

**The Socio-Economic and Political Consequences of Resettlement and its  
Impact on the Health of Tribal People: A Comparative Study of Displaced  
and Non-Displaced Paniya Tribes of Wayanad District, Kerala**

*Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University for award of the degree of*

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**CENTRE OF SOCIAL MEDICINE AND COMMUNITY HEALTH  
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**Declaration**

The thesis entitled “**The Socio-Economic and Political Consequences of Resettlement and its Impact on the Health of Tribal People: A Comparative Study of Displaced and Non-Displaced Paniya Tribes of Wayanad District, Kerala**” is submitted for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University. This thesis has not been submitted previously for the award of any other degree of this or any other University and is my original work.

Vysakh CM

We recommend this thesis be placed before the examiners for evaluation for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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*Dedicated to my Father Chekkotty and Mother Beena*

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## List of Abbreviations

AAY	Antyodaya Anna Yojana
APL	Above Poverty Line
ASHA	Accredited Social Health Activists
BMI	Body Mass Index
BPL	Below Poverty Line
BMO	Block Medical Officer
CHC	Community Health Centre
CMO	Chief Medical Officer
DMO	District Medical Officer
EPW	Economical and Political Weekly
ICDS	Integrated Child Development Scheme
ILO	International Labour Organization
IRDP	Integrated Rural Development Programme
ITDP	Integrated Tribal Development Programme
KIRTADS	Kerala Institute for Research Training and Development Studies of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes
LGS	Local Self-Government
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NABARD	National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development
POCSO	Protection of Children from Sexual Offences
PESA	PROVISIONS OF THE PANCHAYATS (EXTENSION TO THE SCHEDULED AREAS)
PHC	Primary Health Centre
PRIs	Panchayat Raj Institutions
TEO	Tribal Extension Officer
RCH	Reproductive and Child Health
TB	Tuberculosis
TRDM	Tribal Rehabilitation Development Mission

UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WHO	World Health Organization

## INTRODUCTION

*“Suppose the government has made some beautiful shoes for us (tribes) and unfortunately, it does not fit our feet. Then the government brings an order that will say, ‘our (tribes) feet are supposed to be amputated slightly to wear the shoes made by the government’. Thus, the body, soul and consciousness of the tribes have been cut, shaped and altered for years in order to wear the ‘shoes’ made by the government.”*

-Chengan (72), Wayanad.

Tribes constitute 8.6% of the total population of India, or over 100 million. The north-eastern states of the country and the highlands and plains of the south are the two main areas occupied by a large percentage of the tribal population. The latter includes the majority of India's tribal population, which makes up about 80 per cent. With the exception of a few regional differences, many of the tribes in India are people who share certain traits. We can observe geographical isolation, self-contained lifestyle and homogeneous traits in tribal societies in general compared to the non-tribal populations. However, the primitive tribalism which is seen in India rarely is not strong and rigid as it is in many parts of the globe. The primitive culture and identity of the Indian tribes have lost due to various developmental, exploitative, avaricious interferences by the government and non-tribal communities. The migrated, forcefully assimilated, settled farmers tribal community are the product of this interferences.

Despite the design and implementation of numerous programs and projects in the early years of independence, despite the abundant legislative confirmations and the massive and extensive collection of information on tribal issues by various committees and commissions, the situation of tribal communities in India continues to deteriorate. There are extensive number of studies on the situation of tribal people in India as well as scientifically compare various determining factors among tribes and non-tribal community. However, the researchers and academicians have always pointed on the uncertainty of the information we have about the tribal problems in India. For

instance, although India's tribes have been studied intensively (and extensively) for many decades, both before and after independence, they appear as obscure as ever (Xaxa, 1999).

Whatever the determinants of development, such as living conditions, livelihoods, health, political participation, educational status, etc., we can very definitively understand that the tribal community is lagging behind any other social groups or communities in India. The fact that the condition of the tribes continues to worsen after seven decades of independence and the gap between the tribes and the non-tribes is growing. The existing disparities in the post-independence indicates that there are major problems in our governing and societal systems.

More than two third of the country's total tribal population heavily depend on agriculture for their livelihood and consumption as cultivators and agricultural labours. However, they continue to be largely landless and victims of forced displacements and evictions from their customary land. Apart from that, their livelihood dependency over artisan works, hunting-gathering, collection of forest produces etc. are highly uncertain occupation in the context of heavily globalized market. The proportion of tribal population under poverty line is significantly high. It is found that 40.6 percent for the tribal population in India lives below poverty line while the same among non-tribal population is 20.5 percent.

74.7 percent of the total tribal population, to rephrase it, three out of every four tribal person, depend open defecation due to the unavailability of hygienic and safe toilets. We had seen various programmes with the similar objectives of Swachh Bharat Mission in history, however, the significant proportion of the most marginalized sections in the country are still living without proper sanitation facilities. Similarly, a 10.7 percent of the tribal population in the country have access to safe tap water provisions while it is near 30 percent among non-tribal communities. The use of clean cooking fuel is another important indicator which is directly connected with the disease and health conditions of the people. The availability of clean cooking fuel among tribes is three times less than the non-tribal population. WHO (World Health Organization) states that the solid fuels in the home have been linked to an increase in mortality from pneumonia in children, other acute respiratory illnesses, chronic lung cancer in adults etc. (WHO, 2021).

Even after many highly applauded programmes and schemes for literacy and education, especially for the people of tribal community, 41 percent of the tribal population in the country reman

illiterate. The severity of educational backwardness and dropout among tribal population is very visible from various national statistics. Only one third (35 percent) of the tribal people had obtained primary education and 2 percent of them had higher education. The percent of tribal people who are 18 years and above have attained twelve years of education is only 6.7 percent.

Health status is distinguishably lower among tribal population in India and as in many other global countries. However, it is not nature's inevitable law that the indicators are performing very low for the indigenous communities of the globe. Despite the tribal population in India is formed from huge diversity, various location and states, the health indicators of the tribal communities are critically poor and showing a commonality. The burden of morbidity and mortality is incomparable to the non-tribal population of the country.

The government reports that the fertility rate among tribal community has declined but within a reasonable limit. However, the significant decline in the child sex ratio needs to be taken seriously. The literacy and education status also indicates that there exists a high disparity between tribal and non-tribal population. Infant mortality rate among tribal population is very high (74 percent) in India compared to many of its neighboring countries.

However, the socio-economic, health, educational and political situation of the tribal people in the country is significantly inferior than any other communities in the country, the exploitations and appropriation of tribal life and resources continues without any restrictions. The long-term exploitations and marginalization of the tribal communities, both in the pre-independence and post-independence period, have heavily contributed to the current situations of tribal population. The development approaches and various legislative attempts initiated in the name of tribal upliftment and assimilation have in actual led to the socio-economic and political subjugation of the tribe in India. We have many shifts in the approaches carried by the successive government and policy makers. The 'development-difference' dichotomy was introduced as a conventional and at the same time highly recognized solution among academicians and policy makers in relation to tribal under-development and tribes non-integration. It was a balanced development method of assimilation of tribal peoples and at the same time recognizing their independent identity as tribe since their way of life and customs are different from others who claim to be a civilized society. It was a national level policy concept that would enable them to maintain all their distinctive lifestyles while at the same time making no compromises for their development. Although it is

very easy to understand as an idea, the Government of India has not been able to accurately balance between assimilation and identity at policy and implementation level.

Experiences and conditions of tribal population in Kerala is not much differ from any other part of the country. There are about four and a half lakh tribes in Kerala. That is about 1.5 per cent of the population of Kerala. Today, the tribes are living in a state of extreme insecurity. They have no land, no home to live in, no decent jobs, no better education and health care access. The neonatal mortality rate is highest among tribes in the state. Tribes are suffering from malnutrition, especially the women. Number of programmes and project came in the name of their empowerment and welfare disappointingly did not reach at tribal hamlets in the rural areas. The fund allocated for the tribal welfare did not touch their livelihood and economy which are in crisis for may years. It is unfortunate that despite the crores of rupees spent by the Central and State Governments on the welfare of the tribes, their condition has not changed. The government is considering how to evict the tribes living in the forest instead of ameliorating tragic socio-economic and political disparities that the tribal communities in Kerala are facing today. They are encountering serious human rights violations in the state. The case of Madhu from Attappady who was killed by so-called Keralites for stealing raw food materials from a nearest shop exemplifies the intensity of violence that their communities are going through. The issue of this group of victims of exploitation is never a topic of discussion for the government. The tribes became refugees on their own land in which they had born.

There is a relatively large number of research works on the development-induced displacement of tribal people in India. Many of them attempt to address how the tribal people were affected by various development projects in pre and post-independence eras. Several researchers have observed that displacements of tribal people are hardly recognized and taken into account by the state, especially in the displacement of tribal people resulting from the gradual dispossession of their traditional land to non-tribes and private encroachers. The case of tribal land alienation and displacement of tribes from their traditional land in the state of Kerala was predominately colligated with the historical dispossessions of land that began from the British government period. Among the 34 tribal groups in Kerala, some are numerically large tribes and some are very small groups. Paniya is the largest tribal community in Kerala but the most backward in terms of socio-economic condition. The Paniyan lost his identities and alienated even from other tribal

communities with the dispossessions from his customary land. Even though there were protests and objections from tribal people and civil society organizations against grabbing land, which was sporadically reported through various means, there were no affirmative actions from the side of the state.

Wayanad district of Kerala also underwent displacements of tribes and consequent protests. It is imperative to note that tribal struggles of Wayanad fueled for the socio-political awakening of tribal victims of the gradual dispossession of their socio-economic and political capital of survival, the land, as well as continued exploitations. Moreover, the politics of bringing resettlement, instead restoration (as guaranteed by the Constitution) was the golden middle path taken by the government was to ensure no land loss for the private encroachers at the same time to mute the voices of impoverished tribal people for land. Accomplishing both were equally important for the state considering political and economical benefits of carrying out resettlement as an alternative to restoration. Putting it another way, 'resettlement' was not the idea or intention behind tribal agitations and movement in Wayanad district, rather it was the idea of state to subjugate the pressure for 'restoration' with 'resettlement'. The government undertook various endeavors to compromise tribal movement and people with 'resettlement' into a new place instead of their year's age battle for 'restoration' to their traditional land. These endeavors varies from the deployment of state police power for brutally repressing the agitators, to physical and sexual assaults of agitating tribal women, to politically hijacking the tribal movements by mainstream governing and opposition parties, to manipulating and bypassing constitutional provision for winning a legal battle against the indigent tribal people, to blind offers of glorious amenities in the resettlement area and so on. Aralam farm resettlement (in Kannur district) was the master plan to resettle tribal people from the district of Wayanad and Kannur district. More than 3000 tribal families were resettled to the project area by the end of 2004. It is only when we attempt to understand the causes of tribal issues in connection with larger economic and political interests of the government and the corporate entities, the real causes of land alienation and unscientific resettlement of tribal people across the country, become clearer.

The life of tribal people after displacement and resettlement are relatively less explored by researchers in terms socio-political and economic impact with holistic understanding. Instead of understanding any particular aspect of tribal displacement and resettlement the proposed study



comprehensively explores various aspects – social, economic, political, cultural, and health concerning the specific case of tribes displaced from Wayanad district and resettled in Aralam farm area of Kannur district.

The study focuses on the process of land alienation historically from the period of colonial governance. The causes of tribal land alienations in the state are needed to be looked with more emphasis on the entry of non-tribes, commoditization of land, private encroachers and plantation formation, the introduction of cash crops, demarcation of reserved forests, which evidently began from the British period. These causes of tribal land alienation should be observed and analysed in the light of socio-political and economical marginalization of the tribal communities in the state through various means of legal and political decisions and policies of pre-independence and post-independence governments. The study also tries to understand the emergence of tribal resistance in the state for various reasons and its outcomes, especially for Wayanad district. The researcher observes that the displacement and resettlement as an interconnect process through which some tribal communities of Wayanad has gone. In-depth understanding on the experiences of the tribal from dispossession, displacement to resettlement into a new area and the current socio-economic and political living conditions will be a new addition to the understandings of the tribal problem in the state. The study forms comparative intellect on the displaced-resettled tribal people and non-displaced tribal people who are currently living in their original land. This kind of framework gives us the maximum possibility to study the socio-economic and political consequences of resettlement and its impact on the health of tribal people.

The variables of livelihood, income, health care service access, self-reported morbidity, BMI (Body Mass Index), cultivation, basic living condition, education and other socio-demographic conditions were put for study and compared across both study groups. The findings indicates that there are significant differences in the socio-political and economic conditions between resettled and non-resettled Paniya households. It does not propose to state that the life of the non-resettled tribal people in their original settlement in Wayanad is better enough, but the government approaches towards the tribal welfare and problems are highly inadequate and criticized.

*“Heaven is the place where miles and miles of forest having beautiful mahua trees. But hell is the place where miles and miles of Mahua forest with a forest guard in it.”*

-From a proverb of Chhatishgarh’s Muria tribe.

**CHAPTER 2**  
**REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

In the era of new development paradigm in which the largest infrastructural, industrial and corporate projects are misleadingly considered as the symbol and synonym for countries economic development and prosperity. The displacement and resettlement of the affected victims are generally assessed as negligible by the vested interested parties, including various government, in the name of nation's development goals. Displaced for whose development and prosperity? Are these losses and benefits of displacement and applauded development equally distributed among the country's population? Does it comfort the idea of social justice? Keeping these question aside, however important, in order to discuss it in detail in the continuing portion, an attempt is made here to understand the concept of displacement, its types and various reasons behind it.

