

Development and Tribes

An Enquiry into Social Development, Social Justice and Tribal Sub-Plan in Kerala

*Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Philosophy in Applied Economics of the
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.....*to my Mother*

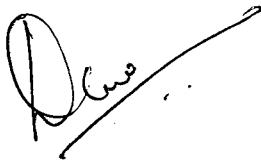
CERTIFICATE

I hereby affirm that the work for the dissertation titled "*Development and Tribes: An Enquiry into Social Development, Social Justice and Tribal Sub-Plan in Kerala*", being submitted as a part of the requirement of the Master of Philosophy Programme in Applied Economics of Jawaharlal Nehru University, was carried out by myself and has not formed part of any other programme and not submitted to any other Institution/University for the award of any Degree or Programme of Study.

June 25, 2009


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Certified that this study is a bona fide work of Kunhikrishnan V, carried out under our supervision at the Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram.



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Development and Tribes
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Abstract

The prime objective of the present study is to examine the impact of Tribal Sub Plan on the socio-economic conditions of Tribes in Kerala by contextualizing it in the larger debates on social justice and social development. The study intends to juxtapose the experience of two Primitive Tribes (Koraga and Kattunaikan) in this regard with that of two Non-Primitive Tribes (Malakudiya and Paniya) in Kasaragod and Wayanad districts of Kerala. Both secondary - to disentangle left developmentalism, TSP allocation and utilization - and primary- to understand the involvement of Tribes in the democratization process, their access to resources and attitude of Tribes and 'providers' towards TSP programs- sources used in this study . At another level, the study is a modest attempt to evaluate the 'promise' of TSP, which was envisaged as the vital tribal development programme since the Fifth Five-Year Plan and held the promise of being sensitive to the different needs of different groups of tribal people, and its actual developmental outcomes in the state of Kerala. The study covered two Panchayats in the said districts, which have a significant mix of primitive and non-primitive tribes in its population. Importantly, the study area includes the location of recent Adivasi land struggle in Kerala, Muthanga. Based on its performance during the past decade, Kerala has been assessed by the Govt. of India as the best performing state with respect to democratic decentralization and Panchayat Raj. The present study critically looks at, though in a limited way, the much-celebrated decentralization process in Kerala in terms of its effectiveness to deliver development benefits to the tribal population. The present exercise also examines the salience of the governmental categorization of tribes into 'primitive' and 'non-primitive', to see whether it really inform the programmes aimed at tribal development.

CONTENTS

	Title	Page No.
	<i>List of Tables</i>	vi-vii
	<i>List of Figures</i>	viii
	<i>Abbreviations</i>	ix
Chapter 1	Introduction	1-16
	1.1 The Context and the Research Problem	1-7
	1.2 Data and Methodology	7-8
	1.3 Study Area and Population	8-11
	1.4 Characteristics of Tribes	11-16
	1.5 Structure of the Study	16-16
Chapter 2	Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP)	17-33
	The National and Local Context and its Significance in Kerala	
	2.1 Introduction	17-18
	2.2 Tribal Development Policies in a Historical Perspective	18-24
	2.2.1 Pre-colonial Adivasi Policies	18-19
	2.2.2 Colonial Policies	19-20
	2.2.3 Post independence Tribal development policies	20-24
	2.3 Social Development among Tribes in India and Kerala: A Quick Overview	24-26
	2.4 The Significance of TSP in Kerala's Context	26-31
	2.4.1 The Details of Expenditure under Tribal Sub-plan since 1985	31-32
	2.5 Summary	32-33

	Title	Page No.
Chapter 3	'Primitive' and 'Non-primitive Tribes': TSP and Governmental Categories	34-52
	3.1 Introduction	34-39
	3.2 Primitive Tribes of Kerala	39-40
	3.2.1 Areas of Habitation	40-41
	3.2.2 Literacy Rate	41-43
	3.2.3 Tribes and their Educational Status in Kerala	43-45
	3.2.4 House Ownership	46-48
	3.2.5 Land Ownership	48-52
	3.3 Summary	52-52
	Chapter 4	Do Institutional Changes Matter? : Performance of TSP in Kerala
4.1 Introduction		53-54
4.2 Tribal Department, the Panchayats, and TSP		54-55
4.3 Performance of SCA to TSP Pre- and Post -decentralization Periods		55-57
4.4 Financial Allocation since Decentralization		58-59
4.5 Sector wise Allocation of Funds during Ninth and Tenth plan Periods		59-61
4.6 Percentage of TSP Expenditure to Total Expenditure to the Local bodies		61-61
4.7 Scheme-wise Allocation of TSP during Ninth and Tenth Plan Periods		62-63
4.8 Voices from the Grassroots		63-71
4.9 Profile of the Households		64-67
4.10 Interest of Tribes in Democratisation Process		67-70
4.11 Educational Benefit and TSP		70-70
4.12 TSP and Health Benefit to the Tribes		70-71
4.13 Summary	71-71	
Chapter 5	Summary and Conclusion	72-73
	Bibliography	74-80
	Appendix	

LIST OF TABLES

Table No.	Title	Page No.
1.3.1	Tribes in Noolpuzha Panchayat	10
1.3.2	Distribution of Scheduled Tribe population, Settlements and Families in Sulthan Batheri Block, Wayanad District	10
1.3.3	Tribes in Paivalike Panchayat	11
1.3.4	Distribution of Scheduled Tribe population, Settlements and Families in Manjeswar Block, Kasaragod District	11
1.4.1	Literacy and Occupational Distribution of Koragas, Kerala (figures in percent)	12
1.4.2	Literacy and Occupational Distribution of Kattunaikan, Kerala (figures percent)	13
1.4.3	Literacy and Occupational Distribution of Malakudiya, Kerala (figures in percent)	14
1.4.4	Literacy and Occupational Distribution of Paniyas, Kerala (figures percent)	15
2.2.1	Allocation of Funds in Five Year Plans (Rs. Crores)	22
2.4.1	Financial Outlay to the TSP (Rs Lakhs)	31
3.2.1	Growth Rate of ST & SC Population in Kerala	39
3.2.2	Total Primitive Tribe population from 1971 to 2001	40
3.2.3	Area of Habitation of PTCs in Kerala	41
3.2.4	Illiteracy Among the Tribes of Kerala, 1971, 1981 & 2001	42
3.2.5	Educational Attainment Among Different Tribes in Kerala	44
3.2.6	Educational Status of the Sample Households (figures in) percent	45
3.2.7	House Ownership by Category	46
3.2.8	Provision Housing and its Timing	47
3.2.9	Average Landholding per Household of the Four Tribes	48
3.2.10	Land Ownership	49
3.2.11	Sector wise Expenditure of TSP during Pre and Post-decentralization (Figures in Lakhs)	50

Table No.	Title	Page No.
3.2.12	Proportion of Sector wise Expenditure of TSP During Post and Pre Decentralization (figures in percent)	51
4.2.1	Allocation and Expenditure Gap in TSP	55
4.3.1	SCA to TSP in Kerala during 1986-97 to 1996-97	56
4.3.2	SCA to TSP in Kerala during 1996-97 to 2007-08	57
4.4.1	Share of LSGIs in the State's Plan during Ninth and Tenth Plan (Rs. Crore)	59
4.5.1	Sector wise Allocation of Funds during Ninth Plan periods	60
4.5.2	Sector wise Allocation of Funds during Tenth Plan periods	60
4.7.1	Scheme wise Expenditure during Ninth Plan 1997-2002 (Rs in Lakhs)	62
4.7.2	Scheme wise Expenditure during Tenth, Plan 2002-07 (Rs in Lakhs)	63
4.9.1	Profile of the Household	65
4.9.2	Marital Status of the Sample population	65
4.9.3	Occupational Status of the Sample population (figures in percent)	66
4.10.1	Attendance in 'Oorukoottam' (figures in percent)	68
4.10.2	Discussions in 'Oorukoottam'	69
4.10.3	Benefits from the TSP Programs (figures in percent)	70
4.10.4	Response to the Educational Benefit	70
4.10.5	Response to the Health Benefit	71

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure No:	Title	Page No
4.2.1	Unspent TSP Funds	55
4.3.1	SCA to TSP in Kerala before Decentralization	56
4.3.2	SCA to TSP in Kerala during 1996-97 to 2007-08	57
4.4.1	Percentage Expenditure to Grant-in-Aid Outlay (1997-07)	59
4.5.1	Sector wise Allocation of Funds during Ninth and Tenth Plan periods	61
4.6.1	Percentage of TSP Expenditure to Total Expenditure to the LSGs	61

ABBREVIATIONS

AGMS	:	Adivasi Gothra Maha Sabha
BPL	:	Below Poverty Line
DSTD	:	Department of Scheduled Tribe Development
DTD	:	District Tribal Department
FCA	:	Forest Conservation Act
GOI	:	Government of India
GOK	:	Government of Kerala
HDR	:	Human Development Report
IAY	:	Indira Avas Yojana
IHDP	:	Intensive Habitat Development Programme
IRDP	:	Integrated Rural Development Programme
ITDP	:	Integrated Tribal Development Projects
KARB	:	Kerala Agrarian Relation Bill
KLA	:	Kerala Legislative Assembly
KMD	:	Kerala Model of Development
LSGs	:	Local Self-Government Institutions
MTA	:	Ministry of Tribal Affairs
MTB	:	Multipurpose Tribal Block
NREP	:	National Rural Employment Programme
PESA	:	Provision of Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act
RLEGP	:	Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme
SC	:	Scheduled Caste
ST	:	Scheduled Tribe
SCA	:	Special Central Assistance
TDA	:	Tribal Development Agency
TDB	:	Tribal Development Block
TDD	:	Tribal Development Department
TFTA	:	Task Force on Tribal Areas
TRDM	:	Tribal Rehabilitation and Development Mission
TRYSEM	:	Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment
TSP	:	Tribal Sub-Plan
WLPA	:	Wild Life Protection Act

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Context and the Research Problem

The term 'outlier' was introduced in the 1990s into the discussion of the 'Kerala Model'¹ (Kurien 1995/2000). The 'central tendency' of this model is regarded as the result of widespread 'public action' from the late 19th century through the 20th century. John Kurien identifies its key features: "... generally high literacy rate and more particularly a high female literacy rate; a low infant mortality rate; lower population growth rates and high life expectancies; and greater accessibility to essential services like health, water, electricity, public distribution shops, and roads" (Kurien 2000:181). The 'outliers' to this central tendency are population groups who have been left out of the domain of public action, and the 'capability-building' processes that Amartya Sen talks of. The marine fishing communities, the tribal groups, and the Dalits of Kerala have been generally identified as 'outliers' who have not shared in the benefits of social development in Kerala.

The marginalization of these groups from Kerala's social development, was however, not discovered in the 1990s. It was noted almost as early as the 'Kerala Model' itself (Sivanandan 1976), however, the research by the scholars tended to emphasize the political processes of disempowerment through which these groups came to occupy the position of 'outliers', perhaps to a greater degree than the 'Kerala Model' scholarship. P. Sivanandan, writing in 1979, noted that the "the structure of the labour market and the distribution of assets in Kerala retain a very significant level of caste-class association... the upward occupational mobility and class reorganization among the lowest castes which traditionally constituted the dependent class of agrarian labour, are extremely minimal when compared to the experience of other castes/communal groups" (Sivanandan 1979:475). Through a detailed comparative analysis of land ownership, educational performance, and employment achievements of the

¹In the 1970s, Kerala shot into fame in international development circles, for its specific trajectory of modernization, in which poor economic growth co-existed with remarkable achievements in social development. The 'Kerala Model' has been described as "...a *post facto* generalization of an experience historically evolved but promoted by public action (which *inter alia* includes socio-religious reform movements, a wide and active press, adversarial politics etc.) and is sustained by social demands" (Oommen 1996: xvi).

different social groups in Kerala, the study concluded that, “Caste-class identity is an inherent feature in socio-economic relations in Kerala, although it has now a certain level of interpenetration on account of the influence of social movements, political forces, and administrative reforms. However, “the intervention of these factors in the reorganization process does not radically alter the caste-class association” (Sivanandan 1979: 480).

This situation does not seem to have altered radically in the present. In other words, absolute poverty levels have been found receding in Kerala (Kannan 2005)²; also, now Kerala is seen to be undergoing a new phase of Gulf-based remittances-driven, service-sector-led economic growth (CDS 2005). However there is also much concern that the ‘outliers’ remain outliers even in this phase. Even those who display optimism about a ‘virtuous cycle’ of growth in Kerala do admit the poor gains to ‘outlier’ groups (CDS 2005:160). Calculations based on the NSSO data for 1993-94 reveal that “even in a relatively egalitarian state like Kerala, inter-caste disparities continue to underlie overall disparity.” Also within-group disparity is comparatively lower among Dalit and tribal populations in Kerala. No elite group has emerged in these communities that exclusively corner the benefits of affirmative action; “... if any group has to worry about a ‘creamy layer’, it is the Others [non-Dalit] group” (Deshpande 2000: 325). Again, even those who argue that Kerala’s positive achievements in poverty-reduction continue, more or less, in the post-reform period (Subrahmanian and Prasad 2008: 27), are concerned about rising inequalities. For example, Subrahmanian and Prasad remark that “... it is rather surprising that given the historical background of progressive policies and concerns for distributive justice, Kerala state has the highest level of inequality in per capita consumption expenditure (used as a proxy for income) [in India] today under the neo-liberal regime!” (Subrahmanian and Prasad 2008: 25). Further, they point out that the scope to trade off inequality with growth is limited in Kerala (ibid. 29).

It is by now generally acknowledged that the tribal population in Kerala has generally been an outlier to the Kerala Model’s central tendency. One reason for this would be their minority status within Kerala, both in terms of population and culture. According to the 2001 Census, the tribal population of Kerala is just 1.14 per cent of Kerala’s total population (Shyjan and Sunitha 2008). Secondly, the tribal populations in Kerala, and in south India, have generally suffered from the rise of linguistic sub-nationalisms, which marginalized their languages and cultures; this was unlike the experiences of tribal people in the north-eastern regions of India, who were able to access social development, and had a significantly different

² However other scholars have been more cautious about such claims: M. A. Oommen, for instance, has noted recently that in the post-reform period, poverty reduction has not been significant (Oommen 2008).

historical trajectory (Damodaran 2009). The health status of primitive tribes in Kerala, it is argued, is also a cause for concern (Kakkoth 2005; Asokan 2007). The status of tribal women, who are the mainstay of food security of communities, has also been noted to be seriously jeopardized (Arun 2004). Recent work reveals that the tribes of Kerala, despite the fact that they have been actively engaged in 'public action' since the new millennium (Bijoy and Raviraman 2003), have gained very poorly from Kerala's current phase of service-sector-led growth, precisely because they have not been beneficiaries of early waves of capability-building (Shyjan and Sunitha 2008).

In fact, what is interesting – and troubling – about the post-Indian independence history of tribal disempowerment in Kerala is the manner in which they have been subjected to the governmentalizing imperatives of the state, which remained completely unmodified in the absence of strong public action initiatives from within tribal people. Thus 'tribal development' in Kerala, as in much of India, has resulted in net loss to tribal people in resources and capabilities – 'exclusion' has involved serious disempowerment and reduction into passive populations. Different approaches to the 'tribal question' have been proposed in India – all of which have been elaborated from the perspective of an interventionist and modernized middle-class, and which equally reduces the tribal people into passive objects and recipients of such interventions. Thus both the 'isolationist' or 'segregationist' proposal, which argued that tribes should be preserved safe from 'political infection' in their natural surroundings and traditional socio-cultural milieus, and the 'assimilatory' or 'missionary solution', which recommends their assimilation into a broader, dominant culture and economic system, equally imply a rendering-passive of the tribal through governmentalizing (Rath 2006). Development as modernization is found to have had deleterious effects on tribal people in India, both in terms of access to resources, and preservation of identities (Guha 2007; Bhattacharya 2007; Kujur 2006). The present neo-liberal phase of extractive growth, which seriously dispossesses tribal people of their access to livelihood resources, has exacerbated their deprivation. The governmentalizing power of state seems to be now paralleled by the coercive force of neo-liberal capital as is being witnessed at present in Orissa (Dash 2009), which, it has been argued, is a process of "internal colonization" (Walker 2008). In this context, state welfare works, all the more, as a strategy of containment, rather than as an instrument for upward mobility. In fact, studies reveal how welfare measures directed at tribal people are meaningless in the context of massive dispossession and cutting of tribes' access to resources. A recent study on Polavaram dam project in Chegondapally district of the State of Andhra Pradesh reveals that the purchase of land from the non-tribal population resulted in job-loss to tribes who worked as agricultural labourers in the agricultural land

owned by non-tribes. The non-tribal populations have been compensated, but the Dalits and Scheduled Tribes remain uncompensated. Moreover, the failure of NREGA in this region further worsened the situation and tribes have been compelled to migrate (Umamahaswari 2009). The dispossession of tribal lands in the Narmada Valley is of course well known by now (Aravinda 2000). In Kerala, the struggle over water resources between tribal people and the Coco Cola Company is evidence for the prevalence of similar threats (Wramner 2004); also the neglect of tribal interests in welfare measures during agricultural crises is also evident in Wayanad, where their losses as agricultural labourers remain uncompensated (Mohanakumar 2008).

The present study seeks to add to the critical literature on 'tribal development' in Kerala. It conceives the 'tribal question' in Kerala as involving two equally significant aspects – one, the governmentalizing effects of categories that form the vital framework of tribal welfare policy in Kerala, and two, the question of tribal peoples' access to key livelihood resources and capabilities. One of the guiding hypotheses of this work is that these two aspects are vitally interrelated; a primary aim of the present work is precisely to flesh out these interrelationships empirically. It seeks to reexamine the salience of the two central categories of 'primitive' and 'non-primitive' in the classification of tribal groups within the specific context of Kerala; secondly, it tries to probe into the implementation of the Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP), which has been the flagship development programme targeting tribal person since the Fifth Five Year Plan in India.

The present context in which decentralized governance and participatory planning for development have been well institutionalized provides an interesting backdrop for the TSP in Kerala. Decentralization and participatory planning were hailed in the mid-1990s as major instruments of extending social development to ever-greater sections of the people, improving the delivery of government services, raising productivity through economic activities planned from the local level with people's participation (Isaac 2001).³ The architects of the People's Planning Campaign of the mid-1990s envisaged this as a process of not merely devolving power to the local bodies, but also of the transformation in the attitude of the participants in planning process such that development would be a transparent and efficient process, and

³ There is a burgeoning debate on the benefits of decentralized governance both within and outside the academy. Scholars like Bardhan (2002) have hailed it as holding the possibility to improve service delivery and also to improve local level development through the enhanced access of people to adequate information on local level issues. Others hold that whereas democratic decentralization has improved levels of public participation and, in some cases, government accountability, and its ability (Johnson 2001). Also many have pointed to the possibility of capture of local institutions by local elites (Crook and Manor 1998; Bastian and Luckham 2003).

from the bottoms-up (Issac 2001). Fiscal decentralization is a reality in Kerala now and 30 to 40 percent of state plan outlays are transferred to the local government and according to the rule, at least 40 per cent of total development funds have to be spent on the productive sector; 30 per cent is to be set apart for infrastructure, 10 per cent for the Women's Component Plan, and another 5 per cent, for the disabled and the aged (Economic Review 2001). As observed by Vijayanand, "...the basic human development functions have now become the responsibility of local government. In other words, sustaining Kerala's outstanding performance in health, education and poverty reduction was now become the task of its local government, particularly at a time when the private sector has entered the field of education and health in a big way and realizing public sector in these areas has become an urgent necessary in the interest of inclusive development in future" (Vijayanand, 2001). As far as the TSP is concerned, 67 per cent funds are devolved to the local bodies. As different from the general funds there is no ceiling on allocations to the different sectors, except infrastructure, in the spending of TSP funds.

Assessments of the performance of decentralized governance and development in Kerala have often been glowing. Kannan and Pillai (2004), for instance, perceive it as a "public platform for a vigilant civil society" and as generating an "enabling environment for development" (p.39). These authors also argue that Dalits, tribes, and women have made important gains through decentralized planning and governance. However, their writings sometime give away clues that all is not well. For example, Heller, Harilal, and Choudhuri (2007), in their recent assessment that credits the experiment with achieving an unprecedented expansion in structures of participatory governance, presents evidence that members of the SC/ST communities have been able to effectively enter the public arena and make gains in development. The evidence they present is that some 46 per cent of their total sample of SC/ST respondents reported that they had made these gains to some extent, and another 46 per cent reported that these gains were obtained to a high degree. This came close to the pattern of reporting of all respondents (p. 642). However, there are other indications from other parts of this paper. In Table 4 on political patronage and the allocation of funds, 14.3 and 34.7 percent of all representatives of SC/ST interviewed reported that allocation was highly skewed, and slightly skewed towards ruling-party-controlled wards – a total of 50 percent. However, the authors find only the overall result that just about 13 per cent of all respondents complained of high bias towards ruling party wards, significant (p. 638). Again, reflecting on public participation in the Grama Sabhas, they argue that:

The data from our 72 sample panchayats show that while overall participation has declined (falling to 4.7 percent of total population in 1999 from 7.8 percent in 1997), its social composition has stabilized. In 1999–2000, women accounted for 41 percent of participants, and SCs accounted for 14 percent of participants, well above their proportion of the general population and their 11.5 percent representation in the sample. *STs on the other hand constituted only 2.6 percent of participants, well below their 3.7 percent of the sample population.* (p. 636; my italics)

The lumping of SC/ST into a single group is undesirable in that it prevents an identification of the vastly different socio-political contexts that these groups occupy in Kerala. Indications from such studies also provide a rationale for a reexamination of the implementation of the TSP under the current decentralized regime. The present study may provide important insights on this question.

