes of tribals and non-tribals.

7.17 Leadership

Good leadership is very essential for every society's advancement. Community Development and the Panchayati Raj are the two institutions to promote better living for the whole community which require active and enthusiastic participation of all. In other words, community development programmes cannot be successful without full participation of the people and proper leadership. Panchayati Raj is considered as an agency which stands for economic, social, political development and the discovery of new leaders.¹²

The political socialisation process among the tribals since independence have led to the emergence of new leaders. Of late, a limited number of important tribal political leaders like C.K. Janu, P. Mathavan, K. Narayanan etc. have come up in the Wayanad tribal belt.

Paniyas in Wayanad belong to different political parties like Indian National Congress and the Communist Party of India. Indian National Congress is the dominant noticed party among them. Paniyas do vote regularly and majority of them are aware that it is their right to vote. In recent times Paniya youths are becoming more interested in party politics and they come forward

even to contest elections. But only limited seats are reserved for the tribals to contest elections while the non-tribals do contest in larger number of seats. Though the Paniyas generally show less interest in contesting elections, a large number of them regularly attend Grama Sabha meetings.

Paniya women are not generally attracted to politics due to their backwardness in all respects. It is observed that even the non-tribal women in these areas are reluctant to enter politics or take up leadership owing to their conservative outlook. As a result, tribal women participation is very low in local level administrative bodies like panchayat council, village council etc.

Owing to the economic and social backwardness of tribals, the tribal leaders are not in a position to play an equal role in party politics compared to the non-tribal leaders who are politically more active. Moreover, with the break down of tribal solidarity, tribal leaders are forced to depend upon the non-tribal people and leaders for their political survival.

Tribals have to go a long way mentally for their advancement. The changes that have taken place among these tribals are a matter of pride for our State. Even though, the economic programmes that we introduced so far have failed to bring about major changes in the tribal scenario, tribals believe that these programmes have contributed to a great extent in achieving their goals.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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5. Ibid. pp.8 -10.
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8. Rural Development Department of Kerala's *Tribal Family Survey*, 1992, *Vikasana Guide*, Rural Information Bureau, Rural Development Department, Trivandrum, 1993.
9. Madhusudan Trivedi, *Entrepreneurship among the Tribals*, Printwell Publishers, Jaipur, 1994, p. 51.
10. Kanji is semi-liquid food which fills one's stomach with less quality of rice as it is a mixture of boiled rice and water.
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CHAPTER VIII

TRIBALS AND NON-TRIBALS - A COMPARISON ON THE BASIS OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDICES

In this chapter we analyse the data collected from 270 Paniya households and 100 non-tribal households. Human Development Indices are constructed separately for the Paniya community and non-tribals to find out the extent of human development of the Paniyas in comparison with that of the non-tribal population.

8.1 Perspectives of Development

Conventional development concept was based on an income perspective. At present the concept of development mainly means the human development. Now the development concept has included the protection of human, ecological and social rights. The multiplication of non-governmental organisations, the contribution of social movements, the revival of the meaning of political representation - all should contribute to society's redefinition of development as a way of truly humanizing growth. Democracy and freedom, a key for a balanced transition from growth to human development, have broadened the demand for equity. The basic needs strategy emphasized ensuring for all people the basic means of well being : food, health and education. Human development went far beyond income and growth to cover the full flourishing of all human capabilities.¹

The study guide on Development of Freedom from Hunger Campaign / Action for Development states “The ultimate purpose of development is to provide everyone with ever-increasing opportunities for a better life.”² It therefore, requires an equitable distribution of income and other social resources to promote justice and efficient production, to raise levels of employment substantially, to expand and improve facilities for education, health, nutrition, housing and social and cultural well being. The quantitative and structural changes that development thus imposes on society must go hand in hand with economic progress while racial, ethnic and social inequalities must be substantially reduced.³

The perception of development among the tribals varies from tribal elites to tribal masses. The elites who have cornered larger benefits from Tribal Sub-Plan area have a different perception of development from the masses of tribal people who have remained buried in poverty, illiteracy, oppression and discrimination. It would be erroneous to think that the perception and understanding of development is the same for a tribe as a whole. It varies from one stratum to another. The beneficiaries of development action in our immediate context are tribals of Wayanad. Their experience of development starts from community development programmes. This development effort today is at the stage of Tribal Sub-Plan area approach. Masses of tribal people have witnessed and in some respects, participated in the process of development.

8.2 Human Development

The Human Development Report 1990 has defined human development as the process of enlarging people's choices. The most critical ones are to lead a long and healthy life, to be educated and to enjoy a decent standard of living. Additional choices include political freedom, other guaranteed human rights and various ingredients of self respect - including what Adam Smith called the ability to mix with others without being "ashamed to appear in public". These are among the essential choices, the absence of which can block many other opportunities. Human Development is thus a process of widening people's choices as well as raising the level of well being achieved.⁵

The recent decades show all too clearly that there is no automatic link between growth and human development. And even when links are established, they may gradually be eroded-unless regularly fortified by skilful and intelligent policy management. Progress in human development has mostly continued but too unevenly. There are striking contrasts today in the relationship between human development and per capita income. Short term advances in human development are possible - but they will not be sustainable without further growth. Conversely, economic growth is not sustainable without human development.⁶

Human development is interpreted as "A process of enlarging people's

choices. In principle these choices can be infinite and change overtime. But at all levels of development, the three essential ones are for people to lead a long and healthy life, to acquire knowledge and to have access to resources needed for a decent standard of living. If these choices are not available, many other opportunities remain inaccessible.”⁷

In 1990 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) took up the chalwhen it published the first Human Development Report. It emphasized the importance of putting people-their needs, their aspirations, their choices - at the centre of the development effort. Human development can be expressed as a process of enlarging people's choices. Obtaining income is certainly one of the main means of expanding choices and well being. But too often the expansion of income is confused with the enhancement of human capabilities.⁸

Investigations of the priorities of poor people have often discovered that they put a high value on many things besides higher income - including adequate nutrition, accessible safe water, better medical services, more and better schooling for their children, affordable transport, adequate shelter, secure livelihoods and productive and satisfying jobs.⁹

Beyond these needs, people also value benefits that are less material. These include, for example, freedom of movement and speech and freedom of oppression, violence and exploitation. People also want a sense of purpose in

life. And as members of families and communities, people value social cohesion and the right to assert their own traditions and culture.¹⁰

8.2.1 Dimensions of Human Development

The concept human development includes five dimensions like empowerment, co-operation, equity, sustainability and security.¹¹

i) *Empowerment*

Basic empowerment depends on the expansion of people's capabilities - expansion that involves an enlargement of choices and thus an increase in freedom. But people can exercise few choices without freedom from hunger, want and deprivation. In principle, everyone is free to buy food in the market, for example, but this freedom means little to people who are too poor to afford it. Everyone may be free to read a newspaper. But exercising this freedom depends on literacy. And everyone may be free to travel around the country, but not if bedridden with illness.

Empowerment carries an additional connotation - that in the course of their daily lives people are able to participate in, or endorse, the decision - making that affects their lives. People's capabilities could be expanded by, for example, receiving primary health care, but they might have little say in how that expansion takes place. People should not be passive beneficiaries of a process engineered by others. They should be active agents in their own development.

ii) *Co-operation*

People live within a complex web of social structures - from the family to the state, from local self-help groups to multinational corporations. They are social beings who value participation in the life of their community. This sense of belonging is an important source of well being. It gives enjoyment and direction, a sense of purpose and meaning.

Human development necessarily involves a concern with culture - the ways people choose to live together - for it is the sense of social cohesion based on culture and shared values and beliefs that shapes individual human development. If people live together well, if they cooperate in a mutually enriching way, this enlarges their individual choices. So, human development is concerned not just with people as individuals but also with how they interact and cooperate in communities.

iii) *Equity*

Equity is usually thought of in terms of wealth or income. But human development takes a much broader view - seeking equity in basic capabilities and opportunities. In this view everyone should have the opportunity to be educated, and to lead a long and healthy life. This applies in particular to women, who face substantial discriminations. They make a major contribution to society, in the household and in the community (as well as at the workplace). But since

most of their work is not paid, it often goes unrecognized.

Promoting equity may in some cases call for an unequal sharing of resources. The poor, for example, may require more State help than the rich. Some people, such as the sick or the disabled, may require more resources than others to who are able.

iv) *Sustainability*

Sustainable human development meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs. It thus involves considerations of inter generational equity. But what need to be passed on is not so much specific stock of productive wealth as the potential for a particular level of human development. What should this level be? Basically, it must involve the absence of poverty and deprivation. What needs to be sustained as people's opportunities to freely exercise their basic capabilities.

v) *Security*

Millions of people in developing countries live on the edge of disaster. And even in industrial countries people are constantly at risk from chronic violence or unemployment. Joblessness is major source of insecurity, under cutting people's entitlement to income and other benefits.

For too long the idea of security has referred to military security or the

security of states. One of the most basic needs is security of livelihood, but people also want to be free from chronic threats, such as disease or repression, as well as from sudden and hurtful disruptions in their daily lives. Human development insists that everyone should enjoy a minimum level of security.

If human development is about enlarging choices, poverty means that opportunities and choices most basic to human development are denied to lead a long, healthy, creative life and to enjoy a decent standard of living, freedom, dignity, self respect to others, which is a common phenomenon all over the world is concerned. In order to have a better situation in each country, they should have to reduce the gap which exists between the rich and the poor in terms of their socio-economic status. In this context, as India being a democratic state, and tribals being the most down - trodden group in India, interpreting the tribals on the side lines with the mainstream society has acquired a new sense of urgency.¹²

8.2.2 Measurement of Human Development

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) quantify the human development on the basis of two approaches, namely (a) Conglomerative approach and (b) Deprivational approach. Conglomerative approach has an achievement base and deprivational approach has a deprivational base. Conglomerative perspective focuses on the advances made by all groups in each

community from the rich to the poor. The deprivational perspective is in which the development is judged by the way the poor and deprived fare in each community. Interest in the process of development concerns both perspectives. At a very basic level, the lives and successes of everyone should count, and it would be a mistake to make our understanding of the process of development completely insensitive to the gains and losses of those who happen to fare better than others. It would go against the right of each citizens to be counted, and also clash with the comprehensive concerns of universalist ethics. Yet a part - a big part - of the general interest in the progress of a nation concentrates specifically on the state of the disadvantaged.¹³

8.2.2.1 Conglomerative Approach

In order to measure human development, UNDP has constructed certain human development indices like Human Development Index, Gender- Related Development Index and Gender- Empowerment Measure. Conglomerative approach means the measurement of human development through these human development indices. We have a look at these three indices separately.

i) *Human Development Index (HDI)*

Human Development Index shows the overall development. Human Development Index measure the average achievement of region in basic human

capabilities. The HDI indicates whether people lead a long and healthy life, are educated and knowledgeable and enjoy a decent standard of living. The HDI examines the average condition of all people in a country. According to UNDP methodology, generally we take three indicators in order to construct HDI. These are health, educational attainment and standard of living. For health we take life expectancy at birth as an indicator. For educational attainment, adult literacy and school enrolment ratio are the proxy variable. For standard of living real per capita GDP as an indicator. We constructed four individual indices and one for each of the above four indicators. General formula for the construction of an index is

$$\frac{\text{Actual value} - \text{Minimum value}}{\text{Maximum value} - \text{Minimum value}}$$

Formula for HDI is shown in Appendix 4. UNDP has fixed different maximum and minimum values for each indicators in order to construct HDI. The following Table gives the maximum and minimum fixed by UNDP for different indicators.