Displacement often denotes the expulsion of people from their existing settlements. Sen (1997) state that the displacement involves physical eviction from a dwelling and the expropriation of productive land and other assets to make possible an alternative use. He argues, apartment the fact that it is caused by eviction coined with the loss of valuable resources of the victims. According to the definition given by Hydmann (2000) displacement is the forced and involuntary and involves some form of de-territorialization. It is commonly described as taking place within the confines of a state (e.g. internally displaced person) or across an internationally recognized border (e.g. refugee). Siddiqui (2012) attempt to describe displacement as the dislocation of people from their native place and region. It often exacerbates rather than mitigates economic insecurity, helplessness and alienation. This could mean loss of economic livelihoods and communities. Terminski (2011) defines development induced displacement as 'forcing communities and its individuals out of their homes, often also their homelands, allegedly for the purpose of development'. There are various kinds of displacements which are classified on the base of its cause, magnitude in terms of national borders etc.

Push-factor and pull-factor are largely discussed concepts in the literatures which spoke about displacement. In a nutshell, push factors, such as poverty, political instability and religious intolerance, induce people to move out of their current location, whilst pull factors, such as democratic governance, economic prosperity and job opportunities, attract them to a new one (Ozaltin, 2019). In India, the experiences of displacements, keeping apart the temporary migrations, are mostly concluded to be push factor based. Especially, the displacements of tribal communities in the rural India, whether caused by development pressure or alienation of land are

mostly pointing towards push factors. The same have classified often ‘primary or direct’ and ‘secondary or indirect’, where primary meant displacement due to push factor and secondary is pull-facture based displacements (Gellert, 2003). The similar idea is also often described with terms ‘forced migration’ and ‘voluntary migration’. Lama (2000) classified the displacements broadly into four, which are based on the primary causes which led to the displacement of people. He explains, at national level, displacement can be categorized majorly into; Political based, Identity based, Violence caused and environmental and development induced including natural disasters.

### **Global trends in Displacement; The Impact of Neo-liberal development paradigm**

The global statistics indicates that there is an immense acceleration in the global counts of displaced population. The neo-liberal paradigm adapted by various countries worldwide resulted in the escalation in the cases of development induced displacement. Researchers noted the boom of development induced displacement cases globally, especially when development becomes the major motto of governments. Cernea comes with figure, however, which only counts the direct victims who were displaced and doesn’t include those who were evicted in the later phase or indirectly affected by the project. ‘The scale of development by displacement over the past twenty-five years has been truly enormous, in the order to 10 million people per year since the 1980s’ (Cernea, 2000). The latest report by UNHCR states that “worldwide displacement was at the highest level ever recorded. It said the number of people forcibly displaced at the end of 2014 had risen to a staggering 59.5 million compared to 51.2 million a year earlier and 37.5 million a decade ago” (UNHCR, 2015). The agency in 2018 reports that 13.6 million people got displaced from their land worldwide which added to 70.8 million forcibly displaced worldwide, out of 41.3 million are internally displaced people as a result of persecution, conflict, violence, or human rights violations (UNHCR, 2008).

The new symbols of development, dams, had dragged large number and areas of human settlements and caused for their displacement. Noted by Robinson (2003), ‘in early 1990s, the construction of 300 high dams each year had displaced 4 million people, urban and transportation infrastructure projects accounted for 6 million more displaced each year’. Cernea (2008) estimates that ‘15 million people are to be annually displaced by development projects worldwide, and it is projected that over twenty years period, between 280-300 million people will be displaced. The

majority of those displaced are poor people living in informal settlements/slums and the large part of those displaced is not resettled'. Dams and other large water projects alone accounted for huge number of displacements at global level. For instance, in China water conservation projects alone caused the evacuation of over 10 million people between 1950 and 1990, while urban projects and transport projects account for 7 million and 14 million respectively (Chao, 1990). A single hydel project across the river Yangtze caused displacement of 1.4 million together the primary and secondary displaced people. In India around 21 million people were effected solely affected by water related projects during the last four decades (Fernandes, 1991). The Sardar Sarovar dam project in the Narmata river valley caused the displacement of more than 40 thousands of people (Sahoo et al, 2014). However, there are no exact count on people who got affected. Parasuraman (1999) noted that the project affected nearly 300 villages, with 163000 people have been displaced and among them tribal population has been severely affected. Lack of willingness to address the loss and possible compensation by the government and the responsible private entities are observed worldwide. The company in Ghana which implemented the Ahafo mine project did not even recognize the displacements of more than 10 thousand people from their land (Mares, 2012). The construction of dam alone in Brazil has flooded 3.4 million ha of productive land and displaced more than 1 million people (Zhourri & Oliveira, 2007).

### **Trends in India and the Displacement of Tribal People**

The current mode of development plans and policies which the country is pursuing under the pressure of neo-liberal economy and global market are directly and very adversely affecting the most indigenous people of the nation. We have examples from various part of the country to substantiate it. A series of development induced displacements of tribal people from their traditional land and repression of their struggles with state forces are not new incidents to the world's biggest democracy.

Studies indicate that development- induced displacement has been one of the major causes of deprivation of livelihood of the people in India. Out of the 17 lakh persons displaced by 119 central and state government schemes a staggering 8 lakh, which is more than half were tribes. Mines have displaced over 21 lakh persons during the past 40 years which includes 14 lakh tribal people

(Asif, 2000). Another estimate suggests that the total number of displaced in India between 1951 and 1991 is 213 lakh and nearly 85 lakh of them are tribes (Fernandes, 1998). The total number of resettled tribes among them was only 21 lakh persons thus argue that nearly 75 per cent of the tribes were not resettled at all.

Largely the tribal people who were solely depended their livelihood on the forest, forest land, traditional cultivating land get displaced which directly affect their existence in the absence of any other livelihood options. Kothari (1972) stated about the after effect of mass displacement of the tribal community as follows; 'the increasing economic marginalization and cultural insecurity which compel most of the displaced to seek desperate means of survival - cultivating increasingly fragile lands, migration, bondage, contract, crime, even prostitution'. The conditions of tribal women were also seeking much empathy and eye opening to the planners of development. He elaborates the experience of tribal women who were displaced due to the construction Ukai dam in Gujarat were regularly soliciting truck drivers on the national highway from Baroda to Ahmedabad is not an exception. The construction of Ukai and Pong (in HP, 1974) dams alone resulted in the displacement of 2 lakh people (Ray, 2000).

In the case of Sardar Sarovar Dam, an assessment report identified that 6,147 families were displaced due to the project. But by later in the year 1990 a report was given by the five-member group projected a figure of 40,245 families affected by the Sardar Sarovar Project (Narmada Water Resources Development Committee, 1979). Likely to any other major development induced displacements, a huge percent (57.6) of the displaced were tribal people (Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes). The voices of tribal communities from the affected area were not considered laudable in the wave of happiness for the launching of a large project in the name of 'national interest'. The number of tribal people who got resettled or compensated were less (Morse and Berger, 1992 in Laurie Uytterlinde Flood, 1997) and compensating tribal's land loss by cash should be considered as the most injustice way and plan of rehabilitation since their cultural, societal, religious, economical and political linkage to their lost land cannot be valued on the base of money. Writing about the cash compensation to the displaced people of Narmada river valley, Arundhati Roy (1999) stated that 'a cash compensation, to be paid by an Indian government official to an illiterate tribal man (the women get nothing) in a land where even the postman demands a tip for a delivery.' India has ratified the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 107

(1957) in the very early, stated that the ‘tribal populations concerned shall not be removed without their ‘free consent’ from their habitual territories except in accordance with national laws and regulations for reasons relating to national security, or in the interest of national economic development or of the health of the said populations’. Even though which also leaves a loophole for the state to grab land from tribal communities in the name of national economical developments. The conditions and compensation for such displacement were stated as the ‘tribal populations is necessary as an exceptional measure, they shall be provided with lands of quality at least equal to that of the lands previously occupied by them, suitable to provide for their present needs and future development’ displaced (Convention 107, International Labour Organization, 1957). But the experiences of many tribal people who were the victims of major economical development induced displacement is enough to prove the measures mentioned above haven’t taken while planning resettlements and rehabilitations. While the questions on economic prosperity and development are important, whose prosperity and at what cost is much more significant when we discuss about developments in the land tribal communities and at the cost of their life.

There were numerous small and large movements and struggles at national and local level which arose against various projects or subsequent displacements. Though very few of them could only succeed in attaining its aim, the nation witnessed some models in which the economically and politically powerful opponents surrendered before the unity and determination of people. For instance, we can look into the experiences of Kalinganagar, Orissa, which were not different from undergoes of struggling tribal people of any other parts of India. Apart from the fact that Kalinganagar has the highest concentration of manganese and iron, the road and train transport facility, better water resources near, etc. also motivated the private sector to launch their industries in the area. Kalinganagar is the result of the new economic policy shift in the 90s which made the mining industry more investor friendly. The national mineral policy was amended in the year 1993 which ensued private involvement in the field of mineral mining. The Industrial Policy (2001) of government of Orissa explicates its concern in attracting and availing the benefits of private investors for the industrial and infrastructure development of the state. It states that ‘the Government is committed to radical reforms in the laws and rules guiding labor and employment, which inhibit creation of employment opportunities, establishment of globally competitive industry, restructuring of industry in line with changing market conditions and deter investment’.

Kalinganagar has a large proportion of tribal people and in the acquired area which is more than that of the block averages. The state actors were dominated in the name of national development and lands were acquired from many tribal communities resulted in displacing them from their own land. It was not consulted or considered not worthy to be consulting with the local population of the area, the tribes while planning for the industrial developments in Kalinganagar. The government also extended its supports in the form of allowing other natural resources like rivers and reservoirs to the private industries. Consequently, the immediate action towards the land acquisition from the tribal community was a natural resistance which was channelized by survival instinct. The position of the state government was highly dominant and pro-private industries. The lands of the tribal were acquired forcefully by giving compensation and considered for rehabilitation as charity to those tribes who were having a title and nothing for the rest of them. The tribal people protested against state-directed displacement and demanded “adequate” compensation were repressed with the state forces and resulted in the ‘death of 12 persons on 2nd January in Kalinga Nagar of Jajpur district in Orissa, police were ordered to fire, which demonstrated the brutality with which the state government has been trying to crush the struggle of the victims of the development (On Going Brutality, editorial, EPW, 2006).

Pandey (2008) writes, the tragedy of killing 12 persons on the spot shocked the whole nation. But even in this tragic hour the political parties, which were not particularly concerned with the resettlement issues, lost no time in turning the incident to their advantage. This commitment of state government was visible when it acquired land around mining areas, ‘however truculent the population may feel’.

As far as the life of the indigenous tribes is concerned, the industrial development initiatives are not for a good cause to them. Like any other infrastructural developments, Kalinganagar was also not intended to uplift the socio-economical life of local people, i.e., tribal communities. Pandey noted that the development project like in Kalinganagar which are located in tribal inhabited regions led to the destruction or loss of their traditional ancestral land, resources, and values, political, economical and socio-cultural systems of life.

The experiences of Kalinganagar tribes are not an isolated case, Das (2006) puts, the large-scale mining activities in the state have affected the tribal people badly. Most of the iron ore mines and deposits are located in the tribal-dominated Keonjhar and Sundargarh districts. With continuous



mining activities, the tribal people of these districts have lost their homes and, with the destruction of forests and water sources, their livelihood. With land encroachment, acquisition and alienation the tribes were the consistent victims of losing livelihood options and natural resources which they were depended upon for years.

The memorandum of understanding (MoU) with a private corporate industry named 'Vedanta Alumina' by the state of Orissa in the year of 2004 should be considered as another bang towards the tribal community in the state. The agreement was made for bauxite mining in the hills of Niyamgiri, which is a home of Dongaria Kondha tribe. This case also exemplifies of how corporate interests backed by state support are trampling on tribal livelihoods and threatening an ecologically rich and important region (Sahu, 2008). The hill range is spread over 250 sq km and contains bauxite reserves of about 70 million tons (Mishra, 2013). The hill land was considered as sacred and the tribal livelihood and cultural beliefs are strongly interlinked with the region. In this case, for the adivasi people, the resettlement or compensatory land would never suffice the role of Niyamgiri hill. Down to Earth (2007) quoted a villager (Gata Majhi) saying, "There is no way we are going to leave. This mountain is our mother; it has sustained us for generations". The value of land cannot be measured in terms of cash especially in the case of tribal peoples since they value land concerning cultural, economical, social and spiritual system. The tribes of Niyamgiri with other social activists protected against the land grab by the company. The continuing legal fight reached before the Supreme Court of India in the year 2013, which ruled that the Vedanta mining should be resumed only with the consent of tribes in Niyamgiri through gram sabha. The Orissa government conducted gram sabha in the project affecting 12 villages, and the 'villagers voted unanimously to oppose mining' (Mishra, 2013). Lashkiya Sikata, a middle-aged woman asked in the gram sabha that, "we have lived here for so long. How can the government sell our donger (forest) now?" Another woman, Kathruka Kunji agitatedly said that, "No one has the rights to our forest, neither the government nor the company. We will shoot down with our arrows those who force us to give up our forest" (Business Today, 2013). It is reported that the company has started trying to get the consent of tribes through other forceful means since they failed through a democratic way to achieve its needs. The founder of Niyamgiri Suraksha Samithi, Mr. Lingaraj Azad stated that "the State Government is resorting to illegal means by intimidating tribes and arresting activists on charges of Naxal links. Police killed a 20-year-old boy on Feb 27, 2016, in a fake encounter. Vedanta officials try to lure youth of the community by offering them money". It is showing that

how tough it is for the tribal communities to uphold their right over traditional land. The land is described as 'site' for mining by the companies but the same have been described as 'mother' by tribes. This is much enough to understand how tribal people value their traditional land.

The principal victims of the iron ore and bauxite mining leases, as well as the steel projects and aluminium projects are the landless and poor tribal households. They suffer the worst forms of deprivation and have the lowest health and educational status. Moreover, they are the victims of grave prejudice and discrimination, which keep their standard of living, health and educational status abysmally low (Editorial, EPW, 2006). The victims are always the socio-economically poor landless tribes, the culprits are always the private individuals or institution, and the mediator for protecting the culprits from victims were always the people selected governments. What a contradiction is this?. The forces of globalization and liberal economy insisting the state for turning a blind towards the socio-economic, health, cultural etc impacts of tribal displacements due to the introduction of new developmental activities in the tribal inhabited areas.