The other key context in which the present inquiry gains relevance is that of the ongoing struggles for land by tribal peoples in Kerala, which have acquired renewed force since the new millennium (Kjosavik 2006; Kjosavik and Shanmugharatnam 2007; Bijoy and Raviraman 2003). Tribal movements in Kerala have sought to emphasize the losses suffered by them through steady encroachments and the steady legalization of these, generously supported by both the left and the non-left in Kerala, since the mid-20th century (Bijoy 1999). The present demands seek the redressal of an earlier agenda, of the first land reforms in Kerala, of the 1970s, in which Dalits were denied access to land as a productive resource (and assigned minimal land grants for housing), and through which tribal people lost enormous amounts of land (Kunhaman 1989). However, in the recent confrontation between the present CPM-led Left Democratic Front government and the tribal and Dalit protestors, who occupied land in the Harrisons Malayalam plantation at Chengara in the Pathanamthitta District of Kerala, there were clear indications from the government that the entitlements available through the current decentralized regime of welfare distribution were all that the protestors could hope for. In a statement in October 2008, the Chief Minister of Kerala, V. S. Achuthanandan, advised the protestors to return to their villages and put in applications for minimal housing land (Devika 2008). This has interesting implications, as far as the relevance of the present study is concerned. It appears now that welfare distribution through decentralization, the broader design of which comes from the political parties and the development bureaucracy and state and central levels is firmly established as the solution to the tribal and Dalit questions, while the interventions from tribal movements are viewed with

suspicion. This provides an all the more urgent reason to critically inquire into the working of the TSP.

1.2 Data and Methodology

Keeping in view of the objectives of the study, both primary and secondary data are used here, with greater stress on the primary data. The focus of the study is on the developmental and welfare experience of four tribes- one primitive and one non-primitive tribe each from two regions in the state of Kerala. The primary data collected by making use of a structured questionnaire (see Appendix A. 1.1) to capture the level and experience of tribal groups under the study, and their access to developmental resources, capabilities acquired or lost consequently. The data collection paid particular attention to the experience of these different tribal groups regarding access to land, housing, health and education. The structured schedule was supplemented by intense personal interaction with the 'recipients' of governmental welfare to comprehend the nuanced 'distributive' development regime at work. In order to map out how 'prescriptive welfare' is conceived divergently by the 'recipients' and 'providers', the beneficiaries, the intermediaries (for instance the 'promoters') and the officials were interviewed. The qualitative survey among the selected tribal groups also aimed at capturing their experience in the democratization and modernization processes in general and the decentralized governance in particular.

At the secondary level, data pertaining to tribal development and welfare from various layers of government has been made use of. Technically, the TSP is administered with funds from Central and State Plans, along with funds as Special Central Assistance to TSP. The funds are channelised through the District Tribal Department (DTD) and the local bodies and development spending is done at both these levels (Economic Review 2001). The DTD focus it's spending on education such as providing stipends, lump sum grants, books and cloths to the tribal students, maintaining tribal hostels, etc. and on health. However, since decentralization of power to local self-governments, the major chunk of the TSP are spent through the village Panchayats and the 'Oorukoottam', the general body of the concerned tribal hamlet is the stipulated body to take the decisions on development projects and selection of beneficiaries. Hence, the set of secondary sources being used for the study comes from various state governmental departments, which includes the Department of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes. The data resources from the State Planning Board and Directorate of Tribal Development, pertaining to the state and district levels too are utilized. The secondary information from the concerned Grama Panchayats on various development projects and beneficiaries are also found to be very useful. The public discussions on tribal

development in Kerala and a wealthy depository of academic discussions on the subject too inform this study considerably.

1.3 Study Area and Population

As against a macro level analysis, for instance national or sub-national contexts, the present study would take a look at the problem 'from below'. One of the major and often pointed out inadequacies of the Kerala Model of Development (KMD) has been its top-to-bottom approach, overlooking the specific developmental experiences of groups and regions. One way of remedying the mistaken conceptual foundations of KMD is to inform it from diverse specific locations. The present exercise, at one level, is also a modest attempt in that direction on three grounds- first it takes an outlier of KMD for analysis, the tribes; second it takes two of backward districts of the state in terms of its human development for study, Wayanad and Kasaragod; and thirdly it attempts to compare the status of two administratively-marked outliers within the tribal community, the 'primitive tribes', with two non-primitive tribes. The study concentrates on two Panchayats from the districts concerned- Paivalike in Kasaragod and Noolpuzha in Wayanad. These are Panchayats with a significant mix of primitive and non-primitive tribal groups in its population. Koraga and Kattunaikan respectively of Kasaragod and Wayanad are the primitive tribes, while the Malakudiya and the Paniya from the same districts are the non-primitive tribes studied.

The Panchayats selected for the study are located in northern Kerala, the region which was part of the British Madras Presidency as Malabar during the colonial time. It is pointed out that there is disparity among the Tribes of Kerala in terms of development indicators, which assumes certain regional specificities too. There were visible disparities between Malabar and southern regions of present day Kerala during the colonial time in this regard and the historically inherited disadvantages continue to remain so even today for the tribes of Malabar ⁴(Leni 2006). The differences in the level of development between Malabar and Travancore-Cochin have been reduced to a certain extent in the recent years due to the implementation of various developmental schemes, but they still continue to exist to a certain extent (Balakrishnan 1994: 41-42). The systematization of property laws in Malabar with a modern Western commonsense of property and ownership caused severe disruption in the agrarian relationship, while the colonial forest policy of conservation and plantation making started the process of displacements of tribes from forests (Arunima 2003; Menon 1994;

⁴ Kerala was divided into three administrative entities during the colonial time. While Malabar, the northern region of the present state of Kerala, was under direct colonialism, Cochin, central Kerala and Travancore, the southern regions of Kerala, were princely states under indirect colonialism.

Varghese 2006). The transition to capitalist production and land relations also resulted in the proliferation of tribal population in Malabar under colonialism (Kunhaman 1982). And in spite of all the 'uplifting' interventions by the postcolonial state the tribes of Malabar remains to be 'an outlier within an outlier', particularly with regard to issues like land distribution, education and employment (Kunhaman 1982; Sivanandan 1979).

It should be remembered that most of the tribes in the state of Kerala are concentrated in the otherwise less developed Malabar region.⁵ Of all the districts of Malabar, Wayanad has the highest number of tribes, followed by Kasaragod and Palakkad. The districts of Wayanad and Kasaragod chosen for the present study are also districts with higher proportion of landless tribes in the state; along side a significant number of migrant peasant settlers from the erstwhile Travancore. As per index of deprivation by social groups in the state, Wayanad shows the highest deprivation indices among ST population, while that of Kasaragod is well above the state average (HDR, 2005: 62). These districts also have a fine mix of Primitive and Non-Primitive tribes in its population. Among these districts, Wayanad is predominantly agrarian; it has had a distinctive political past. Wayanad was the nerve-centre of the 'failed' Naxilite movement in Kerala during late 60s and 70s. The intense concern for the deprivation and disempowerment of the tribal of Wayanad was an important context in which this came to be so (Mathur, 1977; Jacob, et.al, 1999; Ajitha, 1999). Wayanad remains the focal point of the ongoing Tribal movement for land and development under the banner of Adivasi Gothra Sabha led by C.K.Janu, an Adiya tribal woman (Chathukulam and John, 2006: 191, Steur, 2009). Kasaragod is one of the smallest districts in Kerala situated on the northern part with an area of 1992 sq.kms. The district bounded by Dakshina Kannada district of Karnataka State on the north, Kodagu district on the east, Kannur district of Kerala on the south and Arabian Sea on the west. Till the formation of the linguistic State of Kerala in 1956 it was in Madras presidency and known as the South Canara district. Kasaragod district witnessed intense agrarian struggles to end the exploitation and oppression by landlords and chieftains in the 1930s and 40s and has been a bastion of the dominant left, especially the CPI (M).

⁵ As per HDR (2005) there is a clear disparity in terms of human development and Gender related index with in the Kerala, which forms a division of South and North (Malabar) divisions. The Human Development Index shows that the northern districts Kasaragod (11), Wayanad (13), Palakad (10), Malapuram (14) and Kannur (7) have the lowest ranks compared to the southern districts, which is less than the State index except Kannur district. The Generalized Deprivation Index- the deprivation based on deprivation in four basic necessities for well-being, such as housing quality, access to drinking water, good sanitation and electricity lighting- is highest in northern district like Wayanad (46.3), Palakad (40.4), Kasaragod (37.6), Kannur (29.7) and Malapuram (28.6), while it is relatively less in Southern districts, Kollam (30.4), Pathanamthitta (31.1), Kottayam (25.1).

Noolpuzha in Wayanad and Paivalike in Kasaragod, the two Panchayats chosen for the present study, have a mixed population, with a demographic minority of tribes with both primitive and non-primitive tribes. Paivalike is in the Manjeswar block of Kasaragod district and Noolpuzha is in the Sulthan Batheri block of Wayanad district. These are blocks with higher number of tribal population in these districts. Noolpuzha Panchayat is at the top in the district in terms of the number of tribal settlements, tribal families and tribal population (Table-1.3.1). In Noolpuzha, the mix is of Paniya (non-primitive) and Kattunaikan (primitive). In Noolpuzha panchayat Kuruma, Paniya, Kattunaikan and Urali are the tribal groups, which constitute total of 11181 tribal populations. The Kuruma, Paniya and Kurichyan are the non-primitive tribe and Kattunaikan belongs to Primitive tribe category. Among the Non-primitive category Paniya has the highest in number of families, settlements and population and the Kattunaikan is the only primitive tribe in this Panchayat, which is also highest in Sulthan Batheri block Panchayat.

Table 1.3.1: Tribes in Noolpuzha Panchayat

Tribes	Families	Settlements	Population
Kuruma	980	58	3645
Paniya	1216	87	4579
Kattunaikan	698	59	2516
Urali	123	7	437
Kurichya	1	1	4

Source: Personal conversation with TEO, Noolpuzha Panchayath

Table-1.3.2: Distribution of Scheduled Tribe population, Settlements and Families in Sulthan Batheri Block, Wayanad District

Name of Panchayat	No of Settlements	No of Families	No of Population
Sulthan Batheri	86	1025	4515
Noolpuzha	190	2024	8853
Meenangady	142	1375	5912
Mullankolly	42	551	2276
Nenmeni	118	1302	6255
Pulpally	117	1346	5526
Ambalavayal	99	1962	3933
Poothady	170	1493	6306
Total	964	11078	43576

Source: Panchayat level Statistics 2005

In the case of Kasaragod, Enmakaje panchayat has the maximum tribal population in the district. But the Panchayat has got a significant presence Marathi community, which is excluded from Scheduled Tribes List in 2003 and its mix of primitive and non-primitive tribes is not remarkable either (Suresh, 2003). Paivalike Panchayat, in contrast, has an impressive mix of primitive and non-primitive tribes. In Kasaragod district, Koraga form the major

primitive tribe; Malakudiya are the major non-primitive tribe. Members of both these groups are found in Paivalike Panchayat, unlike in other Panchayats where the tribal population is largely Koraga. According to the 2001 In Paivalike Panchayat the Koraga and Malakudiya are the tribal populations in which the Koraga and Malakudiya are the primitive and non-primitive tribe respectively (see table 1.3.3).

Table 1.3.3: Tribes in Paivalike Panchayats

Tribes	Families	Settlements	Population
Koraga	62	8	554
Malakudiya	42	5	210

Source: TSP project document, 2007

Table 1.3.4: Distribution of Scheduled Tribe population, settlements and families in Manjeswar Block, Kasaragod District

Name of Panchayat	Settlements	No of Families	Population Size
Badiadukka	6	110	3151
Bellur	1	5	1252
Enmakaje	11	85	6817
Kumbala	4	40	163
Kumbadaje	0	0	502
Mangalpady	4	11	179
Manjeswar	1	85	180
Meenja	7	20	72
Paivalike	21	109	2027
Puthige	8	50	733
Vorkady	8	65	557
Total	71	580	15633

Source: Panchayat level Statistics, 2005

As pointed out already, the present exercise will limit itself to study of four tribes, two each from the selected panchayats with one primitive and non-primitive tribe each. Five settlements from each panchayat have been selected for primary survey and then six households from each settlement through an accidental sampling method. Muthanga (2 settlements), Noolpuzha (2), Ponkuzhi, were the settlements surveyed in Noolpuzha and Kajeppe, Pancha, Beerkody, Thalithaye and Kayyar in Paivalike panchayat. Before explaining how the dissertation will unfold in the subsequent pages a brief description on the characteristics of the Tribes under study would be useful.

1.4 Characteristics of Tribes

KORAGA

The Koraga are a primitive tribe, mostly living in the Kasaragod district of Kerala state. There are of two groups, namely Sappu and Kuntu. These groups are further divided into

clans namely Mundadane, Manadane, Badrene and Kurumudde. The word Koraga is said to have originated from the word 'Koravar', meaning the peoples of hills (Vasudevan 1998). They are about 1527 in numbers and are distributed across the Kasaragod and Manjewswar blocks of the district in 52 settlements (Department of Scheduled Tribe Development 2005). Literacy level and distribution according to category of work in which they are engaged in given in Table-1.4.1. Unlike other categories and communities in Kerala, the Koraga have an unfavourable sex ratio to females and low level of literacy rate. Education attainment too remains very low among them (Asokan 2007). Basket-making with bamboo is their traditional occupation and most of them are engaged in the same profession even today, and still depend on forest for their livelihoods, though some of them make their living by hunting and working as scavengers and coolies. The classification of workers (Table-1.4.1) indicates that they are still engaged in their traditional occupation, which is classified as household industrial workers in the table and this constitute 54.67 percent of the total main workers, whereas 'other workers' constitute 36.68 percent. Cultivators and agricultural labourers are less among the Koraga and most of the women seem to be engaged in their traditional occupation, which constitute as much as 71.51 percent of the main female workers. They live in huts called 'Kuppu', which is low in standard in relation to the modern houses (Singh 2002: 652-657).

Table-1.4.1: Literacy and Occupational Distribution of Koraga, Kerala (*figures in percent*)

Category	Total	Male	Female
Population	100	51.22	48.78
Literates	50.52	54.75	46.09
Total Workers	56.16	55.49	44.51
Non- workers	43.84	39.15	48.75
Main Workers	66.15	58.18	41.82
Cultivators	0.23	0.40	0.00
Agricultural Labourers	8.41	11.65	3.91
Household Industrial Workers	54.67	42.57	71.51
Other Workers	36.68	45.38	24.58
Marginal Workers	33.85	50.23	49.77
Cultivators	2.28	1.82	2.75
Agricultural Labourers	7.76	10.00	5.50
Household Industrial Workers	55.25	42.73	67.89
Other Workers	34.70	45.45	23.85

Source: Census 2001, State primary census abstracts for individual tribes, A-11

KATTUNAIKAN

Kattunaykans, the other primitive tribe taken for study, live mostly in Wayanad and some parts of Kozhikode district of Kerala. The word 'Kattunaikan' means leader of jungle. They

are about 45227 in numbers according to the 2001 Census, which constitute 6.9 percent of the total tribal population in the state. Most of them still depend on forest for their livelihoods and live deep in the forest and in hollows of big trees (Shashi 1997: 136-140). Though the sex ratio is slightly better than that of Koraga, literacy rate among the Kattunaikan is much lower than that of the former. The share of workers in the total population is also lower than that of Koraga. Among those who are engaged in some form of work, a majority of 64 percent is working as agricultural labourers (Table-1.4.2). The share of cultivators is only 3.43 percent among main workers. Most importantly, more than half of the Kattunaikan population remains non-workers and as much as 43 percent among the working group remain as marginal workers. There are 25 SSLC passed and 61 failed Kattunaikan in the state. The landlessness is 34.69 percent for all the Kattunaikan families and the less than or equal to 50 cents constitute 82.46 percent and also the 65.13 percent fall in the category of less than or equal to 25 cents (Planning Commission 2006).

Table 1.4.2: Literacy and Occupational Distribution of Kattunaikan, Kerala (*figures percent*)

Category	Total	Male	Female
Population	100	50.46	49.54
Literates	33.11	36.85	29.30
Total Workers	49.29	57.78	40.64
Non-workers	50.72	42.22	59.36
Main Workers	57.42	62.98	49.38
Cultivators	3.43	3.33	3.62
Agricultural Labourers	63.60	63.58	63.64
Household Industrial Workers	1.22	0.93	1.78
Other Workers	31.74	32.16	30.96
Marginal Workers	42.58	37.02	50.62
Cultivators	1.88	2.02	1.73
Agricultural Labourers	65.12	60.89	69.60
Household Industrial Workers	1.39	0.88	1.93
Other Workers	31.61	36.21	26.73

Source: Source: Census 2001, State primary census abstracts for individual tribes, A-11

MALAKUDIYA

The Malakudiya mostly inhabit in the hills and forests of Kasaragod district and its adjoining areas of South Karnataka. They are also known as Gowda, Malagudiya and Malayagowda. The term Malakudiya has been derived from the words malai, meaning hill and kudi, meaning top. It is generally believed that the Malakudiya are those members of the community who have settled in the lowland areas, while those who are living in the high land areas are called

Malakudiya. Their population together was accounted as 598 by the 1981 Census and in 2001 census the total Malakudiya population was 447, comprising of 237 male and 210 female. The Malakudiya tribe is engaged in various occupations ranging from food gathering to agricultural labourers (Singh 2002). The Malakudiya women are said to be active in agriculture and animal husbandry apart from attending to the domestic chores. However, the 2001 census data reveals that unlike other tribes in Kerala, the Malakudiya are mostly falling under the category of 'other workers', both among the main workers and marginal workers. This would mean that most of the Malakudiya are finding their livelihood from occupations falling outside the straight jacketed categories. The proportion of non-workers is the highest among the Malakudiya when compared to the other three tribes under the present study. Almost half of the working population in the tribe is marginal workers. However, the proportion of literate population found to be the highest among the Malakudiya (Table-1.4.3). According to 2001 census the total literates account 63.31 percent, which constitute 70.89 percent for male and 54.76 percent for female.

Table 1.4.3: Literacy and Occupational Distribution of Malakudiya, Kerala
(figures in percent)

Category	Total	Male	Female
Population	100	53.02	46.98
Literates	63.31	70.89	54.76
Total Workers	44.30	56.96	30.00
Non-workers	55.70	43.04	70.39
Main Workers	54.04	62.22	36.51
Cultivators	3.74	3.57	4.35
Agricultural Labourers	13.08	8.33	30.43
Household Industrial Workers	3.74	1.19	13.04
Other Workers	79.44	86.90	52.17
Marginal Workers	45.96	37.78	63.49
Cultivators	0.00	0.00	0.00
Agricultural Labourers	4.40	7.84	0.00
Household Industrial Workers	26.37	0.00	60.00
Other Workers	69.23	92.16	40.00

Source: Census 2001, State primary census abstracts for individual tribes, A-11

PANIYA

Paniya are the largest Tribal community in Kerala, living mostly in the districts of Wayanad, Kozhikode and Kannur. The major chunk of them is located in Wayanad. The word 'Paniya' means labourer and it is believed that their original occupation was agriculture (Singh 1994: 974). Unlike most of the other tribes in Kerala, Paniya tribe have a high sex ratio and the

occupational classification shows that most of them are engaged in agriculture as agricultural labourers, which constitute as much as 65.71 percent of the total main workers (Table-1.4.4). Both the male and female among the Paniyas are engaged in agriculture almost in equal proportions. The rate of literacy is lower than Koraga, though are 'non-primitive' by the administrative definition. The major resource of the Paniya is said to be their capacity for labour (Thurston 2001: 59). Though most of them are landless, they are more attached to the land as they were slaves to the landlords and hence continue to be mostly in agriculture as wage labourers (Ibid). Cultivators and house hold industry workers are very few among them and as much as 32.18 percent of the main workers are falling under the category of other workers (see table 1.4.4). So far as the level of education are concerned as many as 83.5 percent of Paniya literates are attained education up to only primary level, middle and secondary education together constitute only 12.3 percent according to 2001 Census for Paniya.

Table 1.4.4: Literacy and Occupational Distribution of Paniya, Kerala (*figures percent*)

Category	Total	Male	Female
Population	100	48.82	51.18
Literates	40.57	46.72	34.71
Total Workers	48.92	57.85	40.41
Non-Workers	51.08	42.15	59.59
Main Workers	55.62	60.62	48.80
Cultivators	1.73	1.89	1.46
Agricultural Labourers	65.71	65.09	66.76
Household Industrial Workers	0.38	0.42	0.30
Other Workers	32.18	32.60	31.47
Marginal Workers	44.38	39.38	51.20
Cultivators	0.64	0.79	0.48
Agricultural Labourers	73.29	72.66	73.94
Household Industrial Workers	0.46	0.35	0.56
Other Workers	25.62	26.20	25.01

Source: Census 2001, State primary census abstracts for individual tribes, A-11

Except the Koraga, the tribes under the study are engaged in agriculture labour and other activities for their livelihood. The most of the Koraga Tribes seek their income form 'household industry works', which is basket making, their traditional occupation. The participation of Malakudiya in cultivation and agriculture labour too is minimal. On the other hand the two tribes from Wayanad districts are predominantly depending on agriculture for their livelihood. The tribes from Kasaragod, however, are relying more on their traditional occupations and other unlisted sources of livelihood. The recent crisis in the agricultural sector, particularly in Wayanad with a number of farmer suicides due to slump in

prices of agricultural products, rural indebtedness and intense competition from the world market, has its own adverse impacts on the livelihood of the tribes. In the case of tribes like Koraga, with the introduction of modern plastic bags the demand for bamboo baskets significantly decreased and lost their competitiveness in a capital driven market. Such internal and external pressures marring the present conditions of tribes in Kerala set the context of this study. The condition of primitive tribes is said to be particularly depressing in terms of social indicators like education, health and housing (Kakkoth 2005). The tribes for their livelihood are still depending on primary sector, a sector that underwent steady deterioration over years. The development and welfarist interventions under the aegis of the state for tribal 'uplift' is critically considered in this study, to see its efficacy in terms of fixed governmental categories and tribal peoples' access to essential capabilities and livelihood resources.