Table 8-1 shows that UNDP have taken minimum value for life expectancy as 25 years and 85 years as the maximum. There is also differences exists between the minimum and maximum values of male and female life expectancy. Female life expectancy's minimum and maximum values are higher than the male life expectancy. In adult literacy rate and combined gross

enrolment ratio UNDP have taken 0 % as minimum and 100 % as maximum.

Table 8-1

Maximum and Minimum Values for Different Indicators

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Minimum Value</i>	<i>Maximum Value</i>
Life Expectancy at Birth(Years)		
Total	25 Years	85 Years
Male	22.5	82.5
Female	27.5	87.5
Adult Literacy Rate (Percentage)		
Total	0%	100%
Male	0%	100%
Female	0%	100%
Combined Gross Enrolment Ratio		
Total	0%	100%
Male	0%	100%
Female	0%	100%
Real GDP per capita income (PPP\$)	100%	40,000

Source : Human Development Report, 1995,P.18

ii) Gender - Related Development Index (GDI)

The gender - related development index (GDI) measures achievement in the same basic capabilities as the HDI does, but takes note of inequality in achievement between women and men. The methodology used imposes a penalty for inequality, such that the GDI falls when the achievement levels of both women and men in a country go down or when the disparity between their achievements increases. The greater the gender disparity in basic capabilities, the lower a country's GDI compared with its HDI. The GDI is simply the HDI

discounted, or adjusted downwards for gender inequality.¹⁴

In estimating the GDI, a measure is constructed for the overall achievements of women and men in the three dimensions of the HDI - life expectancy, educational attainment, adjusted real income - after taking note of inequalities between women and men. In other words, the GDI is the HDI adjusted for gender inequality. Formula for constructing Gender Related Development Index is shown in the Appendix 5.

iii) Gender-Empowerment Measure

GEM measures women's participation in economic political and professional activities. It differs from the GDI, which is concerned primarily with the basic capabilities and living standards. Like the HDI and the GDI, the GEM focuses on a few selected variables, even though participation can take many forms. It concentrates on three broad classes of variables.¹⁵

- 1) For power over economic resources based on earned income, the variable is PCI.
- 2) For access to professional opportunities and participation in economic decision making, the variable is the share of jobs classified as professional and technical and administrative and managerial.
- 3) For access to political opportunities and participation in political decision making, the variable is the share of parliamentary seats.

In the GEM, income is evaluated not for its contribution to basic human development such as a larger life, literacy, and freedom from poverty. It is evaluated as a source of economic power that forces the income-earner to choose from a wider set of possibilities and exercise a broader range of options.

For access to professional opportunities and participation in economic decision making, the variable chosen is women's share of jobs classified as administrative or managerial and professional or technical. Administrative and managerial jobs lie closer to decision-making, but, professional and technical jobs represent opportunities for career development. Women often acquire specialised higher education but are prevented by cultural or economic barriers from taking jobs that will use the valuable skills they gain. Their potential is thus underused.

The third variable is access to political opportunities and participation in political decision-making. Here, the facts are even more startling than in the economic arena. No gender specific training is required to be a politician. Neither public speaking, nor the ability to represent the opinions of the electorate, nor the art of winning public confidence requires exclusively masculine traits. But politics remains an obstacle course for women. In order to adjust for gender disparity in different variables, we compute the equally

distributed equivalent percentage values. The details of the computation of Gender- Empowerment Measure is shown in Appendix 6.

8.2.2.2. Deprivational Approach

In a deprivational perspective, UNDP has constructed a deprivational index known as Human Poverty Index (HPI). When we quantify the human development of developing countries on the basis of Human Poverty Index, the index is known as (HPI - 1).

Poverty can involve not only the lack of necessities of material well-being, but the denial of opportunities for living a tolerable life. Life can be pre- naturally shortened. It can be made difficult, painful or hazardous. It can be deprived of knowledge and communication. And it can be robbed of dignity, confidence and self respect - as well as the respect of others. All are aspects of poverty that limit and blight the lives of many millions in the world today.¹⁶

8.2.2.3 Three perspectives of deprivation

Mainly there are three perspectives of deprivation like income perspective, basic needs perspective and capability perspective. Let us have a look at these perspectives of deprivation.

i) *Income perspective* :- A person is poor if, and only if, income level is below

the defined poverty line. Many countries have adopted income poverty lines to monitor progress in reducing poverty incidence. Often the cut-off poverty line is defined in terms of having enough income for a specified amount of food.

ii) *Basic needs perspective* :- Poverty is deprivation of material requirements for minimally acceptable fulfilment of human needs, including food. This concept of deprivation goes well beyond the lack of private income; it includes the need for basic health education and essential services that have to be provided by the community to prevent people from falling into poverty. It also recognise the need for employment and participation.

iii) *Capability perspective* :- Poverty represents the absence of some basic capabilities to function - a person lacking the opportunity to achieve some minimally acceptable levels of these functioning. The functioning relevant to this analysis can vary from such physical ones as being well nourished, being adequately clothed and sheltered and avoiding preventable morbidity, to more complex social achievements such as partaking in the life of the community. The capability approach reconciles the notions of absolute and relative poverty, since relative deprivations in incomes and commodities can lead to an absolute deprivation in minimum capabilities.

8.2.2.4 Measurement of Deprivation

In order to measure deprivation, UNDP Report introduces a human poverty index (HPI) in an attempt to bring together in a composite index the different features of deprivation in the quality of life to arrive at an aggregate judgement on the extend of poverty in a community.

The Human Poverty Index (HPI-1) concentrates on deprivations in three essential dimensions of human life already reflected in the HDI - longevity, knowledge and decent standard of living. The first deprivation relates to survival - vulnerability to death at a relatively early age. The second relates to knowledge - being excluded from the world of reading and communication. The third relates to a decent living standard in terms of over all economic provisioning. Computation of Human Poverty Index is shown in Appendix 7.

8.3. Human Development Values of Indian States with Special Emphasis to Kerala State.

Human Development ranking is based on Human Development Index. It has explicitly considered the indicators representing both means (income) and ends (education, health). The same rank in GNP per capita (means) and HDI implies balanced translation of economic growth into human welfare. Higher HDI rank over its GNP rank means more efficient transformation of growth into human well being. Higher GNP rank over HDI rank signifies

inefficient performance in the utilization of growth for human welfare.¹⁷

The UNDP has prescribed three levels of human development on the basis of HDI value. If HDI falls below 0.5 it is a case of low human development. If HDI takes values from 0.5 to 0.799 it indicates a medium human development and HDI values of 0.8 and above suggests high human development. Human Development Index for Indian States are presented in the Table 8 - 2.

Table 8-2
HDI for Indian States

<i>State/ Union Territories</i>	<i>HDI (The income index is calculated using the UNDP methodology)</i>
Andhra pradesh	0.461
Assam	0.461
Bihar	0.371
Gujarat	0.527
Hariyana	0.511
Karnataka	0.491
Kerala	0.635
Madhya Pradesh	0.410
Orissa	0.416
Punjab	0.557
Rajasthan	0.407
Tamil Nadu	0.556
Uattar Pradesh	0.398
West Bengal	0.535
Goa	0.611
Mizoram	0.611

Arunchal Pradesh	0.467
Delhi	0.586
Himachal pradesh	0.534
Maharashtra	0.580
Meghalaya	0.471
Tripura	0.525
India	0.506

Source : Compiled by the author from Table 2 of "Sustainability of HDI for Assessing Health and Nutritional Status", Grace Mariya Antony, K. Visweswara Rao, N. Balakrishna, Economic and political weekly, August 4, 2001, P. 2977.

The Table 8-2 shows that using the UNDP methodology for constructing index, Kerala ranks highest in respect of HDI. Goa is in the second position with 0.611 HDI. Mizoram also have the same HDI (0.611). Bihar is in the last position with HDI 0.371.

Inter regional and inter state disparities in HDI are seen due to variations in social and economic factors. Kerala was identified as the best state in India for human development with a HDI value of 0.635. Kerala has the singular distinction of achieving the highest level of human development and a high level of physical quality of life among the Indian states.

Kerala is an example for efficient transformations of growth into human well being. The chief message of Kerala's human development is that

high levels of human development can be achieved at modest income level as long as governments put people at the centre of development programmes. Its major discovery that has great relevance for policy formulations is that there is no automatic link between economic growth and human development. Human development requires well-structured policies of State intervention for promoting equitable income distribution, health and educational services. Growth with equality is the recipe for accelerated human development.¹⁸

Kerala achieved high rank in human development because of its high level of adult literacy and its high level of expectation of life representing best educational and health status in the country. Kerala's efficient utilisation of its economy for high social development is a unique model.

The report of the Washington based "World Institute on Hunger and Development", entitled "Hunger 1990" appreciated Kerala's development. "Kerala's location in Southern India is very poor, but it has used available resources to achieve higher levels of health, nutrition and education than any other states in India or than most developed countries".¹⁹

While over - all literacy is as high as 90.6% in Kerala according to 1991 census, its female literacy is 87%. Government leadership has played a dynamic role in accelerating educational progress in Kerala. The early entry of women into education and employment account for the better quality life in

Kerala.²⁰

It is traced to the old matrilineal system of most caste Hindus that put fewer restrictions on what girls could do. The system accepted positively girls going to school and also their taking up jobs in government service. Female literacy promotes male literacy and educational progress, for, a literate homemaker, cook, treasurer, nurse, mentor and mother is likely to make better decisions for her family than an illiterate woman who cannot read a letter or instruction on a packet for its proper utilisation.²¹

Kerala achieved its high literacy among women which contributed to improved health and family planning. Emphasis on women's development along side family planning has provided a rich dividend all over the world and specially in Kerala. Birth rate in Kerala is lowest among Indian states.⁹ It has attributed to the high literacy rate among women and the family planning services provided by the government. Kerala's demographic transitions contributes a dramatic transformation. Small family norm is an established practice among all people in Kerala to-day irrespective of rural urban, rich poor or literate - illiterate differences.²²

A few decades back it was not unusual for a Kerala woman to give birth to four or even more children. But in recent decades it has fallen to two and some couples opt for one child, while some others prefer not to have a

child (among the educated middle classes in big cities and metropolitan areas) This social change is not only mainly due to female literacy but due to the progressive social and political movements that emerged prior to independence as a reaction against the social and economic distances and the rigidities which the caste system has imposed. The social and political movements instilled a new sense of individual freedom and dignity in the average Kerala person.²³

Prof. Amartya Sen of Harvard University highlighted in his address on “poverty alleviation and social intervention” on December 20, 1988 in New Delhi, opined that Kerala with a level of substantially lower per capita income to that of India, had life expectancy comparing with that prevailing in European countries. The infant mortality rate is comparable to that of Washington. Public policy and action, delivery of education to the public at large, widespread distribution of medical services and a good network of subsidised food distribution account for the fall in mortality.²⁴

Favourable sex ratio is an index of the superior social status of Kerala women. Sex ratio is considered a very positive indicator of women's social position. Female enrolment in colleges of Kerala is equally significant. According Dr.C.Gopalan, Kerala represents a high degree of social development along with poor economic development .²⁵

Richard W. Frank and Barbara H. Chassin in their study, “Kerala :

Radical Reforms as Development in an Indian State”, emphasised that Kerala experience demonstrated the desirability of its policies in areas like education, food distribution, land reforms and public health that advanced human welfare.²⁶ The World Watch Institute (WWI) has also noted the better quality of life achieved in Kerala. In its research study in 1989, it accounted for Kerala's achievements as caused to the priority accorded to the welfare of the poor for decades. The peasants and labourers in Kerala are exceptionally well-organised. Besides, being literate, they have access to information relating to a variety of parameters that are related to bettering the quality of life. The grass root organisation in the State enabled the poor to direct the development process and accelerate progress by working together providing a model to the developing areas.²⁷ Kerala's development is characterised by rapid human progress, institutional development of groups and inadequate economic growth. District- wise HDI in Kerala is shown in the Table 8-3.