Are the causes of tribal insurgence and armed resistance in central India is based on the significant level tribal land alienation?. According to Burman (2009) the systematic dispossession of the tribal people from their land resources which they have been holding for generations to be the most important factor which has pushed them to political extremism in central India. He explains what did he mean by the word 'dispossession' is not the displacement. He attempts to state that the displacement is denoting a particular development caused movement which is composited (minimum or said to be compensated for the sake) but dispossession happens without any compensation or resettlement through various means which is much more devastating the life of tribal people. Padel and Das (2006) are in the same view that dispossession of their lands and resources by the state and multinational companies are an important factor for the adivasis' alienation and the growth of their resistance. And extend their points on resistance to the situation which also linked to the spread of Naxalism and Maoist influence.

These displacements and experiences of tribal people with it explicit us the whole livelihood, economical, cultural, spiritual, health problems which exclusively the tribal communities of the country have gone through. It is also difficult for the tribes to communicate and adjust with the outer world which is many ways different from their systems. For instance, Kothari (1996) discuss the interaction of tribal people with market economy after the displacement or resettlement,

‘Experience from across the tribal areas in the country illustrates the severe difficulties that displaced tribal communities have had in dealing with the market economy. Their low level of modern skills coupled with almost non-existent official efforts to facilitate an easier entry into the dominant economy pushes a majority of tribes into conditions of servility and bondage. The need to avoid such large-scale displacement, particularly of tribes, and in the case of unavoidable displacement, their ultimate resettlement on fair and equitable terms, have become central issues of the developmental process itself’.

### **Displacements in the state of Kerala**

India’s tribal or indigenous population is less than 10 percent of the country’s total population, but at least 40 percent of them experienced displacement due to development projects (Fernandes, 2007). The life of tribal communities in the state which is applauded for its ‘model of development’ is not at all different. They got their land substantively encroached and evicted in the name of development and alienated due to dispossession. Kerala was not away from the kind of concerns that the global and national systems showed for economic development and industrial growth. To build Cochin International Airport Limited total 1254 acres of land acquired and 872 households were displaced mainly belong to scheduled castes communities (Aneesh, 2015) and it is criticized that there were no adequate resettlement projects for the affected. Land loss and insufficient resettlement options impacted the livelihood and socio-cultural life of the people who got evicted. The case of Moolampilly in the state where the government muted the voice of people’s voice against the eviction with the system’s power also ended with inadequate resettlements. A significant proportion of the affected people by Idukki dam were tribes. It is estimated that 1394 families were affected by constructing the dam. Similarly, the info park in the district of Ernakulam leads to the displacement of 57 families (Murickan, 2003).

Tribal land holding in the state had significantly reduced over the period majorly due to the alienation and forced displacements. The tribal population in Kerala began to lose their land due to the large level migration and dispossession took place by non-tribal (Socio-Economic survey, 1978). The survey also observes that in the last ten years (1968-1978) 3546 tribal people got alienated from their traditional land, these are the reported cases however the original counts are

expected much higher than this. The amount of reported land loss during this period is 9859 acres. Panoor, the writer of 'Africa in Kerala' who worked very close with the tribal communities, state the tribes continued get alienated from their land between 1976 and 1985 (Panoor, 1999). Another study finds that the ITDP (Integrated Tribal Development Project) areas, made for implementing better welfare measures for the tribal community, alone had 1700 hector of land reported lost by tribes. The study criticizes that the kind of developmental activities took place in these area, in the name of tribal welfare, opened doors to many non-tribal communities and individuals to grab lands in tribal settlements. This case exemplify that a non-exploitable and planned welfare measures are not taken then it would turn as a threat against the tribal communities (Prasad, 2003). The extensive amount of land alienations are reported from the tribal concentrated areas and where the government projects for the tribal welfare is running. Attappady is an example for that, quoting Bijoy (1999) "The tribal areas provide immense natural wealth and fertile lands for cash crops and plantations. Some of these areas, once an adivasi majority area, have now been reduced to an adivasi minority area: for example in Attapadi, where the 63 per cent adivasis in 1961 have been reduced to just 30 per cent in 1991 by the state induced and supported trans-migration policies". Attappady is one of the place in the state where tribal population density is higher, which adds to the concerns of shrinking percent of their population. It is not about the sole case of Attappady alone, a study reports that 'the average landholding of a Kerala tribal family has steadily plummeted from 2.77 acres to 1.30 acres to 0.66 acres over just the last three generations'. Wildlife sanctuary in the district of Wayanad alone displaced 53472 tribal families (Kaushik, 2006).

### **Impact of Displacement and Resettlement: Discontinued-Past and Disconnected-Future for the Tribal people**

The existence and sustainability of tribal life are deeply rooted in its social, economic, emotional, cultural, occupational and religious linkage to the forest. Xaxa (2008) has observed the relationship of forest and tribes as 'the main support system of their livelihood, their homes, kith and kin, villages, tribesmen and their territory/homeland. Land, forest, village, community and territory have been the roots of their distinct way of life and their social and collective identity'. Denial of

access to forest and forest produce through legislations result into violation of tribal right to life itself. Forest has always been a major source of food, lumber for building traditional houses, agricultural tools and fire wood, medicinal plants, etc for the tribal community. And other forests produce such as and leaves, flowers, roots, honey, and fruits from the forest compose the various dietary options of the tribal people. Many forest products such as wild berries, fruits, fish and small game, are the source of protein for them (Munshi, 2012). The scholars have noted that around 50 to even 80 per cent of the dietary requirement of the tribal people may, in fact, be availed from forest (Fernandes, 1993).

The tribal people in India fulfil not only their livelihood and economical needs from the forest but also their social dignity and economical equity. Therefore, it helps them to strive forward for justice among society. The Supreme Court note on the Samantha case (1997) observes

‘Agriculture is the only source of livelihood for Scheduled Tribes, apart from collection and sale of minor forest produce to supplement their income. Land is their most important natural and valuable asset and imperishable endowment from which the tribes derive their sustenance, social status, economic and social equality, permanent place of abode and work and living. It is a security and source of economic empowerment. Therefore, the tribes too have great emotional attachment to their lands. The land on which they live and till, assures them equality of status and dignity of person and means to economic and social justice and is a potent weapon of economic empowerment in social democracy’.

In the events of displacement of tribal people, it is noted that questions like, where to resettle the displaced, what measures need to be initiated to enhance the quality of life of the settlers, etc, are decided by the resettlement officials of the state. The displaced tribes thus become the objects and not vehicles of development. Such misgivings and distrust can be more acute for the members of the tribal communities, especially in cases where the project necessitating involuntary resettlement has resulted in losing not only their material assets but integral elements of their social and cultural life. And if it is followed by forced resettlement in locations where they are vulnerable to exercise of power then the issue is more critical.

The spiritual and cultural belief system of the tribes are many ways deepened on the land which they live on. The land earlier recorded as scrub forest, the worship area of the tribes, sacred groves etc were later categorised as common land that came under the control of the Department of forest and the traditional owners of the land, the tribal people, became encroachers; they were arrested and imprisoned for minor offences (Vasan, 2005). In no case, the resettlement to a new land won't be satisfying their spiritual and cultural needs which were connected with their past life. The encroachments backed by legislative measures have not only taken their land, but also 'adversely affected the interests of tribal members' (Prasanna, 1993). The author also noted that the encroachments later lead to tribes becoming labours in their own land where the non-tribal encroacher comes to own the land and its produce.

It is noted by many researchers that in post-independent Kerala, the reasons for large-scale alienation of tribal lands took place were mainly caused by the immigration of plainsmen to the hill areas and displacement for projects. The much applauded historical Kerala land reforms policies were regrettably turned out to be a nightmare for the adivasis. Under land reform initiative, the occupiers of the land (settler farmers) became the owners and the original owners (the tribes) became landless and were reduced to the status of agricultural labourers. This resulted in the total derailment of their life. After the enactment of Kerala Land Reform Act, the non-tribal communities who invaded Attapady and Wayanad behaved ruthlessly towards the adivasis who are the real owners of the land. They exploited the adivasis more unscrupulously than their former rivals, the British or landlords (Nithya, 2013). It is noted that Kerala has sixty river valley project sites, half of which are hydel and the other half irrigation dams. The hydel dams have all come up in the forested hill areas in Western Ghats and the irrigation dams are located amidst the foothills, both submerging large tracts of forests and/or fertile valleys. The tribal societies living within the Reserved Forests where these dams requiring extensive forest clearance have come up have been displaced without any documentation, compensation or rehabilitation (Raman, 2000). Development has taken place by clearing forest land always impacted the tribal people without any adequate compensation. The new in the discussion for its development and environmental concerns, the proposed hydroelectric project at Athirappally waterfall will also cause the displacement of tribal people. According to a study conducted by the River Research Centre, Ollur, found that the proposed hydel unit was likely to displace 234 tribal persons from the proposed project area. As it is in the case of any other tribal victims of displacement, the trials who are

supposed to displace from the proposed project land, “have been displaced many times in the last hundred years especially during construction of the Parambikkulam-Aliyar, Peringalkuthu, Sholayar, Mangalam, and Thunakadavu dams”, quoted S.P Ravi of the Chalakkudy River Forum (Shaji, 2000).

## **Legislations and Policies related to Displacement and Resettlement**

### Legislations on Land Acquisition

It is not easy to skip from the India’s controversial land acquisition laws before discussing the policies and legislations for rehabilitation and resettlement of displaced people. The first land acquisition act enacted in the year of 1894. The major aim of this act was to strengthen the state power for acquiring any privately owned land on the name of public purpose or for companies. It was an undemocratic law although there were provisions for issuance of public notice and holding of inquiry. There was no need of the land owners consent for acquiring any land which ultimately resulted in most cases as forced land acquisition. Because of that the legislation was not concerned about how those displacements and dislocation is affected to the owner of the land. And in the cases mentioned as ‘urgent’, the legislation provide at most power to the acquisition authority to bypass all the provisions like public notice and holding inquires. With utilizing this clause ‘a lot of acquisitions under the 1894 Act invoked the urgency clause. This resulted in the complete dispossession of land without even following the processes listed under the Act’ (PSA, 2015). The provision for compensation against the loss of land under the act was based on the official area wise rate fixed by the government. Those rates were fixed without even considering the existing use of the land, geographical position of the land or market value of other lands situated near by area. There were absolutely no provisions for the resettlement and rehabilitation under the Land Acquisition Act 1894. The loss of agricultural land for a farmer ultimately means the loss of his livelihood which was not taken care under the legislation. It is worth to bring the Supreme Court of India’s highly relevant observation on the Land Acquisition Act 1894, during a case in 2011,

*“...the provisions contained in the Act, of late, have been felt by all concerned, do not adequately protect the interest of the land owners/persons interested in the land. The Act does not provide for rehabilitation of persons displaced from their land although by such*

*compulsory acquisition, their livelihood gets affected ...To say the least, the Act has become outdated and needs to be replaced at the earliest by fair, reasonable and rational enactment in tune with the constitutional provisions, particularly, Article 300A of the Constitution. We expect the law making process for a comprehensive enactment with regard to acquisition of land being completed without any unnecessary delay”*

The statement by SC gives us information to affirm our understanding on the effect of this particular legislation on the life and livelihood of the displaced people due to zero provisions of systematic resettlement and rehabilitation. It also indicates that the procedures and provisions under the Act are unconstitutional and undemocratic.

Changing the colonial Land Acquisition Act 1894 the government of India framed a new Land Acquisition Act in the year 2013 named ‘The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act 2015. Comparing to the earlier act the recent one have more provisions for the landless, displaced, and dislocated people due to land acquisitions. It was also having some resettlement and rehabilitation clauses for the affected communities. Thus, the industry and corporate field were against the new Act. The amendment of 2013 law in the year 2015 (The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement-Amendment Bill, 2015) clearly indicates that how it have been changed towards more pro-industry and corporate agents. The changes also include deleting the provisions like conducting social impact assessment and consent requirement etc from the Act. The amendment also made changes which limited the scope of rehabilitation and resettlement provisions as ‘ensuring compulsory employment to at least one member of such an ‘affected family of a farm labourer’ while paying no consideration for other sections of the people who got affected their livelihood. Instead of considering the loss of livelihood for the whole family members the amendment shortened it into providing employment for one member of a family. And we can find that apart from these bandaging the bone type methods there is no consideration of psycho-social, other occupational, cultural etc levels of rehabilitation of affected people under resettlement and rehabilitation provisions.

### PESA 1996

Panchayat (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act in 1996 is an important legislation passed with various empowering provisions for the tribal people. The state of Kerala did not go much further



on implementing PESA even after twenty years of its passing. The state ministers replied that they are waiting for the official nod from the central ministries for implementing it in specified panchayats and municipalities in the state (Shaji, 2016). Apart from the reluctant approaches many state governments to implement the Act with its fullest provisions, the act still exist as an empowering tool for the tribal community in India. The Act makes Grama Sabha of the particular village as the prime authority to maintain and conserve forest and natural resources. According to the Act Grama Sabha shall approve of the plans, programmes and projects for social and economic development before such plans, programmes and projects are taken up for implementation by the Panchayat at the village level. It gives the power to most bottom governance body to take decisions over the developmental projects going to take place in their land. And the acts says grama sabha to be consulted before making the acquisition of land in the Scheduled Areas for development projects and before re-settling or rehabilitating persons affected by such projects in the Scheduled Areas; the actual planning and implementation of the projects in the Scheduled Areas shall be coordinated at the State level. Again the most important and crucial factor linked with displacement, the resettlement of the affected people are decided by the Gram Sabha under the Act.