1.5 Structure of the Study

The dissertation is organised in four chapters, excluding a concluding epilogue. Having introduced the research problem, methodology, the relevance of the study and its point of departure in the introductory chapter, the second chapter will discuss the national and local contexts in which the TSP, was introduced and its political nuances. The national context is captured with the help of secondary literature, whereas the discussions in the contemporary media and other forms of public debates are used to comprehend the local milieu. The contrast between the dominant left's radical social democratic Welfarism through 'public action' and its egalitarian Developmentalism, and the paternalistic 'uplift' discourse engendered by the TSP may be apparent; the deleterious consequences of these to tribes are traced. Chapter Three looks at the intersecting categorisations of 'tribe', 'scheduled tribe' and 'primitive'/'non-primitive tribe', in an attempt to unravel different rationalities and political processes that necessitated such categorizations at different points of history. The emphasis here is on the 'Primitive' and 'Non-Primitive' categorisation as a technology of governmentality and its developmental underpinnings. The chapter considers whether the TSP has affirmed or reinvented this categorization under postcolonial conditions or not, through an examination of secondary and primary data. The fourth chapter closely looks into the allocation, utilization and access of TSP funds in three key sectors- education, health and housing. The chapter will also attempt to make a preliminary assessment of TSP, allocation and performance, under decentralised governance.

CHAPTER II

TRIBAL SUB-PLAN (TSP)

The National and Local Context and its Significance in Kerala

2.1 Introduction

All over India, tribal villages are gradually integrating with global economy through market-driven processes, directly or indirectly. The commercialisation of agricultural land and forests has affected the income and livelihood of tribes and resulted in the damage of community life, spreading inequality. The commercialisation of agriculture by the colonial and postcolonial governments drastically changed from the self-consumption to exchange. In the social sphere it has been resulted in loss of 'cultural identity,' tribal territory', and also facilitated male dominance over assets that were previously shared by women as well. Thus the adivasis community is now experiencing multiple forms of inequality. For example, many areas in India where there is a concentration of Adivasi population (central India, for instance) are rich in natural resources; these are highly industrialized areas, but the re-investment in this area for the basic development presents a depressing picture, which is reflecting in the human development indices of adivasis in these regions. India produces as many as 52 principal minerals. Of these, 45 major minerals (coal, iron ore, magnetite, manganese, bauxite, graphite, limestone, dolomite, uranium, etc) are found in adivasi areas, contributing around 56% of the national total mineral earnings in terms of value. Of the 4,175 working mines reported by the Indian Bureau of Mines in 1991-92, approximately 3,500 can be assumed to be in adivasi areas. Income to the government from forests rose from Rs 5.6 million in 1869-70 to more than Rs 13 billion in the 1970s. The bulk of the nation's productive wealth lies in the adivasi territories (Thekaekara 2008). However, the tribal peoples are among the poorest and most marginalized in India. Tribes have always been in the focus of postcolonial development, but almost always as mere recipients of benefits; they have rarely been involved either in decision-making process or in the implementation of the plans and programs.

To understand the process of integration of adivasis into the 'national mainstream', which is the professed aim of government policy, it may be necessary to revisit the history of

development aimed at tribes and their implementation. The present study concentrates on TSP, the strategy introduced during Fifth Five Year Plans, which is still the flagship programme for tribal development in the nation. Besides the affirmative action policies of reservation, several programmes aimed at tribal welfare were introduced through many departments and agencies since the 1950s. Tribal development has moved through the 'Backward Class Sector' in the First Five Year Plan which relied on funds from both general sectors of development, and on specific targeted funding, like to Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks and Tribal Development Blocks to the TSP, which assigns predetermined funds to areas of tribal concentration and puts in places budgetary and accounting procedures that ensure that these funds are not diverted. It was widely noted that pre-TSP programmes failed to bring positive change primarily because (a) run by insensitive and corrupt bureaucracies and (b) of continuing upper caste dominance in villages (Brass 1994: 269-302; Sharma 2006: 121-149). The introduction of Tribal Sub Plan during fifth Five Year Plan (planning commission) was widely hailed to have marked a major shift within planning. In order to situate the TSP, the present chapter tries to examine the socio-economic and political conditions which prompted to introduce the new strategy, both at the national and regional levels.

2.2 Tribal Development policies in a Historical Perspective

The section will provide a brief account of policies under different rule from the pre-colonial to the present to set a background for the present policy.

2.2.1 Pre-colonial Adivasi Policies

In the pre-colonial mainstream Indian society, most often, brahminical caste hierarchies determined the course of society. However, Adivasi communities are those, which had historical continuities with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories; they considered themselves distinct from the mainstream. Continuous presence in ancestral territory and the reproduction and renewal of ethnic identities through social institutions, customs, and cultural practices were the basis of their continued existence as distinct peoples. From surviving historical evidence it appears that they were relatively free to access natural resources, enjoyed self- rule in their territory, and thought of themselves as independent people, fending off threats from outsiders (Misra 1989: 63-69)

However, there is evidence suggesting that in part of India, pre-colonial rule did extract from the forestland for commercial purposes. This did lead to deforestation, but the impact of this

on the life of adivasis was minimal. Meena Bhargava argued that in the Gorakhpur, Mughal rulers were conscious about the physical value of the forest and they ordered to clear the forest to extend the revenue and cultivation (Bhargava, 2002). The zamindars had the right to collect revenue from this land and the forest people exploited by the zamindars had to give the share to the rulers. The author continues that enhancing revenue was just one of the objectives; to expand political power and control over forestland was equally important. Even though the zamindars and moneylenders tried to extract resources, particularly the forest products like timber, wood etc and the land to commercial purpose the adivasis population survived in regions of forests with less in numbers and the forest areas were large enough to search out food for subsistence as they consume minimum. But it is argued that tribal autonomy did persist in some regions of the country almost up to independence. For example, the adivasis of Arunachal Pradesh lived in virtual isolation and autonomy from the nearly all forms of outside influences and it was in the year 1948 that the autonomy of tribal rule comes to an end in this region (Sinha 1993).

The literature on pre-colonial tribal economies view these as stable, mutually exclusive closed systems based on sensible use of resources. Their resource use was based on limited needs of small populations and highly regulated by socio-cultural practices. So tribal communities lived near the forests and depended on forest resources (Murali 2004). Though tribal people have lost control over the forests, dependence on forests continues among Adivasis, as observed in field survey conducted in Wayanad and Kasaragod, especially the primitive-tribes.

2.2.2 Colonial Policies

Colonialism marked the beginning of radical change in tribal situation. For the first time tribal resources, particularly land became a commodity. The tribal world was opened up insistently and totally to exploit their resources. The colonial government did not pay much attention to the development of tribes as they gave importance to other regulatory functions; also they treated them as a separate group, difficult to interfere. Both colonial and postcolonial forest policy may be characterized as one of 'nature without people'. Eviction and displacement had been the reality faced by the forest people of India all through the colonial history. Even after the country gaining Independence, the threat of eviction loomed large following the circulation of the Wild Life Protection Act, 1972 and Forest Conservation

Act, 1980. The continuity is evident even to this day – for example in an order of the Ministry of Environment and Forests in May 2002⁶ (Dash 2002, Reddy and Padmaja 2002).

The colonial rulers with the help of native princes and the landed interest groups, who were the intermediaries for revenue collection under Mughal rule, instituted its own revenue and land tenure settlements. According to Shalandra.D.Sharma, “the settlements varied from region to region as a prototypes of systems for the exploitation of land, labour and resources, but they shared the common characteristics of introducing private property rights in land by vesting full rights of ownership including those of mortgage and sale in the zamindars” (Sharma 1984). This policy led to the concentration of land in the hands few and deepened the disparity in society and the scheduled caste and adivasis, who are the bottom in the ‘social hierarchy’ exploited by the zamindars, which had the group control over land, labour and resources in colonial India. Moreover, the changes in agrarian structure, where the new mode of production technology introduced in which the production of commercial crops meant for market, which worsened the socio-economic conditions of peasant communities and the economy failed to secure the needs of growing peasant population and tribes in the region. The process of commercialization of agricultural land and forests according to Sanjeev Kumar (2005), ‘were demarcated the community managed natural resources like land and forests and fenced to make room for state control and traditional, locally developed and time-tested resource management system were replaced by centralized administrative rule and institution, often alien to land and culture’. Atluri Murali gives a good account of the colonial forest policy in Madras Presidency region, in which the rights of the tribes were minimized in the name of scientific conservation of forests and nature. The introduction of irrigation and commercialization of agriculture has changed the structure of the agrarian economy; colonial policy was to maximize revenue out of it, which in fact led to the loss of livelihood of tribes in this region. Besides this, the forest policy of colonial rule destroyed the ecologically-sound balance between land, people, forest and wild life (Murali 2004).

2.2.3 Post Independence Tribal Development Policies

There has been extensive debate regarding the appropriate means of tribal development in independent India. The Indian Constitution envisages extensive protection of tribal interests through enhancing welfare, better administration, and development of the tribal areas and Scheduled Tribes. The Five Year Plans were considered to be vehicles through which tribal

⁶ An act to provide for conservation of biological diversity, sustainable use of its components and fair and equitable sharing of the benefits arising out of the use of biological resources, knowledge and for matters connected therewith. The Act is called Biological Diversity Act, 2002.

people would receive systematic development and be gradually integrated into the national mainstream, on advantageous terms.

The first Five Year Plan (1951-56) clearly laid down the principle stating that the "general development programmes should be so designed to accommodate adequately to the backward classes and special provisions should be used for securing additional and more intensified development for Scheduled Tribes". It envisaged a special sector, 'Backward Classes', to cater to the needs of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and Backward Classes (First Five Year Plan: 634-641). The First Five Year Plan recommended the flow of funds from general sectors to tribes and the use of special sectors for additional funding. As the AO Report (1969) pointed out, bureaucracies tended to rely solely upon special provisions for development funding in ST areas; the flow from general sectors, it observed, was very limited. The second plan (1956-61) that laid emphasis on economic development gave a special focus on reducing economic inequalities in the society. Further, development programmes for Scheduled Tribes have been planned based on respect and understanding of their culture and tradition and with an appreciation of their social, psychological and economic problems. Clearly, Jawaharlal Nehru's five-point vision on tribal development was relevant to the planners. Outlay went up in the second five year plan, and especially important was the formation of 43 Multipurpose Tribal Blocks (later known as Tribal Development Blocks), which was planned for fewer people (25,000, as against 65,000 in a general Block) and with greater central government funds (Rs 15 lakhs, as against 12 lakhs for a general Block) (Second Five year-Plan: 235-245).

The third plan (1961-66) continued with the very same principle of advocating reduction in inequality through various policies and programmes to provide equal opportunities to Scheduled Tribes; the AO Report remarked after examining the programmes under the Third Plan that much progress needed to be made (AO 1969). The fourth plan (1969-74) proclaims that the basic goal was to realize a rapid increase in the standard of living of the people through measures, which also promote equality and social justice. Tribal welfare programmes under the Fourth Plan included central and state government support for education, health, agriculture, communications, housing, drinking water, livelihood programmes, and legal aid. Most importantly, six pilot projects were set up in 1971-72 in Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, and Orissa as a Central sector scheme to combat the rise of left-wing militancy. Each of these was under a separate Tribal Development Agency (Five year plan: 227-230-415-421), which was later merged with the Integrated Tribal Development Projects

TH-17909

under the TSP in the Fifth Plan. The allocation of funds to the development of tribes in different plans up to Fifth Five Year Plan has been given in the table below (see Table 2.2.1).

Table 2.2.1: Allocation of Funds in Five Year Plans (*Rs. Crores*)

Five Year Plans	Public Sector Allocation	Allocation to Tribes
First Five Year Plan	1960	25
Second Five Year Plan	4672	41
Third Five Year Plan	8600	51
Fourth Five Year Plan	15902	80

Source: Planning commission, Fourth Five Year Plan

Various Commissions and Committees were appointed from time to time, which suggested various measures with regard to the entire Tribal Development programmes; some of them are dealt with the selected issues like beneficiary policies, land alienation, credit structure etc.⁷ The Elwin committee (1960) remarked that “the benefits of development did not reached uniformly all sections among tribes. Land alienation, exploitation by private money- lenders, cheating and fraud in the process of sale of agricultural and minor forest produce continued to unabated among the adivasis. The economic base of the tribal communities gradually weakened with the emergence of a forest policy, which aimed at maximization of forest revenue through commercial management of forest” (pp.1-193). In 1969, the Shilu AO Committee appointed to enquire about tribal development pointed out that the general development programs did not benefit the tribal population and generation of employment had not happened. The problem of tribal landlessness was not solved and the funds meant for income-generating schemes were diverted to the infrastructure development like roads and bridges from which the tribes did not derive any direct benefit. Most of the schemes benefited not the tribes in the regions but the non-tribal population (Singh 1984: 33-53).

The fifth Five Year Plan (1974-79) marked a shift in approach as reflected in the launching of Tribal Sub-Plan for the direct benefit of the development of Tribes in the country. Before the implementation of the TSP an Expert Committee under S.C. Dube and a Task Force on Tribal Areas under L.P. Vidyarthi evaluated the existing state of tribal development. Several

⁷ The first one being the Verrier Elwin Committee-1960 (on Special Multi-purpose Blocks) and followed by Dehbar Commission-1961 (of Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission), Shilu AO Committee-1969 (on Tribal Development Programmes), Prof Vidhyarthi Committee-1972 (Development of Tribal Areas), Dr.S.C.Dube Committee (Expert Committee on Tribal Development-1972), Maheswar Prasad Committee-1979 (on administrative arrangement and Personal policies in Tribal areas), Appu Committee-1972 (on relief of Indebtedness and Land alienation and restoration in tribal developemnt Agency Areas), K.S.Bawa Committee-1973 (on Co-Operatives in Tribal Development Projects).

observations made by these committees were relevant to the shaping of the TSP. Both the Committee and the Task force agreed that the problems of different tribal communities across the country are different and recommended better attention to a flexible developmental approach that would cater to different needs of different groups. While an integrated approach was supported, both Committees stressed the importance of taking into account differences between tribal-majority and –minority areas, and the different strata within the tribal population itself such that all benefits were not cornered by elite sections among tribes. The fact that the Planning Commission guidelines for the TSP issued in 1974-75 retained these emphases is of key significance to the questions raised by the present study: “... attention has to be focused on the specific problems of each identifiable group and area... Broadly speaking, for the regions of tribal concentration, area development approach has to be adopted, keeping focus on the problems of the tribal people ...*certain extremely backward isolated smaller groups facing problems of their very survival will have to be treated as special category both within the area of tribal concentration and outside and special group-oriented programmes ... formulated for them*” (emphasis added) (Planning Commission, 1975: 5). The process of bringing all tribal majority areas under the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution was also taken up.

The TSP stipulated that funds of the centre and the states should be quantified on the population basis with budgetary mechanisms to ensure accountability, non-divertability and utilization for the welfare and development of adivasis. The Tribal sub-plan launched for the Adivasis, expected to facilitate easy convergence and pooling of resources from all the other development sectors in proportion to the population of Adivasis and monitoring of various development programs for the benefit of Adivasis (Tenth five year plan-2002-07). The essential features of the TSP are:

- (a) Acceptance of the non-uniformity of issues in tribal development in various parts of the country and emphasis on local issues, needs, and processes in planning, with a view to support the especially-vulnerable tribal groups.
- (b) Sub-plan exercise for tribal development ensuring adequate quantification in State and Central Plan funds, budgetary mechanisms to ensure accountability, non-divertability, and proper utilization of funds.
- (c) Protective measures to end exploitation by tribes.
- (d) Restructure local administration to suit local needs.
- (e) Supplement State inputs with Special Central Assistance.

Given these aims and framework, the TSP did mark a real shift away from the earlier models of planning for tribes. In the 1990s, the 73rd and the 74th amendments to the Constitution of India, followed by the Provisions of Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act 1996 (popularly known as PESA), brought in a new model for self-government in the Fifth Schedule areas of the country. This should have enhanced the effectiveness of the TSP to a great extent, given that decision-making in local planning and welfare distribution shifted to the lowest tier of government – the Panchayats. However, we do know that the tribal people of India continue to remain backward in all aspects of human development including education, health, nutrition, etc. Apart from socio-economic deprivation, there has been a steady erosion of traditional tribal rights and their command over resources (Planning commission 2008). In the subsequent section, a quick review of the social development situation of Adivasis in India is attempted. The section that follows this will reflect on the TSP in the specific regional context of Kerala.

2.3 Social Development among Tribes in India and Kerala: A Quick Overview

2.3.1 All India

The proportion of scheduled tribe population in the Indian population has increased from 6.9 in 1971 to 8.2 in 2001, which indicates that the rate of growth of tribal population has been substantially higher than the rate of growth of the general population (Census Report 2001). The size of the Adivasi population has risen from 38 lakhs in 1971 to 84.3 lakhs in 2001, an increase of 16.5 lakhs, registering a growth of over 31 percent over a decade over as against a 21.3 percent growth of the general population in the period of 1991 to 2001. The distribution of tribes in the country varies from region to region, and the tribes are concentrated more in central and northeast regions. Tribal concentration is relatively low in the southern regions of the country⁸. The sex ratio among the tribal population is higher than the all- India level (977 against 933 for general category) according to 2001 census. The child sex ratio in the 0-6 year

⁸ The Northeastern states, Jharkhand and Madhya Pradesh have a relatively higher percentage of ST population. States like Mizoram, Nagaland, Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh have more than 50 percent of tribal population. Where as states like Manipur, Chatisgrah, Tripura, Jarkhand, Orissa, Sikkim and Madya Pradesh have the tribal population of between 20-50 percent of total population. States like Himachal Pradesh, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh have less than 5 percent of tribal population. The largest concentration of tribes was found in states like Madhya Pradesh (20.30 percent), Orissa (22.10 percent), Bihar (11.26 percent), Maharashtra (11.18 percent), Gujarat (9.39 percent) and Rajasthan (8.10 percent). The smallest concentration was found in States like Goa (0.02 percent), Andaman and Nicobar (0.04 percent), Lakshadweep (0.07 percent), Sikkim (0.14 percent) and Dadar and Nagar Haveli (0.16 percent). When the proportion of schedule tribe population to the population of the State/Union Territory is taken, Lakshadweep with 93.82 percent tops the list while Uttasr Pradesh with just 0.21 percent is at the bottom. The other States with higher proportion of Adivasi population are Mizoram (93.55 percent), Nagaland (83.99 percent), Meghalaya (80.58 percent) and Dadar and Nagar Haveli (78.82 percent) (MTA 2006).

age group (985 in 1991) was also better than the general population (919 in 2001), but this had dropped to 972 in 2001 (Ministry of Tribal Affairs 2006). The proportion of poverty-reduction over the years is low amongst tribes when compared with other groups including SCs. In terms of per capita consumption expenditure, a higher percentage of tribes (50 percent rural and 52 percent urban) are found in the lowest categories- Rs. 340 in rural and Rs. 575 in urban areas, in comparison to other groups (17 percent rural and 29 percent urban) (Radhakrishnan and Ray 2006).

The over all literacy attainment (2001) at 47.10 percent amongst the tribes is lower in comparison to the all India figure of 64.80 percent though there is an improvement over 1991 estimates (MTA 2006). The male and female literacy, which constitute 53.70 percent and 34.80 percent respectively, is also lower compared with the general category. Besides this, school enrollment and the achievement level of Adivasi students since the implementation of planning are not high compared with others. Attendance in schools (2001) for adivasi children in the 5-14 years age group was 61 percent and was lower as compared to others including SCs (Radhakrishnan and Ray, 2006). State like Jharkhand, Orissa, MP, Rajasthan, Meghalaya, Bihar, Sikkim and Chattisgarh have below- national average (37 percent) levels of primary school completion rates – they range from 22 percent to 35 percent. This indicates that even if these states succeed in improving primary school enrolment, they are not able to convert enrolment into achievement.

The Annual Report of the Ministry of Tribal Affairs (2005-06) openly admits that “the human development indices of the ST population continue to be much lower than the rest of social segment in terms of all parameters, such as education, health, income etc” (MTA 2005-06: 1).

2.3.2 Kerala

According to the 2001 census, the tribal population of 3.6 lakhs comprises only 1.14% of the total population of Kerala. The Scheduled Tribes in Kerala are not only geographically concentrated, but are overwhelmingly rural -- 93 percent of the total tribal population is rural (Census of India 2001). The growth rates of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe population in the State are 8.14 per cent and 13.75 per cent respectively as against 20.55 per cent and 23.30 per cent respectively in India during the decade 1991-2001. As compared to State's overall sex ratio (1058 females per 1000 male), the sex ratio among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are 1048 and 1027 respectively. While the sex ratio of Scheduled Caste increased from 1012 in 1971 to 1048 in 2001, the sex ratio of the Scheduled Tribes increased

from 995 to 1027. In India as a whole, the sex ratio of Scheduled Caste increased only marginally: from 935 to 936, while the sex ratio of Scheduled Tribe decreased from 982 to 978. As compared to the rest of the population and even Scheduled Castes (another deprived section in Kerala) the adivasis lag far behind in literacy, health, education and other social development indicators (Economic Review 2007) and the Generalized Deprivation Index is worst where the adivasis are concentrated; 62 percent, 59 percent, and 57 percent in Palakkad, Waynad and Kasaragod respectively, compared to 31 percent, 38 percent and 31 percent for the general population in the respective districts for the year 2001 (Shyjan and Sunitha 2008).

One of the defining features of the 'Kerala model' is high level of literacy; however, the tribal situation is markedly different. While the average literacy rate for the state is 90.4 percent, it is only 57.22 percent for the Adivasi communities; female literacy is only 51.07 percent for tribes as against state average of 75.25 percent (GOK 2005). Education is another sector, which distinguishes Kerala from many other parts of the country, with the state exhibiting high levels of enrolment in schools and colleges. Adivasi status is different in this field also. The enrolment of adivasis in the lower and upper primary is relatively higher than their population share. This indicates high degree of willingness on the part of tribal population to enroll their children. The enrollment in higher level of education is low, which is 58 percent in 2007-08.

The incidence of poverty among the adivasis is about three times that of the total population of the state (Economic review 2005). According to the NSSO, 24.1 percent of the adivasis are below poverty line, which constitute 3 percent of the total BPL population in the state, while proportion of the ST population to total is only 1.14 percent (GOK 2005).

2.4 The Significance of TSP in Kerala's Context

After independence, three Malayalam-speaking political subdivisions of Malabar, a district of Madras Presidency of British India, and the two princely States of Kochi (in the central region) and Travancore (in the south) were joined together in 1956 to form the State of Kerala. Social development, for many reasons, was more effectively advanced in the princely States than in Malabar, which was under direct colonial domination (Jeffrey 2003). The Panchayats selected for present study lie in northern region of the state, which was earlier under direct control of British rule, where the adivasis in the state concentrated more in numbers. Malabar and Travancore regions were also very different in their social structures and in the agrarian relations that prevailed in these regions – British rule aggravated feudal

control over tenant farmers in Malabar, and regressive social and agrarian relations deepened in the 19th century in Malabar, which triggered off sporadic riots and rebellions from aggrieved groups – and in the 20th century, these seething tensions provided ample ground for communist-led peasant struggles there (Kurup 1989).