We have seen that Kerala's Human Development rank is very high. Table 8-3 below shows that among the districts, Kottayam district ranks first in HDI (0.835), Eranakulam second (0.825) and Alapuzha third with (0.812) Wayanad has relatively a low HDI value (0.687). But what about the tribals communities? Where do they stand? It is true that majority of non-tribal people lead a high quality life, while a majority of the tribals live in poverty.

The tribal poor are the poorest among the poor. If the HDI value of Kerala is adjusted for HDI value of tribal people (adjusted for racial disparity) Kerala's HDI value would definitely slide down.

Table 8-3

Districts-Wise HDI in Kerala

<i>Districts</i>	<i>HDI</i>
Kottayam	0.835
Eranakulam	0.825
Allapuzha	0.812
Kollam	0.791
Trivandrum	0.790
Thrissur	0.790
Kannur	0.772
Kozhikode	0.749
Idukki	0.725
Wayanad	0.687
Palakkad	0.647
Malapuram	0.638

Source : Dr. M.A. Oommen :- A district level human development index for India: Search for a disaggregated human development strategy; New Delhi., Institute of Social Sciences ,1996

8.4 Human Development Indices of Tribals and Non-Tribals:

Conglomerative Approach and Deprivational Approach

In the present study both the conglomerative approach and the deprivational approach are employed to quantify the state of development of tribals in Wayanad vis - a - vis that of non-tribals of Wayanad.

8.4.1 Conglomerative Approach

For the computation of human development indices we need information on variables like life expectancy, adult literacy, school enrolment, per capita income, political, economic and social empowerment etc. These variables and their values both for the tribals and non-tribals are listed in the Table 8- 4.

Table 8.4

Indicators Used for Conglomerative Approach

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Tribals</i>	<i>Non-Tribals</i>
Sample Population		
Total	1870	560
Male	895	255
Female	975	295
% of Economically Active Population		
Total		
Male	59.38	63.5
Female	40.62	36.5
Life-expectancy (Years)		
Over-all	50	75
Male	49.5	73
Female	52	77

Adult Literacy Rate (%)		
Over-all	30.71	70.5
Male	26.45	73.5
Female	34.84	70
School Enrolment Rate (%)		
Over-all	45	79
Male	43.5	76
Female	50.5	74
Per Capita Income (PPP \$)		
Over-all	1230.7	3401.7
Male	1699.5	5220.0
Female	800.4	1945.2
Political Representation (%)		
Total	100	100
Male	84.5	78.5
Female	15.5	21.5
Administrative and Managerial Posts (%)		
Total	100	100
Male	81.5	65.5
Female	18.5	34.5
Professional and Technical Posts (%)		
Total	100	100
Male	87.5	77
Female	12.5	23

Source: Primary Survey.

The Table 8-4 shows that there is a wide disparity exists in the values of the variables of tribals and non -tribals. Percentage of economically active population among the tribal is 59.38 for males and 40.62 for females and it is 63.5 for males and 36.5 for females in the case of non- tribals. It shows that the female participation is high among the tribals.

In the case of life expectancy also there exists wide gap between both

communities. The tribal's overall life expectancy is 50 years (49.5 for male and 52 for females) while the overall life expectancy of non-tribals is 70.5 years (73.5 for male and 70 for female).

Percentage of overall adult literacy rate is 70.5 for non-tribals whereas it is only 30.71 for the tribal population. It is also found from the table that adult literacy rate is high among the tribal females (34.84) and it is 26.45 for tribal males. In the case of non-tribals, the adult literacy rate is high among the male community. It is interesting to note that school enrolment rate is very low among the tribal community (45%) and for the non-tribals it is 79%.

Political representation also shows a dismal picture for the tribals. Here also the female participation is very low. It is the same as in the case of non-tribals. In administrative and managerial post and professional and technical posts also the participation of tribals is very meagre.

As per the present study, the author has used the UNDP methodology, in order to facilitate international comparison the per capita incomes of tribals and non-tribals has to be converted into purchasing power parity in dollars. From the Human Development Report 2001, we know that India's real per capita GDP in 1999 was PPP\$ 2248. We also know that India's per capita GDP at current prices during the same year was Rs 16257.²⁸ To convert the relevant per capita incomes at current prices to corresponding real per capita

incomes at PPP\$, we multiply them by the ratio $\frac{2248}{16257}$.

i) Human Development Index (HDI) for Tribals and Non- Tribals

In order to construct HDI for tribals and non-tribals, the variable's values has to be converted into an index form. Therefore we have formulated life expectancy index, educational attainment index and income index. Life expectancy index is the sum of index form of literacy and school enrolment. The Table below shows the computation of HDI for tribals and non-tribals.

Table 8 -5

HDI for Tribals and Non-Tribals.

<i>Index of</i>	<i>Tribals</i>	<i>Non-Tribals</i>
Life Expectancy	0.417	0.833
Literacy	0.307	0.705
School Enrolment	0.450	0.790
Educational Attainment	0.355	0.733
Income	0.419	0.589
Human Development Index	0.397	0.718

Life expectancy of tribals as shown in the above Table is 0.417 which is very low. The educational attainment index is also low (0.355) due to low literacy rate (0.307) and low enrolment ratio (0.450). The index value of income is 0.419. Human Development Index for Paniyas is 0.397 which also indicates low level of human development. HDI of tribals is higher than the

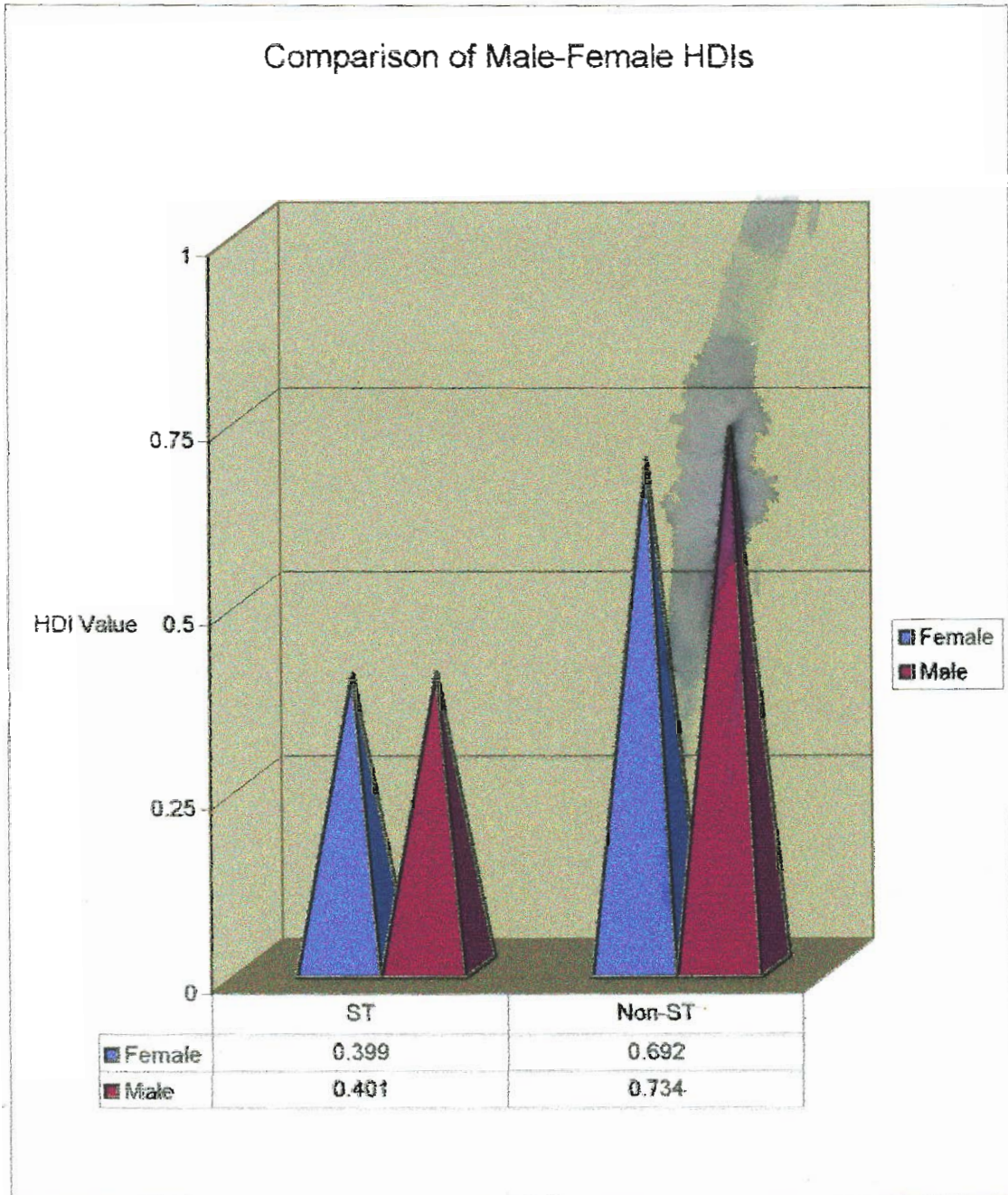
HDI of Bihar State in India (0.371) which has the lowest position among all the states in India. As we have taken the UNDP methodology for constructing human development indices for Paniyas and non-tribals, we can compare the human development Indices of these two groups with the Human Development Indices of other countries which are also constructed with UNDP methodology. From this comparison we can also get information regarding the human development positions they hold and whether they lag behind the average national human development indices or do better than that of the national average. Further we can place these two community's human development indices in a global scenario. The HDI of tribals (0.397) is equal to the HDIs of two African countries of Malawi and Guinea (0.397) which ranks 150th among 162 countries ranked by UNDP.²⁹ As per HDI ranking, HDI of tribals is included in the twelve least developed countries like Malawi and Guinea. Sierra Leone ranks 162th position in the ranking with 0.258.³⁰ The non-tribals are far ahead in terms of HDI value (0.718). They are included in the medium level of human development. Their index is higher than the Kerala's HDI (0.635). It is also higher than the HDI of Wayanad district (0.687). The HDI value of non-tribals in Wayanad is some way similar to the HDI of Idukki district (0.725). It is interesting to note that HDI value of non-tribals in Wayanad is similar to the HDI of China (0.718) ranked 87th position. India's HDI is 0.571 with 115th Position among 162 countries. It is observed

that the non-tribals in Wayanad have a better HDI position than that for India as a whole (0.571).