#### Scheduled Tribes and other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act-2006

The act was given birth by long years of protest and hard works of many tribal communities, social activists, environmentalist and concerning organizations. The forest exploiters and resource extractors for money making were against the enactment of this bill. As rightly noted by Karat (2016) "The real encroachers and plunderers of the forests, the mining companies, the private power sector companies, those involved in irrigation projects, the timber and paper industries, the forest resort tourist industry had high stakes in preventing the passage of the Bill". They were feared of the implementation of the provisions in the legislations as those were powerful to put a significant barriers against continues exploitation of forest resources. In spite of many deficiencies the Scheduled Tribes and other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act-2006 endured as a strong legislation until there were dilutions in the provisions were made possible though amendments. The first attempt was to modify the provision related compulsory consent of the affected tribes into 'free informed consent'. Another provision was to empower the resettlement authority to announce any place as resettlement area for the displaced people, which

further intensified the number of affected. In many states there were a record rate of rejections in the claims for individual pattas and community forest resource pattas for tribal communities.

### Legislatures on wildlife protection and forest conservation

The tribal people and forest resource exists supporting mutually. We have seen a number of cases filed against tribal people for extracting minor forest produces or for cultivating in the forest land on the grounds of forest degradation. When the government blaming tribal people for the degradation of forest resources, it cleverly prefers to forget the large scale degradation of forest due to its own activities of resource extractions. It becomes easy for the government and influential private parties to do illegal mining and exploitation of other natural produces by hiding behind tribal settlements in the forest with the help of wildlife protection and conservation legislature. More over many of the tribal people are restricted forest land, produces considering the clauses of these Acts. It is noted that ‘historical injustice was perpetuated by the Wildlife (Protection) Act 1972 (the 'WPA') and the Forest Conservation Act 1980 (the FCA), which identified environmental protection and recognition of the rights of tribal communities as mutually irreconcilable objectives’ (Bhullar, 2008). It should read with the policies and legislations of the colonial government in easing extraction of forest resources while giving negligible importance to tribes right over forest land and resources. Our first national policy on forest was come into force in the year of 1894 in which we can see the focus was only on the extraction of forest products at its maximum. A large number of timber and other resources were taken away from forest without any restriction. Then there was a paradigm shift in the Independent India, the government came up with changes leading into the conservation and protection of forest in National Forest Policy 1952. There has been an advocacy for 33% forest cover with a 60% forest cover in mountainous and hilly regions (Joshi et al, 2010). These objectives of initial policies were present in the 1988 and 2006 National Forest Policies. The question here is that how well these policies were practically empowered to maintain our forest resources and the right of the forest dependent tribal communities over its resources. It is noted that the National Forest Policy ignores Forests Rights Act, 2006, which empowers local gram panchayats, especially in tribal areas close to India’s forests, and proposes a joint forest management-like mechanism to enhance agro-forestry. This move will bring back the forest department as the final authority over using forest resources instead of forest dwellers and communities dependent on them (Mahapatra, 2010).

## National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy-2007

The National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy of 2007 came to effect on October 31<sup>st</sup> of 2007 was a long awaited national policy concerning to the problem of displaced, dislocated and affected communities of development projects and land acquisitions in the country. However it failed in addressing the key issues and handle the significant problems rose in relation with forcible land acquisitions. The policy kept a golden number of 400 families in plain area to be displaced in order to include those places as ‘affected area’ and minimum of 200 families in the case of tribal populated areas. In fact the number of tribal families in many cases may not reach to the number fixed by the policy where the government can easily escape from the responsibility to provide adequate rehabilitation and resettlement programmes. In short, the government only consider large scale displacement and dislocation under this policy and other all incidents are not visible or negligible if we try to apply 2007 policy. Again this policy too not concern with the consent of the land owner for acquiring his/her land for the purpose of development project. Only in the case of scheduled tribe people’s land acquisition the Gram Sabha of that particular village to be consulted before land acquisition, however it doesn’t mean that the tribal people have right to say no against their land being taken for development. Because the term consultation not indenting to address the consent of tribal people. Apart from bandaging the problems of land or property loss a standard and systematic resettlement and rehabilitation policy have much more to do with the displaced peoples considering the dimensions of its impact on the people. Conceiving those facts related with displacement, the national policy on resettlement and rehabilitation 2007 to be consider a failure one in dealing with overall impacts.

### **Legislative Powers and Tribal Communities in Kerala**

It is worth to analyze legislative powers in the state which are related to the tribal people in order to draw a broader picture of understandings on the marginalization of tribal communities in the state through different means. It is noted that ‘a careful examination of the manner in which law and rights intersect illustrates that rights have more often than not been mediated by other priorities (including environmental concerns) of the developmental state priorities (Menon, 2007). I have

tried to attempt a detailed exploration on the legislation that concerns the tribal people in Kerala state.

An analytical paper by Sreekumar and George (1994) examines some of the major legislative measures taken by the government in order to protect the tribal land and people. It has been noted that the Hillmen Rules (1911), the Travancore-Cochin Forest Act (1951), the Kerala Forest Act (1961), the 'Kerala Hillmen's Rules, 1964, the Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Restriction of Transfer of Lands and Restoration of Alienated Lands) Act (1975) were some of the major legislative attempts which had an influence on the tribal life, livelihood, land, etc. The Hill men Rule of 1911 enacted by the Thiruvithamcore maharaja is considered as the first among to this category of legislations (Thakur and Thakur, 1994). The term 'hill men' referred to the members of scheduled tribes of Kerala living in certain hilly regions and that now form under the part of reserved forests. The stated aim of the rule was to 'supervise and control of the land assigned to the tribes for cultivation and to prevent the exploitation by non-tribal moneylenders, contractors and traders' (Hill men Rule, 1911); but in reality, the rule affected tribal people very adversely as noted by Thankur & Thankur. They reviewed that 'these rules placed a number of restrictions on the hill men which imposed obligatory relationships on them resembling conditions of servitude.' The rules are highlighted for their power to control the social life of the tribal people and which strengthened authorities to regulate their settlements. These statements appears to be true according to another study which noted that 'the Hill men Rules framed in 1911 under Section 60 (c) of the Travancore Regulation II of 1068 brought the hill men residing in Government forests and reserves under the control of the Forest Department of the erstwhile area of travancore' (Prasanna, 1993). For instance, the rule number 6 of the legislation compelled all tribes to limit their life only to their own settlement (which is identified by the government authorities) and there should not be any mobility of tribes without the permission of the head of the settlement via Department of forest (Hill men Rule, 1911).The Hill men rule of 1911 should be considered as the first legislative attempt to dominate, control and influence the life of tribes in Kerala.

The Travancore-Cochin Forest Act in 1951 became the first legislation enacted in post-independence India which deals with the tribal land and forest product rights and ownership. It was introduced by the newly formed Travancore State. The same was substituted with the Kerala Forest Act 1961 after the formation of Kerala state in 1956 (The Travancore-Cochin Forest Act

(Amendment) Bill, 1957). Nothing new was there for the tribal men to expect from these legislations too. As was the case with earlier legislations, it was also tried to limit the scope of ownership of the tribal people in the land, forest and produce. According to the Kerala Forest Act 1961, government owns forest produce. The clause f of section 2 of the Act defines the term 'forest produce' as the following;

‘whether found in, or brought from, a forest or not, that is to say, timber, charcoal, wood-oil, gum, resin, natural varnish bark lac, fibres and roots of sandalwood and rosewood; and trees and leaves, flowers and fruits, and all other parts or produce of trees; plants not being trees (including grass, creepers, reeds and moss) and all parts or produce of such plants; and silk cocoons, honey and wax; peat, surface soil, rock and minerals including limestone, laterite, mineral oils and all products of mines or quarries’

The implementation of this act practically means the domination of government ownership over whole verities of forest product which were traditionally used by the tribal communities for their survival. The consumption or dealing with any of mentioned 'forest produce' is considered as a legal offence according to the law and can be punished. Pretending to protect the forest and wildlife the government has denied the right of the tribes on their traditional land and forest which were solely the source of their livelihood.

Conclusively the Kerala Forest act 1962 is not much differed in restricting tribal people entering and accessing forest which they had owned for generations. The categorization of the tribal forest lands as the 'reserved forest' in India under the control of state, supervised and managed by the Department of forest resulted in the denial of tribal communities' customary right endangering their survival and existence (Munshi, 1998).

Now we may analyse the new 'Hill men Rules' which came into existence in 1964 as to the exercise of powers conferred by clause (a) of section 7 of the Kerala Forest Act 1961, which states that the rules are brought forward for the 'protection, advancement, treatment and management of Hill tribes'. Nothing was there in the new rules to expect protection, advancement, treatment and management of the tribes. Instead, it was a plan to limit the right of the tribal communities to move

inside the forest, access forest products, shift agriculture etc. The rule states that all tribal people residing within the reserved forest area are bound to follow the restrictions put forward by the rule in order to preserve forest (Clause (3), Hillmen Rules, 1964). According to the rule no hill men are allowed to move out of their settlement; the location, extent and boundaries of the settlement are permanently fixed and the hill men are not allowed to shift from one place to another. The rule completely withdrew rights of the tribal community over the land by stating 'the hill men shall enjoy the concession of cultivating land free of tax.' The government has taken forest in its control which was in the possession and under the protection of tribal communities for generations, then extending a 'concession' to do cultivation in their own land. We can observe that there is a shift in perspective from 'right' to 'concession' for using forest land.

The rule appoints Divisional Forest Officer as the person to give final verdict on the cases of trespass and encroachment of settlement land. By doing so it has opened more easy ways for non-tribes to encroach forest lands. This should be read along with the 'increased number of encroachments in the tribal land during 60s and 70s' (Xaxa, 2014, In a speech at the International Institute, University of Michigan). The Hill Men Rule also states that no hill men will be entitled to have any legal right to own lease for their cultivating lands which are marked as the forest land. The rules provide no compensation for the buildings or cultivations in the cases of forced evictions. According to clause (14) of the rule the tribes are not entitled to take or sell food grains from the land. The rule restricting tribes from shooting game for consumption only in the period of 28th May to 14th December. This clearly amounted to limiting and dominantly controlling food consumption patterns of the tribes which they have followed for generations according to their dietary needs, culture and belief system. It was compulsory for the able-bodied male tribal members to work for the tribal department at prescribed wage rates fixed by the Divisional Forest Officer. These rules are meant to interfere and destroy the natural way of tribal life and limiting their occupational freedom to being a labourer.

Kerala government has passed another important Act, The Kerala Prevention of Eviction Act in 1966, which talked about the alienation of tribal people from the forest land and suggested legal measures for the restoration of that land back to the tribes which have already passed into the hands of non-tribes. Clause (3) of the Act says, no person shall evict or attempt to evict a cultivating

tenant or holder of a *Kudiyiruppu* (resident/cultivating land) or Kudikidappukaran (a person stays and cultivate in others land) from his holding, Kudiyiruppu or Kudikidappu if such tenant or holder is a member of any Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe (The Kerala Prevention of Eviction Act in 1966). The Act penalise one who violate the rules with rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine which may extend to two thousand rupees, or with both. And the act suggests for restoration of all tribal land which is alienated by non-tribal members on or 1st April, 1964. According to the act, twenty-five per cent of total land available for assignment is to be allotted to Scheduled Case and Scheduled Tribes members. The Arable Forest Land Assignment Rules 1970 which come under the provisions of Kerala Land Assignment Act of 1960 state that one-third of the available land in each district should be allotted to the members of SC and ST.

The analysis of various legislative measures enacted by the government of Kerala states till 1975, seemingly to protect the interests of the tribes, reveals that majority of them have not helped to resolve the persisting issues of land and access to forest in favour of tribes; rather these have contributed to destroying their livelihoods and living conditions and have sought to dominate their lives through coercive state manipulations. The overall thrust of these legislations even the major pro-tribal provisions in various acts and rules mentioned above have not really been implemented for the benefit of the tribal people. Large areas of land were earmarked for allocation to tribes in Kerala; however, the pattas have never been granted for the land possessed by the tribes (Sreekumar and George, 1994).

The exceptional loop holes of the legal provisions (made to prevent land transfers from tribes to non-tribes members) such as the ‘transfers can be made with the prior permission of the competent authority (collector, sub-divisional officer, among others)’ ultimately diluted the impact of empowering legal provisions. It is noted that because of these loop holes, the implementation of legal measures was solely left to the sweet will of bureaucrats which made them even more powerful. It has also been observed that the rich upper castes do not find any difficulty in getting permission to transfer land from tribal people by doing corruptions with the concerned officials (Mohanty, 2001).

Land and forests are the two basic resources of the tribal life-support system; there have been assaults on both (Bhuria, 2004). The struggles and movements by the landless tribes were not for being allotted an alternative land somewhere in the tribal colonies or for being shifted to a tribal resettlement area; however, that is what is an unfortunate reality today. Their fight was majorly for the legal right to have their own land, livelihood etc. To accomplish their demands it was necessary to implement Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Restriction on Transfer of Land and Restoration of Alienated Land) Act 1975. The major objective of the Act is to prevent the transfer of tribal land to non-tribes through restrictions and to restore the alienated tribal lands through legislative measures.

As per the legal provisions, the land transferred by a member of a Scheduled Tribe to a non-tribal without the previous consent in writing of the competent authority is invalid. Thus, any transfer of land by a tribal by way of sale, mortgage or oral transfer to a non-tribal is not valid. This provision has retrospective effect, from 1st January 1960. Compared to all other previous legislations, this 1975 law entirely focused on resolving the problem of tribal land alienation in the state. According to the Act, it is entirely the responsibility of the state government to restore the encroached tribal land to the tribal people since 1960; however, the successive state governments have been very reluctant to take any action for implementing these provisions.

Dhebar Commission recommendations constituted the backbone of the later enacted Tribal Land Act 1975. The Commission was instituted by the Central Government of India in the year of 1950 and came up with suggestions to restore the alienated lands of Tribal population with effect from January 26, 1950 (Dhebar Commission, 1961). The decision to pass legislation in line with the commission's report and suggestions were taken in the year of 1975 by a meeting of State Revenue Ministers called by then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi at New Delhi (Cheria et al, 1997). This session was called up following the huge number of starvation deaths among tribal population in the country in the 1970s.