Both the rulers and the caste based organization played an important role in the development experience of Kerala, particularly in Travancore-Cochin region. The role of Christian missionaries was also important in this regard, and Christian missionary schools admitted lower caste children when lower castes did not have access to educational facilities or even public roads (Sivanandan 1989). The struggles in Kerala by lower caste and religious organizations addressed the issues like untouchability, temple entry, and civic freedoms, the right to education, employment, and so on -- all of which have been amply documented (Jeffrey 2003; Kooiman 1989). Adivasis, however, were outliers to this general trend, as mentioned in the earlier chapter.

The extension of state policy to serve the purpose of more equitable distribution of productive resources and greater social development happened in a period of communist hegemony, which lasted roughly between the 1930s and the mid 1980s (Devika 2007). However, it is doubtful whether this made a substantial difference in the manner in which tribal people were viewed in developmental discourse. There is good reason to think that Adivasis continued to be thought of as a governmental, rather than as a political, category. Like elsewhere, integration to the mainstream and assimilation through welfare benefits in the form of housing facility, stipends and scholarships for education of children, health facilities and other infrastructural facilities like roads, electricity continued to be the main focus of development planning, under both left and non-left governments, since the formation of Kerala state. The Kerala Agrarian Relation Bill (KARB) passed by the first Communist Government in July 1959 was silent on the question of Adivasi land rights; but it exempted plantations and private forests from the ceiling provisions (Raj & Tharakan, 1983- cited in Kerala Development Report, 2008: 359). C.R. Bijoy (1999) gives the details of the legal history of Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Restriction on transfer of lands and Restoration of alienated land) Act 1975.

Land in Kerala had traditionally been a privilege of the upper castes, but tribal people did have substantial control over forest land; this began to change under colonial rule, when tribal people were slowly pushed out of their home territories with the coming of planters and commercial crop cultivation (Rammohan 1996: 241-255). Also, the process by which tribal

people were reduced to underpaid and overexploited labourers for planters and commercial farmers also began in the 19th century (Rammohan 1996: 95-110). These processes intensified in the 20th century with large scale migrations of farmers from the mainland and occupation of tribal lands, which involved large scale illegal and criminal activity – in Travancore, this stretched from early 20th century till the 1950s; in Malabar it intensified from the 1950s and 60s, right up to the 1980s ((Kunhaman 1982, Varghese 2006).

In the 1940s and 50s, the church expanded considerably in the hill areas of Malabar and the educational and social facilities expanded significantly. However, the Church perceived the Adivasis as objects of charity; the welfare programs of church were much appreciated even though they did not attempt to focus on fundamental issues and diversionary in essence, and hence theirs was a kind of ‘government outside the state’ (Varghese 2006: 225-279). However, conversion to the Christianity has not been made any significant change in their social status.

In other words, neither politics nor development, neither the state nor civil society has devised tribal development and welfare in ways sensitive to tribal agency and autonomy. Indeed, the observation of the Dhebar Committee about the failures in tribal development, made in 1961 has been, and still remains, true for Kerala:

..... “in view of the changes that have taken place since the inception of the constitution, we feel that it is no longer necessary to pursue the question whether a tribal area should be declared scheduled or a scheduled area should be descheduled. The Fifth Schedule was conceived as a temporary expedient and its objective can be achieved by our alternative approach, which is simply that Govt. should undertake a plan, which would protect the Scheduled Tribes and ensure the development of tribal areas within a stated period. *the State Govts. Should undertake general legislation applicable through out the scheduled and Non-scheduled areas for protection of the rights of tribes in land and forests, and protection from exploitation from money lenders and this legislation should be implemented within a period of ten years.*

(quoted in Mehta 2006: 77-78, my italics)

The Adivasi land question, which has been simmering in Kerala since the early 1970s, when the land reforms that empowered tenant farmers led to the intense disempowerment of tribal

people through the loss of land⁹ (Varghese 2006: 14-84). The situation has remained unchanged in the post-political decentralization period, which was also a time when Adivasi political mobilization for land acquired new strength though very visible struggles under the leadership of the Adivasi Gotra Sabha (Bijoy and Raviraman 2003). These efforts have helped to raise the Adivasi land question as a political, rather than a governmental issue in Kerala's political public; however, positive policy responses have not been forthcoming and the resistance of both left and non-left elements in organized politics has been more than palpable.

Part of the reason why the question does not elicit positive policy initiatives is the Adivasis' lack of clout within Kerala's system of organized politics. The huge migration of outsiders into the Adivasi regions has led to the reduction of the Adivasi population in areas where they were numerical majorities earlier. Kunhaman (2002) has rightly argued that the marginalization of the Adivasis in Kerala has not occurred due to their geographical isolation but because of their exclusion from the structures and institutions of power in modern Kerala; this also prompts us to rethink the claim made that populations which depended on natural resources for their livelihood tended to be marginalised (Kurien 1995). While this is true in the broad sense, it must be recognized that dependence on natural resources may not lead to deprivation per se; rather, it is the inability of these groups to retain and further their access to these resources that formed the primary condition of their destitution.

The land reforms policy initiated by the left in Kerala in the 1970s failed to accommodate the Adivasis; unrest among Adivasis was channeled into radical left activism of the Naxalites. It was during the Fourth Five Year Plan period that the Naxalite movement got active in the tribal areas especially in Wayanad district (Jacob and Bandhu 2002). The movement mobilized the adivasis in Wayanad and forcefully (re) acquired land and food grains from the big landlords and distributed it to tribes and other sections of the poor. However, apart from the failure of mass mobilization and public support, state repression stalled the revolt in the

⁹ Out of the total 41,452 tribal households enumerated in the state as a whole 29172 (70 percent), possess land and the remaining 12280 (29.6 percent) have no land as per the Socio-Economic Survey Report (1979). The tribal households in Trivandrum districts possess land high as 99.5 percent while the landless households constitute the majority (52.3 percent in Cannanore (present Wayanad district was part of Kannur and Kozhikode). The tribal development mission (TDM) identified 22052 landless tribal families and 32131 families with less than I acre of land. The highest numbers of landless tribes are found in wayanad district (60.32 percent) followed by Palakkad (24.44 percent). So far a total of 8568.72 areas of land have been distributed to them benefiting 6413 landless tribal families (GOK, 2005).

early phase. But state repression was complemented with new development initiatives, which sought to be more effective in bringing social development to tribes.

Welfare policies introduced during seventies in the state of Kerala limited the involvement of extreme left with the Adivasis and sought to reinvent the role of the state as the protector of the Adivasis. The tribal land question was not addressed; instead major attention was on social development, on education and employment through the public service commission. It is stated in the proceedings of the Kerala Legislative Assembly (KLA) in 1974 that the important programs for the next year should be to provide the educational opportunities to the backward communities, particularly the students from SC/ST and backward areas (KLA 1974: 27-39).¹⁰ It continued that, though the region is backward, Wayanad is an area which has the potential to develop by agricultural, especially the production of commercial crops, which needs to be harnessed to improve the socio-economic conditions of tribes in this region.

In Kerala, as elsewhere, with the commencement of the TSP in 1975, Tribal Development Blocks were upgraded into the Integrated Tribal Development Project, with substantial increase in funds for housing and economic development (Vijayanand 1996: 32). The development programs during 70s targeted to attack poverty among weaker sections of the society. The Minimum Needs Programmes launched during 5th Five Year Plan and the Integrated Rural Development Programmes (IRDP) started in 1973 was the programmes in alleviating poverty among weaker sections. Programmes like Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM), National Rural Employment Programme (NREP), and Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP) etc. were targeted towards the poor and weaker sections including tribes. Apart from these programs, special targeted schemes also introduced during 70s, particularly in Tribal concentrated districts Wayanad and Palakad. One of the important programs during 70s was the Sugandhagiri Cardamom Project, was started under Western Ghats Development Program in 1976-77. The scheme was originally envisaged to rehabilitate the 750 adivasi bonded labourers in Wayanad in 1500 hectares of vested forest land; a joint farming corporative society was formed in 1978 (Damodaran 2009: 171; KDR 2008: 365). Pookot Dairy Project, Attapady corporative Farming Society was other program introduced during late 70s in Kerala for the development of tribes. Priyadarsini Tea Estate at Pancharakolly, which began in 1984 by rehabilitating 118 freed, bonded labourers also another major tribal development program in Kerala. But some of the major resettlement schemes like Sugandhagiri Cardomom project and Priyadarsini tea estate are failed to improve the standard of living of the people in this region

¹⁰ Proceedings of the Fourth Kerala Legislative Assembly, Vol.xxxvi pp 27-39.

due to poor management and unsuitability of the crop they were entrusted with namely tea (GOK 2005; KDR 2008: 355-367). Major programmes like IRDP, NREP and schemes like IAY (launched in 1985-86 to provide grant for construction of houses to SC/ST and non-SC/ST rural poor) continued during late 1980s (Economic Review 1991: 105-112). However, these schemes are not in operation except the IAY, which de-linked from Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY) and made into a separate scheme in 1996 (Bhat and Bharghava 2006: 361-365).

2.4.1 The Details of Expenditure under TSP since 1985

The financial outlay to the TSP from State plan shows a fluctuating trend since 1980. In all periods, the outlay to the TSP is greater than their population share to the state population. However, the trends in State outlay to the TSP shown decreasing after the early phase of decentralization.

Table 2.4.1: Financial Outlay to the TSP (*Rs Lakhs*)

Period	State outlay	TSP Flow	Percent
1980-85	113295	1627.4	1.43
1985-90	221100	3697	1.67
1990-95	195956.47	5250	2.67
1995-02	885590	56350	6.36
2002-07	1610000	31491	1.95

Source: Economic Review, various issues

The TSP decentralized to the district-level in 1980 and the District Working Group looked after the planning and programs for the development of tribes. It remained mostly departmentalized; most of the schemes were implemented through the DTD without the least direct participation of the tribes. It was only after political decentralization in the mid 1990s that the TSP was implemented at the local level with the participation tribes ensured in Kerala. But even now there is confusion about whether the Tribal Department or the local government is the better implementation agency. It appeared that the institutions for public participation in the decentralized planning process did not ensure smooth flow of funds and benefits to tribal people: in 2001 and 2002, the Tribal Sub-Plan funds were taken away from the local government, as demanded by the Adivasi Gotra Sabha, and entrusted back to the Tribal Department by the government.

Decentralisation in Kerala has been hailed as a unique experiment, which transferred a large amount of funds to local bodies for development (Isaac and Harilal 1996). As soon as the

decentralization of planning process started, the State transferred nearly 67 percent of the TSP provisions to the local bodies for the formulation and implementation of location-specific and need-based development. Indeed, decentralization seemed to provide the perfect support for the aims of the TSP, which, as mentioned earlier, included a clear concern about the necessity of taking seriously the internal diversity of the tribal population, and fine-tuning the planning process to meet diverse needs among tribes. The provisions for their direct participation at the local level, it may appear, would ensure that diversity emerged as a major determinant of the ultimate shape of development planning. The TSP funds are mainly for poverty alleviation programmes, educational and other human resource development programmes, water supply & sanitation, modernization of Agriculture, Health care, Housing, Development of Primitive Tribes, Income Generating Sector, Self employment and training sector, implementation of protective and anti-exploitation laws, special programme for tribal women rehabilitation etc.

During the Tenth Plan (2002-07), States decided to assign first priority to tribal development and prepare a comprehensive Master Plan for the overall development of tribes, with emphasis on education, land-based development, implementation of protective measures with legal support etc.

The grant-in-aid to the local self-governing institutions from the plan has two components (a) grant-in-aid viz., untied funds and (b) State-sponsored schemes. The above two are in addition to the centrally sponsored schemes that are implemented through the local self-governing institutions and the State government-guaranteed institutional finance made available to the local self-governments (Economic Review 2000). Apart from the state outlay and sectoral outlay, the central government also provides assistance to implement the programs for the economic development of adivasis in the form of Special Central Assistance (SCA). It was hoped that the new strategy will ensure the allocation of funds to the local bodies and the misutilization and fund diversion will be restricted, which would speed up the welfare of adivasis.

2.5 Summary

The chapter two analyses the pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial tribal economy and the treatment the tribes received in each regimes/epochs in India in general and in Kerala in particular. During the pre-colonial time, the right over natural resources was with tribal population and had a relatively free life. Such a situation was radically altered during the

colonial regime with extraction and colonization of forests on the one side and fencing it on the other. If the tribes were reinvented to new identities and had lost their means of livelihood during the colonial rule, the post colonial rulers treated them as a 'receivers' of development. As the general development programmes failed to address their specific incapacities and vulnerabilities TSP was introduced as strategy to endow benefits of development to the tribes directly.

The attempts of Kerala to ensure an equitable distribution of resources and delivery of even development through various measures like land reforms, public distribution system and expansion of social and educational facilities. However, these Left led initiatives and 'progressive policies', have not only failed to accommodate the tribes but also further marginalized them.; The unrest among Adivasis due to such a limited socialist vision of development and exploitation of groups like the tribes, formed the backbone of the radical left movement in Kerala in the 1970s. The state has gone past such movements not only through coercive interventions but also through a series of 'benevolent' welfare interventions. The latter not only neutralized the scope for radical movements like that of the Naxalites but also fixed tribes a governmental category, leaving limited space for 'politicization'.

CHAPTER III

‘Primitive’ and ‘Non-Primitive Tribes’: TSP and Governmental Categories

3.1 Introduction

This chapter intends to contextualise various categorizations given to the tribal population during the colonial and postcolonial times and to explicate the decisive rationalities went behind the making of such forms. In other words, the chapter would delineate the trajectory of tribes’ journey across time, assuming/receiving different governmental, constitutional and administrative appellations. Such appellations/categorizations have been justified time and again by a logic of appreciating the difference along side that of a positive discrimination, with a benevolent concern of upliftment. Indeed, as was evident in the earlier chapter, the TSP was expected to be sensitive to the logic of difference in the tribal population. The analysis then moves on to the contemporary administrative categorization of tribes into ‘primitive’ and ‘non-primitive’ to see whether it continue to hold any relevance after the implementation of TSP and decentralised governance. It is also important to see whether developmental interventions through TSP and decentralisation are really informed by this important categorisation.

The effectiveness of the modality of census to objectify population has become commonsensical ever since Bernard Cohn’s formulation (Cohn 1987). Many of the modern categorizations that are established themselves as facts, particularly those pertaining to caste groups, were constructed and normalised by the colonial technologies of classifying people (Dirks 2001). The making and normalisation of categories was certainly a time consuming process. The census reports since 1901 seem to have attempting to answer two basic questions: who are the tribes? and what is tribalism? The question remained to be contested/unresolved for quite sometime as one could see from different usages like aborigines, primitives, animists, tribes, hinduised tribes, jungle tribes etc. in the census reports to describe tribes ¹¹(Tripathy 1998, Bates 1995). For instance, in the census of 1871, which is

¹¹ The people of India include a large number of primitive tribes, who subsist on hunting, fishing or by simple forms of agriculture. Various authorities have described them by different names. Risley, Elvin and Thakar called them Aborigines, the native people, where as Baines included them under the category of ‘Hill Tribe or Jungle Tribe’. Mr. Tallents and some others called them animists, who worship ghost and spirits. Those who engaged in primitive occupations such as cleaning, hunting and gathering of forest produce called primitive tribes (Mamoria 1957: 1-19).

considered to be first systematic census in British India, the category of 'tribe' had been used without any definition. A tentative definition of tribe was first attempted in the Risley and Gait's census of 1901¹² and the 1911 census followed the same definition to identify the most backward sections of the society. The identification of tribes was done mainly on the basis of the geographical location of the population; those population groups living in hills and forest were classified as 'tribes' in those censuses. However, the 1931 census, moved away from a notion of tribes on the basis of location, hills and forests, to that of 'primitive tribes'. The identification of tribes in the earlier Census was based on physical characteristics of the people, which is common in a locality or a group living in particular locality. The category of 'primitive tribe' added more criteria for identifying the tribes, in terms of social and economic backwardness, customs and beliefs etc. The census for the first time gave a reasonably accurate estimate of the number and geographical distribution of primitive tribes in British India ¹³(see appendix A 3.1).

In fact in each decennial census of colonial India, the term 'tribe' was equated with different nomenclatures without a proper definition, which is continued till date. This term was further institutionalised in Indian society through ethnographic and anthropological accounts written on them, along with the usage of heuristic tools like imagined racial typography, photography and anthropometric measurements. However the present notion of 'tribe' in India is seen as a colonial construction, a result of the colonial government's manoeuvres to know the people whom they were ruling in their diversities and generate a systematic knowledge on them accordingly. This was done by classifying them into comprehensible and manageable units (Cohn 1987, Dirks 2001). The colonial classifications often invoked modern science and its discourses for giving authority to it, though some researchers argued that the classification was with a blatant political agenda of dividing Indian society (Pathy 1997) and the category of 'tribe' was a distinctive addition (Devalle 1997). This has resulted in the ethnicisation of India in a modern way. However, ethnicity cannot be simply invented or

¹² A tribe as we find in India is a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name which as a rule does not denote any specific occupation; generally claiming common descent from a mythical or historical ancestor and occasionally from an animal, but in some parts of the country held together rather by the obligations of blood-feud than by the tradition of kinship; usually speaking the same language and occupying, professing, or claiming to occupy a definite front of country. A tribe is not necessarily endogamous; that is to say, it is not an invariable rule that a man of a particular tribe must marry a woman of that cannot marry a woman of different tribes (Risley and Crooke 1999: 62-64).

¹³ In 1931 the term 'Primitive Tribes' used as to specify the tribal population in India, who were till then termed 'Forest tribes' and hill tribes (Revenkar 1971: 140). The population of PTCs in 1931 Census was 24613848 and in Kerala the Paniya, Irular, Kadar, Kattunaikan and Vishavan included in Primitive tribes where as Koraga in Mysore.

manufactured and enforce upon a people. As Fabian (1983) has argued in the context of Africa, colonial imagination and classifications were reinforced by the natives- different segments of native society with varying manner and intensity.

The colonial discourse of tribes as represented by anthropologists like Verrier Elwin have seen them as noble savages and hence should be isolated from modern civilization (Guha 1999). The 'tribe' became a nostalgic category for him and had advocated a life for them with utmost happiness and freedom without any external interference, be it administrative or missionary. The nationalist discourse with its Hindu foundations resented this. Anthropologists like Ghurye debunked Elwin's vision as romantic and argued that tribes are in intimate contact with Hinduism. For Ghurye, the social position of the tribes could be improved only through asserting themselves as Hindus and getting integrated and assimilated fully with the Hindu/national society (Ghurye 1980). There are others who see the essential category of 'tribe' as constructed during colonialism historically invalid, but was used by indigenous elites to justify an internal hierarchy and claim parity with the European upper classes (Guha, R 1999). However, the majority of recent academic interventions see categories like 'tribe', 'adivasi', etc. as historically contingent creations, amenable to oppressive and resistive ideologies alike (Hardiman 1987, Sivaramakrishnan 1998, Damodaran 2009, Skaria 1999). The postcolonial government of India has taken a mixed approach of protection and assimilation towards tribes as one could see in the constitution. The idea was to give protection till they catch up and people like Vallabhai Patel believed that in the course of time the word 'tribe' could be removed altogether (Damodaran 2009). Protection was seen as a necessary precondition for effective and meaningful assimilation. That remains, however, a failed dream for the exponents of the constitution and a broken promise for the tribes even today.

The creation of scheduled tribes by the Constitution of Indian (Article 342, Clause 1) was precisely with such an intention. The report of the Backward Classes Commission (BCC) describes the category as follows: "the scheduled tribe can also be generally ascertained by the fact that they live apart in hills and even where they live on the plains they lead a separate, excluded existence and are not fully assimilated in the main body of the people. Scheduled Tribes may belong to any religion. They are listed as scheduled tribes because of kind of life led by them." The first BCC was set up in 1953 under the chairmanship of Kaka Kalelkar to identify the most backward classes in India and the committee submitted its report in 1955. The commission also examined the list of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe and recommended certain addition to and deletion from this list (National Commissions for

Backward Classes Annual Report 2005). In the course of time, as built into the subsequent censuses and committee reports, more traits of primitiveness were added like geographical isolation, distinctive culture, shyness to get in contact with the community at large and economic backwardness. The definitions contained in 1931 Census, the reports of first Backward Classes Commission 1955, the Advisory Committee (Kalelkar), on Revision of SC/ST lists (Lokur Committee) 1965, and the Joint Committee of Parliament on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes orders (Amendment) Bill 1967 (Chanda Committee), 1969. Isolation has been a definitive criterion to be included in the schedule as it is stated that the tribes whose members have by and large mixed up with the general population are not eligible to be in the list of schedule tribes (Behura, 1984). Singh (1997) argued that unlike the colonial period, the constitutional devise of scheduling tribes had much more larger consequences; this has been increasingly internalised by the concerned sections and became the central aspect of their identity formation (pp 42-43). However, there are strong strands of continuity running between the colonial and postcolonial categories, which were invented and reinforced not only through governmental technologies of enumeration and development but also through politics of the dispossessed. As observed by Pradipkumar Bose, 'in many cases, classification criteria used by colonial governmental regimes have continued into postcolonial era, shaping for of both political demands and developmental policy" (Bose 1981).