It is noted that the life expectancy index is higher (0.833) among the non-tribals. But the income index is low (0.589). Literacy index and educational attainment index are 0.705 and 0.733 respectively. We have seen that Kerala's HDI (0.635) is the highest among the Indian States. However tribals in Kerala lag behind. The Paniya tribal community's HDI is very low (0.397) equal to the HDIs of Malawi and Guinea (0.397) in the UNDP study. India is in the 115th position among the 162 countries ranked by the UNDP.

In order to know the male - female differences in human development among the Paniyas and the non-tribals, the author has relied on constructing separate HDI for male and female for both the groups and has tried to compare their differences. Comparison of male female HDIs are shown in the Figure 8-1. The following Figure shows that not much difference exists in the HDI of males and females among the of Paniya community. Paniya male HDI is lower (0.401) compared to non-tribal male HDI (0.734).

Figure 8-1



Paniya female HDI is 0.399 while non-tribal female HDI is 0.692. The Figure 8-1 shows that even though there exists wide disparity in the HDI of Paniyas and non-tribals, the male and female difference in HDI among the same group is comparatively low in both the communities.

The components of HDI (Paniyas and Non-Tribals) are listed in the Table 8-6 shown below.

Table 8-6
Components of HDI

<i>Index</i>	<i>Tribals</i>	<i>Non-Tribals</i>
Life Expectancy	0.417	0.833
Educational Attainment	0.355	0.733
Income	0.419	0.589

It is observed from the Table 8-6 that much difference exists in the index of life expectancy (0.417 for Paniyas and 0.833 for non-tribals) and educational attainment index (0.355 for Paniyas and 0.733 for non-tribals). It is noted that income gap is comparatively low between the Paniyas and non-tribals.

The Figure 8-2 shows the components of HDI and their relative importance.

Figure 8-2

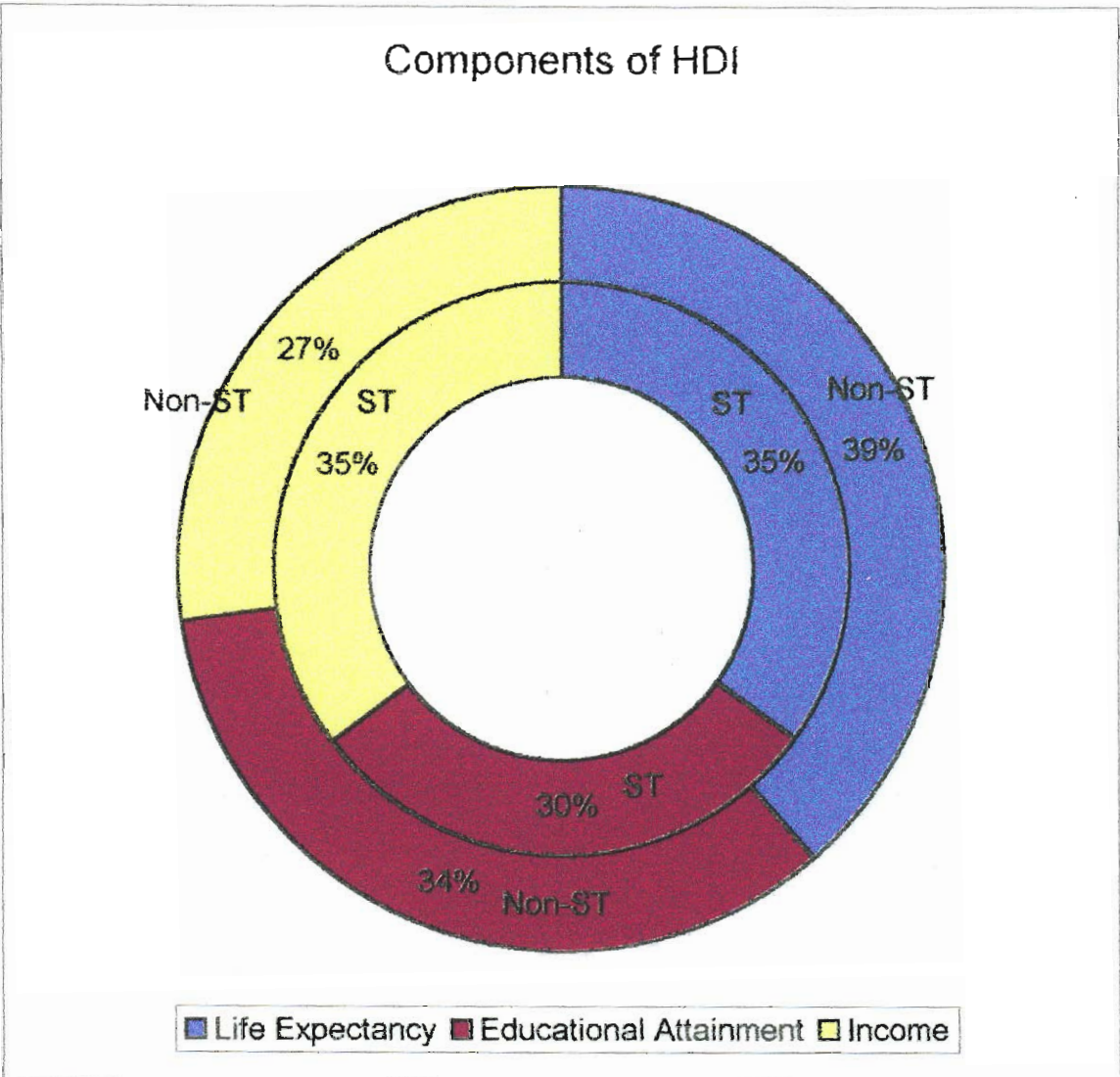


Figure 8-2 indicates the relative importance of the three components of HDI in the case of Paniyas and non-tribals. The indices of life expectancy and education are relatively small in the case of Paniyas whereas Income index is relatively high.

ii) Gender-Related Development Index (GDI) for Tribals and Non-Tribals.

The GDI, is constructed to measure the overall achievement of women and men for both tribals and non-tribals in the three dimensions of the HDI- life expectancy, educational attainment and adjusted real income- after taking into account the inequalities between women and men in both the communities. The Table 8 -7 given below shows the comparison of GDIs of tribals and non-tribals.

The Table 8-7 below shows that the GDI for Paniyas is 0.394. This value lies between the GDI value of Rwanda (0.391) and Benin with GDI value 0.402.³¹ These countries rank 135th and 134th among the 146 countries ranked by the UNDP. The GDI of Gambia(0.390) is near to the tribal GDI with 136th position. India's GDI is 0.553 with 105th rank. Thus the Paniyas are very far behind with a low GDI of 0.394.

GDI value for non-tribals is 0.706. This value is closer to the GDI value of Ecuador with 0.711 and 79th rank out of the 146 countries and GDI of Tunisia with 0.700 (80th rank).³²

Table 8-7

GDI for Tribals and Non-Tribals

<i>Index</i>	<i>Tribals</i>	<i>Non-Tribals</i>
Life Expectancy Index		
Male	0.450	0.842
Female	0.408	0.825
Equally Distributed Life Expectancy Index	0.427	0.833
Literacy Index		
Male	0.265	0.735
Female	0.348	0.700
School enrolment Index		
Male	0.435	0.760
Female	0.505	0.740
Educational Attainment Index		
Male	0.321	0.743
Female	0.401	0.713
Equally Distributed Educational Index	0.358	0.727
Income Index		
Male	0.473	0.660
Female	0.347	0.495
Equally Distributed Income Index	0.398	0.559
GDI	0.394	0.706

iii) Gender-Empowerment Measure (GEM) for Tribals and Non-Tribals

For the construction of GEM, women's participation in political, economic and professional activities both among the tribal and non-tribal are taken into consideration. GEM focuses only on a few selected variables like parliamentary representation, administrative and managerial positions and professional and technical posts. The UNDP used parliamentary representation

as the indicator of political participation. The UNDP concentrated only on parliamentary representation just because of the non-availability of data regarding political representation in local bodies. But the UNDP itself accept that one of the best indicators of political participation would be women's share of representations in local bodies, such as municipal councils, panchayat councils etc.³³ As we take into consideration the estimation of GEM for tribals and non-tribals (where parliamentary representation is nil), we have taken women's political participation in municipal councils and other local bodies as an indicator. The variable we have chosen may be a better indicator of political empowerment as it has a wider base. The Table 8-8 shows the GEM for tribals and non- tribals.

Following Table shows that the GEM calculated for Paniyas is 0.346 which is considered as very low. As per the UNDP calculation of the GEM for 62 countries, Bangladesh is in the 62nd position with 0.309 GEM value. GEM value is not calculated for India so far because of non-availability of data. The GEM for Paniyas (0.346) lies between the GEM of Mauritius (0.403) and Bangladesh (0.309).³⁴ Egypt has the lowest GEM out of the 62 countries (0.258). It is evident that the GEM for Paniyas is higher than the GEM for Egypt.

Table 8-8

Comparison of GEM for Tribals and Non-Tribals

<i>Sl.No</i>	<i>Variable and Index</i>	<i>Tribals</i>	<i>Non-Tribals</i>
1	Parliamentary Representation EDEP Index	25.444 0.509	32.120 0.642
2	Administrative and Managerial Positions EDEP Index	29.364 0.587	43.978 0.880
3	Professional and Technical Posts EDEP Index	21.195 0.424	33.791 0.676
4	Combined Index for 2 and 3	0.506	0.778
5	Per Capita Income Male Female	0.040 0.018	0.128 0.046
6	Equally Distributed Income Index	0.024	0.065
7	GEM	0.346	0.495

Note : EDEP = Equally Distributed Equivalent Percentage

The GEM calculated for the non-tribals is 0.495 .It is also very low as we compare it with other human development indices of non-tribals of Wayanad. In this respect professional and technical attainment positions of females is very low. GEM for non-tribals lies between the GEM of Panama with value 0.475 and Blize (0.496).³⁵

8.4.2 Deprivational Approach : Incidence of Human Poverty among the Tribals and Non-Tribals

UNDP's deprivational approach for measuring human development rely on Human Poverty Index (HPI-1). For the computation of Human Poverty Index, we need information on variables (deprivations) like percentage of people not expected to survive 40 years, adult illiteracy rate, percentage of people without access to safe water, percentage of people without access to health services and percentage of under-weight children below 5 years. The Table 8 -9 below furnishes indicators used for the deprivational approach.

Table 8-9

Indicators Used for Deprivational Approach

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Tribals</i>	<i>Non-Tribals</i>
Percentage of people not expected to survive 40 years	58	25
Adult illiteracy rate	69.29	29.5
Percentage of people without access to safe water	68	24
Percentage of people without access to health services	40	22
Percentage of under-weight children below 5 years	50.5	15

There is wide disparity in deprivation among the tribals and non-tribals. The table shows that the percentage of people not expected to survive 40 years are 58% for tribals and it is only 25 percentage for the non-tribals. Adult illiteracy rate is very high among the tribals with 69.29%. Whereas it is 29.5 for the non-tribals. The safe water is scarce among the tribals. It is 32% of

tribal people have access to safe drinking water. But it is 76% among the non-tribals. Percentage of people without access to health services is 40% for tribals and 22% for non-tribals. Percentage of under-weight children below 5 years is as high as 50.5% among the tribal community while it is only 15% among the non tribals.