In order to camouflage its hidden agenda and to legitimize state terror during the period of national emergency the Congress government introduced twenty point programme, which included 'no alienation of tribal lands' as one of the main objectives as part of the 10th point in the programme



pertaining to the welfare of scheduled caste, scheduled tribes, minorities and OBCs (20-Point Programme, Government of India). Not only that, the growing revolutionary fervour among tribes in the late sixties and early seventies, and the agitations spearheaded by the communist party of India (Marxist-Leninist) which had strong bases among the tribal belt in India also contributed to the urge of the legislation for the tribal people, and the campaign for the rights of the tribes to forest and its produce (Mishra, 1993).

In the same year the Kerala government while C Achutha Menon as the Chief Minister with the complete support of opposition leader EMS Namboodiripad unanimously passed the Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Restriction on Transfer of Lands and Restoration of Alienated Land) Act 1975, which provided legislative clauses to restore the land of tribal people from the date of 1960 January 26th instead 1950 as suggested by Debar commission report. However, no actions were taken from the side of government, though many politically motivated dialogues were there in the assembly while moving the bill, for instance by then the Revenue Minister, Baby John (In 1975 Kerala state government)

"The tribes have lost their ancestral land to the settler-encroachers, in exchange for tobacco, dry fish or petty cash. Whatever might have been the form of transaction, this government treats it as stealing. It is the firm commitment of this government to recover these stolen properties and to restore it to its original owners the tribes" (John, B, 1975).

In fact, the knowledge of simmering problems with regard to tribal land was by no means new to Kerala administration or something that only derived from the Central government commissions. As early in 1961, K K Viswanathan committee report clearly stated the land question of the tribal people in Kerala. The report noted that 'a large portion of the tribal lands are encroached by the non-tribal money lenders due to the increased indebtedness and poverty among tribal communities. In some instances, tribal people indulge in outright heir land very often for nominal considerations. The state should engage to rectify the issues immediately, otherwise 'it will lead to a very disastrous situation reducing the poor, innocent and illiterate Tribes whose mainstay is agriculture, to abject poverty and misery'. Further, the committee pointed out that special legislation as the protective and preventive level to be implemented in dealing the problems of landless among tribal

people and to stop alienation of tribal land by non-tribal outsiders. The report also suggests solutions, as to restore the already alienated lands through provisions of relevant legislations and District collectors, should be appointed to do inquiries, either suo moto or at the request of aggrieved party’.

The stated report is an evidence to demonstrate that the policy makers and politicians of Kerala were well aware of the seriousness of land issues among tribes much before the Kerala Tribal Act 1975 was officially passed in the assembly. And the report was not only a piece of findings of the problems alone, it also had some valid suggestions to solve those problems. The committee also noted that the tribes and their representatives have expressed serious apprehension that if things are allowed to continue as at present then entire land now is in their possession will before long, pass into the hands of non-tribals and the tribal people will be reduced to a set of landless labourers. But the acuteness of inertia by government is visible not because taking any relevant actions based on KK Viswanathan committee report but even after ‘the Kerala Tribal Land Act 1975 got mandatory acquiescence from Indian President’ (Kerala Gazette, 1975), the left or right wing government did not do anything to implement the Act till 1986. In 1986 the legislative assembly of Kerala formulated rules to implement the act with retrospective effect from January 1, 1982 (bypassing 1950 fixed by Debar Commission and 1960 by the parent Act). Dr. Nalla Thampi Thera a tribal activist from Mananthavadi, Wayanad, moved the first writ petition before Kerala High Court pleading to instruct Kerala Government to implement the Tribal Land Act of 1975 (O.P. No.8879 of 1988 mentioned in M. Mohan Kumar vs P. Nalla Thampy Thera, 2009). After five years to that, on 1993 October 15th, the Kerala high court directs Kerala Government to implement the Act within 6 months. But the UDF government led by K Karunakaran succeeded getting extension to implement the Act. The reason behind government’s inability to implement the Act on time with its complete elements was openly disclosed by the Principle Secretary for SC-ST Development to High Court through an affidavit on August 9, 1996 (It was LDF in power). It says, due to organised resistance from the powerful encroacher-settlers in tribal belt the government is failed to implement the Act. This is clearly exposing the power of private settlers in the forest tribal lands and their link with front politicians in Kerala. And also it was demonstrating the government's lack of will to stand by poor landless tribal people in the state. But the High Court rejected the claim by the government on August 14 and directed that the 1975 Act be implemented.

The High Court directed that the RDOs effect delivery of possession of alienated tribal lands to their original owners in cases where no appeals are pending against orders for restoration of land and where no compensation is payable, that adequate law and order machinery be used to carry this out and that the RDOs file affidavits by September 1996 (2002, G. Prabhakaran). In September, the left wing government with E K Nayanar as the chief minister also tried to amend the 1975 Act but the governor rejected that move. Then the elite political members of LDF decided to hurriedly implement it by introducing the 'Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Restriction on Transfer of Land and Restoration of Alienated Land) Amendment Bill 1996. In the scuttle to enact the new amendment to the Act, the government even tried to bypass some important procedures and formalities like a mandatory consultation with the National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Commission's chairman pointed out that under section 9 of article 338 of the constitution the Union and state governments are required to consult the commission on all policy formulations affecting Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes. He criticised the state government for disregarding this obligation and sought a report from the government on the issue (The Hindu, 1996). The amendment bill accounted all tribal land transaction legally valid, subsequently the occupiers and encroachers need not to restore the land to tribal family. The bill also suggested government to provide some other land to the tribal family with an amount of 25,000 as compensation. An all party delegation led by chief minister called on the President and urged him to give assent to the Bill (Indian Express, 27 December 1996). Despite having great political pressure and high level lobbying the amendment failed to secure the mandatory assent from President due to the reason that the State Assembly does not abide the power to amend an Act which is included in the 9th Schedule of the constitution. This was leading the political elite of the state to move for the last attempt in order to bypass the Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Restriction on Transfer of Land and Restoration of Alienated Land) Act 1975 by passing a new bill in the state assembly on 23rd February 1999, called 'The Kerala Restriction on Transfer and Restoration of Lands to Scheduled Tribes Bill 1999'. The same was signed by the Governor of Kerala on 9th March 1999 and it became law. The new Act made the Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Restriction on Transfer of Land and Restoration of Alienated Land) Act 1975 invalid. According to the new Act the encroachers and settlers were allowed legal right to possess the land up to 2 hectares. And in the remaining cases it proposed to provide the 'original owners' with alternative lands. And the subsection (I) of the act says 'in cases where the land involved in such transfer is used for agricultural

purposes, the transferee thereof shall be entitled to retain in his possession..’. If the particular land is used for agriculture then the settler is not needed to give the land for restoration. In reality most of the lands alienated from tribal members were used for the purpose large plantation of cash crops by the rich landowners and settlers. Consequently, in practical sense, there weren’t any land or a little land which were available for restoration and rest of the tribal families had to leave their ‘own’ land, had to shift to some other places where government’s rehabilitation project was planned. According to the Act, in order to achieve this objective, ‘Scheduled Tribe Rehabilitation and Welfare Fund’ was to be used. If the Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Restriction on Transfer of Land and Restoration of Alienated Land) Act 1975 was aimed to restore Adivasi land back to them, the new Act passed by Kerala Government in 1999 was aimed at legalizing land grabbing and to uproot Adivasi families from their own land.

All pro-tribal actions and attempts were failed or intentionally made to be failed. In this play script, the government was forcefully convinced the tribal agitators that the restoration of land is merely impossible by legally. As Sreerekha put it rightly, ‘where the legislature and the judiciary proclaimed that the adivasi community has now agreed for alternative land, therefore, the issue of restoration of land has become irrelevant, the attempt is to portray that alternate land is the only solution to the land problem of the adivasis’, nevertheless which was the government bankruptcy to restore the alienated land that had rammed the tribal people to accept alternate land only as a strategic move (MS Sreerekha, 2010). In the case of displacement of tribal people in Kerala the private encroachments, state inactivity, legislative manipulations etc all have equal and considerable responsibility as development induced displacements.

### **The Kerala model of Tribal Marginalization**

What was the contribution of state’s well-applauded developmental model to the life of tribes and marginalized communities, it is an often asked old question. The question makes much more relevant since Kerala being a model state regarding its exemplary standards in health, education, political awareness and participation, and other parameters of human development index (HDI) which are habitually compared with those of the developed countries’. It is precisely clear from a

scientific analysis of HDI variables among tribal concentrated areas which are often poorer than that of many underdeveloped countries. Whether it is the case of access to safe drinking water, income index, rate of malnutrition or any other socio-political parameters, the tribal settlements in the state performs far behind. An HDI based study in Attappady, a tribal-majority area, clearly indicates that the area is far behind than Ethiopia (which scored 183<sup>rd</sup> in global HDI ranking) in terms of life expectancy, education and income (Swaminathan, 2014). That interprets the huge gap between the welfare of tribal people and the other communities in Kerala. Consequently, it is much clear that the Kerala model of development was a failure when we approach it on the base of equity and justice centered development, instead the model worked as a precipitator to the marginalization of most deprived sections of the society.

The proudly introduced Kerala land reforms act (1963) or any other legislative and social policy measures undertaken by the Government of Kerala towards the welfare of Scheduled Tribes like The Kerala Prevention of Eviction Act in 1966, The Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Restriction of Transfer of Lands and Restoration of Alienated Lands) Act of 1975 could do nothing with the very existential questions of tribal land alienation and landlessness. On the contrary, legislative mechanisms for the protection and conservation of wildlife, development induced displacements, unchecked encroachment of tribal land by private parties etc hastened the social, economical and political subjugation of tribal people in the state. They are being murdered for dissenting government atrocities, being jailed on the cases for living in the forest and utilising forest resources, displaced from their traditional land, resettled to colonies are the evidence for underlying holy relation between Kerala political dominant class and the illegal forest encroachers. Kerala has witnessed a better number of tribal mobilizations and tribal political groups emerged on various issues pertaining to tribal communities were hijacked by the major dominant political parties in the state. The left- and right-wing governments have always kept tribal people aside and marginalized in terms of economical and political participation and development. With great vision on development and conservation of tribal and dalits, special provisions and policies with clear perspectives were included in the constitution. However, due to the corporate backed government's decisions out of the pressure of globalization and neo-liberal market, these provisions hardly made any benefit to the country's tribe men. Nothing novel from rest of the states, the model state for development always manipulated and dragged from implementing these constitutional provisions, especially when it comes to the tribal land alienation and restoration.

### **Tribal resistance: The story of Political hijacks and the later political awakening**

There are a number of struggles and movements from the tribal communities of state raising various issues, and land alienation and restoration of alienated land was always the first priority of their agenda. It is noted that for over 25 years, the agitation waged over the restoration of alienated tribal land in Kerala had languished as successive state governments chose to ignore several court directives (Raman, 2002).

Historically if we observe from the formation of the state, the peculiar feature of the state politics was the presence of two political fronts majorly, the Congress led and the Communist led. These mainstream political fronts have monopolized the political power of the state. And the successive governments of these two political parties did nothing significantly to resolve the basic problems of the tribal people instead they intensified the severity of the problem through various ways. The legislative initiatives which undertaken by these governments and the problems faced by the tribal are clearly analysed in the part 'legislative power and the tribes of Kerala state'. While the tribal communities and organizations have tried their luck for changing their crucial problems by supporting these two major political fronts, the coalition always turned up for their vote back among tribes. The losses of trust among these political parties are portrayed as the reasons for tribal supports to Naxalite movements majorly in the Malabar region. But it was not having a long active life since the government by recognizing the future threat of leading the growth of naxal-tribal linkages, suppressed the movement.

The major political parties were concerned only with their vote banks rather than solving the problems of tribal people in the state. Subsequently, there were many tribal wings of mainstream political parties. For instance, the Kerala Girivarga Sangam (CPI wing), Karshaka Sangam of CPI (Maoist), Keala Adivasi Samajan of INC were some of them. The Wayanad Swoyam Sevak Sangam of the Janasangh in the year 1963 was considered as the organized level attempt to raise the voice against land alienation and for restoration of lost land. The 1963 formed 'Karshaka Tozhilali Union' of CPI (M) worked mainly for the farm workers upliftment and against semi slavery systems. Then come the 'Wayanad Adivasi Sangham' called as the new Jan Sangh with the support of 'Kurichya' section of tribes. The 'Kerala Givasa Sagham' of CPI formed in the year 1975 were concerned with the encroachment of tribal land by settler non-tribes. But this wing

couldn't function and regrettably stopped after emergency period. The INC based Kerala Adivasi Samajan of 1975 with the support of Malabar Kurumas were also worked for the restoration of tribal land. To name there are a lot of 'tribal named' political organizations of the mainstream political parties. But there was no fully tribal politicized and leaded organization till 1992. It was observed that the eight-day tribal meet (Adivasi Sammelanam) conducted in the year 1992 at Wayanad district with the participation of tribes organizations from Karnataka and Tamilnadu under the leadership of CK Janu laid the foundation of tribal-led political movements in the state. And it was the first time in the state where the tribal came out of the banner of major political parties to form their own political wing. This was behind the formation of Adivasi Dalit Samara Samithi, Adivasi Gothra Maha Sabha and Rashtriya Maha Sabha in the state which were considered as the real political awakening of tribal people in Kerala.

Adivasi Gothra Maha Sabha (AGMS), which is one of the prominent organizations that started working for the issues related to tribal people in Kerala which came into being in 2001 with the leadership of social activist C.K Janu and M. Geethanandan. As a response to the deplorable condition of tribes, Kerala witnessed a non-violent protest movement of the tribes demanding land, based on the premise that lack of land lies at the root of tribal poverty. And the agitation was also based on the inactiveness of state government in implementing Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Restriction on Transfer of Land and Restoration of Alienated Land) Act 1975.