Nonetheless, the 'tribe' as a nomenclature carries different meaning to different people as definitions and appeal are multifarious. To the ordinary man the word 'tribe' suggests simple folk living in hills and forests, to the people who are a little better informed, it signifies colourful folk famous for their dance and song; to an administrator it means a group of citizens on whom the President of India has special responsibility; to an anthropologist it indicates a special field for study of social phenomenon. Still, the dominant imagination about 'tribes' of today inherits heavily from the colonial framework of viewing them in savagery and stagnancy. It has got a heavy influence on the procedures for identifying tribes, apart from postcolonial policies aimed at tribal development. The academic interventions on tribes too mostly subscribe to this dominant view, attaching lesser emphasis to the historical transformation process. For instance, there are significant volumes of studies on tribes of Kerala focussing on anthropological, sociological and cultural aspects of tribal life. Majority of these studies focuses on the origin, traditions, customs and beliefs of Tribes.¹⁴ There is a

¹⁴ Edgar Thurston (1909) gives a brief account of all the Tribes and Caste of South India; Anatha Krishna Iyyer (1909, 1922, 1937) took the ethnographic survey of all the jungle and hill Tribes and Scheduled Caste people of Kochin. AAD Louiz (1962) studied the Tibes of Kerala in a sociological aspects and it gives the changing pattern of Tribes in the State of Kerala. Mathur (1977), Jacob John

near complete acceptance of the colonial categorization. Interestingly, the word tribe has not been defined anywhere in Indian constitution. But the Article 342 states that the scheduled tribes could be “any tribe or tribal community or part of or group within any tribe or tribal community”, which the president may specify from time to time by public notification (Behura 1984: 1-16) It is certain that a combination of internal social organization, relationship with other groups, self-classification and perception by other groups and political imperatives, apart from governmental efforts of classification, all will have strong influence on the making of categories; which is at best inexact and open to doubt, making categorisations historically contingent.

The element of contingency continue to hold salience in the new category of ‘primitive’ tribe that came into being in mid 1970s also, as it was in the case of the colonial ‘tribe’ and the constitutional ‘scheduled tribe’. The present study is particularly concerned with this categorisation formulated on the basis of an assessment by the government on the eve of the fifth plan as seen in the report of Sinha and Sharma in 1977. The historical conjuncture coincides with the introduction of TSP too. The Scheduled Tribes, who were identified as more backward communities among the tribal population have been categorized as ‘Primitive Tribal Groups’ (PTGs). The primitive tribes thus represent an outlier within the Scheduled Tribes and were found to be not evolving into the ‘modern time’ as expected. The administrative categorisation sought to bring the most archaic and stagnant among the scheduled tribes under a specific governmentality to uplift them to the status of their non-primitive counterparts at least. The classification sought its justification as an affirmative strategy aimed at ensure the development of the primitive tribes: certain tribes were identified as PTGs in 1975-76 and a few more in 1993, which are regarded as the poorest of poor amongst the Scheduled Tribes (Sharma 2006). The major criteria formulated by the government of India for the identification of PTGs were (1) low population growth rate in comparison to the rest of the population and hence existing as small communities; (2) technological development of a pre-agricultural stage and (3) low level of literacy and lagging far behind the average literacy level of tribes as a whole (Sinha and Sharma 1977). Any tribe qualifying at least one of such criteria were stated as primitive tribe and accordingly 52 tribes were categorized as PTGs at the end of fifth plan. This included the five tribal communities from Kerala. As a result of the subsequent additions, there are seventy-five tribal communities that are identified as ‘primitive tribal groups’ in different States of India as of today. The corrective strategies were aimed at strengthening the adaptive basis in their

Kattakayam (1983) gives the details of social structure and changes among Urali Tribe in Idukki Districts of Kerala.

characteristic habitat and extending the adaptive capacity beyond the traditional ecological niches into the larger arena of the region and the nation (Sinha and Sharma 1977). However, the very usage of the word ‘primitive’ by the Government to define the most vulnerable tribal groups is contested in the governmental apparatus itself. The National Tribal Policy proposes the alternative term ‘Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups’ (PVTGs) instead of ‘Primitive Tribal Groups’. Following protest from the Asian Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Network and other NGOs during the drafting of the National Tribal Policy, the Ministry of Tribal Affairs has been using the term PVTGs instead of ‘Primitive Tribes’ in its revised Draft National Policy. The present study, however, would not go into the merit and accuracy of the category of ‘primitive tribe’, but would focus on whether the welfare programs meant for the tribal population has really taken the categorisation seriously into consideration or not. The attempt is to see the salience of the categorisation after three decades of its adoption and measure of its success in relation to what was envisaged, in the context of Kerala in general and in the case of the four tribes under discussion in particular.

3.2 Primitive Tribes of Kerala

According to the set criteria, the government of India has identified five tribes of Kerala as primitive- they are Cholanaikan, Kurumba, Kattunaikan, Kadar and Koraga and together they constitute nearly 5 percent of the total tribal population in the state. Kerala is said to be running through an advanced phase of demographic transition: a situation in which low birth rate and low death rate are accompanied by slow growth of population (Rajan 2004). The rate of growth of population in Kerala in general has been decreasing during the past three decades in tune with the accepted trend. But tribal population through out the period has been showing an unusual trend as different from the trend in general population growth (see the Table 3.2.1)

Table 3.2.1: Growth Rate of S T & SC Population in Kerala

Category	1991-2001	1981-1991	1971-1981
ST	13.47	22.75	-2.93
SC	8.23	13.22	-
EX SC/ST*	9.51	14.35	-
All Population	9.43	14.32	19.24

Source: Calculated from Census data

The total population of PTCs as per 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 records 9510, 12921, 17647 and 24285 respectively which shows an increasing trend in terms of absolute number. But the

decadal growth rate shows a stagnant population growth since 1971, unlike that of the non-primitive tribes. Within the 'primitive' groups, there is visible difference in the growth rate between the five tribal communities; but in general they show a declining trend with an abnormal tendency of growth and decline. However, the decadal growth rate of 1970s, when the category of primitive tribes was formulated, presents an interesting picture, wherein Kadar and Kattunaikan were showing an impressive growth rate and the remaining three a minus growth rate. So the criteria adopted for identifying the primitive tribes could be seen as valid in terms of the general stagnant population criteria. However, it hardly shown any improvement even after three decades and moreover, during the period between 1991-2001 all primitive groups except Kattunaikan show negative growth rate (see Table 3.2.2).

Table 3.2.2: Total Primitive Tribe Population from 1971 to 2001

Primitive Tribes	Total population (No.)				Population growth rate		
	1971	1981	1991	2001	1971-81	1981-91	1991-2001
Cholanaikan	306	234	NA	363	-23.5	NA	NA
Kadar	1120	1503	2021	1695	34.2	34.46	-16.13
Kattunaikan	5565	8803	12155	18576	58.2	38.08	52.83
Koraga	1200	1098	1651	1572	-8.5	50.36	-4.78
Kurumba	1319	1283	1820	2079	-2.73	41.86	14.23
Total	9510	12921	17647	24285	35.9	36.58	37.62

Source: Economic review 2007

NA: Not Available

3.2.1 Areas of Habitation:

From the table it is evident that the population of primitive groups in the states is only 24285 according to the 2001 census, out of which 12126 male and 12159 female, which constitute 5% of the total adivasi population in the state. The area of habitation of PTGs demonstrates that they are mostly concentrated in the Malabar region and distributed mainly in four districts named Wayanad, Kasaragod, Kozhikode and Palakkad (Table 3.2.3). There are 6523 families in the state out of which the Kattunaikan are more in population and the Cholanaikan are less in number. There are 5055 Kattunaikan families, distributed in three districts and they are heavily concentrated in Wayanad district. While Cholanaikan, Koraga and Kurumba concentrated only in one area- Nilambur, Kasaragod and Palakad respectively- the Kadar tribe is living in two districts though less in population. In the case of Kattunaikan and Kadar female population out numbered that of the male and while taking the overall population of the state too the female have a slight edge in terms of number.

Table 3.2.3: Area of Habitation of PTGs in Kerala

Name of PTGs	Area of habitation	Total population	Male	Female	No. of Families
Kattunaikan	Waynad, Nilambur, Kozhikode& Palakad	18576	9275	9310	5055
Cholanaikan	Nilambur	363	202	161	82
Kadar	Trissur&Palakad	1695	800	895	486
Koraga	Kasaragod	1572	800	772	422
Kurumba	Palakad	2079	1049	1030	478
Total		24285	12126	12159	6523

Source: Economic Review 2007

3.2.2 Literacy Rate:

The literacy rate was another criterion taken by the government to identify the primitive tribes. One of the chief attributives of the Kerala model of development is high literacy rate and educational achievements, which has contributed to the overall social development of the state. But the status of the tribes in this regard is far from satisfactory and they continue to be most backward in terms of educational achievement. While the Kerala's literacy rate which was 21.92% in 1951 has almost two times doubled to 90.2% in 2001 (Economic Review 2001), the literacy rate of tribes in the state is far lesser and that of the primitive tribes even lesser. The literacy rate of PTGs as per the Baseline Survey Report 2006-07 is just 53.79 percent (Kakkoth 2005). There is on an average 30-percentage point difference in the literacy attainment between STs and the general population in Kerala.¹⁵ While the difference is 26-percentage point in the case of male literacy, it is as high as 35 point for the females. This shows that women are not only absolutely deprived but relatively too. The highest difference in literacy is found in areas in which tribal population is highly concentrated (Shyjan and Sunitha 2008). The situation is much more serious in the case of primitive tribes of the state. The lowest literacy rate is found among the Cholanaikan (just 8 percent) and the highest among the Koraga (50 percent) (Economic Review 2007). However, the relatively high literacy rate does not imply that the socio-economic conditions of the Koraga are much better than other PTGs.

¹⁵ The literacy rate among the Scheduled Tribes in the State was 64.35 percent as against 90.86 percent for Total population and 82.66 percent for Scheduled Caste according to 2001 Census.

The table 3.2.4 shows illiteracy among tribes in the state of Kerala as of 1971, 1981 and 2001. The figures demonstrate a positive trend of declining illiteracy among the tribes - the percentage of illiterates decreased from 74.28 percent in 1971 to 44.47 percent by 2001. However, the progress in this regard is not very impressive as the tribes still lag much behind the general population of the state in the case of literacy level. The proportion of literates in the population of Kerala as per the census of 2001 has been 90.92 percent (94.2 percent male literacy and 87.86 percent female literacy).¹⁶ Moreover, there is huge disparity between tribes; certain tribes fare better than others over years in this regard as the table indicates.

Table 3.2.4: Illiteracy among the Tribes of Kerala, 1971, 1981 & 2001

Tribes	1971(%)	1981(%)	2001(%)
Kadar	85.80	71.72	48.58
Kattunaikan	98.04	91.37	66.89
Koraga	94.20	76.14	49.48
Kurumba	87.41	86.75	58.69
Adiyan	91.56	85.00	56.08
Irular etc.	96.18	88.25	57.48
Kanikaran	58.50	46.51	29.12
Kudiya	0.00	60.36	36.69
Kurichchan	81.05	62.47	31.71
Kurumans	76.23	61.42	32.11
Malai Arayan	34.84	23.45	14.62
Malayarayan	23.77	24.68	16.01
Paniya	95.69	89.08	59.43
Ulladan	64.06	45.48	27.55
Uraly	73.70	62.52	36.67
All Scheduled Tribes	74.28	69.54	44.47

Source: Calculated from Census data 1971, 1981 and 2001

Note: The Cholanaikan, another primitive tribes in Kerala have been considered to be an offshoot of the major tribe Kattunaikan. Separate census reports of Cholanaikan up to 1991 were not available, since they had been included under Kattunaikan (Kakkoth 2005).

There is also apparent difference between the literacy rates of primitive and non-primitive tribes- while the illiteracy rates of all the primitive tribes in the state are above the average that of non-primitive tribes shows greater disparity, with about 60 percent of illiteracy among Paniya and about 15 percent among Malai Arayans. If literacy is the lowest among

¹⁶ Kerala has the highest literacy rate in the country as per the latest census and it occupies the top slot in both male and female literacy; while Bihar is at the bottom of the ladder with 47.53 percent of literacy (KDR 2008).

Kattunaikan, a primitive tribe with 66.89 percent of illiteracy, it is highest among Malai Aryans, a non-primitive tribe with 14.62 percent of illiteracy. The two primitive tribes coming under the present study are at the bottom in terms of literacy and the proportions of illiterates are 66.89 percent in the case of Kattunaikan and 49.48 percent in the case of Koraga. In fact, the non-primitive tribes under study shows low level illiteracy compared to the primitive groups. The average illiteracy for the non-primitive tribes during 1971, 1981, and 2001 were 63.23 percent, 59.02 percent and 36.13 percent respectively, while it was 91.36 percent, 81.50 percent and 55.91 percent for primitive tribes during 1971, 1981 and 2001 respectively.

At the same time, tribes like Paniya, Irular and Adiya in the non-primitive category, continue to remain poor in terms of this capability, irrespective of affirmative actions through TSP etc. and a history of 'public action' at the state level. In the context of the present study, two broad suppositions may be postulated from this. One, the allocation and execution of TSP is not seriously informed by the inter-tribal disparities and second the administrative categorization of primitive/non-primitive that came into effect for preferential policy interventions has not been very successful in rectifying inter-tribal disparities. The outcome of TSP in this regard is puzzling, because the primitive tribes continues to be at the bottom of the literacy ladder and at the same time many tribes in the non-primitive category too are still with very low literacy levels.

3.2.3 Tribes and their Educational Status in Kerala

Literacy may be considered as one of the most fundamental capabilities, but mere literacy would not be capable of giving essential competences to the people in terms of better livelihood options. Educational attainment of the people would be a more reliable indicator here, though it cannot be treated as an absolute capability, with a timeless and spaceless application. It is well known that the present pattern of economic development shored up by a service sector driven economy that necessities specific educational capabilities to stay competent in the employment market, is not giving any room for the marginalized sections (Kumar 2008, Salim 2008, Kunhaman 2002). However, the governmentalizing strategy has given priority to the educational development of the marginalized sections, something that was denied to them earlier. Even in this the performance of the tribes is far from satisfactory and they continue to remain with very low attainment in the educational domain. When this

is disaggregated into primitive and non-primitive categories, the pattern emerging yet again underscores the limited impact of interventions like TSP on the one hand and differing inter-tribal attainments on the other. The data from 1971 and 1981 censuses on educational attainment shows this in rather clear terms (see Table 3.2.5).

Table 3.2.5: Educational Attainment among Different Tribes in Kerala

Tribes	1971			1981			2001		
	Pri- mary	Matri- culation	Graduate & above	Pri- mary	Matri- culation	Graduate & above	Pri- mary	Matri- culation	Graduate & above
Adiyan	3.42	0.08	0.00	6.34	0.33	0.04	20.91	1.57	0.07
Irular etc.	2.12	0.02	0.00	5.23	0.19	0.01	17.05	3.34	0.11
Kadar	6.79	0.00	0.00	1.06	0.40	0.00	22.70	3.03	0.14
Kanikaran	24.02	0.96	0.03	38.88	3.72	0.10	31.33	10.04	0.65
Kattunayakan	0.61	0.04	0.00	2.91	0.51	0.01	13.56	0.80	0.04
Koraga	1.66	0.00	0.00	46.36	16.39	0.00	25.52	2.08	0.09
Kudiya etc.	14.54	0.67	0.00	19.90	1.49	0.33	14.54	6.04	2.24
Kurichchan	8.00	0.03	0.01	19.18	0.53	0.02	30.89	5.22	0.25
Kurumans	10.90	0.15	0.00	20.92	0.69	0.01	27.98	8.62	0.54
Kurumbas	5.23	6.52	0.15	7.48	0.31	0.16	14.90	2.99	0.23
Malai Arayan	40.10	0.24	0.05	46.90	7.29	0.63	28.82	16.22	3.03
Malayarayar	40.17	3.97	0.20	43.65	10.45	1.16	29.71	15.96	2.74
Paniyan	1.68	0.05	0.00	3.70	0.11	0.00	19.77	0.73	0.03
Ulladan	18.45	0.46	0.00	30.16	1.95	0.07	32.92	8.54	0.53
All Tribes	13.86	0.83	0.04	17.47	1.64	0.12	23.69	5.26	0.55

Source: Calculated from Census data of Kerala, 1971, 1981 & 2001

The condition has undergone significant changes by the time of 2001 census. However, the pace of change is far from satisfactory. One among the primitive tribes, Koraga could achieve higher percentage than the average as far as primary level of attainment is concerned, whereas in the other two higher stages of educational attainment none of the primitive tribes could achieve even the mean level. This certainly underline the fact that irrespective of the administrative categorization into primitive and non-primitive tribes and a stated preferential treatment on the basis of it, the condition of primitive tribes did not catch up with the average level of tribal educational attainment. At the same time, many non-primitive tribes too lag behind the average level of attainment, which in a sense raise doubts about the salience of this administrative categorization.

Table 3.2.6: Educational status of the sample households (*figures in percent*)

Category	Kattunaikan			Koraga			Malakudiya			Paniya		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Pre-primary	16	12	14	3.85	7.41	5.63	4.76	4.76	4.76	8.57	8.57	8.57
Illiterate	24	24	24	42.31	48.15	45.23	0	23.81	11.90	34.29	48.57	41.43
Literate with out school	8	8	8	0	3.7	1.85	0	0	0	0	2.86	1.43
Primary not completed	12	8	10	11.54	18.52	15.03	28.57	21.43	25	5.71	2.86	4.28
Primary	24	40	32	30.77	22.22	26.49	26.19	21.43	23.81	34.29	34.29	34.29
Upper primary up to secondary	12	8	10	7.69	0	3.84	26.19	21.43	23.81	17.14	2.86	10
Secondary passed but have no degree	4	0	2	0	0	0	9.52	7.14	8.33	0	0	0
Degree holders	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.38	0	1.19	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	3.85	0	1.03	2.38	0	1.19	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Primary Survey

The sample survey also reveals that the illiteracy is enormous among the tribal groups under study as a whole, though it is found to be more severe among the primitive tribes (see the Table 3.2.6). It also demonstrates that level of education among the both the primitive and non-primitive tribes remain very low. Most of them have primary education or even lesser that; more than 65 percent for all the groups fall under this cluster. Malakudiya, the tribe, which is better, fared in terms of land ownership, has the lowest proportion of illiterates (11.9 percent), which is significant difference when compared to other groups- Koraga (45.23 percent), Kattunaikan (24 percent) and Paniya (41.43 percent). In the case of higher education, the Malakudiya tribe performed better than others. However, the Kattunaikan, the primitive tribe, fares slightly better than the non-primitive tribe of Paniyas in this regard. The Kattunaikan have a far lesser proportion of illiterates than that of Paniya, yet again casting doubt about the salience of primitive and non-primitive divide.

3.2.4 House Ownership

The provision of modern shelter has been one of the governmentalizing strategies aimed at the tribal population. This is in line with the uplifting stratagem through extending basic infrastructure to the tribal households in the state. The government initiated schemes like constructing houses for the tribes through the *lakshamveedu* (one lakh house) scheme, apart from extending resources to construct houses by their own through other housing projects. The sectoral distribution of TSP after decentralization allows investment of 30 percent of the fund in infrastructure sector (Isaac 2000). All this cumulatively has resulted in a certain amount of positive outcome as far the housing of tribes in Kerala is concerned. The field survey shows that most of the tribal households are living in their own *pacca* houses (Table 3.2.7). But importantly 7.7 percent among the Koraga and 7.1 percent among the Kattunaikan, both falling under the ‘primitive’ category, do not have a house of their own.

Table 3.2.7: House Ownership by Category

Category	Koraga	Malakudiya	Kattunaikan	Paniya
Self	93.30	100.00	92.90	100.00
Other	6.70	0.00	7.10	0.00

Source: Primary Survey

On the other hand, all the households of the other two tribes belonging to the non-primitive category, in the present sample, own houses of their own. However, the condition of houses, which built after the decentralization, has been found poor in quality and the living in such houses during raining period has been difficult. Though most of them have concrete houses with two small rooms and one kitchen the roof is not good enough to resist the rain. Construction of latrine and electrification of houses also in the housing programs according to rule, but in the case of sampled households most of them don't have the latrine facilities and they are blaming to the contractors for this. The most of the houses in the sample area, except in the case of Paniya, are constructed after the decentralization, underscoring the importance of decentralized governance in the provision of housing to the tribal people (see Table 3.2.8).

Table 3.2.8: Provision Housing and its Timing

Timing of construction	Kattunaikan	Koraga	Malakudiya	Paniya
DBR KRW	7.14	30	11.76	3.14
After Decentralisation	71.43	68	76.47	42.86
Before Decentralisation	21.43	20	11.76	50

Source: Primary Survey

However, decentralization hasn't brought any noticeable transparency as it was expected to be. Most of the sample households have number of complaints against the process of house construction, including disbursement of funds and involvement of middleman. This is particularly true in the case of the primitive tribal settlements under the study; the contractors take over the construction of houses and neither the allocated funds are not known to the beneficiaries nor they have a say in the plan and execution. Some of the 'primitive' beneficiaries even worked as wage labourers in their own house construction. Strikingly, most of the houses are damaged within two years of its construction; it is particularly difficult live in the houses during rainy seasons. The non-primitive Paniya community is found to be less benefited from decentralization in this regard. The Paniyas in the sample hail mainly from the area of Muthanga of Noolpuzha Panchayat, where the Adivasi Gothra Maha Sabha (AGMS) led land struggle occurred in 2000 (Bijoy and Raviraman 2003). The members Paniya community concerned were active participants of this struggle and a still supporter of the movement for land under AGMS, which has made the mainstream political parties to turn against them and freeze development benefits and welfare. The households not involved in the land struggle continue to receive the benevolent welfare of the state. Here too the issue is neither the tribal welfare nor the categorisation as primitive and non-primitive as a leveling strategy, but a mediating political society that decides the disbursement of benefits and welfare. Prescriptive welfare is used as a strategy to make the marginalized docile and deny them alternative political spaces.

The primitive tribes under the present study in general are yet to get themselves attuned with the cultural geography of modern houses. The best indication in this direction is that most of them refuse to cook inside the 'modern' houses and they erect separate huts outside for the purpose. It was found during the field survey that the many of the Koraga families have a general apathy to use 'modern' houses and they prefer to stay outside. So the governmental initiatives of housing the tribes in 'modern' houses, has created discontents from many of its beneficiaries and hence are either not used or underused. This discontent is marginal in general among the non-primitive tribes. The governmental housing schemes as part of the 'modernizing' and 'uplifting' exercise hardly take these specificities into consideration and

accordingly address the issue by taking the view of the beneficiaries. They remain to be recipients of welfare and not participants in it. The heterogeneity of tribal life and culture is the prime causality of these interventions; specific needs and necessities different groups are seldom built into programmes.