Table below shows the comparison of HPI-1 of tribals and non-tribals.

Table 8-10

HPI-1 for Tribals and Non-Tribals

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Tribals</i>	<i>Non-Tribals</i>
Percentage of people not expected to survive 40 years (P_1)	58	25
Percentage of illiterates among Adults (P_2)	69.29	29.5
Percentage of people without access to health services (P_{3a})	40	22
Percentage of people without access to safe water (P_{3b})	68	24
Percentage of under-weight children below 5 years (P_{3c})	50.5	15
Deprivation in Living Standard (P_3)	52.83	20.33
HPI-1	60.83	25.49

It is evident from the Table 8-10 that the HPI- 1 of Paniyas is very high (60.83). As pointed out earlier, out of the 90 countries listed as per the data available, Niger stood at the last position with HDI 63.6. HPI -1 of the Paniyas (60.33) is someway comparable to the HPI -1 of Niger. HPI value of

Paniyas lies between that of the Niger (63.6) and that of Ethiopia (57.2) with 88th position.³⁶ It is very pathetic that a group of people in Kerala are leading a life worse than that of Ethiopia, a poverty ridden African nation. India ranked 55th position with HPI 34.3. The HDI status of the Paniyas is lower than the national average both by index and rank wise.

The HPI value of non-tribals is 25.49. It is almost the same as that of the HPI of Lesotho(25.5), a country which occupies 42nd position out of the 90 countries listed. The rank of the non-tribals is even better than the national average HPI of India with 34.3 (55th rank).

8.5 Comparison of Human Development Indices of Tribals and Non-Tribals

In order to understand the differences in human development gap among the tribals and non-tribals we have to compare the development indices with the help of the Table 8-11 and the Chart 8-1 which are shown below.

The Table 8-11 shows the relevant indices in a percentage form. It gives a clear picture of the human development status of the two groups. As human poverty index is a deprivational index, negative value is given to that index.

Table 8-11**Human Development Indices for Paniyas and Non-tribals**

(In Percentage)

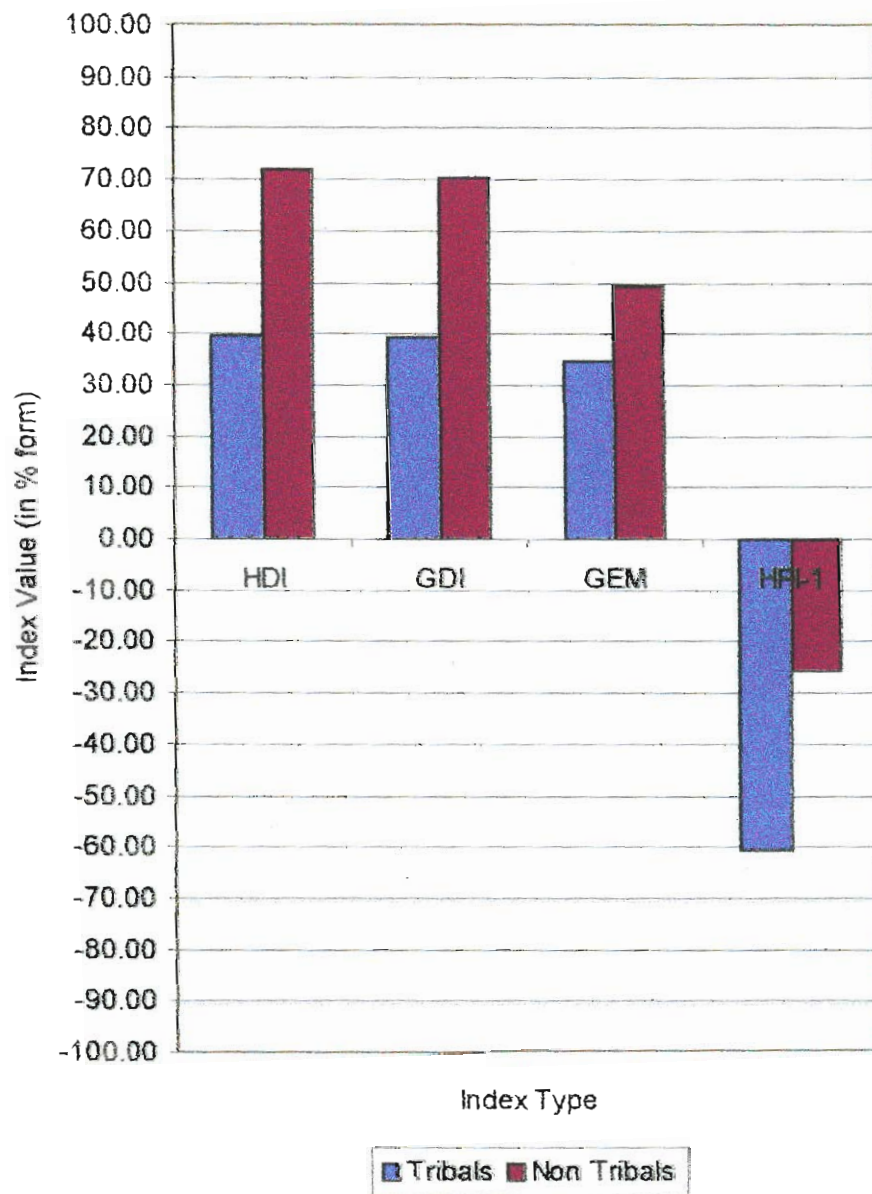
<i>Index</i>	<i>Tribals</i>	<i>Non-Tribals</i>
HDI	39.68	71.84
GDI	39.44	70.60
GEM	34.62	49.51
HPI-1	-60.83	-25.49

It is seen from the Table 8-11 that HDI(39.68) and GDI (39.44) differences of tribal community is very low and it is also same in the case of non-tribals with HDI 71.84 and GDI (70.60). GEM for the tribals is 34.62 and it is 49.51 for the non-tribals. A comparison of development indices of Paniyas and non-tribals is shown in the Chart 8-1.

The following Chart 8-1 shows that there exists much difference in the human development indices of non-tribals and the Paniyas. The HDI, GDI and GEM are higher among the non-tribals. The HDI and GDI of the non-tribals are 70% or more than 70%. It shows that non-tribals in Wayanad are in a better level of human development, while the HDI and GDI is approximately 40% or below for tribals shows their low level of human development. GEM for non-tribals is approximately 50% and it is only 35% for the tribals in Wayanad.

Chart 8-1

Comparison of Development Indices of Tribals and Non-Tribals



The overall development of tribals is far below than the non-tribals. The same is true in the case of various components of HDI also. Gender disparity adjusted development index of tribals is far below than that of the non-tribals. But the gender disparity is comparatively lower among the tribals than among the non-tribals. When we analyse Compare the HDIs and GDIs of tribals and non-tribals, gender disparity in development is high among the non-tribals. Disparity is 0.003 for tribals and for non-tribals it is 0.012. As a whole tribals are less empowered than non-tribals and it is particularly so in the case of gender empowerment. The tribals are heavily deprived of the most basic requirements of life than non-tribals. The rate of deprivation suffered by tribals is more than two fold of non-tribals.

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CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY, MAJOR FINDINGS AND SUGGESTIONS

The tribals of Kerala, even though they form a very small proportion of the total population, deserve special attention not only as the early inhabitants of the land but as a group which remains separated from the mainstream of economic and social development. Various studies have been conducted to understand the general conditions of the tribals. Here an attempt is made to understand the socio-economic development of tribals in Sulthan Bathery taluk of Wayanad district of Kerala. For the above purpose, primary data were collected from a sample of 270 tribal households belonging to the Paniya community which is considered to be a better representation of the tribals in Kerala as they are the numerically dominant tribal community in Wayanad. Details of 100 non-tribal households from the same area were also collected in order to facilitate comparison. The head of each household was interviewed with the help of a structured questionnaire. The results drawn from the data collected are presented in the seventh and eighth chapters of this study. The role of both the governmental and non-governmental organisations in tribal development were also taken into account.

9.1 Major Findings

The tribals have very limited wants. Food, shelter, sex and clothing are the only important wants of the Paniyas. Higher education, modern medicines

and conveyance are still a far cry which could hardly catch imagination of most tribal people.

Want of organised marketing is a big bottleneck of the tribal economy. Weekly markets are held in certain villages of road side. Retail traders and hawkers visit these markets and purchase agricultural produce and forest produce. In return they sell manufactured items of daily requirements like oil, tobacco, salt etc.

There is complete absence of profit motive among the tribals. Consequently the tribals cannot enter into commercial undertaking even on a minor scale. They completely lack in entrepreneurial skills. Capital formation is almost absent in the tribal economy in the strict sense.

Due to indifferent attitude towards economic growth the tribals lacking economic competition even for hunting and fishing. They believe in 'eat, drink, and be merry'. The tribals generally are not at all conversant with electrical devices and appliances. The concept and use of economic phenomena like investment, marketing and storage are not clear to tribals.

Majority of the tribals are below the poverty line. Government employees and private firm employees are the only two groups which are above the poverty line. Unemployment and seasonal employment are prevalent

among the tribals and their wage rate is comparatively very low. The low wages and seasonal employment pave the way for poverty and deprivation.

Majority of the tribals live in very remote areas, where transport and communication facilities are inadequate. As a result, the social awareness of the tribals is very low. But it is true that they are comparatively much better than during earlier times in this respect. Housing conditions of the tribals are poor and their houses do not have spacious rooms or separate arrangement for kitchen. Majority of the tribals live in houses along with their domestic animals.

Drinking water and sanitation facilities are very poor as far as the tribals are concerned. It is the unhygienic surroundings and poor drinking water facilities that are mainly responsible for the diseases found among the tribals.

Of late, the attitude towards saving among the tribals is slowly changing. In earlier times they lived only from day to day unconcerned about the future. But, at present they have started the practice of saving money in banks and other financial institutions in a small way. But their savings are very meagre when compared with the non- tribals.

Educational Attainment Index is very low among the tribals. The government is giving priority to the improvement of educational facilities.

Consumption and expenditure pattern of the tribals gives a dismal picture regarding the standard of living of the tribals. Diet pattern of the tribals has changed a lot during recent times. But it is found that they are not in a position to consume nutritious and different varieties of food. The cropping pattern of the tribals has also changed in accordance with their changing consumption pattern. Today they have started cultivating paddy, vegetable etc. Cultivation of paddy which is considered as a modern crop as far as the tribals are concerned, is a good sign regarding their diet pattern. With regard to entrepreneurship and leadership among the tribals, their achievement level is very low.

Since very few among the tribals make use of any kind of media, their general awareness is rather limited and most of them are ignorant about the day- to- day socio-economic and political development around them.

Generally, tribals are addicted to drinking, pan chewing and smoking. They are highly superstitious. Oppression, discrimination and gender problems are common among them.

Even though both governmental and non-governmental agencies are working for the upliftment of tribals, even today, a large number of tribal families in Kerala are not yet been benefitted by these agencies.