The peaceful movement strategies failed to attract much government or media attention. Then the agitators captured and started living in the Muttanga wild life sanctuary in Wayanadu district under the leadership of the Adivasi Gothra Maha Sabha, as a symbolic agitation against the violation of Kerala government's agreement on land distribution. The Muthanga adivasi struggle happened to be the first incident in the history of Kerala where the state government took extreme methods against the agitating tribal people at Muthanga, in the district of Wayanad. On 19 February 2003, the rightwing government's policemen were ordered to open fire on more than one thousand poor landless tribal people which included men, women and children who had peacefully settled at the peripheries of the Muthanga range of the Wayanad Wild Life Sanctuary and were agitating for their rights. These tribes were brutally evicted from that land. One tribal woman who resisted eviction got killed, and many got serious wounds. More than 300 tribal people from Wayanad were

arrested and imprisoned following the incident. There was no prior communication or warning on the police action from the side of government.

The Muthanga incidents were the result of a culmination of tribal frustrations over the failure of successive governments in the state to restore adivasi land despite several judicial directives and the existence of laws enacted for the purpose (Bijoy and Raman, 1982). 'The events marked a sordid highpoint in the five-decade struggle waged by different adivasi groups for the restoration of alienated land' (Forest and Tribes, EPW, Forests and Tribes). According to the statement of Adivasi Gothra Maha Sabha, 1100 families had reached the sanctuary in Muthanga in search of their homeland and they had nowhere else to go back to. The statement questioned the silence of government over the illegal encroachment of forest lands by non-tribal members. The successive governments had tried their best to legitimise these encroachments. How could then the attempts of the children of forests to establish their birth right be treated as an offence?' (Statement of Adivasi Gothra Maha Sabha in *The Hindu*, Feb 22, 2003).

### **Paniya Tribe; the landless and bonded labours, but not by birth**

Understanding the Paniya tribe community should not begin from explaining the meaning of Paniyan, in place a social, political and cultural context grounded etymological explorations are required. There is an enormous number of studies which began by stating that Paniyans are traditionally engaged labouring activities as their occupation. However, Paniyans claims that they are the autochthons of Wayanad and the Gowdans, Nair and other community landlords who migrated to the tribal areas dominated, captured and enslaved them. These studies often cite the origin of the name 'paniya' and its meaning to extend their justification to begin from where they did. The literary meaning of paniyan is someone who is a 'labourer', the one who works for others. To avoid unnecessary delimitation of the scope of your studies, one should begin from certain questions rather than from an explanation of word paniya. Whatsoever are the concerns of exploration, the questions one must ask before approaching the current surroundings of paniyans are; who altered a forest tribe community into paniyan (labourer)? What was the purpose behind this transformation of a tribal community who once known as the shifting cultivator? What all circumstances and procedures the tribe community have gone through to become today's Paniya community? Without any suspicion, the answers for the above questions will ultimately lead one



to understand the social, economic and political unjust and marginalization faced by Paniya tribe community in the state.

They used caves inside the forest premises as their base accommodation and found food at vast varieties of forest products includes roots. They used tree skins to cover their nudity. Fear towards the outer world was noted as inherited among this particular tribe. (Nayar, 1976). Considering the long history and origin of the Paniya community, it is noted that the Paniyas are the first children of Kerala (Panoor, 1963). Perhaps in the later stages, there are evidence siting Paniyans practised shifting cultivation in the forest and purlieu.

Paniya have similar physical characteristics as Negro (Thurston, 1909); they have spring type hair, black colour skin, short height and flat noses. Historians identified the Hippie hill near the Balarankot mala, the current Banasura fort, Wayanad as the initial settlement location of Paniya tribe community in Kerala. Later the tribe were reportedly settled in other places in Kerala called; Thalipparamba, Thalassery, Vadakara, Chittoor, Eranad etc. Their settlements are seen in Madhura, Thirunelveli of Tamilnadu and Neelagiri district of Karnataka also (Nayar, 1976) In Wayanad, their settlements are mainly spreaded to Mananthavadi, Thondarnad, Periya, Payyampalli, Panamaram, Edavaka (North Wayanad) and Thariyodu, Sulthan Bathery, Meppadi, Vythiri, Pozhuthana, Ambalavayal, Chulliyodu, Kalppetta, Porakkadi, Padinjarethara, Kuppadithara, Kottathara, Poothadi etc., in South Wayanad.

With the establishment of coffee estates and the steady influx of immigrants from the plains, the paniyans had lost control over their traditional resources (Mathur, 1977), including the precious land of cultivation. The Chettis and Kavundan (higher caste) who have large farms and agricultural land utilized the labour of Paniyans at a cheap cost. Moreover, they become bonded labours of this chettis and kavundan. The clever man utilises the labour of animals, and the cleverest of them utilise the labour of man. However, only crooked of them will bond their labours. It is argued that, as a result of large scale influx of plains people especially from central Travancore, the tribal population of Wayanad, has been reduced to a minority (Mathur, 1977). The visitors of Wayanad, the Goundar of mysoor, Chettans (Christians) from south Kerala and Muslims from north districts have never gone back. In short, Paniyans of Wayanad become the slave workers of janmi's (landed aristocrat) large fields and plantations. Their occupations were highly limited to the agricultural and related works under their owner. The migration was also resulted in the shift of agricultural

priority from paddy and food crop cultivation to cash crop cultivation by clearing forest and creating massive plantations. This shift equally resulted in the culture and life of the tribal communities who depend on forest resources for their consumption and livelihood. Badami (2011) noted that the Paniya community have experienced a history of social, political and economical exclusion, and have been socially positioned as landless, bonded labourers, variously for the benefit of colonialists, migrant agriculturalist and landowning tribes and castes in the region. These 'into tribal area' migrations were considered as one of the major reason for degradation of tribal life into mere agricultural labors. Referring to Kularani's (1977) communities like that of the Paniyar who lived here (Wayanad) were subjugated and enslaved by the farming communities who immigrated into this plateau region from the south, the Malabar area and from the north, the Mysore region in the early centuries of Christian era. This immigration of communities with modern farming skills resulted in the subjugation of the indigenous people like the '*Ippimala makkal*' (childrens of hippy hills) giving rise to the emergence of new ethnonym Paniyar - signifying workers'. Among them, the bonded labour system was known as '*Kundalpani*'. The transaction of Paniya bond labour compared by paniya member as follows; "they (the janmis) used to buy us like cattle" (Nayar, 1976). In the middle of 18<sup>th</sup> century while the planters were settling to Wayanad for creating tea and coffee estates, the land was sold to them by landlords who were containing Paniya people and their huts, they were the slaves of those landlords. They become the cheap bulk labourers for the estates under European control.

Even today they are known as the Paniyar of Muslim, Paniyar of Chetti, Paniyar of Thiyya and Paniyar of Kurichiya (Kurichiya tribe). They call themselves as 'Kachavans' and others 'Melalar', which means slaves and owners. They have subjugated not only by people from non-tribe community, as rightly noted that many tribes in Kerala even those communities with fewer population in that time considered Paniya tribesman as low class and untouchable. It is also reported that many Paniya community people were exploited by other tribes as well as the members of other non-tribe community (Shashi, 1994).

The tribe community had lost many possessions of both abstract and concrete through the process (forceful?) of becoming today's paniyan. It is noted that hills, forests and fields were the feeders of Paniyan in the early time. The freely available ragi satisfied their hunger. As well as plentiful availability of crabs and fish were constant part of their plate. They believed that the crabs lives in

the pores of their fields have medicinal value. Subsequently, apart from the purpose of satisfying appetite, they have assumed it can prevent and cure many maladies. Referring to Mithran (2019) the severe body pain and as well as back ache are reported by many of the Paniya members especially after a daylong hard works, so traditionally they have included crab in diet considering the medicinal properties (which they believed) for curing this ailments. Crabs contains calcium, phosphorus and protein in rich amount which expected add benefits to bone and muscle strength. The Paniya reported to consume large varieties of green leafy vegetables. A researcher notes that the Paniya tribes reported to use 108 varieties of leaves in their food (Nayar, 1976). Substantially, another study which compared the use of wild edible leafs among various tribal communities in Wayanad found that Paniya community consumes the furthestmost varieties of leafy species (71 varieties) most regularly in their food supplement while the second coming Kattunaikka community only use half of it (35 varieties). Out of the known species, the Paniya community use 60 of them only at the time of severe monsoon when there is limited occupations and income or at the time of acute scarcity of food (Narayanan et al., 2011). Large amount of green leafy vegetables might have satisfied their micro-nutrients requirements up to a significant range. They have also used edible roots easily available in the forest for satisfying their dietary requirements. The tribe have developed a particular tool to dig out these roots (Presented in govt tribal museum at KIRTADS, Calicut, Kerala). In a study conducted to explore and record the details of various edible plants used by the tribes of Wayanad district of Kerala found that Paniya tribe reported to use 136 varieties of wild edible items including tuber and roots (15), leafy vegetable (71) and fruits and seeds (50) (Narayanan, 2011). They used coffee leaves to prepare coffee while others used powder of coffee beans since the leaves were obtained at free of cost.

### **The Emergence of Aralam Farm Resettlement**

The government was forced to take some necessary action to resume the resettlement and land distribution procedures. As a result, the government came up with different locations for the resettlement of the landless tribes. The current Aralam farm tribal resettlement was one of the major projects in this category of resettlement project in which the Kerala state government resettled 3000 tribal families in the year of 2004 following the post-Muthanga struggles by the landless tribal communities in Kerala. In June 2004, the state government made an agreement with

the State Farms Cooperation of India to take over the Central State Farm in Aralam paying Rs 42.09 crore to the centre from the state's 'tribal sub plan fund' for tribal development. According to the government report, 'it was ordered to set apart half of the farm for distribution to resettle the landless tribes and retain the other half as farm itself.' It was also proposed to 'allot 1/3 of the area earmarked for distribution to tribes from Kannur district and the remaining 2/3 to tribes from Wayanad district' (Government of Kerala, 2006). Since there are hardly studies conducted on the tribes resettled to Aralam farm, information on their living conditions is missing from the tribal literatures of Kerala. The print and electronic media have frequently reported various problems of the tribal people from Aralam Farm includes health, education, occupation related problems but which are not absolutely not enough to make a conclusion on the problems of resettled tribal people.

### **The recent research trends in approaching Paniya tribes**

It is becoming common among government and welfare organizations supported studies to explore the problem of tribal people with affording least importance to the historical, socio-economical and political subjugations that the tribal community of Kerala has undergone. Nothing significant or feasible outcome can anticipate from these sorts of studies however which ultimately leaves tribal people themselves responsible for their present problems. Hence, such studies merely cease with finding tribes' 'outdated' customs, lack of tribes self-motivation and strives, lack of knowledge about nutritious food, alcoholism and broken families etc are the primary causes for tribal problems. There are studies hurried to portray and conclude the whole issue of tribal suicides in the states into psychological issues without even probing more into or citing any other economical, social and political contexts. These circumscribed understandings of the problems can also be detected when it comes to the action phase. For instance, when a large number of tribal mothers and adolescence girls found with anaemic in Aralam tribal resettlement area in Kerala, the district (Kannur) public health department has conducted several awareness classes on the importance of nutritious food intake. The critical questions of availability and accessibility to quality food items, occupational and economical issues closely associated with malnutrition were out of government's consideration, nevertheless, these are most important aspects which must have taken into account when we mold solutions.