3.2.5 Land Ownership

There is a strong interrelation between the livelihood resources available to the tribes and their capability to negotiate with the world at large. Forest and land were the most important productive resources at the disposal of the tribes, which gave means of livelihood for the majority of them. The commoditisation of timber and consistent promotion of agriculture in the wooded and waste lands in Malabar, along side a parallel exercise of conservation through forest reservation, during the colonial time had either driven the tribes out of the forests or cordoned them off from it (Kunhi Krishnan 1995, Varghese 2006). The arrival of settlers from Travancore not only accelerated the process of conversion of 'empty' spaces into productive locations but also unleashed a drive of appropriation of tribal land through foul means (Bijoy 1999, Sreekumar & Parayil 2002, Varghese 2006). It is not surprising that the rate of land alienation was at its highest during the 1950s when the migration of settlers to Malabar was at its peak (GoK 1979). It is estimated that 55.47 percent of tribes in the state of Kerala are landless and the incidence of tribal landlessness/dispossession is particularly high in Malabar (Chathukulam & John 2006).¹⁷ The status of land ownership among the sample household demonstrates that except the Malakudiya tribe, all other groups under the study are either absolutely or marginally landless. In fact the Paniya tribes, who were mainly engaged in agriculture as bonded labourers and later wage labourers, are found to be extremely poor in land ownership (see Table 3.2.9). Most Paniya households having individual landed property own just three cents of land, which is just sufficient to put up a house; while others who do not own land individually are allotted with houses on commonly owned land.

Table 3.2.9: Average Landholding per Household of the Four Tribes

Tribes	Average land-holding (in cents)	Number of Landless HH	Number of Houseless HH
Koraga	14.87	3	1
Malakudiya	101.41	0	0
Kattunaikan	0	14	1
Paniyas	0.21	6	0

Source: Primary Survey

Note: HH denotes households

¹⁷ According to Ravi Raman and Bijoy around 30 per cent of the tribal households in the state are absolutely landless, with a higher incidence of land dispossession in the Malabar area when compared with that of former Travancore and Cochin states (Bijoy and Raman 2003).

On the other hand, the Malakudiya tribe in the sample not only has the highest attainment in education but also the highest quantum of capability in terms of land ownership. The average size of land owned by the tribe, per household, is around 1 acre. While it is negative in the case of rest of the tribes under study. It is also gauged from the field that irrespective of category of tribes, landlessness remains to be high among them. While 43 percent of Paniya households surveyed remain landless, it is 20 percent in the case of Koraga, 100 percent in the case of Kattunaikan. The houses of Kattunaikan are established on land commonly owned by the community and none of the households individually own land. Malakudiya fare better in this regard, among whom no household is found to be landless and among whom 88 percent own more than 50 cents of land. Among the Paniyas on the other hand all land owning households own less than 20 cents of land (Table 3.2.10). So here we do find that in the surveyed sample, members of a tribe, Paniya that is recognized as 'non-primitive' are actually closer to the members of the primitive tribes in average landholding. The same relationship holds for landownership as well.

Table 3.2.10: Land Ownership

Land distribution(cents)	Kattunaikan	Koraga	Malakudiya	Paniya
0	100.00	20.00	0.00	43.00
<20	0.00	60.00	12.00	57.00
20-50	0.00	6.70	0.00	0.00
50-75	0.00	6.70	47.00	0.00
75-100	0.00	6.70	6.00	0.00
100 above	0.00	0.00	35.00	0.00
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: Primary Survey

Among the Koraga households, 20 percent are landless and 60 percent own less than 20 cents of land. Landlessness is still an enormous problem, for certain tribes particularly, making the primitive and non-primitive categorisation less salient. This continues to remain so irrespective of governmental efforts to restore dispossessed land and allocate new land for the tribe and spending a significant proportion of the annual plan for the same.

The heads under which allocations are made and programs are executed at the state level indicate that special programs for primitive tribes are not built into it. The allocations of funds are made under broader heads. 'Special program for primitive tribal groups- Adiya and Paniya' seems the only program directed specifically at the primitive tribes in Kerala, as documented in the Economic Review. The intra-tribal differences and categorisations are not

seriously taken into consideration when allocation and spending are done as indicated by different heads under which allocation and expenditure are done (Table 3.2.11 & 3.2. 12).

Table 3.2.11: Sector-wise Expenditure of TSP during Pre and Post-decentralization
(Figures in Lakhs)

Year	Category							Total
	Administration	Education	Health	Housing	SCA to TSP	Other expenditure	Assistance* to LSGs	
1990-91	51.9	467.5	29.2	83.07	327.6	155	0	1114.2
1991-92	52.2	329.3	29.3	63.14	167.1	215.2	209.42	1065.7
1992-93	56.9	556.4	30.3	82.95	246	229.8	0	1202.4
1993-94	71.7	630.9	69.1	85.21	240.4	246.4	0	1343.8
1994-95	79.3	653.7	54.8	116.5	258.1	337.8	0	1500.2
1995-96	96.5	763.3	115	41.32	276.9	502.7	429.28	2225.1
1996-97	104	864.6	72.3	0.856	243.4	2216	313.79	3814.9
1997-98	114	1126	90.7	0	321.26	709.4	577.53	2939.5
1998-99	130	1174	97.77	7.266	363.8	832.6	617.08	3222.9
1999-00	172	953.3	85.91	0	359.6	307.9	153.55	2032.5
2000-01	178	1515	86.84	127.9	376.12	342.4	59.94	2685.8
2001-02	172	1384	109.5	257.9	314.44	4210	206.8	6655.4
2002-03	193	1748	215	288.7	467.18	6777	1907.2	11595
2003-04	211	1799	196.5	188.9	541.65	2535	257.71	5728.8
2004-05	221	2284	173.4	0	429.98	3457	244.02	6809.2
2005-06	236	2589	177.8	93.59	408.45	2902	371.71	6777.8
2006-07	546	3251	247.8	190.8	241.49	3538	NA	8014.9

Source: Finance Accounts Various Years, GOK

Note: Other expenditure includes rehabilitation, wells and water supply, inter caste marriage, **Adiya Paniya Package**, which includes the programs of housing, education etc. for PTGs, financial assistance to the marriage of ST girls, agriculture, land schemes, cultural and youth festivals, PTGs development, social activists, programs like sugandhagiri, priyadarsini Tea estate and pookot diary projects. The expenditure in the heads of education includes Spending for Model Residence Schools, Stipends, assistance for post metric hostels, Bharat darsan, Health spending includes Manathavady health project, treatment and rehabilitation of STs affected TB, sickle cell anemia etc. the expenditure in the heads of administration includes Publicity,

NA- Note available

* Since decentralization the allocation to the LSGs directly goes to the local bodies, the details of Grant-in-aid to the Panchayats has given in separate.

Table 3.2.12: Proportion of Sector-wise Expenditure of TSP during Post and Pre-decentralization (*figures in percent*)

Year	Direction and administration	Education	Health	Housing	SCA to TSP	Other expenditure	Assistance to Local Bodies	Total
1990-91	4.66	41.95	2.62	7.46	29.40	13.91	0.00	100
1991-92	4.90	30.90	2.75	5.92	15.68	20.19	19.65	100
1992-93	4.73	46.27	2.52	6.90	20.46	19.12	0.00	100
1993-94	5.34	46.95	5.14	6.34	17.89	18.34	0.00	100
1994-95	5.28	43.57	3.65	7.77	17.21	22.52	0.00	100
1995-96	4.34	34.30	5.17	1.86	12.44	22.59	19.29	100
1996-97	2.72	22.66	1.89	0.02	6.38	58.10	8.23	100
1997-98	3.88	38.32	3.09	0.00	10.93	24.13	19.65	100
1998-99	4.03	36.44	3.03	0.23	11.29	25.83	19.15	100
1999-00	8.47	46.90	4.23	0.00	17.69	15.15	7.55	100
2000-01	6.62	56.40	3.23	4.76	14.00	12.75	2.23	100
2001-02	2.59	20.80	1.65	3.88	4.72	63.26	3.11	100
2002-03	1.66	15.07	1.85	2.49	4.03	58.44	16.45	100
2003-04	3.68	31.39	3.43	3.30	9.45	44.25	4.50	100
2004-05	3.24	33.55	2.55	0.00	6.31	50.76	3.58	100
2005-06	3.48	38.19	2.62	1.38	6.03	42.81	5.48	100
2006-07	6.81	40.56	3.09	2.38	3.01	44.14	0.00	100

Source: Calculated from Table 3.2.11

Note: Figures in italics shows post decentralization period

As the table shows, a maximum amount is spent for education, but without any specific programmes aimed at the literacy or education of primitive tribes. The expenditure on housing is on the decline and Special Central Allowance also shows a similar trend. The division into primitive/non-primitive seems to be a no-concern here, arguably leaving the space for such preferential and remedial treatment on the primitive groups to the local governments, while conceiving and executing their projects for tribes.

But this seems to be not happening at the local level either. It is evident from the Development Reports of the Paivalike and Noolpuzha Panchayats that the programs being implemented in these Panchayats are untouched by the logic of positive discrimination as envisaged in the primitive/non-primitive categorisation. Most of the programmes in these Panchayats continues to remain the same and redundant since decentralization. In Paivalike Panchayat for instance, there are no special programmes targeting the Koraga, except the 'Adiya-Paniya package'. Due to a large tribal population, which brings in larger funds, Noolpuzha Panchayat have more programmes for the tribes unlike Paivalike Panchayat. However, in both the Panchayats there are no specific programmes for primitive tribes and the tribal groups are treated as a single category while formulating plans and programs and

executing them. The salience of this categorisation is left at an administrative-conceptual level without having any real implications when it comes to governmental distribution of welfare either at the state level or at the local.

3.3 Summary

The categorization-primitive and non-primitive- meant for the development of least developed sections of tribes is not really informing the programs aimed at tribal development. There are still huge differences in the development outcomes of the tribes in relation to non-tribal and among themselves. The conditions of the primitive tribes do not show any significant improvement in relation to their non-primitive counterparts in the state. The difference is wide in land ownership, housing and educational achievement. At the same time, a non-primitive tribe's-Paniya- deprivation is close to that of primitive tribes, in terms indicators like land and education.

CHAPTER IV

Do Institutional Changes Matter? Performance of TSP in Kerala

4.1 Introduction

The discussion so far has showed not only that tribes in Kerala lag behind the general population in terms of socio-economic indicators, but also that the categorization of tribes created to expand special welfare attention to the most vulnerable sections among marginalized has been rather ineffective on the ground. Though the PTGs are less number, (they constitute only 5 percent of the total tribal population in the state), their deprivation situation is very severe, being the 'deprived within the deprived'. The discussion on TSP reveals that the introduction of such policy had greater scope to address the special problems of primitive tribes, as it allowed for the possibility of formulating specific programmes according to their needs. The major criticism regarding the tribal development was corruption, bureaucratic mishandling and apathy, and misallocation and utilization of funds. It was hoped that the introduction of TSP would correct this and it will provide the necessary provisions for tribal autonomous in making plans and programs. The present chapter is a further attempt to locate government policy: do these policies address intra-tribal differences? The analysis of allocation and expenditure to the various programs by the tribal department would give the answer to this question. The analysis in a comparative perspective of decentralized and centralized regime has been give better understanding on the issues. The development of tribes in the state of Kerala made through tribal department till the introduction of decentralization. However, the decentralization of TSP up to district level occurred in 1982, where the district-working group under the chairmanship of district collector formulated and implemented programs for tribes in the state of Kerala. In fact, it was only after the introduction of decentralization that the participation of tribes in formulation and implementation of development programs ensured (Issac 2001). The tribal development programs implemented through rural development agencies and the tribal development department, which has been approached in two ways. One was a beneficiary oriented scheme, which may cover individuals, families or groups. In such all cases all the beneficiaries should belong to the STs as the case may be. The second category of schemes

would be infrastructure development schemes in which case the majority of the beneficiaries i.e. more than 50 percent should belong to the tribes.

But the 'localization' of power does not simply effective in implementing the programs. Raju J.Das (2000) observes that the benefit from the policies depends on three factors: material support for the policy, the balance of power between state actors and the poor, and the economic structure within which both the State and its poor client work. So the voice of the many marginalized sections of society are seldom heard in the process of democratisation, though the Kerala experiment is often held up as an example of the real transfer of power to the local level.

4.2 Tribal Department, the Panchayats, and TSP

The Tribal Development Department (TDD) was the nodal agency in the field of tribal development in the state of Kerala in the 80s and mid 90s. The major programs for the development of tribes in Kerala were often focused on habitat development in the form of making 'colonies' and providing basic facilities to the settlement. However, programs like the Sugandagiri project, and the Priyadarsini Estate were also mired in fund misutilization, corruption and mismanagement; this led to the failure of such rehabilitation programs for the tribes. After decentralization, the scope for TDD intervention was limited, and the government re-channeled tribal development funds through the Panchayats. However, figures of expenditure on tribal development since decentralization (from 1998-99 to 2001-02) shows that in these years the percentage utilization of allotted funds was less than 50 percent; thereafter, from 2002-03 to 2004-05, there was an increase, which went up to 95 percent. However, in the recent period, there is a fall in the utilization of funds. During 1997-98, the budget provision was 1841 lakhs, from which an amount of 1672.98 lakhs was spent, which constituted 90.87 percent of the allocation. However, in the very next year, the expenditure percent decreased to 29.52 percent; 694.93 lakhs remained unspent. Again, since 2002-03, the expenditure percent started to increase; and in 2008 it again decreased to 33.92 (see Table 4.2.1).

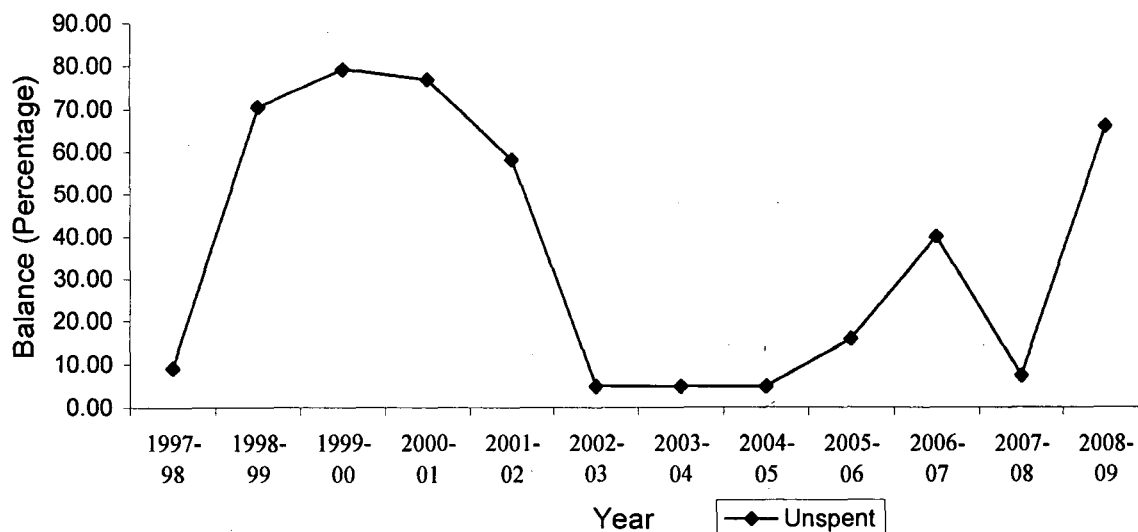
Table 4.2.1: Allocation and Expenditure gap in TSP (in Rs lakhs)

Year	Allocation	Expenditure	Unspent Amount	Percentage of unspent amount
1997-98	1841	1672.98	168.02	9.127
1998-99	986	291.07	694.93	70.480
1999-00	740	153	586.9	79.311
2000-01	755	174	580.7	76.914
2001-02	954	398	555.67	58.246
2002-03	7805	7428	377	4.830
2003-04	7805	7428	377	4.830
2004-05	4764	4530	234	4.912
2005-06	3915	3292	623	15.913
2006-07	6135	3687	2448	39.902
2007-08	5082	4709	373	7.340
*2008-09	6190	2099	4091	66.090

Source: ST Directorate, Thiruvananthapuram

Note: expenditure up to December 2008

Figure.4.2.1: Unspent TSP funds



Source: ST Directorate, Thiruvananthapuram

4.3 Performance of SCA to TSP Pre- and Post-decentralization periods

The Scheme of Special Central Assistance (SCA) to Tribal Sub Plan was introduced during Sixth Five Year Plan in India. Under this Scheme the assistance is given to State Government as an additive to State TSP. The SCA forms part of TSP strategy towards the larger goal of enhancing pace of socio-economic development in most backward tribal areas. Below is the details of allocation and expenditure of SCA to TSP and its utilization.

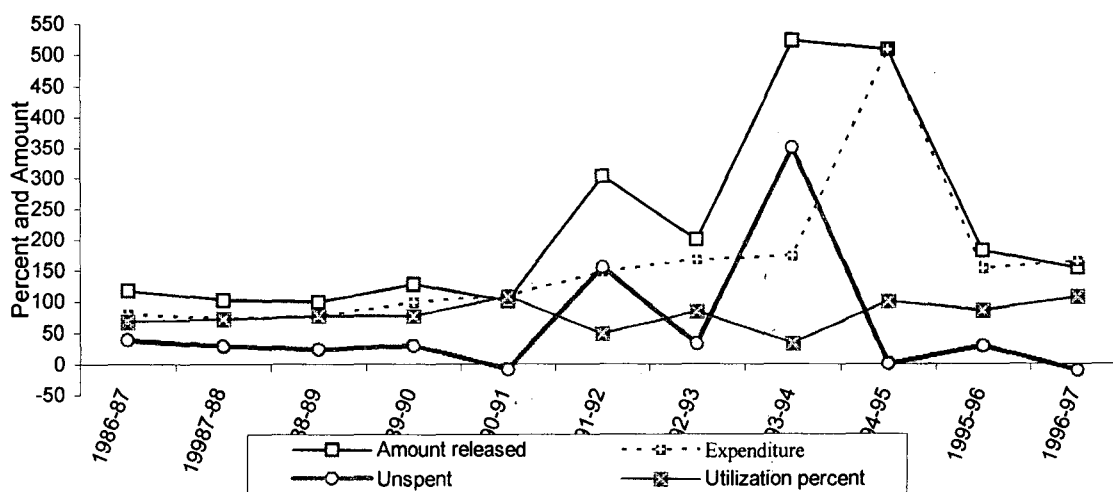
Strikingly, pre-decentralization period showed better performance in SCA spending; post-decentralization, this has fallen. The diminishing role of the TD department and the excessive focus on education on tribal development is probably responsible for this. There is criticism from the Standing committee of Ministry of Social Justice that the performance of SCA to TSP in Kerala is very low. It is clear from the Table 4.3.1 that the performance of SCA to TSP is very low down in Kerala since the decentralization.

Table 4.3.1: SCA to TSP in Kerala during 1986-97 to 1996-97 (in Rs lakhs)

Year	Amount released	Expenditure	Unspent	Utilization percent
1986-87	118	79.7	38.3	67.54
1987-88	102	73.6	28.4	72.16
1988-89	99	76.3	22.7	77.07
1989-90	128	98.8	29.2	77.19
1990-91	101	109.8	-8.8	108.71
1991-92	303	147.9	155.1	48.81
1992-93	200	167.3	32.7	83.65
1993-94	523	172.9	350.1	33.06
1994-95	508.81	508.81	0	100.00
1995-96	181.2	153.2	28	84.55
1996-97	153	164.69	-11.69	107.64

Source: Economic Review various issues

Figure 4.3.1: SCA to TSP in Kerala before decentralization



Source: Economic Review various issues

The performance of SCA to TSP in Kerala shows an unsatisfactory picture since 2004-05. Absolute amount under SCA increased since 1996-97; it was high in 1998-98; then it showed a decreasing trend; after 2005-06 it again increased. But the expenditure trend shows a mixed

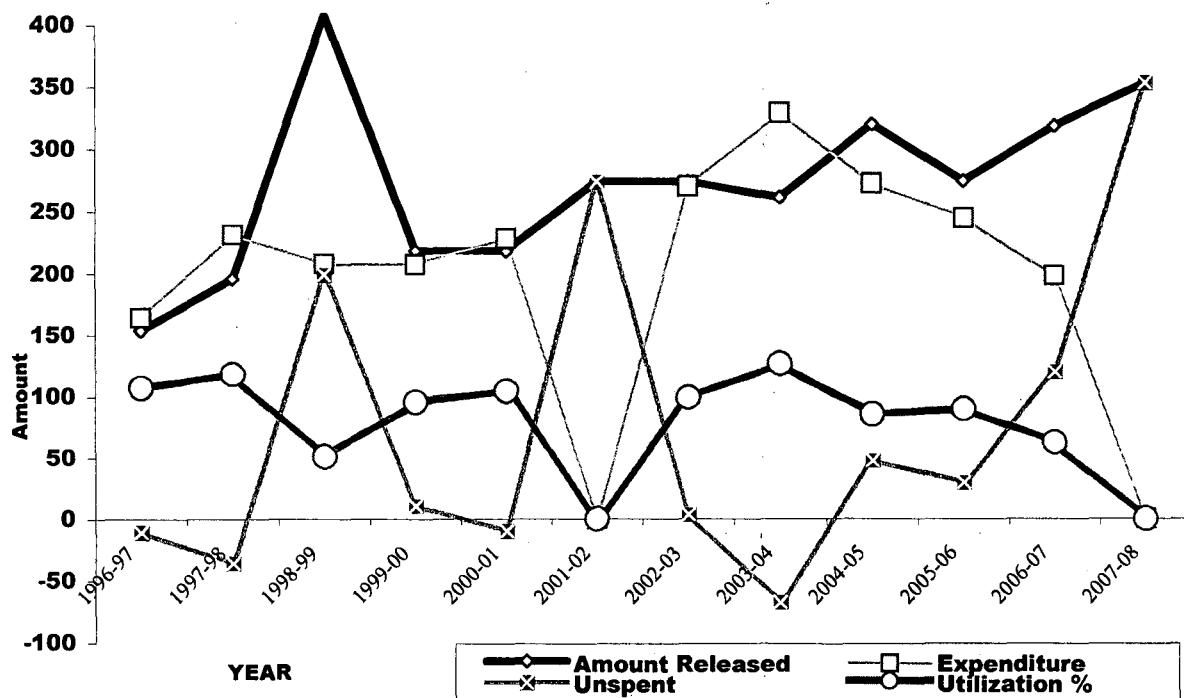
picture, that except in the years 1996-97, 1997-98, 2000-01 and 2003-04, in the rest of the years, unspent balance remained high. In 1998-99, when the largest amount had been allocated to the TSP from SCA, unspent balance was very high; in 2001-02, the allocation was completely spent.