The Human Development Index shows that the tribals are lagging far behind the non-tribals. This mainly relates to educational attainment, life expectancy, per capita income etc. The educational attainment index is 0.355 for the Paniyas and 0.733 for the non-tribals. There is a significant difference (48.43%) which exists in the educational attainment. The life expectancy of Paniyas is 0.417 where as life expectancy of non-tribals is 0.833. This shows that the health status of the Paniyas is very low. It is interesting to note that relatively less difference exists in the matter of per capita income index of Paniyas (0.419) and non-tribals (0.589). Human Development Index is estimated to be 0.397 for Paniyas and 0.718 for non-tribals. Thus there exists wide disparity in HDI of Paniyas and non-tribals as a result of the wide gap in the life expectancy and educational attainments.

Gender Disparity Index (GDI) is calculated to be 0.394 for Paniyas and 0.706 for non-tribals. When we compare HDI and GDI for both Paniyas and non-tribals gender disparity is low in the case of Paniyas.

Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) is 0.346 for Paniyas and for non-tribals it is 0.495. Thus there is relatively low difference which exists in the GEM of tribals and non-tribals. But Human Poverty Index (HPI -1) is higher in the case of Paniyas with 60.63% where as it is 25.49% for non-tribals.

Using the human development indices, one can compare the life of tribals in Kerala with that of the people living in poverty stricken African

countries. A well known anthropologist, Panur. K. wrote a book titled 'Keralathile Africa' in 1971. This book reveals the sociol - economic conditions of tribals in Kerala. He has tried to compare the status of tribals in Kerala with that of the people in Africa as the tribals in Kerala are leading a life of extreme poverty, misery and ignorance amongst the economically and socially more powerful non-tribals. In order to uplift the tribals to help them to lead a life comparable to that of non-tribals, some structural changes at the grass-roots level in the tribal areas is imperative.

9.2 Policy Suggestions

In order to improve the standard of living of tribals in Kerala, the researcher suggests the following policy measures :

- i. Since land alienation is the main cause of the backwardness of the tribals, legislation should be enacted for the restriction on transfer of lands belonging to the tribals and restoration of alienated lands.
- ii. The migration of the non- tribals to the tribal areas should be restricted. It is high time that protective measures are taken to avoid further migration to the tribal lands.
- iii. Tribal culture and traditions should be protected.
- iv. Priority should be given to the field of education, both formal and job oriented for the empowerment of the tribals.
- v. In order to provide and enhance their income, employment opportunities

should be created.

- vi. Incentives are to be given to the efficient and dedicated government servants who are engaged in the tribal development programmes.
- vii. Land should be allotted to the landless tribals and modern agricultural inputs should be provided to them.
- viii. Tribal development offices should be opened in the tribal concentrated areas so that the officials can have direct and immediate supervision.

To sum up, the tribals deserve a better treatment by the government, non-government organisations and by the mainstream people. Sustained efforts have to be made and policies initiated in order to empower the tribals to lead a better life which is at least comparable to that of the mainstream population.

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Interviews

Interviews with the managing Director's of various State owned Projects.

Interviews with Doctors, Health workers and those working with the Health Projects, Educational Institutions and Wardens of Tribal metric Hostel, etc.

Personal talk with the Director of ITDP Project Kalpetta.

Interviews with the Secretaries of different organization for Tribal Welfare, District level, Block level and Panchayat level.

Interviews with Tribal Leaders of different Tribal Communities.

In order to know the working of different NGOs, I have a frequent rapport with the co-ordinators of various NGOs.

Appendix I

**THE SOCIO- ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF TRIBALS IN KERALA
(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WAYANAD DISTRICT)
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

INVESTIGATOR : Mrs. THRESIAMMA VARGHESE
DATE OF VISIT :

SERIAL NO.
TIME :

1 General Information

- 1. Name of the head of the household :
- 2. Age of the head of the household :
- 3. Male / Female :
- 4. Tribe :
- 5. Educational Qualification :

Basic information about Household members

Name	Relation with head	Sex	Age	Whether able to Read & write Yes/No	Educational Attainment	Has ever been to School	Highest level Completed	Marital Status				Age of Marriage	No.of Children	Occupation
								M	U	D	W			
1														
2														
3														
4														
5														
6														
7														
8														

- | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------|-------------|-------------|---|----------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| A | 1. Mother | 2. Father | 3. Brother | B | 1. Married | 2. Unmarried | 3. Divorced | 4. Widowhood |
| | 4. Sister | 5. Son | 6. Daughter | C | 1. Daily wages | 2. Govt job | 3. Pvt. Job | |
| | 7. Other relatives | 8. Friend | 9. Wife | | | | | |
| | 10. Self | 11. Husband | | | | | | |

11 **Asset Ownership & Income**

1. Total Land in acres by the family
2. (a) Native of Cultivation : Own cultivation / share cropping
 (b) Type of labour used : Family labour / hired labour / both
3. (a) Have you left your land uncultivated : Yes / No
 (b) If yes, how much : 0.25 acres / 0.5 acres / 1 acres / 3 acres/ and above
 (c) Reason for keep land fellow : (i) Lack of finance
 (ii) Dispute
 (iii) Threat of animals
 (iv) Non Co-operation of household members
4. Do you have other Asset like Animals, Vehicles, consumer durables etc : Yes. No:

Details of Asset Ownership

Asset	Amount	Approximate value
Land		
Animals		
Vehicles		
Consumer durables		

5. How many days you are worked in a year :
6. Total annual household income from occupation : Rs
7. Net Annual income from Landed property : Rs
8. From other sources : Rs
9. From other sources : Rs
10. Are you satisfied with the income generated from governmental projects,?
 (a) Not satisfied
 (b) Some what satisfied
 (c) Satisfied
11. Do you think there is a need for supplementing your income through IRDP & other schemes ? Yes / No

Household Income Details

IS. No	Name of the earning member	Age	Occupation	Annual income Rs
1				
2				
3				
4				

12. State the improvement in Consumption of the family through the income generating projects :

- (a) No improvement
- (b) Slightly improved
- (c) Improved

- 1. Food
- 2. Clothing
- 3. Housing
- 4. Education
- 5. Recreation
- 6. Miscellaneous

13. Do you have saving Yes / No

14. Where do you save ?

Details of saving

Sl. No	Nature of saving	Rupees
1	Deposits	
2	Chitty Remittances	
3	Cash	
4	Money lenders	

5. Type of Banks (a) Co-operative Bank (b) Rural Devt. Bank (c) Commercial Bank (d) Any other (Post office, indigenous etc)
6. Distance to the Bank from your house in Km :
7. Did you take loan from the Bank? Yes / No :
8. How did you utilize the loan amount ? :
 1. Fully utilised for the IRDP assets
 2. Partially utilised
 3. Non-Productive purpose
 4. Repayment of old debts
 5. Others
19. Did you repay the loan from the bank? Yes / No
20. What is your expectation from the govt ?

III Market Participation

1. Do you cultivate paddy, vegetable etc ? Yes / No
2. Do you retain a part of the produce for self consumption or entire produce marketed ? Yes / No
3. How do you sell the product which you produce ?
4. Is Tribal Development Corporation has any role to play in selling the products ?
5. Do you procure MFP (Minor forest produce) & sell it ? Yes / No :
6. What is the net profit earned from the sale of your product ?

Procurement of SAP (Surplus Agricultural Produce) & MFP (Minor Forest Produce) By Tribal Devt. Co-operative Corporation (TDCC)

Year	SAP	MFP	total
1995 - 96			
1996 - 97			
1997 - 98			
1998 - 99			
1999 - 2000			

7. Does the barter system prevail in your Marketing field ? Yes / No:

IV Literacy

1. Whether the head of household is literate or not
2. Are all the members of the family ? Yes / No
3. why are they illiterate ? Is it due to the lack of facilities ? Yes / No
4. Do you think governmental and non- governmental agencies did a lot of things for the improvement in the fields of education ? Yes / No
5. How far is the school from the house, km ?
6. Do you think the hostel facilities are good ? Yes / No
7. Do you think literacy mission is helpful to you ? Yes / No
8. Do you heard about employment exchanges Yes / No
9. How many are registered in that exchanges ?

Literacy among the family members

Head	Wife	Children

V Demographic Particulars

1. Number of children in your family ?
2. How many deliveries your mother had ?
3. How many children survived ?
4. Is the number of deliveries less than earlier ? Yes / No
5. Do you think that, surviving of children is more than earlier ? Yes / No
6. Do you think family planning programme is good ? Yes / No

The table showing details regarding Birth since last 6 months

Name of the Baby born	Age of Mother at the time of birth of the child	Sex of child Boy = 1 Girl = 2	Date of birth	Place of Delivery	If not at Hospital who attended the delivery	Type of delivery	Is the child still alive Yes / No 1/2
1.							
2.							
3.							
4.							
5.							
6.							

- A. 1. Home 2. Govt. Hospital 3. Pvt. Hospital 4. Others
- B. 1. Doctor 2. Trained Mid wife / Nurse 3. Traditional Midwife 4. Untrained person
- C. 1. Normal 2. Caesarean 3. Others
7. Minimum life span of the members of your family
8. Your father's age when he died
9. Are you aware of the health conditions of your family? Yes / No

Some Details Relating to Health during last 6 months

Sl. No	Disease	No. of days sickness	Type of Treatment	Agency of Treatment	Expenditure Fees	Others (Specify)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Column (2)

- a. Fever
- b. Diarrhoea
- c. Malaria
- d. Typhoid
- e. Filaria
- f. Jaundice
- g. Asthma
- h. Allergy
- i. Heart attack
- j. Dyspepsia
- k. Others specify

Column (4)

- a. Allopathy
- b. Ayurveda
- c. Homea
- d. Others specify

Column (5)

- a. Self treatment
- b. Government Hospital
- c. Private Hospita;
- d. Others specify

10. Distance to the nearest Hospital ?

11. How many people died during last 6 months ?

Table of showing Record of death during last 6 months

Name of the person who died	Sex Male =1 Female = 2	Month and year of death	Age of death	Cause of death	Disease that caused death	Accident that caused death	Whether medical attention was given before death	Reason
1.								
2.								
3.								
4.								
5.								
6.								
7.								
8.								