## **The need of current study**

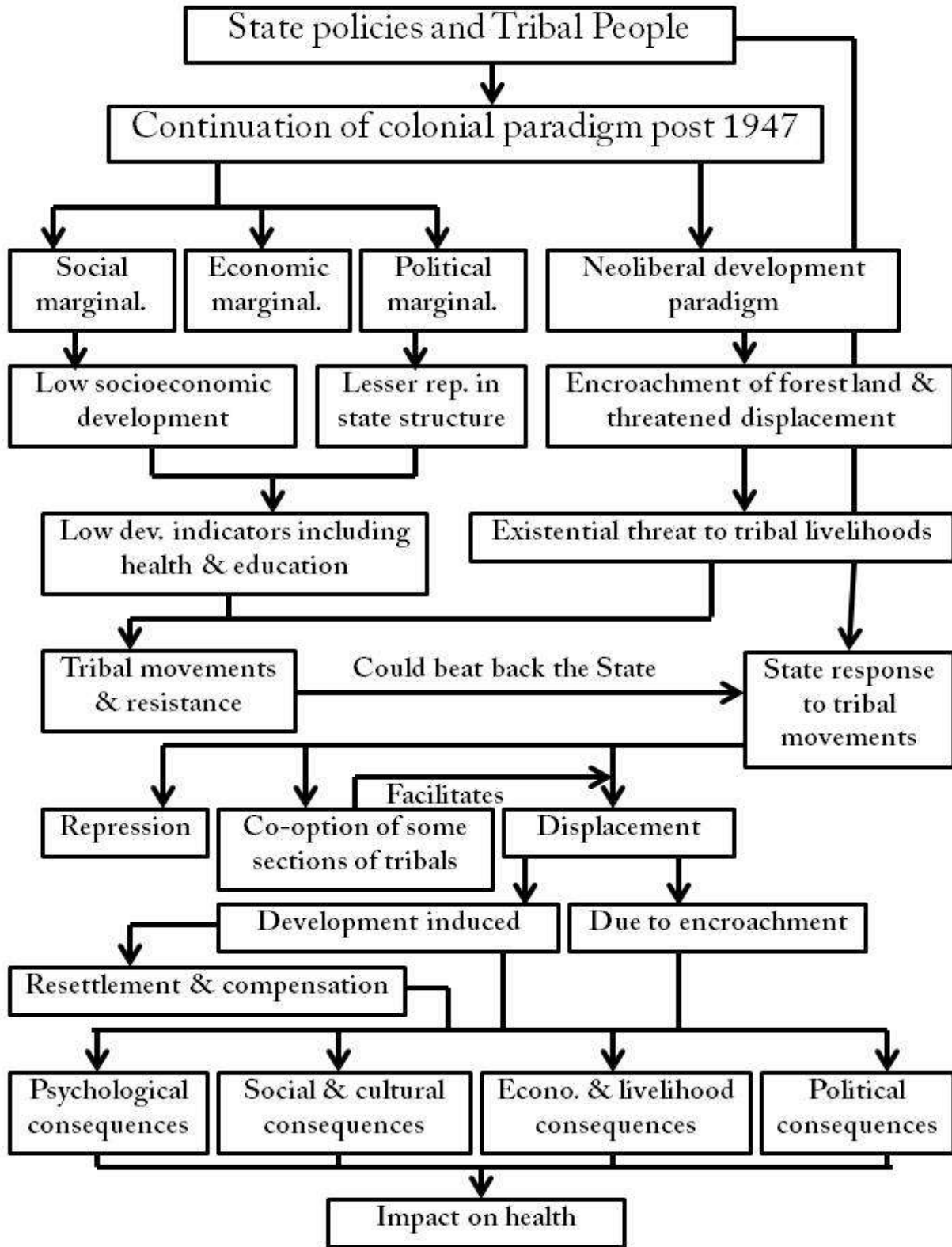
There is relatively a large number of research works on the issue of development-induced displacement of tribal people in India. Many of them attempt to address the question of how the tribal people were affected by various development projects in the pre and post-independence era. Several researchers have observed that displacements of tribal people are hardly recognized and taken into account by the state. Especially, in the events of displacement of tribal people which is resulting out of gradual dispossession of their traditional land to non-tribes and private encroachers. The case of Kerala tribal land alienation and displacement of tribes from their traditional land was predominately colligated with the historical dispossessions of land which began from the period of British government. Even though, there were protests and objections from tribal people and civil society organizations against grabbing of land which was sporadically reported through various means, there were no affirmative actions from the state. Wayanad district of Kerala also underwent displacements of tribes and consequent protests. It is imperative to note that tribal struggles of Wayanad as the socio-political awakening of tribal victims of this gradual dispossession of their socio-economic and political capital of survival, the land, as well as the resultant of various levels of continued exploitations. Moreover, the politics of bringing resettlement, instead restoration (as guaranteed by the Constitution) was the golden middle path taken by the government was to ensure no land loss for the private encroachers at the same time to mute the voices of impoverished tribal people for land. Accomplishing both were equally important for the state considering political and economical benefits of carrying out resettlement as an alternative to restoration. Putting it another way, 'resettlement' was not the idea or intention behind tribal agitations and movement in Wayanad district, rather it was the idea of state to subjugate the pressure for 'restoration' with 'resettlement'. The government undertook various endeavours to compromise tribal movement and people with 'resettlement' into a new place instead of their year's age battle for 'restoration' to their traditional land. These endeavors varies from the deployment of state police power for brutally repressing the agitators, to physical and sexual assaults of agitating tribal women, to politically hijacking the tribal movements by mainstream governing and opposition parties, to manipulating and bypassing constitutional provision for winning a legal battle against the indigent tribal people, to blind offers of glorious amenities in the resettlement area and so on. Aralam farm resettlement (in Kannur district) was the master plan to resettled tribal people from the district of Wayanad and Kannur district. More than

3000 tribal families were resettled to the project area by the end of 2004. The life of tribal people after displacement and resettlement are relatively less explored by researchers in terms socio-political and economical impact with holistic understanding. Instead of understanding any particular aspect of tribal displacement and resettlement the proposed study comprehensively explore various aspects – social, economic, political, cultural, and health concerning the specific case of tribes displaced from Wayanad district and resettled in Aralam farm area of Kannur district.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The conceptual framework for operationalization of the research



(Diagram 1)



A schematic presentation is done which is emerged from the conceptual understanding laid in the more empirical data gathered and explained in the earlier chapter as literature review. The diagram (Diagram 1) elucidates what all conceptual accounts has used to build the framework for the study as well as to decide and prepare the research methodology. It is a flow of chart which begins from the tribal conditions in the state and ends with research gap or the subject of study exploration, the impact on the health of tribal people. The framework essentially and critically used various processes that ultimately lead to the displacement and resettlement of tribal people, more specifically the resettlement of current inhabitants of Aralam tribal resettlement area.

The extensive review of the literature and available data on tribal displacements in India as well as in the state of Kerala clearly states that the alienation and displacement of tribal people from their land are not very new phenomena. The displacements in the name of development and gradual dispossession of tribal land have a long history. The data indicates that the colonial government and the state/central governments post-independence equally exploited and caused for the displacement of tribal from their original habitat for reasons varying from development to forest conservations. Some tribal communities live in forest areas or settlements close to the forest. Forest provides them with the livelihood resource and requirements for their daily use. Realizing the commercial value of varying kinds of forest produce, British colonialists placed various restrictions on the tribal people to regulate their access to the forest. Unfortunately, the same policy paradigm has continued after the independence as well, and now among other things, restrictions on tribe's in accessing forest and utilizing its products are being placed in the name of conserving the forest. The importance of forest areas has also increased on account of the fact that these areas are rich with sources of various mineral ores. Given the neoliberal development paradigm, there is an imperative to open up forest areas for mining in order to fuel economic growth rate. These policies have brought the tribe's and the state into confrontation.

As it is among all other social categories, the tribe's are the worse off in terms of socio-economic development; and the present policies have further undermined their position socially, economically and politically. Faced with an existential threat due to neoliberal economic and development paradigm and their deteriorating social and economic condition, there have been some fierce struggles and movements by the tribe's against the state. The response of the state to these movements has been varied, from outright repression using the armed forces, to trying to co-

opt some sections among the tribe's, or effect displacement and offer rehabilitation and compensation packages. However, the available experience of implementation of rehabilitation and compensation packages across the country has not been very good. The studies which we have looked in for the review states that the experience of displacement has been traumatic for the people in most cases resulting in psychological, social and cultural, economic and livelihood and political consequences for the displaced people. All of these factors impact on the health of the people.

This study proposes to look at the health consequences of displacement for the tribal families belonging to Paniya tribe who were displaced from Wayanad district to Aralam farm in Kannur district by comparing their health status with that of the people of the same tribe who were not displaced. However, there are some complicating factors that one has to be mindful while doing such a comparison. As per the schematic representation of the conceptual framework of the study, it would imply that those who have been displaced would be expected to have poorer health status as compared to those who were not displaced. This may or may not be the case, since it could also be possible that due to outward displacement of some members of the tribe, the ability of the remaining members to resist the ongoing attempts by different people or agencies of the state to further increase their hold over the forest land, may have been compromised. This could in turn worsen their socioeconomic condition and there by health, hence the expected outcome may not be observed. Moreover, the state or other agencies trying to occupy forest land also try to co-opt a section of tribes to undermine the resistance to encroachment of forest land.

Displacement of the tribes to other areas could be on two counts – one development related displacement and the other is encroachment related displacement. It is only in the case of the former that displaced people would be entitled to rehabilitation and compensation; while the condition of the later would by far be the worst. Hence, it is possible that even among the displaced people there is a differentiation in health status on account of these differences. Hence, this poses an additional challenge to refine the research tools to capture such differentiation and its consequences, including health consequences. Secondly, this demands extra care in interpreting the results to come to a realistic understanding of the health consequences of displacement.

## **Conceptual understanding; The Development induced displacement and encroachment induced displacement**

It is important to observe the root cause of displacement of tribal people in the state in order to understand and analyze the experiences and responses of tribal people who have gone through the process of displacement, considering the difference between development induced and encroachment induced displacements. Though not adequately, but it can be hypothesized that the recognition of the tribal loss of land and property is addressed up to a certain level in the event of development induced displacement. In most cases of development induced displacement; the amount of land, number of affected people, cost of property foregone etc are supposed to be identified and addressed for planning rehabilitation programs for the project affected people. On other hand the displacement of tribal people due to the illegal encroachments of their traditional land by non-tribal immigrants and other corporate hands were in most cases not even addressed or recognized by the state. For these reasons it may well be the case that upon investigation we may find that the experience of the entire process from displacement to resettlement and therefore the response of these two categories of people to this experience are entirely different. Subsequently the psycho-social impact of displacement and then resettlement among tribes of these two categories may vary depending on whether the displacement is development induced or was enforced due to encroachment. The experience of gradual dispossession of land through various ways without keeping any evidence of tribal possession and later on leading to the alienation of tribal from their land may differ from the experience of displaced tribal people in the event of development induced displacement. In Kerala, the instances of tribal land alienation by non-tribal people are high. According to a survey, tribal land transferred to the non-tribal people accounts for 86.3 per cent cases (filed for restoration) and 92.1 per cent area of the total disputed land (Prashanth, 1985). It exemplifies the seriousness and intensity of the private encroachment of tribal land in the state.

Resettlement and rehabilitation is viewed as a right of the affected in those events where displacement happened due to a development project. But in the cases of displacement due to encroachments of traditional land is neither consider state as the responsible institution nor rehabilitation as a right of the tribal people. So, there is a chance for power variations, dominations and inferiority since both categories of tribal people were resettled in to a single area. These

dynamics of power variations also need to be studied considering its impact on resource accumulation are distributed among resettled tribal people.

### **Dynamics of Social Hierarchy among Tribes**

The existing social hierarchy among resettled tribes also needs to be understood and analyzed reckoning it's important in influencing the distribution of resources. There is a vertical social hierarchy among tribes on the base of tribal group they belongs to. As we have discussed in the review of literature, Paniya tribe constitute to the highest proportion of total tribes of with 45.65 per cent in Wayanad. But they are the most historically disadvantaged at social, economical and political spheres of development. It is noted that 'Paniya people are perhaps the only "agricultural labourers" who still have all the skills and knowledge for making agricultural implements, prepare the paddy lands for farming, select and preserve seeds, conserve the seed varieties enrich and protect the paddies from soil erosion, soil improvisation, pests and diseases in organic and traditional ways, dehusk and prepare rice, in boiled as well as raw forms and so on' (Santhi, 2014). The inability of utilizing these unique skills and knowledge they acquired and transmitted over generations, due to the difference in the geological character of land and lack of paddy type agricultural land in the resettlement area will certainly contribute to the continuation of marginalization and narrows livelihood options of Paniya tribes. When compare to any other tribal people, the data indicates the fact that the Paniyan were even subjugated and marginalized by other dominated tribal communities together with various other higher class and caste stakeholders. The fact is imbibed for the development of conceptual framework in order to address these realities.

These powers and dominating features were utilized by other tribal communities even in the resettled areas in Aralam too. Experiences and responses of the tribal people during a pilot visits paid by researcher explicates that there a strong influence by some categories of tribal groups in order to acquire land with agriculturally productive, water availability, better transport facility, electricity provisions and with cash crop plants availability like cashew nuts and coca. The tribal groups like Paniya were not given a chance to select the land which they needed according to their livelihood satisfaction or with any of the above mentioned facilities. Apart from these priorities utilized by other tribal communities, they continued their dominations also in bargaining various government schemes and project for their settlement area. Their representation and influence were also visible in the composition of various post under LSG, employment in the farm etc. This

exemplifies us that how lower strata tribes were dominated and influenced by other tribes group with the help of state agencies who implemented the resettlement project.

### **Does resettlement affect non-displaced communities?**

One of the very important aspects of resettlement is how it has been affected the non-displaced and non-resettled tribal communities who were left to their traditional habitats close to those displacement areas. What kind of changes they might have gone through due to the migration of a large number of their community people to the resettled area is adding more dimensions to the problematization of the research. A sudden decrease in the population might have led to diminishing their strength in movements and other resistance against state forces and private encroachments. Due to the same reason they might have surrendered for further socio-economical and political exploitations which stimulated the marginalization and social exclusion of the non-displaced tribal communities in the state. The possibilities of fear and psychological impacts are there among the non displaced. They might have been living with extreme fear of displacement. In some other cases, there may be a chance where their relatives or close family members got displaced and resettled into a new place. This separation can also lead them into psychological distress and fear.

### **Contextualizing Displacement and Resettlement**

Displacement and resettlement are identified as the major concepts in the study which need to be defined in terms of available standard conceptual contributions as also in terms of the operationalization of the current study. The term displacement is used more in conceptual frameworks where there is a mobility of people from one geographical area to another because of a developmental project. Accordingly, clubbing both the cause and effect, it is mostly termed and used as ‘development-induced displacements’. Depending on its effect and nature, the term *“displacement” can be understood in two different ways. It may be used to refer to eviction of people from their habitual homeland without adequate compensation, guarantees or mechanisms of social support, or to the initial phase of a process of resettlement*. The second one is the part of a scientific rehabilitation project, a more planned displacement for initiating resettlement of the affected. According to the above two conditions, the displacement may be distinguished either as a negative phenomenon linked to the violation of fundamental human right, or as a planned process

for resettlement. For the current study, the displacement of tribal communities from their traditional land due to the private encroachments by non-tribal settlers, demarcation of tribal land as reserved forest and alienated them from their land, developmental projects etc. can't be considered as the initial phase of a planned resettlement but it must be considered as the violation of the basic human right to life since it is the eviction of tribal people from their habitual homeland without adequate compensation, guarantees or mechanisms for social support.

Anthropologists introduced the push and pull factors of migration which can also be used to explain displacement. Their classification of the factors was based on the intention or the cause of displacement. The 'push' factors considered as the impulses which force people to migrate their traditional localities. Here the inevitable or unpleasant reasons impels for displacement. At the same time 'pull' factors are factors which attract people to move to new areas. The tribal displacements in the country are more of due to the 'push' factors which said to be ultimately leaving social, economic and psychological troubles to them.

The concept of displacement and resettlement deserves more cautious analysis when it comes to the displacement of the tribal community. The existence and sustainability of tribal life are deeply rooted in its social, economic, emotional, cultural, occupational and religious linkage to the forest. It is understood that the existence of forest for tribes as 'the main support system of their livelihood, their homes, kith and kin, villages, tribesmen and their territory/homeland. And the land, forest, village, community and territory have been the roots of their distinct way of life and their social and collective identity' (Xaxa, 2008).