Table 4.3.2 SCA to TSP in Kerala during 1996-97 to 2007-08 (in Rs lakhs)

Year	Amount Released	Expenditure	Unspent	Utilization percent
1996-97	153.71	164.69	-10.98	107.14
1997-98	196.12	231.78	-35.66	118.18
1998-99	408.17	208.41	199.76	51.06
1999-00	218.6	208	10.6	95.15
2000-01	218.63	228.24	-9.61	104.40
2001-02	273.7	0	273.7	0.00
2002-03	273.7	270.09	3.61	98.68
2003-04	260.62	328.62	-68	126.09
2004-05	319.35	272.17	47.18	85.23
2005-06	274.03	244.45	29.58	89.21
2006-07	318.13	198.26	119.87	62.32
2007-08	352.36	0	352.36	0.00

Sources: Economic Review various, Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, India

Figure 4.3.2: SCA to TSP in Kerala during 1996-97 to 2007-08



Sources: Economic Review various, Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, India

4.4 Financial Allocation since Decentralization

The major shift in the development planning of Kerala in the mid-90s was the introduction of decentralization. Financial devolution and the participation of people in the planning process were the key elements of decentralization in Kerala. Though the discussion on decentralized planning started during the first communist Ministry of the late 50s, it was operationalised through people's planning in mid-90s (Issac and Franke 2000: 16-17).

Though the TSP too was now fully decentralized to the level of local bodies, the success of Panchayat in delivering public services to tribes is in doubt. In fact, later during 2001-03 the TSP was later, transferred completely from the Panchayats to the TDD on grounds of poor implementation record, and on the demand of the Adivasi Dalit Samara Samithi led by C.K.Janu (Chathukulam and John 2002: 4918-4919). So the confusion about which system delivers better as far as the tribal people of Kerala are concerned is still alive.

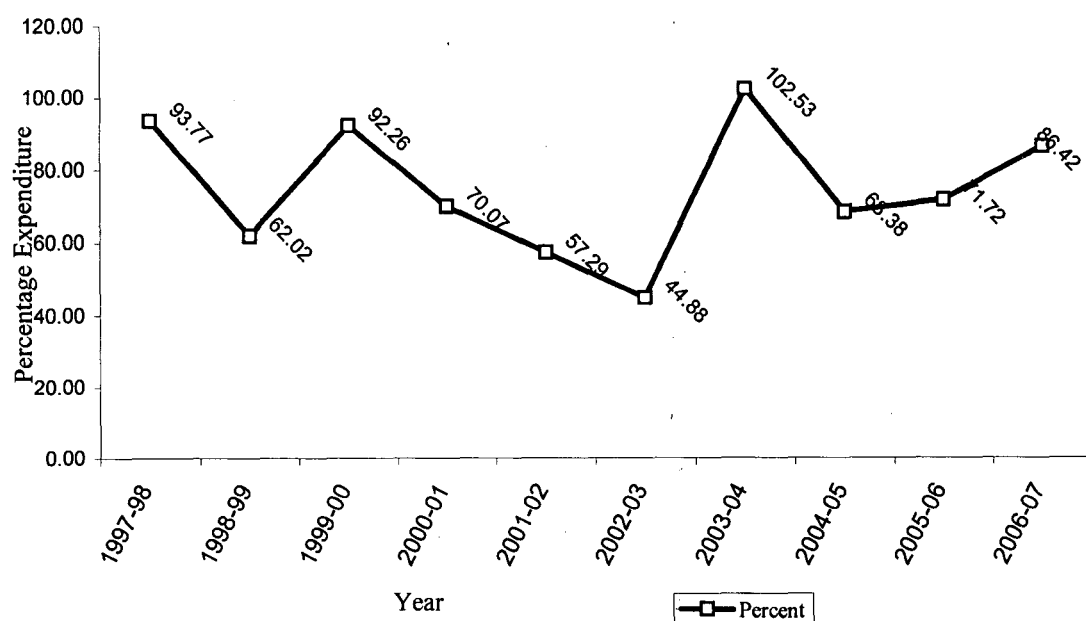
Table 4.4.1 shows the financial devolution to the local bodies in the State during the two Plan periods since the introduction of decentralization. The data suggests that compared to Ninth Plan, the allocation of state plan to the LSGs came down from 29.02 percent to 27.87 percent in Tenth Plan period, though the absolute figure increased from 4416 crores in Ninth Plan to 6784 crores in Tenth Plan. The expenditure figure also slightly decreased from 74.81 percent (Ninth Plan) to 74.76 percent (Tenth Plan). But considering the different years, it appears that expenditure fluctuated heavily, from 93.77 percent in 1997-98 and 57.29 percent in 2001-02 during Ninth Plan period. The difference is also apparent in the Tenth Plan period. So the initial enthusiasm about democratic decentralization steadily decreased in Kerala, as evident from the allocation and expenditure of funds to the local bodies. This may be due to the different approaches of the LDF and UDF- ruling fronts in Kerala -- to the decentralization process (Mohanakumar 2002).

Table 4.4.1: Share of LSGs in the State's Plan during Ninth and Tenth Plan (Rs. Crore)

Year	State Plan Outlay	Grant-in-Aid to LSGs	Percent	Expenditure	Percent
1997-98	2855.00	749.00	26.23	702.31	93.77
1998-99	3100.00	950.00	30.65	589.15	62.02
1999-00	3250.00	1020.00	31.38	941.06	92.26
2000-01	3535.00	1045.00	29.56	732.28	70.07
2001-02	3015.00	850.00	28.19	486.97	57.29
Total	-	4614.00	29.02	3451.77	74.81
2002-03	4026.00	1342.00	33.33	602.26	44.87
2003-04	4430.25	1317.00	29.73	1350.34	102.53
2004-05	4800.00	1350.00	28.13	923.09	68.37
2005-06	5369.81	1375.00	25.61	986.21	71.72
2006-07	6210.00	1400.00	22.54	1209.83	86.41
Total	-	6784.00	27.87	5071.73	74.76

Source: Economic Review, 2008

Figure 4.4.1 Percentage Expenditure to Grant-in-Aid Outlay (1997-07)



Source: Economic Review, 2008

4.5 Sector wise Allocation of Funds during Ninth and Tenth Plan Periods

From Table 4.5.1 it is clear that grant-in-aid given to the three components i.e. General, SCP and TSP has remarkably increased in the Tenth Plan compared to the Ninth Plan i.e. 45.06

percent increase for General Category, 57.34 percent for SCP and 26.23 percent for TSP. The largest growth rate is noticed in the case of SCP i.e. 57.34 percent. However, the growth rate in TSP category (26.23 percent) is low compared to the rest. A year-wise analysis reveals that there has been a year of negative growth in grant-in-aid given to General sector in tenth plan period, especially for 2001 to 2007. During the same period the grant-in-aid to TSP also very low as compared to 2006-07 and during 2001-03 it was zero due to the confusion among the politicians and Adivasi movement regarding the utilization of funds.

The tier-wise and sector-wise allocation for grant-in-aid under Ninth and Tenth Plan periods shows that there is cent percentage increase in the allocation given to Corporation in the state -- 109.62 percent -- followed by that to Municipalities, i.e. 48.76 per cent. This shows the top priority accorded by the government for the development of infrastructure in urban areas. But during Tenth Plan there is no fund earmarked to the TSP category in corporation and municipal areas: this may in fact impede tribal mobility towards urban areas, a possibility that is open to Dalits (see appendix A 4.1).

Table 4.5.1: Sector wise allocation of funds during Ninth plan periods (Rs. Crore)

Year	General	SCP	TSP	Total
1997-98	516.00	194.00	39.00	749.00
1998-99	716.00(38.76)	195.00(0.52)	39.00(0.00)	950.00(26.83)
1999-00	780.00(8.94)	200.00(2.56)	40.00(2.56)	1020.00(7.37)
2000-01	785.00(0.64)	217.00(8.50)	43.00(7.50)	1045.00(2.45)
2001-02	668.00(-14.90)	182.00(-16.13)	0	850.00(-18.66)
Total	3465.00	988.00	161.00	4614.00

Source: Economic Review

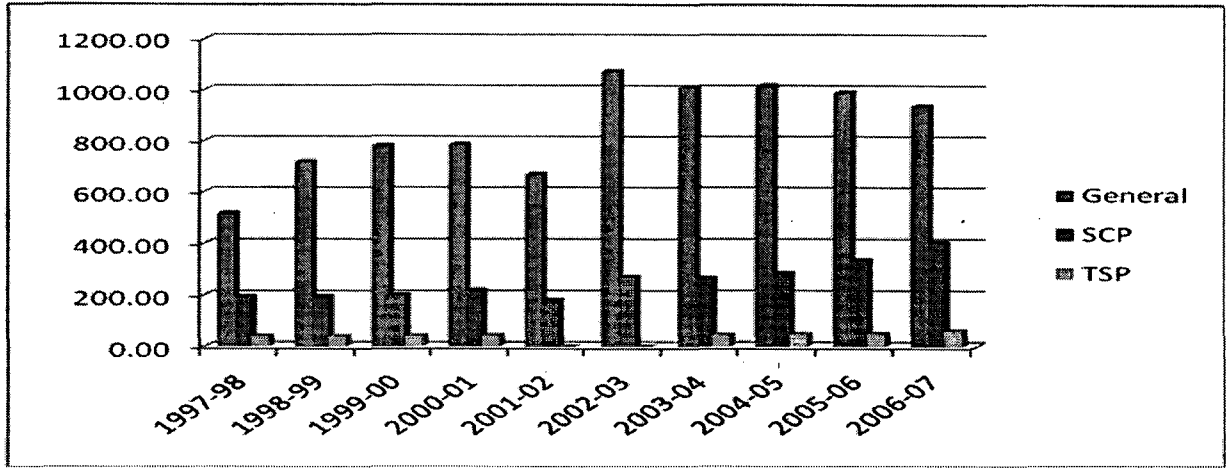
Table 4.5.2: Sector wise allocation of funds during Tenth plan periods (Rs. Crore)

Year	General	SCP	TSP	Total
2002-2003	1073.50(60.70)	268.50(47.53)	0	1342.00(57.88)
2003-2004	1009.23(-5.99)	263.33(-193)	44.44	1317.00(-1.86)
2004-2005	1016.67(0.74)	285.20(8.31)	48.13(8.30)	1350.00(2.50)
2005-2006	990.36(-2.59)	334.47(17.28)	50.17(4.24)	1375.00(1.85)
2006-2007	936.51(-5.4)	403.00(20.49)	60.49(20.57)	1400.00(1.81)
Total	5026.27(45.06)	1554.50(57.34)	203.23(26.23)	6784.00(47.03)

Source: Economic Review

Note: Figures in parentheses shows the percentage annual growth rate

Figure 4.5.1: Sector wise Allocation of Funds during Ninth and Tenth Plan periods (Rs. Crore)

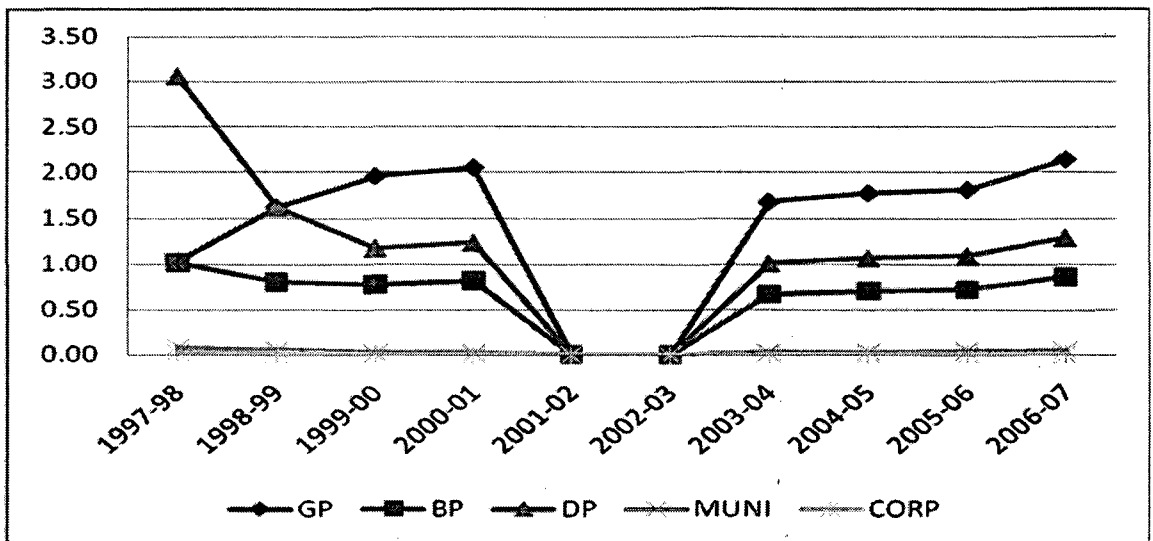


Source: Economic Review

4.6 Percentage of TSP Expenditure to Total Expenditure to the Local Bodies

The expenditure pattern of TSP in local bodies during two Plan periods does not reflect in tribal participation in planning process. The General fund expenditure is more than that of TSP funds during both the Plan periods; spending pattern in Municipalities and in Corporation shows the urbanization and modernization in Kerala – tribes have been left outside of these processes. That tribal people in Kerala have continued to insist upon their right to live their own life in their ancestral territorial areas is a different question.

Figure 4.6.1: Percentage of TSP Expenditure to Total Expenditure to the Local Bodies



Source: Economic Review

4.7 Scheme-wise Allocation of TSP during Ninth and Tenth Plan Periods

Considering the scheme-wise allocation and expenditure under TSP in Kerala, the percentage of expenditure on heads like infrastructure development (including water supply) and Central Schemes like IAY and JRY have exceeded the approved outlay, while it is the reverse in the case of health and general education during the Ninth Plan periods (see Table 4.7.1 & 4.7.2). It may be noted that general education has been the core investment area in the field of tribal development. The expenditure during the Tenth Plan period also shows underutilization of funds in the TSP (46.2 percent), IAY (28.1 percent) and SGSY (50.3 percent), which account for a total of 47.3 percent. The gap between the approved outlay and actual expenditure is high in the social sector. Most of the expenditure in tribal development is in infrastructure. The allocation-expenditure gap is explained mainly in terms of the fiscal crisis of the state government and the consequent confusion and delay in the disbursement of the installments of grants to LSGIs (Kerala Development Report 2008).

Table 4.7.1: Scheme wise Expenditure during Ninth Plan 1997-2002 (*Rs in Lakhs*)

Major Head / Sub Head/ Schemes	Approved Outlay			Actual Expenditure	
	Total Outlay	Flow to TSP	Percent	Flow to TSP	Percent
IAY	2600	120	4.62	247.62	206.35
Water Supply	103200	50	0.05	143.15	286.3
Department Schemes	--	--	0.00	0.00	0
Plan Grant to Local Bodies	600000	21000	3.50	0.00	0
Power	251000	400	0.16	336.75	84.19
Health – Allopathy	13798	30	0.22	12.10	40.33
Health – Ayurveda	3600	4	0.11	0.00	0
Health Homoeopathy	1812	4	0.22	2.63	65.75
General Education	31038	15	0.05	13.39	89.27
TRYSEM	558	30	5.38	5.96	19.87
JRY	4900	84	1.71	154.25	183.63
Total	1610000	31491	1.96	6142.23	19.50

Source: Economic Review 2002-03

Table 4.7.2: Scheme wise Expenditure during Tenth Plan 2002-07 (Rs in Lakhs)

Major Head! Sub Head! Schemes	Approved Outlay			Actual Expenditure	
	Total Outlay	flow to TSP	Percent	Flow to TSP	Percent
SGSY	5980	150	2.5	75.4	50.3
Indira Awaz Yojana (IAY)	7140	355	5.0	99.77	28.1
SGRY	8495	120	1.4	803.65	669.7
Kudumbashree	8300	50	0.6	0.0	0.0
Power	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
AHADS	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Water Supply	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
General Education	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Health	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Fisheries	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Animal Husbandry	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
ST Development Department	55675	55675	100	25699.08	46.2
Plan Assistance to LSGs	800000.00	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
TOTAL	885590.00	56350.00	8.4	26677.90	47.3

Source: Economic Review 2007-08

4.8 Voices from the Grassroots

4.8.1 Districts Profiles

Wayanad

The highly forested hilly district of Wayanad district came in to existence on 1 November 1980 as the tenth district of Kerala consisting of Manathavady, Sulthan Bathery and Vythiry Taluks. The name Wayanad derived from 'Vayal Nadu', which means the land of paddy fields. The district is surrounded by the Nilgiri district of Tamilnadu and Mysore district of Karnataka on the north, Malappuram district on the south and Kozhikode and Kannur districts on the west, all of Kerala. The district has an area of 2131 sq.kms with a total population of 7.87 lakhs as per the 2001 census, which constitutes 2.5 percent of the total population of the State. It is also the least populated district in the State. The sex ratio is 1000, one of the lowest districts in Kerala according to the 2001 census. In total density, it is the second-lowest with 366 persons in sq.km and lowest in urban density (727/sq.km) in the state. One important characteristic feature of this district is the large Adivasi population, consisting mainly of Paniyas, Adiyas, Kattunaikan and Kurichiyan. Wayanad district stands first in the case of Adivasi population (it accommodates 36 percent of the tribal population in the state).. The District represents 1.07 percent and 37.36 percent of scheduled caste and

scheduled tribe population respectively according to 2001 census. Male and female work participation rates are second- highest in the State: 55.82 percent and 23.17 percent respectively, compared with 50.4 and 15.3 percent in the State. In literacy the district ranks twelfth, with 85.2 percent. Agriculture is the principle occupation of the people in Wayanad and the plantation crops- tea, coffee, pepper, rubber etc are the backbone of the economy of this district.

Kasaragod

Kasaragod district, formed on the 24 May 1984, is the northern-most district of Kerala. It has a population of 12.03 lakhs, which constitutes 3.8 percent of the total population in the state. The name Kasaragod is derived from the word Kusirakood, meaning Nuxvomica forests (Kanjirakuttam). The district has two taluks namely, Kasaragod and Hosdurg and district ranks thirteenth in the states in terms area. The district is bounded in the east by the Western Ghats, in the west by Arabian Sea, in the north by Canara district of Karnataka and in the south by the Kannur district. It is the centre of cashew cultivation in the State. In literacy, the district stands thirteenth as per 2001 Census with 84.6 percent literate population. The density of population in the district is 604 per sq. km; in urban density it stands eleventh in Kerala (1862/sq.km). The sex ratio is 1047 females for 1000 males according to 2001 Census. The district form 2.88 percent and 8.33 percent of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe population respectively according to 2001 census. The majority of population is engaged in agricultural activities; work participation rate of the district is 34.7 percent and and 4th in female work participation (20.9 percent). The district has a mixed culture with different languages and the Kannada is the second most spoken language in the district. Arecanut, cashew, pepper, rubber, tapioca, coconut, vegetables, banana etc. are the chief crops grown.

4.9 Profile of the Households

The field survey covered 60 households from Paivalike and Noolpuzha Panchayats of Kasaragod and Wayanad districts respectively. The total population of these households is 257, and the households are spread around 10 hamlets, 5 from each districts.

The table 4.9.1 shows the number of people, family size and average age in the survey according to the category of primitive and non-primitive tribes. Out of the population of 257, 50 are Kattunaikan, 53 are Koraga, 84 are Malakudiya, and 70 Paniyas respectively. The

male-female proportion is near equal in the sample populations. The average age of the sample population is 21 -- 30 for Kattunaikan and Koraga (PTGs) and 28 and 26 respectively for (non-primitive) Malakudya and Paniyas. The average family size in the PTGs sample households is 4; it is 5 for non-primitive tribe households. Average monthly income of PTG households is Rs. 1207 for Kattunaikan and Rs. 2167 for Koraga, for non-PTG households it is Rs. 3535 for Malakudiya and 1964 for Paniya. The number of adults per household in the PTG sample is 3 for Koraga and 2 for Kattunaikan, for the non-PGT sample it is 3 for both the Paniya and Malakudiya. As for educational attainment, the percentage of persons who have attended school to some level in PTG sample is 54 percent for Kattunaikan and 46.19 percent for Koraga, while for the non-PGT sample it is 48.57 percent for Paniya and 83.34 percent for Malakudiya.

Table 4.9.1: Profile of the Household

Category	Male	Female	Total	Average age	Average Family Size	Average income (Rs)	Schooling at some level (%)	Average adult per family
Kattunaikan	25	25	50	21	4	1207	54	2
Koraga	26	27	53	30	4	2167	46.19	3
Malakudiya	42	42	84	28	5	3535	83.34	3
Paniya	35	35	70	26	5	1964	48.57	3

Source: Primary Survey

Table 4.9.2: Marital Status of the Sample Population

Category	Kattunaikan		Koraga		Malakudiya		Paniya	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Unmarried	40	36	46.15	40.74	52.38	45.24	60	45.71
Married	60	56	53.85	44.44	47.62	42.86	40	40
Widow/widower	0	8	0	14.81	0	11.9	0	14.29

Source: Primary Survey

The Table 4.9.2 shows that except among the Paniyas, sex ratios in other groups are close to the general sex ratio for Wayanad district. It is matter of concern that widowhood is not negligible in the population, while widowerhood is not found; almost 15 percent of women among Paniyas and Koraga are widowed. At the State-level the widowed male and female population is 1.1 percent and 9.1 percent respectively. The gender gap in widowed population is high in Kerala and for the surveyed communities it is higher than the general status in the State. The reasons given for the general trend are sex differentials in the age at marriage, high

life expectancy, and the significantly higher rate of remarriage among men compared with women (Gulati 1993). The reasons for this phenomenon seem to be different among tribes, while the health related issues is the cause among the Koraga tribes (Kakkoth 2005: 54), the case of Paniya tribes is different. It is important to note here that widowhood is most frequent in 'migrant' houses. There are reports on death of the migrant tribal labourers from Wayanad in Coorg. There are many incidents of such death reported by respondents during the course of fieldwork. One of the incidents during fieldwork was of the murder of five members of a family of tribal labourers by their employers. Other similar cases were reported by widows, about the death of their husbands in work places in Mysore.