A.1. Old age 2.Disease 3. Accident 4. Natural calamity 5. Complication related to pregnancy / child birth 6. Suicide 7. Murder 8. Any other (Specify) 9. Not known

B. 1. Economic backwardness of HH 2. Lack of medical facilities in the area 3. Lack of transport facility 4. Ignorance 5. Lack of cooperation/ Support from others 6. Others (Specify)

12. Do you believe in the traditional tribal medicines? Yes / No

13. Are you satisfied with the hospital facilities / Yes / No

14. Do you have tribal doctors / Yes / No

15. Do you think their treatment is helpful for all the chronic diseases? Yes / No

Chronic Diseases

	A	B	
Sl. No	Illness	Duration	Treatment

- A. Key of illness
- a. Asthama
 - b. Cancer
 - c. Heart attack
 - d. Arthritis
 - e. Filaria
 - f. TB
 - g. BP
 - h. Others (Specify)

- B. Treatment
- a. Allopothy
 - b. Ayurveda
 - c. Homeo
 - d. Others
 - e. Kidney ailment
 - f. Other (Specify)

16. Man day's lost due to this illness during last 6 month

1. 2 Week 2. 1 week 3. Less than 1 week

17. Do the sick avail of the medical reimbursement facilities ? Yes / No

18. Do you consider even the slightest ailment as sickness ? Yes / No

VI. Standard of Living

1.
 - a. News paper reading Yes/No
 - b. Radio listening Yes/No
 - c. TV Yes/No
 - d. Club membership Yes/No
 - e. Political party membership Yes/No
2. Do you have housing facilities? Yes/No
3. Do you have toilet facilities at home? Yes/No

4. what kind of toilet facility your house hold have?
 (a) Own (b) shared (c) public
 (d) Flush (e) Pit (F) No facility
 Drinking - a. Yes b. No
 Frequency - a. Daily b. Occasional
5. Pulses and Cereals a. Yes b. No
 Vegetables and fruits a. Yes b. No
 Meat a. Daily b. weekly c. Occasional d. No
 Egg a. Daily b. weekly c. Occasional d. No
 Dairy products a. Daily b. weekly c. Occasional d. No
6. Fuel
 a. Gas b. Kerosene
 c. Electricity- d. Firewood
 e. Leaves f. Others
7. Ventilation
 a. Adequate b. Inadequate

DETAILS OF SOCIAL SECURITY COVERAGE

I you are covered by any social security scheme give details. LIC, ESI, Family pension, empt. benefit, Kshemanidhi, Welfare fund.	
If you are covered by any poverty alleviation programme give details. do you regularly buy essential items from PDS Yes/No.	
If no give reasons (High price, inferior quality, Both, Any other specify).	

VII. Social awareness & People's Planning

1. Have you got any kind of financial help from the government ? Yes / No
2. Do you think that the help from government for the betterment of industry and Agricultural are substantial ? Yes / No
3. For marketing the goods, is government helpful for you? Yes / No
4. Do you think government officials are working for the improvement of your community? Yes / No
5. What is your opinion regarding governments Land Policies? adequate/ inadequate
6. Are you familiar with the non-governmental agencies for tribal development? Yes / No
7. What is your opinion regarding their functioning ? Satisfactory
8. How far they materialised your income for development
9. Did you get any kind of income from the non-governmental agencies? Yes /No
10. Do you think these agencies give more employment opportunities in your family? Yes / No
11. To which political party do you belong?
12. Why do you believe in that party, is it because of your ideology? Yes / No
13. Do you vote regularly? Yes / No
14. Do you think voting is your right? Yes / No
15. Do you think party is useful? Yes / No
16. do you go in for party meeting, procession etc? Yes / No
17. Do political parties give any kind of financial help for your family? Yes/ No
18. Do you think the political party in which you believes stands as a custodian of your rights? Yes / No
19. Do political leader regularly visit your community? Yes / No
20. Are you aware of your governing system? Yes / No
21. Do you fell any kind of exploitation from the part of political parties? Yes / No
22. Do you attended any of the gramasabha in your ward during one year? Yes / No. If No give reasons
23. Do you hold any responsible position in peoples planning?
24. Have receive any tangible benefit from peoples planning?
25. If there has been any improvement in the general living condition in your locality due to peoples planning? Give details.
26. Do you think that peoples planning will improve the welfare of the masses ?
27. Did any member of the household has receive assistants under any poverty alleviations schemes / employment generation rural.

**Development programme of the government during
the last one year period. If yes**

Sl.No	No of beneficiary	Nature of the programme	Type of Assistance	Value of assistance

28. Do you think that economic welfare of your household has improved/ remaining the same worsened compared?
29. In your opinion what are the factors responsible for improvement / deterioration?
30. How do you rate the future economic prospects of your household?

Appendix II

STATE/DISTRICT PRIMARY CENSUS ABSTRACT, WAYANAD DISTRICT

Location code No.	Name of State/District/ Taluk/UA/City/Town	Total Rural/ Urban	Area in 80 Kms	No. of Occupied Residential house	No. of house holds	Total Population including institutional and Houseless population			Total population in the age) group (0-6			Scheduled Castes			Scheduled Tribes			Literates		
						P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)
WAYANAD DISTRICT		T	2125.66	133165	134654	672128	341958	330170	98425	50055	48370	27835	14192	13643	114969	57386	57583	474612	255679	218933
		R	2091.52	128497	129927	649179	330174	319005	95139	48392	46747	26387	13435	12952	112543	56176	56367	458065	246673	211392
		U	34.14	4668	4727	22949	11784	11165	3286	1663	1623	1448	757	691	2426	1210	1216	16547	9006	7541
1	MANANTHAVADY TALUK	T	742.13	39451	39822	203701	102940	100761	31718	16153	15565	5249	2640	2609	40395	20152	20243	139612	75145	64467
		R	742.13	39451	39822	203701	102940	100761	31718	16153	15565	5249	2640	2609	40395	20152	20243	139612	75145	64467
		U	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
2	SULTHAN BATHERY TALUK	T	772.24	52150	52937	255397	131581	123816	35708	18111	17597	9413	4849	4564	45334	22688	22646	184074	99495	84579
		R	772.24	52150	52937	255397	131581	123816	35708	18111	17597	9413	4849	4564	45334	22688	22646	184074	99495	84579
		U	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
3	VYTHIRI TALUK	T	611.29	41564	41895	213030	107437	105593	30999	15791	15208	13173	6703	6470	29240	14546	14694	150926	81039	69887
		R	577.15	36896	37168	190081	95653	94428	23713	14128	13585	11725	5946	5779	26814	13336	13478	134379	72033	62346
		U	34.14	4668	4727	22949	11784	11165	3286	1663	1623	1448	757	691	2426	1210	1216	16547	9006	7541
	KALPETTA (Municipality)		34.14	4668	4727	22949	11784	11165	3286	1663	1623	1448	757	691	2426	1210	1216	16547	9006	7541

Source: 1991 census, publishers N.I.C Wayanad district u

RURAL PRIMARY CENSUS ABSTRACT OF WAYANAD

Location code number	Name of village	Area of village in hectares & of Town /Ward in Sq.kms	No. of Occupied Residential houses	No. of House holds	Total population (including institutional and the Houseless population)			Total population in the age group (0-6)			Scheduled castes		Scheduled Tribes			Literates	
					P	M	F	P	M	F	M	F	P	M	F	P	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	
1	MANANTHAVADY TALUK	74213.33	39451	39822	203701	102940	100761	31718	16153	15565	2640	2609	20152	20243	75145	64467	
1	Thirunelly	14861.84	2237	2260	10177	5171	5006	1715	908	807	95	86	2319	2256	2803	2184	
2	Thrissilery	5254.27	2774	2811	13352	6739	6613	1939	972	967	135	123	2304	2274	4709	3950	
3	Payyampally	2416.11	2097	2119	10663	5448	5215	1511	776	735	63	61	1307	1367	4062	3545	
4	Mananthavady	5594.29	5265	5334	27173	13628	13545	3929	2008	1921	631	619	1371	1469	1042	19789	
5	Thavinnal	5236.91	2834	2838	14343	7220	7123	2071	1060	1011	512	494	934	876	5347	4645	
6	Periva	6224.60	1974	1989	9895	4931	4964	1554	757	797	105	120	974	993	3568	3195	
7	Thondernad	9512.34	1903	1907	9631	4896	4735	1599	805	794	96	106	1128	1084	3621	2946	
8	Vakat	2768.45	1593	1599	8537	4367	4170	1294	671	623	15	20	901	861	3303	2852	
9	Edavaka	2516.85	2481	2510	13018	6603	6415	1914	979	935	76	83	829	858	5091	4399	
10	Nallomad	2209.05	2238	2242	11728	5891	5837	1737	889	848	42	27	975	967	4593	4155	
11	Cherukottur	1893.86	1721	1761	9238	4735	4503	1489	763	726	111	95	1010	1006	3347	2600	
12	Panamaram	2629.93	1992	2951	9768	5032	4736	1505	751	754	221	222	1033	1073	3517	2801	
13	Anchukunnu	3037.79	2987	3012	15672	7872	7800	2594	1320	1274	136	143	1952	2008	5581	4729	
14	Porunranure	2870.56	2900	2930	16529	8311	8218	2850	1441	1409	110	114	1409	1429	6196	5181	
15	Vellamunoe	3583.49	2514	2518	13969	7099	6870	2487	1275	1212	164	157	960	969	5119	4098	
16	Kanjirangad	3602.99	1941	1941	10008	4997	5011	1530	778	752	128	139	746	753	3867	3398	

Source: N.I.C. Wayanad district unit

RURAL PRIMARY CENSUS ABSTRACT OF WAYANAD

Location code number	Name of village	Area of village in hectares & of Town /Ward in Sq.kms	No. of Occupied Residential houses	No. of House holds	Total population (including institutional and the Houseless population)			Total population in the age group (0-6)			Scheduled castes		Scheduled Tribes		Literates	
					P	M	F	P	M	F	M	F	P	M	F	P
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
2	Sulthan Bathery Taluk	77223.85	52150	52937	225397	131581	123816	35708	18111	17597	4849	4564	22688	22646	99495	84579
1	Nadavayal	4002.17	2651	2658	13418	6842	6576	2091	990	1101	161	172	1643	1660	4975	4328
2	Poothadi	2705.67	2695	2726	12949	6630	6311	1566	844	722	171	145	1111	1137	5287	4705
3	Pulpalli	7672.07	5485	5606	25812	13795	12017	3643	1888	1755	659	597	2172	2137	10253	8063
4	Padichira	4927.74	5904	5995	28645	15343	13302	3771	1905	1866	568	513	1019	1019	12446	10107
5	Kidanganad	17519.84	1628	1637	7871	4053	3818	1109	559	550	71	71	1329	1260	2648	2112
6	Irulam	4943.19	4209	4319	20328	10565	9763	2869	1472	1397	278	261	1799	1642	7907	6696
7	Purakkadi	3200.74	3598	3667	17108	8950	8158	2220	1144	1076	198	153	1932	1853	6880	5551
8	Krishnagiri	2150.91	2381	2384	11465	5879	5586	1553	812	741	221	221	1173	1187	4531	3887
9	Sulthan Batheri	1962.42	3344	3523	17472	9020	8452	2698	1373	1325	320	317	444	509	7067	6049
10	Kuppadi	2586.56	4238	4281	21458	10994	10464	3108	1573	1535	692	667	1939	1869	8119	6920
11	Noolpuzha	12549.63	2309	2326	11384	5773	5611	1702	858	844	266	269	2890	2867	3604	2934
12	Cheeral	2631.77	2786	2814	13713	6768	6945	1889	940	949	142	150	935	1052	5183	4894
13	Nenmeni	4306.17	4610	4637	23332	11680	11652	3306	1675	1631	660	625	2052	2142	8845	7807
14	Ambalavayal	2822.80	2976	2990	14174	7169	7005	1925	943	982	225	197	1352	1410	5513	4821
15	Thomattuchal	3242.17	3336	3374	16268	8112	8156	2258	1135	1123	217	196	898	902	6237	5705

Source: N.I.C. Wayanad District unit

RURAL PRIMARY CENSUS ABSTRACT OF WAYANAD

Location code number	Name of village	Area of village in hectares & of Town /Ward in Sq.kms	No. of Occupied Residential houses	No. of House holds	Total population (including institutional and the Houseless population)			Total population in the age group (0-6)			Scheduled castes		Scheduled Tribes		Literate	
					P	M	F	P	M	F	M	F	P	M	F	P
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
3	Vythiri Taluk	57715.15	36896	37168	190081	95653	94428	27713	14128	13585	5946	5779	13336	13478	72033	62346
1	Padinharethara	3962.08	2366	2435	12857	6532	6325	1983	1024	959	343	386	732	751	4920	4143
2	Kuppadithara	1556.45	1482	1501	8541	4288	4253	1425	720	705	263	236	502	508	3176	2643
3	Kottathara	3174.74	2716	2730	14494	7248	7246	2035	1009	1026	242	228	1918	1959	5507	4720
4	Kaniambetta	3272.24	4055	4079	20854	10623	10231	3113	1638	1475	307	275	2259	2255	7907	6669
5	Muttill North	1894.60	1966	1975	10221	5134	5087	1580	798	782	200	195	733	774	3836	3315
6	Muttill South	2842.92	3101	3152	16546	8452	8094	2328	1198	1130	266	238	1214	1241	6477	5564
7	Vengappally	2116.10	1757	1764	9114	4550	4564	1325	660	665	154	155	1156	1109	3346	2990
8	Kavumanna	1727.02	1639	1642	8464	4291	4173	1213	625	588	69	77	834	869	3278	2895
9	Thariyode	5390.07	330	339	1772	909	863	244	129	115	26	38	310	275	662	576
10	Achboranam	2196.80	1658	1667	8784	4332	4452	1200	600	600	232	236	464	522	3221	2885
11	Pozhuthana	4933.68	1687	1692	7445	3747	8698	1041	561	480	381	350	947	972	2730	2340
12	Kunnathidavaka	2548.29	1549	1553	7414	3773	3641	961	476	485	311	297	257	224	3028	2593
13	Chundaale	2235.27	1346	1348	7045	3429	5616	873	428	445	773	739	77	94	2755	2571
14	Kottappadi	5779.70	3953	3991	20611	10376	10235	2990	1539	1451	1047	1047	503	499	7859	6819
15	Thrikkaipatta	2695.54	1808	1814	8699	4467	4232	1160	608	552	239	197	897	887	3244	2734
16	Muppainad	5876.45	3863	3866	19523	9705	9818	3009	1491	1518	632	615	432	418	7329	6514
17	Vellarimala	5513.20	1620	1620	7697	3797	3900	1233	624	609	461	470	101	121	2758	2375

Source : N.I.C. Wayanad District unit

Appendix III

Table 3-1
Educational Status

Level of education	Boys	Girls
Lower primary	4103	3381
Upper primary	3085	2343
High school	3024	2699
Pre-degree course	544	428
Graduates	81	47

Source : Survey Report (1999-2000) Fedina, a Non-Governmental organization

Table 3- 2
Economic Profile

Type of job	Male	Female
Wage labour	11246	8793
Government job	309	69
Private job	98	33
Child labour	92	70
Unemployed	207	200

Source : Survey Report (1999-2000) Fedina, a Non-Governmental organization

Table 3-3

Housing

Habitation status	Number of families
Having own houses	8971
Not having houses	1749
Houses with hey	3072
Asbestos sheets	577
Tiles	4803
Coconut leaves	216
Concrete	303
Houses constructed by the government	4672
Houses constructed by the non-governmental organisations	35
Self constructed	4264

Source : Survey Report (1999-2000) Fedina, a Non-Governmental organisation

Table 3-4
Ration Cards

Ration card status	Number of families
Tribal communities having ration cards	7474
Not having ration cards	3246

Source : Survey Report (1999-2000) Fedinc, a Non-Governmental organization

Table 3-5
Pension

Type of pension	Number of beneficiaries
Handicapped	29
Old age	423
Agricultural workers	199
Widows	128

Source : Survey report (1999-2000) Fedinc, a Non-Governmental organization

Table 3-6

Land Holdings

Ownership of land	Dry land	Wetland
With title deeds	2588.18 - acres	1837.23 acres
Without title deeds	503.67 acres	170.32 acres
Disputed land (sold after 1975)	184.66 acres	78.39 acres
Alienated land	68.18	--
Land pledged to others	19.24 acres	1 acre
5810 families are Landless	-	-

Source : Survey Report (1999-2000) Fedina, a Non-Governmental organization

Table 3-7
Common Diseases among Tribals

Diseases	Number of patients
Sickle cell anemia	82
Eye problems	94
Rhematism	150
Abdominal diseases	23
Mental cases	79
Asthma	26
Goiter and lumps	8
Leprosy and cancer	40
Headache and Backache	8
Chest pain	23
Tuberculosis	85
Deaf and dumb	15
Handicapped	14
Anemia	4609
Blood pressure	7
E.N.T.	6

Source : Survey Report (1999-2000) Fedir.a, a Non-Governmental organization

Table 3-8

Treatment

Mode of treatment	Number of patients
Allopathy	10222
Homoeopathy	214
Ayurvedic	2703
Traditional	4908
Spiritual	4391
Self	1874

Source : Survey Report (1999-2000) Fedina, a Non-Governmental organization

Table 3-9

Source of Drinking Water

Source	Number of families
Well	7453
Small ponds	2446
Pipe water	372
Bore well	249

Source : Survey Report (1999-2000) Fedina, a Non-Governmental organization

Table 3- 10

Common Addictions

Mode of addiction	Number of addicts
Smokers	7473
Pan chewing	8168
Alcohol	5874
Drugs	22

Source : Survey Report (1999-2000) Fedina, a Non-Governmental organization

Table 3-11

Savings

Mode of saving	Number of savers
Post office	291
Banks	263
Small chits	339

Source : Survey Report (1999-2000) Fedina, a Non-Governmental organization

Table 3-12

Other Facilities

Roads	Number of Colonies
Approach road	85
Jeep road	414
Foot path	240
Boundary paths	87

Source : Survey Report (1999-2000) Fedina, a Non-Governmental organization

Table 3-13

Place of Worship

Place of worship	Number of Families
In the colonies	758
In the forest	55
In the temples	13

Source : Survey Report (1999-2000) Fedina, a Non-Governmental organization

Table 3-14

Burial Ground

Mode of burial Place	Number of Colonies
Common	325
Own land	245
In the forest	256

Source : Survey Report (1999-2000) Fedina, a Non-Governmental organization

Appendix-4

COMPUTATION OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX (HDI)

Life Expectancy Index	$I_1 = \frac{X_1 - 25}{85 - 25}$
Adult Literacy Index	$I_{21} = \frac{X_{21} - 0}{100 - 0}$
Enrolment Index	$I_{22} = \frac{X_{22} - 0}{100 - 0}$
Education Index	$I_2 = \frac{(2 \times I_{21}) + I_{22}}{3}$
Income Index	$I_y = \frac{\text{Log } y - \text{Log } 100}{\text{Log } 40000 - \text{Log } 100}$
Human Development Index	$HDI = \frac{I_1 + I_2 + I_y}{3}$

COMPUTATION OF GENDER-RELATED DEVELOPMENT INDEX (GDI)

<i>Male Life Expectancy Index</i>	$I_{1m} = \frac{X_{1m} - 22.5}{82.5 - 22.5}$
<i>Female Life Expectancy Index</i>	$I_{1f} = \frac{X_{1f} - 27.5}{87.5 - 27.5}$
Equally Distributed Life Expectancy Index	$I_{1e} = \{[p_m(I_{1m})^{-1}] + [p_f(I_{1f})^{-1}]\}^{-1}$
<i>Male Adult Literacy Index</i>	$I_{21m} = \frac{X_{21m}}{100}$
<i>Male Enrolment Index</i>	$I_{22m} = \frac{X_{22m}}{100}$
Male Education Index	$I_{2m} = \frac{(2 \times I_{21m}) + I_{22m}}{3}$
<i>Female Adult Literacy Index</i>	$I_{21f} = \frac{X_{21f}}{100}$
<i>Female Enrolment Index</i>	$I_{22f} = \frac{X_{22f}}{100}$
Female Education Index	$I_{2f} = \frac{(2 \times I_{21f}) + I_{22f}}{3}$
Equally Distributed Education Index	$I_{2e} = \{[p_m(I_{2m})^{-1}] + [p_f(I_{2f})^{-1}]\}^{-1}$
<i>Female share of wages bill</i>	$s_f = \frac{w_f/w_m(ea_f)}{[w_f/w_m(ea_f)] + ea_m}$
Real GDP	$Y = yN$
<i>Female Earned Income</i>	$y_f = \frac{s_f Y}{F}$
<i>Male Earned Income</i>	$y_m = \frac{Y - s_f Y}{M}$

Female Income Index	$I_{yf} = \frac{\text{Log}(y_f) - \text{Log } 100}{\text{Log } 40000 - \text{Log } 100}$
Male Income Index	$I_{ym} = \frac{\text{Log}(y_m) - \text{Log } 100}{\text{Log } 40000 - \text{Log } 100}$
Equally Distributed Income Index	$I_{ye} = \{[p_m(I_{ym})^{-1}] + [p_f(I_{yf})^{-1}]\}^{-1}$
Gender Related Development Index	$\text{GDI} = \frac{I_{1e} + I_{2e} + I_{ye}}{3}$

Appendix -6
Computation of Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM)

EDEP for Parliament Representation $EDEP_{PR} = [p_f(PR_f)^{-1} + p_m(PR_m)^{-1}]^{-1}$

EDEP for Administrative & Managerial Positions $EDEP_{AM} = [p_f(AM_f)^{-1} + p_m(AM_m)^{-1}]^{-1}$

EDEP for Professional & Technical Positions $EDEP_{PT} = [p_f(PT_f)^{-1} + p_m(PT_m)^{-1}]^{-1}$

Index of Parliament Representation $I_{PR} = \frac{EDEP_{PR}}{50}$

Index of Administrative & Managerial Positions $I_{AM} = \frac{EDEP_{AM}}{50}$

Index of Professional & Technical Positions $I_{PT} = \frac{EDEP_{PT}}{50}$

Combined Index for Administrative & Managerial Positions and Professional & Technical Posts $I_{AMPT} = \frac{I_{AM} + I_{PT}}{2}$

Index of Female Per Capita Income $I_{pcf} = \frac{y_f - 100}{40000 - 100}$

Index of Male Per Capita Income $I_{pcm} = \frac{y_m - 100}{40000 - 100}$

Equally Distributed Income Index $I_{pc} = [p_f(I_{pcf})^{-1} + p_m(I_{pcm})^{-1}]^{-1}$

Gender Empowerment Measure $GEM = \frac{I_{PR} + I_{AMPT} + I_{pc}}{3}$

Appendix -7

Human Poverty Index for developing countries (HPI-1)

% of people not expected to survive 40 years

P_1

Adult illiteracy rate

P_2

% of people without access to safe water

P_{3a}

% of people without access to health services

P_{3b}

% of severely & moderately under-weight children under 5 years

P_{3c}

Standard of living

$$P_3 = \frac{P_{3a} + P_{3b} + P_{3c}}{3}$$

Human Poverty Index

$$HPI - 1 = \left[\frac{1}{3}(P_1^3 + P_2^3 + P_3^3) \right]^{1/3}$$