Table 4.9.3: Occupational Status of the Sample Population (*figures in percent*)

Category	Kattunaikan		Koraga		Malakudiya		Paniya	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Employed in state government	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.76	0.00	0.00	0.00
Employed in state government	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.38	0.00	0.00	2.86
Employed in private Sector	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Self employment	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Unpaid family worker	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.38	0.00	0.00
Agricultural labourers	0.00	0.00	38.46	14.81	50.00	7.14	54.9	45.71
Job seekers	4.00	0.00	3.85	0.00	2.38	0.00	0.00	2.86
Student	20.00	16.00	15.38	3.70	28.57	35.7	34.9	22.86
Job not required	16.00	12.00	0.00	3.70	7.14	4.76	8.57	14.29
Pensioners	0.00	4.00	0.00	3.70	4.76	11.9	2.86	8.57
Household work	4.00	40.00	0.00	29.63	0.00	14.3	0.00	2.86
Labourers in non-agriculture	0.00	0.00	3.84	22.22	0.00	23.8	0.00	0.00
Traditional occupation	0.00	0.00	38.46	22.22	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Forest related	56.00	28.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Source: Primary Survey

The occupational distribution of tribal population ranged from traditional livelihoods to agricultural labour. Both the primitive tribes here depend on forest (see Table 4.9.3). Kattunaikan are completely dependent on forest products -- 56 percent (male) and 28 percent (female). However, some Koraga have changed their means of livelihood from traditional occupations to non-agricultural sectors (quarrying, loading etc.), and this is partly a response to the decline in their traditional occupation – basket-making. Of the non-primitive tribes, the Paniyas are engaged in agricultural labour. Though the Wayanad district is an agrarian

economy, the tribes are migrating to the neighbouring states in search of livelihood, especially the Paniyas, who were slave-labourers in earlier days.

4.10 Interest of Tribes in Democratisation Process

The main argument regarding the decentralisation was the involvement and participation of people in decision-making and implementation of development activities. In this process, it was hoped; people will formulate development plans according to their aspirations and realize them through the local bodies. The 'Gramasabha', the lowest tier, was envisaged as closest to local views and interests, and considered to be the key deliberating and decision-making body at local level for general population; for tribal people, the analogous body in decentralized planning is the 'Oorukottam'. There is broad agreement that democracy involves the sharing of power among different groups of a national society, including a common right to express views and to compete for the opportunity to make or influence decisions (Tatu Vanhanen 1990). In Kerala, it is argued that the high literacy and public campaigns by different agencies of development has increased the participation of people in the decentralization process through Gramasabhas and Oorukottams. However, popular participation in Gramasabhas has waned somewhat in Kerala, while it is high among tribal people (Harilal 2008). Heller, Harilal, and Choudhuri (2007) also argue that the involvement of marginalized communities is very high and a significant percent of tribal population has benefited from the decentralization.

The question regarding the 'Oorukottam' -- which is the space for expressing views on development issues for tribal population -- reveals that, the term 'Oorukoottam' and TSP is not familiar to all the tribal population under study. The difference in names -- the sanskritic 'Gramasabha' for the general population, and the more Dravidian 'Oorukoottam' for tribes did not seem to have any real impact at all: people had heard of Panchayat 'meetings', but the term 'Oorukoottam' looked exotic to interviewees in both districts. The Kattunaikan interviewees, members of one of the primitive-tribes under study, explicitly used the term meeting instead of 'Oorukoottam'. Also, the large majority of interviewees had no knowledge of the full democratic potential of the Oorukoottam.

Table 4.10.1: Attendance in 'Oorukoottam' (*figures in percent*)

Category	Koraga	Malakudiya	Kattunaikan	Paniya
Yes	60	82.35	71.43	85.71
No	40	17.65	28.57	14.29

Source: Primary Survey

The interest of the different tribal population is different as is evident from the Table 4.10.1. While the Malakudiya (82.35 percent) and Paniya (85.71 percent) have the highest percentage in attending 'Oorukoottams', the Kattunaikan (71.43 percent) and Koraga (60 percent) have lesser interest in this. Here the primitive and non-primitive division is clear. The primitive tribes are less considerate in attending 'Oorukoottams' in comparison to the non-primitive counterparts.

Almost all respondents, across different tribal divisions, reported that their chief motivation for attending 'Oorukoottams' is individual benefit. However, precisely because of this, people who obtain benefits do not turn up for the next 'Oorukoottam'. As for attendance, the primitive-non-primitive difference seemed to involve the distance the former had to travel to attend the meeting; they reported that when they used to be held in their hamlets, attendance was easier. The other important reason reported was the non-implementation of the decisions taken in the meeting by the Panchayat and the officials' and a general faithlessness to promises made. There seems to be no evidence for a nuanced planning process that elicits needs and ideas from the 'Oorukoottam'; it seems to be largely a beneficiary selection process where the primitive and non-primitive categories are purely governmental in significance. In other words, these categories are not respected as representing different sets of needs and interests (which seems to be evident from the difference in attendance by these groups) that, under ideal conditions, should closely inform the local planning process. The promise of respect for different interests and needs held by the TSP thus remains undelivered under the present decentralized dispensation.

A non-negligible per cent of the sample from each tribe reported that they did not attend the Oorukoottams. Nearly one-third of the respondents from the PTGs did not attend them; among the non-PTG respondents, 17.65 percent of Malakudiya and 14.29 of Paniya did not attend Oorukoottams.

Table 4.10.2: Discussions in 'Oorukoottam' (figures in percent)

Category	Kattunaikan	Koraga	Malakudiya	Paniya
Land*	14.29	20	5.88	7.14
Education	7.14	6.67	23.53	35.71
Other	35.71	40.00	52.94	42.86
Housing	14.29	0	0	0
Don't attend	28.57	33.33	17.65	14.29
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Primary Survey

Note: * Land includes forest and agriculture

From the Table 4.10.2, it appears that 'Other'¹⁸ is the most discussed topic in Oorukoottams. Kattunaikan respondents (primitive tribe) reported that the most -discussed issues in the 'Oorukoottam' were 'Other' (35.71 percent), Housing (14.29) and land (14.29 percent); education is discussed to a lesser extent in the meetings. The second most important topic identified by Kattunaikan besides 'Other' is 'Housing'; the emphasis, again, seems on construction. What is disturbing, considering our information about the livelihoods of the Kattunaikan, is the fact that they perceive the complete absence of forest-related issues in the discussions around land (though others do report such discussions). Koraga respondents reported that 'Other' (40 percent) and land (20 percent) were the topics most discussed in 'Oorukoottam'.

Regarding the non-primitive tribes, they reported that 'Other' and education is the most discussed topics in 'Oorukoottam'. Here 52.94 percent from Kattunaikan respondents reported that 'Other' is most discussed and for Paniya it is 42.86 percent. The non-primitive respondents reported the most discussed topic next to 'Other' is education, which is 23.53 percent Malakudiya and 35.71 percent Paniya respondents.

While the TSP spending is confined to infrastructure and house construction, the Paniya community are less benefited as compared to the other tribal group in the sample population after the decentralization. The Paniya community is seen to be less benefited as compared to the other tribal groups in the sample population after decentralization. The fact in this regard is that the study area was Muthanga, where the struggle for land in Kerala was initiated in the recent past by AGMS in 2000. The Paniya tribes in this area were active participants of

¹⁸ The discussions on 'other' include construction of community hall, providing infrastructure facility like roads, drinking water, electricity, television etc. – in some, largely to do with infrastructure building.

this struggle and they stated that the political parties are biased towards the tribal households that supported the Gothra Maha Sabha, and that the families not involved in the land struggle are getting development benefits. This indicates that the political parties in the state of Kerala use development as a tool to arrest the politicization of tribes in the state.

Table 4.10.3: Benefits from the TSP Programs (*figures in percent*)

Category	Koraga	Malakudiya	Kattunaikan	Paniya
Yes	40	82.4	57.1	71.4
No	60	17.6	42.9	28.6

Source: Primary Survey

Regarding benefits from TSP, there is a discrepancy. Sixty percent of the respondents among Koraga community reported that they are not getting any benefit from the TSP, whereas 82.4 percent of the respondents from the Malakudiya community, who are from the same district reported they are getting benefits from the TSP. This is also the case of Wayanad district, where the primitive group reported less benefit from the TSP compared to the other group. Here, it seems that the non-primitive tribes in both the districts are well aware of the government programs, while the primitive tribes are less likely to benefit from these programs.

4.11 Educational Benefit and TSP

The educational benefits from the government also show a disparity between primitive and non-primitive tribes in the state. Malakudiya and Paniya, which is categorized as non-primitive tribes, have good access in this regard (100 percent and 50 percent respectively), while primitive tribes do not (35.7 percent and 40 percent).

Table 4.10.4: Response to the Educational Benefit (*figures in percent*)

Category	Koraga	Malakudiya	Kattunaikan	Paniya
Yes	40	100	35.7	50
No	60	0	64.3	42.9
NA	0	0	0	7.1

Source: Primary Survey

4.12 TSP and Health Benefit to the Tribes

Of the primitive tribes, Koraga revealed better knowledge of health benefit from the TDD and the more than 50 percent of the respondents reported that they are getting health benefits. However, the benefit they are availing of is the TDD's medical claim; they are

unaware of the larger special provisions in the district hospitals, which remain underutilized. The large distance they have to travel to reach the District Hospital, and the problem that bystanders do not have sufficient support for even basic necessities makes the trip to the District Hospital unaffordable. However, the Kattunaikan, do not resort to modern medicine and still rely upon indigenous health care. Of the non-primitive tribes, Paniya are aware of health benefits but around 40 percent of them are not getting any health benefit. What is striking is the lack of both accessible and differentiated health care for the tribes: again, this is clear evidence for the continued lumping of all tribes, despite primitive-non-primitive categorisation, and the same prescription of homogenized solutions to 'tribal backwardness'.

Table 4.10.5: Response to the Health Benefit (*figures in percent*)

Category	Koraga	Malakudiya	Kattunaikan	Paniya
Yes	53.3	5.9	14.3	57.1
No	46.7	94.1	85.7	42.9

Source: Primary Survey

4.13 Summary

It was hoped that the decentralization will strengthen the democratization process in which the 'recipients' will formulate the plans and programs according to their needs. The analysis of TSP in decentralized regime among the tribes is not reflecting anything significant in this direction. The categorization made by the government has not been a crucial criterion for formulating the plans and programs. In fact the 'Oorukoottam', seems to be a beneficiary selection 'institution' at the bottom. The gap between allocation and expenditure of TSP is varying across years and the utilization of SCA to TSP is very less in Kerala.

CHAPTER V

Summary and Conclusion

The study scrutinized the TSP in Kerala, which was envisaged as the vital tribal development programme since the Fifth Five Year Plan and held the promise of being sensitive to the different needs of different groups of tribal people, at least in its initial formulation. The study covered two Panchayats in two districts, Wayanad and Kasaragod, which have a significant mix of primitive and non-primitive tribes, which includes the location of recent Adivasi land struggle in Kerala, Muthanga. Based on the population criteria, Noolpuzha and Paivalike Panchayats from Wayanad and Kasaragod were selected for field survey. The attempt was to examine whether the TSP was making an impact in lifting tribal people out of outlier status, and whether the primitive-non-primitive distinction in categorizing tribal people has significant relevance on the ground, especially in the present decentralized dispensation which, theoretically, ought to be favourable towards meeting the differential needs of tribal peoples effectively.

Based on its performance during the past decade, Kerala has been assessed by the Govt. of India as the best performing state with respect to democratic decentralization and Panchayat Raj. However, it appears from this limited study that even the much-celebrated decentralization process in Kerala has not been able to deliver development benefits to the tribal population.

1. The wide gap between allocation and expenditure of TSP and in the spending of SCA to TSP indicates that the performance of the state is not satisfactory.
2. The major areas of spending of TSP during pre and post decentralization period have been on education and infrastructure. However, the benefits derived from these spending were negligible.
3. Spending on health is poor; it is completely neglected in development spending. Survey results show that the most of the households are not aware of the health programs.
4. The primitive tribes are less interested in attending 'Oorukoottams' in comparison to the non-primitive counterparts.

5. The question regarding the 'Oorukottam' -- which is the space for expressing views on development issues for tribal population -- reveals that, the term 'Oorukoottam' and TSP is not familiar to all the tribal population under study.

6. Also, the large majority of interviewees had no knowledge of the full democratic potential of the Oorukootam.

A general observation that emerges from the above chapters is that the categorization of tribal people into primitive and non-primitive does not seem to fully capture their different needs; nor does it effectively channel the flow of benefits. Above all development still remains a modernizing project largely alien, to various degrees, to the different tribal groups. Thus from this (admittedly limited) study, it appears that the early promise of the TSP remains undelivered in Kerala, despite democratic decentralization and participatory planning.

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Appendix
A:1.1 Questionnaire

CENTRE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
PRASANTH NAGAR, ULLOOR, THIRUVANANTHAPURAM – 695 011, KERALA
MPhil Programme in *Applied Economics* 2007-09
Of the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi

Dissertation Study
**Development and Tribes: An Enquiry into Social Development,
Social Justice and Tribal Sub-Plan in Kerala**

Name of the Investigator: Kunhikrishnan.v	Date:
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Name of the respondent-----age-----sex-----

Address-----

Districts: Kasaragod Wayanad

Religion: Hindu Muslim Christian Others

Specify-----

Caste: -----

The household located in: a) adivasi hamlet b) hamlet near town c) hamlet away from town

Demographic characteristics of the family

SL.No	Name	Relation to HH	Age	Sex	Education	Marital status	Occupation
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							

(Code: Column03: Head of the HH:1, Husband/Wife:2, Unmarried children:3, Married children:4, Grandchild:5, Son in law/daughter in law: 6, Father/mother/mother in law:7, others: 9. Column 06: Illiterate:1, Literate with out school: 2, Primary not completed:3, Primary:4, Upper primary up to secondary:5, Secondary passed but have no degree:6, Degree holders:7,Postgraduate:8,Others(specify):9.Column07:Unmarried:1,Married:2,

Widow/widower:3,Divorced:4, Separated:5. Column 08 Employed in state/central govt:1, Employed in semi.govt/local bodies:2, Employed in private sector:3, Self employment:4 Unpaid family worker:5, Agricultural labourers:6, Labourers in non-agricultural sector:7, Job seekers:8, Students:9,Job not required:10,Pensioners:11, Household work:12)

Source of livelihood

(Unit in Rs.)

Source of monthly income	Agriculture-own cultivation	
	Agricultural labour	
	Own farm enterprises-Dairy/Poultry	
	Fishing	
	Casual labour	
	Salaried employed	
	Non-agri.enterprises (Tea shop, Tailor)	
	Pension	
	Other (specify)	

Monthly Expenditure	Food	
	Cloths	
	Health	
	Education	
	Electricity/Telephone	
	Entertainment	
	Other	

Landholding

1. Area in cents

2. Do you cultivate crops on any land?

3. Whether you are mortgaged your land

4. Whether you have got land under any programs from government

5. If yes, tell the program

6. Whether you are transact your land to any body

7. If yes, what is the purpose?

Tribal Sub-Plan

1. Do you know about tribal Sub-plan?

2. How do you know about TSP?

3. Did you get any benefit from the TSP program?

4. Did you attend the Oorukoottam, if No---go to Q.7, if yes

5. What are the major discussions taking place in Oorukoottam

a) Land, b) Education c) Housing d) Agriculture e) Others

6. What is the motivation to participate in Oorukoottam

a) To get personal benefit b) to attain a collective action c) to maintain a social obligation

7. Are you satisfied in implementation of decision taken in Oorukoottam

8. Why don't you attend in Oorukottam meetings?

Housing

1. Who own the house?

2. When was your house built?

0-6 months

7-12 months

1-2 years

2-3 years

3-5 years

5-10 years

10+ years

Don't know

3. Was the Grama Panchayath involved in house construction and how it involved?

a) Provided land b) Provided land and money c) constructed house d) no involvement e) can't say

4 When was the repair undertaken, if any?

0-6 months

7-12 months

1-2 years

2-3 years

3-5 years

5-10 years

10+ years

Don't know

After decentralization-1

Before decentralization-2

5. Has the Grama Panchayath helped you with any repair/additional construction work/improvement to your house?

Education

1. Are you aware of any special educational programs under TSP?

2. Have you got any educational assistance from the government? If yes, from which body

a) Local self-government b) Tribal department c) others

Health

1. Have you aware of any health schemes under TSP

2. Are you getting any health benefit from the government departments?

General question

1. What is your general opinion about TSP?

2. Do you have any suggestions to improve the TSP programs?

3. Did you see any bias involved in allocation of TSP funds, if yes

4. What is the reason involved in it?

Remarks:

A 3.1: Primitive Tribes population in the 1931 Census

Tribes	Population
Ajmermerwara	18904
Andamans and Nicobar	10405
Asssam	1678419
Bengal	1927299
Bihar and orissa	6681228
Bombay	2841080
Central provinces	4065277
Coorg	1089
Madras	1262369
United provinces	400184
States	3521238
Province	21092610
Baroda	3521238
Central India	1342081
Cochin	1048
Gwalior	281033
Hyderabad	222806
Rajputana	802178
Travancore	21728
Western Indian States	495834
Total	24613848

Source: Revankar G Ratna. 1971. pp. 146, Table 3-7

A 4.1

Expenditure of SCP/TSP through Local Self Government Institutions – 1997-98- 2006-07(Rs.Crore)

Grama Panchayats					Percentage to Total		
Year	General	SCP	TSP	Total	General	SCP	TSP
1997-98	307.02	105.85	7.62	420.49	73.01	25.17	1.81
1998-99	426.02	108.21	15.31	549.54	77.52	19.69	2.79
1999-00	464.1	111.03	19.88	595.01	78	18.66	3.34
2000-01	467.08	120.47	21.37	608.91	76.71	19.78	3.51
2001-02	384.84	98.59	0	483.43	79.61	20.39	0
2002-03	618.84	142	0	760.84	81.34	18.66	0
2003-04	580.42	139.26	22.02	741.7	78.26	18.78	2.97
2004-05	584.84	150.5	23.83	759.17	77.04	19.82	3.14
2005-06	574.75	177.5	24.8	777.05	73.97	22.84	3.19
2006-07	544.11	213.87	29.91	787.89	69.06	27.14	3.8
Block Panchayats							
Year	General	SCP	TSP	Total	General	SCP	TSP
1997-98	65.79	35.28	7.62	108.7	60.52	32.46	7.01
1998-99	91.29	36.07	7.66	135.02	67.61	26.71	5.67
1999-00	99.45	37.01	7.95	144.41	68.87	25.63	5.51
2000-01	100.09	40.16	8.55	148.79	67.27	26.99	5.75
2001-02	82.46	32.86	0	115.32	71.51	28.49	0
2002-03	132.61	47.33	0	179.94	73.7	26.3	0
2003-04	124.37	46.42	8.81	179.6	69.25	25.85	4.91
2004-05	125.32	50.17	9.53	185.02	67.73	27.12	5.15
2005-06	123.16	59.17	9.92	192.25	64.06	30.78	5.16
2006-07	116.6	71.29	11.96	199.85	58.34	35.67	5.98
District Panchayats							
Year	General	SCP	TSP	Total	General	SCP	TSP
1997-98	65.79	35.28	22.87	123.94	53.08	28.47	18.45
1998-99	91.29	36.07	15.31	142.67	63.99	25.28	10.73
1999-00	99.45	37.01	11.93	148.39	67.02	24.94	8.04
2000-01	100.09	40.16	12.82	153.06	65.39	26.24	8.38
2001-02	82.46	32.86	0	115.32	71.51	28.49	0.00
2002-03	133.61	47.33	0	180.94	73.84	26.16	0.00
2003-04	125.38	46.42	13.21	185.01	67.77	25.09	7.14
2004-05	126.32	50.17	14.3	190.79	66.21	26.30	7.50
2005-06	124.16	59.17	14.88	198.21	62.64	29.85	7.51
2006-07	116.6	71.29	17.94	205.83	56.65	34.64	8.72

Contd..

Expenditure of SCP/TSP through Local Self Government Institutions – 1997-98- 2006-07...contd.

Municipalities							
Year	General	SCP	TSP	Total	General	SCP	TSP
1997-98	49.54	12.15	0.65	62.34	79.47	19.49	1.04
1998-99	71.18	10.17	0.54	81.9	86.91	12.42	0.66
1999-00	77.51	10.38	0.24	88.13	87.95	11.78	0.27
2000-01	78	11.26	0.26	89.53	87.12	12.58	0.29
2001-02	64.85	9.56	0	74.41	87.15	12.85	0
2002-03	105.38	17.22	0	122.6	85.95	14.05	0
2003-04	100.15	16.89	0.4	117.44	85.28	14.38	0.34
2004-05	100.88	18.56	0.47	119.91	84.13	15.48	0.39
2005-06	93.75	20.8	0.57	115.12	81.44	18.07	0.5
2006-07	88.7	25.06	0.68	114.44	77.51	21.9	0.59
Corporations							
Year	General	SCP	TSP	Total	General	SCP	TSP
1997-98	27.86	5.44	0.24	33.53	83.09	16.22	0.72
1998-99	36.22	4.48	0.18	40.87	88.62	10.96	0.44
1999-00	39.49	4.57	0	44.06	89.63	10.37	0
2000-01	39.75	4.96	0	44.7	88.93	11.1	0
2001-02	53.39	8.13	0	61.52	86.78	13.22	0
2002-03	83.06	14.62	0	97.68	85.03	14.97	0
2003-04	78.91	14.34	0	93.25	84.62	15.38	0
2004-05	79.31	15.8	0	95.11	83.39	16.61	0
2005-06	74.54	17.83	0	92.37	80.7	19.3	0
2006-07	70.5	21.49	0	91.99	76.64	23.36	0

Source: Economic Review 2007