So displacement and resettlement are complicated and sophisticated terms to be operationalized in the particular case of tribal displacement and resettlement. It will be worth to bring here the Kothari's arguments on it. He argues that the efforts at minimising displacement or improving resettlement will only be marginal, palliative and temporary if they are not contextualised in a wider socio-political context. It addresses the direct and indirect impact on the social and political life of the tribal people due to the displacement and resettlement. His statement is based on three contentions which are supporting it. First, that the current patterns of economic development which are constantly invoked to justify the forced eviction of people all over the country, are themselves incompatible with the goals of creating wider conditions of equity and social security.

The fruit of so-called development is not distributed among population with equity. It indicates that the mass displacement of the impoverished communities in the country in the name of the nation's interest suffices the interest of a section of the population only. Second, despite constitutional mandates, in an overwhelming number of cases, national and regional interests violate the interests of politically and economically weaker groups and individuals. He pointed critically on the role of governments for denying the constitutional rights of the displaced. Third, political and ecological solutions sought must recognise the need to both democratise the control over the resources and processes of production and regenerate the degraded ecological resources.

The absolutist stand on the displacement is more suitable when we discuss the displacement of tribal communities. This concept explains that since displacement requires disruption of a whole way of life, the displaced can never be adequately compensated for what they lose. This view has been most emphatically expressed in the case of tribes, whose relatively more egalitarian culture and society are contrasted. The modern market economy and its profit orientation results in social inequality and environmental destruction. It is deemed that outsiders have no right to intervene and effectively destroy a sustainable way of life (Goyal, 1996).

### **Resettlement and its impacts on tribal health**

It is difficult for the tribal communities to be get resettled into a newer place without any negative impact on their domains of social, economic and political life. So as the literature suggests, there are severe consequences and subsequent effects of this resettlement as it leads to more marginalisation, exploitation and exclusion of the tribal communities. For the purpose of the study the major domains of life which resettlement effects are identified from the review of literature are as follows; psychological, social and cultural, economical and livelihood, and political (Diagram 1). Here is the reason why the researcher has chosen to explore the impact of displacement and resettlement in a comprehensive manner. The health of the tribal people is closely linked to their state of psychological, social, economic and political spheres of life. The impacts on these spheres are reflected back in their state of health.

The experiences of the displaced and resettled tribes in the country exemplify how tough process it was for them. There are even cases where tribal communities who got displaced and resettled

were gradually left their project area over a time. An example would be the resettlement colonies of the Mayurakshi dam project in Dumka district of Bihar, which was completed in the 1950s. Whereas one finds other social groups residing in the Mayurakshi resettlement colonies, not a single tribal family is to be found there, though more than half of the displaced were tribes. Same as the efforts of the Orissa forest department to shift two tribal villages from within the Simlipal wildlife sanctuary to resettlement colonies located outside the sanctuary boundaries proved futile because the tribes returned to the forest villages after some days (Fernandes,1997).

These domains cannot be understood with a distinct analysis since each of these domains are inter-related and influence the other. Which means in many cases, consequences to any of these domains have an impact on the other domains. We can look into each domains which have an altogether impact on the status of health of the tribal people after displacement and resettlement.

### Psychological Consequences

Analysing the resettlement and rehabilitation policies and earlier experiences of displacement and resettlement in India, it is understood that very least, or negligible importance have given to mental health and psychological wellbeing of the resettled individuals. But there are a large number of studies which points to the positive correlation between mental health and resettlement. It is non-justifiable that even though this relation is a universally recognized fact, there is no consideration of this crucial factor while planning resettlement and rehabilitation. And the same did not get a place under cost-benefit analysis of any developmental project in the country seeks large displacements and dislocation. It is argued that resettlement policies which are not addressing the mental health issues are ultimately incomplete. Subsequent problems of violence, sudden loss of livelihood and diminished occupational possibilities, lack of access to traditional food and medicines, loss of forest linked spiritual spots, distanced from neighbours and relatives, fear of new geographical location, physical health problems etc a large number of factors can affect the mental health and wellbeing of displaced and resettled tribal people. To strengthen this argument, it is noted that ‘resettlement is experienced as enormously stressful, and results in anger and bitterness, loss and grieving, and the breakdown of family and community network’ (Good, 1996). He extend these points further mentioning “the resettled are at special risk for depression, for anxiety disorders, and for 'somatization disorders', that is increased physical symptoms for which health care providers can find no specific physical cause. They often suffer from what Eisenbruch (1992)



has labelled 'cultural bereavement', a process of grieving for their lost home and culture that is as painful and disturbing as the grief for someone who has died. In some instances, refugees are at heightened risk for alcohol and drug use, for delinquency among youth, and for family violence (Good, 1996). There is a high possibility for above mentioned psychological conditions and stressful situations in the events of displacement and resettlement of tribal people. Why since each tribal community lives in a particular geographical location, with very specific cultural traits and practices, distinct occupations, spiritual practices and rituals. So dislocating them will result in various psychosocial effects, which ultimately leads to the health of the resettled individuals.

### Social and Cultural Consequences

The displacement and resettlement among any social group have an impact on their social and cultural wellbeing. Considering tribal communities are more indigenous with special social and cultural identities, there is no doubt in that they are affected more intensively due to displacement. It is argued that development-induced displacement unleashes widespread social, economic and environmental changes that follow well-established patterns (Downing, 2002). The first and most important impact of displacement is the loss of land. The loss of land is connected with many other socio-economical factors. As it rightly notes the loss of land alone may address only 10-20% of the impoverishment risks known to be associated with involuntary displacement. Investigations into displacement have found other potential risks that deeply threaten sustainability; these include joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, loss of common lands and resources, increased health risks, and social disarticulation (Cernea, 2001). It seems difficult to separate and explain how each domain of life is affected by displacement and resettlement since each one this each overlapped to the other and closely connected to each other, so that one become the precipitator of other in many situations.

### Economic and Livelihood Consequences

Economic and livelihood consequences are inevitable outcomes of any displacement and resettlement project. First and foremost important impact on livelihood and economic condition of the resettled tribal people will be because of the loss of land. The lost land, in many cases were the base of their agricultural production and economic sustainability. In some other situation land was considered as the means of livestock and legal hunting for meeting nutritional needs among tribal

families. In the case of loss of occupation due to relocation also play a major role in creating distress economic and livelihood conditions, which ultimately leads to greater impact on the health of resettled tribal people. Lack of previously available medicines and health care practices, locally available food and food staples, locally available traditional skill-based labour etc. all in the newly resettled area may again heighten expenditures and economical constraints to the tribal people.

### Political Consequences

Collapsing the social unity and social capital among tribal members due to the displacement and resettlement clearly have an effect on the political wellbeing of the resettled individuals. In the particular case of Aralam resettlement in the district of Kannur all resettled families were given one hector of land each. Before displacement, the land was used and conceived as a community resource where every individual of the community have the same ownership and responsibility. So, land should be seen not only as a production base but also as the medium of bringing unity among individuals and family. That social unity acquired through community resource sharing is an integral part of strong social capital among tribal members. Changing the structure of this traditional ownership of land and resource into more individual ownership and responsibilities have contributed to lessening the unity and relations between resettled members. Ultimately it might have an effect on their political power and bargaining capacities in resettlement area, which is enough to lead them further into socio-economical exploitations and marginalization.

### **Theoretical understandings**

Keen observation and exploration of major theories connected with the historical suppression, oppression and alienation of tribal communities from the paradigm of new development induced projects and private encroachments could instigate researchers to go back to Karl Marx. His philosophical and practical understanding of man's struggle to not get alienated and get alienated have been profoundly expounded in *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*. He commences with two striking questions: what does alienation-self alienation mean. He goes on elucidating how a man to be a self-alienated or a non-self-alienated one. Secondly, Marx poses the core problem of

alienation theory by raising the query - are man's self-alienation and non-self-alienation historical products; does self-alienation characterize only one stage in the historical development of mankind. While analysing the first question, what do alienation and self-alienation mean, he adds that man alienates something from himself or that he alienates himself from something. Marx elaborated alienation concept with four basic characteristics: 1) the alienation of the products 2) the alienation of production, 3) the alienation of man's essence, 4) the alienation of man from himself.

While replicating Marx's conception of alienation into the hard socio-economic and political realities of Tribal life and community system in Kerala, many reciprocities are visible and yet to be explored. The major policies, legislative entitlements, welfare and developmental programmes for Tribes in Kerala have been initiated in the last six decades triggered the life of Tribes into a complete zone of alienation. The state sponsored land encroachments by private agencies and confiscation of tribal land in purview of developmental purpose alienate tribes from their own eco sphere and land.

Tenably, land alienation in the state of Kerala should be considered as the most crucial problem of tribal people which is strongly linked to their marginalization and socio-economical exploitations. The forest land and resources were the base of their livelihood, occupation and socio-cultural wellbeing. The tribes those who were distanced from forest and forest resources have gone through the state of alienation of product and production. The mainstream development concerns only a division of its population, which tends to create socio-economic inequality among societies, that ultimately leading into marginalization of tribal people. That is why it is noted as tribal communities in India have been alienated not only from the land but also from the historical development and welfare processes by the state.

It is noted that the cumulative impact of the forest policies followed by the successive government in India is exemplified by the rapid deteriorating growing stock in the land officially classified as 'forest' (Chakravarty, 2012). The net result of the use of forest land for the purpose of road, river valley projects, other developmental initiative has led to the significant disturbances in the ecological balance. In a study conducted by Jha (2000) it is found that the study area in the Western Ghats (approximately 40,000 km<sup>2</sup>) showed a loss of 25.6% in forest cover over 22 years. The dense forest was reduced by 19.5%, and open forest decreased by 33.2%. As a consequence, the

degraded forest increased by 26.64%. This is significantly explicit the intensity of forest land degradation in an ecologically sensitive area like Western Ghats. It is also noted that 'Indian forests are being destroyed by the commercial interests in pursuit of short-term goal of profit maximization, and to a lesser extent by the rural communities for whom the loss of control over natural resources has led to an alienation from the forest with potentially damaging consequences' (Guha,1982). The statistics of forest land transformation into mining, defence projects, electricity production units etc. are eye-opening information. According to a report from Compensatory Afforestation Fund Management and Planning Authority (2016) which runs under MoEF found that 'of the 14,000 sq km of forests cleared over three decades, the largest area was given over to mining (4,947 sq km), followed by defence projects (1,549 sq km) and hydroelectric projects (1,351 sq km), according to data from the, run by the ministry of environment and forests'.

Tribes and other forest-dwelling communities who depend on forest land and forest produce for their survival have been held majorly responsible for this deterioration and for endangering environmental sustainability. At the same time, the politically and economically powerful section of the society directly or indirectly exploits the nature for profit-making and escape all responsibility for environmental degradation. There has been unchecked boom in the exploitation of natural forest for its products to maximize private profit, and at the same time, forest communities are being forcefully alienated from their traditional habitat which was their survival base. Hence, there is continuity between the colonial and post colonial forest policies. For the British colonialist forest resource were the strategic raw materials crucial for expansion of railways and the world wars. In independent India, the forest resources were utilized for commercial and industrial interests, and it is those who have dictated the forest policy. But in both pre and post-colonial era the deprived were the tribal communities whose life-support systems depended on these forests. These alienated communities responded characteristically through different forms of protest ranging from the relatively spontaneous outburst and agitations to more organized social movements.

## The political-economy of land and forest

“The total domination of nature inevitably entails a domination of people by the techniques of domination” (Gorz, 1980).

According to the study of the political economy of the forest, state decisions on the forest are exacerbated existing inequities by concentrating resources among powerful political and economic actors, often to the detriment of forest-dependent tribal communities. It always fuelled for the social, economic and political marginalization of the already impoverished tribal population and at the same time helped the economically and politically powerful to accumulate more resources and invest for multiplying their surpluses that led to more inequalities among population. Government determination helps for channelling large capital subsidies and resource rents to companies with close ties to state elites.

The idea of state territorial sovereignty over a category of land called ‘forests’ emerged in the nineteenth century, and the creation of “political forests” became a common project among the region’s colonial-era states and post-colonial national governments (Peluso and Vandergeest, 2001). The state government enacted many strategies in order to assert control over demarcated forest land. Which included “territorial zoning and mapping, the enactment of land and forest laws delimiting legal and illegal forest uses, the constitution of state forestry institutions to implement these laws according to specified procedures, the constitution of forest police, and the creation of legal exemptions that became customary rights” (Peluso, 1992). And as a result, many contemporary state forestry bureaucracies hold administrative authority over vast areas which have been designated as ‘forest estate’. Much of these lands marked as reserved forests were actually and originally well managed by the forest living communities as agroforestry areas (Fay and Sirait, 2004). Significantly, stating or notifying the tribal communities traditional forest land as the reserved forest is fundamentally a political act which shapes decisions regarding land-use and access. According to Barney (2008) there is a political agenda for defining and identifying forest territories as ‘degraded forests’, in the same way creating ‘reserved forest’ in the name of prevention of forest land and protection of bio-diversity is to be considered closely as a political act which is useful for the political project of evacuating these zones of substantive social, economic, or ecological significance.

## The conflict

The state with its economically rich and politically powerful private individuals and group form the ruling class which possess the ownership and control over the resources for production. Here to mean, the non-tribal members, private encroachers, plantation owners, big landlords etc with the help of government as subsidies, legal exemptions, lack of willingness to implement proper legislation helped to possess the forest land and resources for enriching their production, profit and capital surplus. The tribal communities who are the traditional owners of the land and resources become subject class in the social order and limit them as serfs and landless agricultural or plantation labours or bonded labours in their own land. This ruling class exploits and oppresses the subject class so as there is a basic conflict of interest. In the case of tribal people the fuel of resistance and conflict are the reasons of alienation from their land and resources which are considered as the life-surviving systems for tribal population, the continues exploitation of the state and powerful outsiders, stagnate position of government over the welfare policies and legislations for the tribes etc. The political ecologists views also supports the argument that the conflict and resistance arises from the existing/neighbouring tribal communities of reserved forest or protected area is due to the impact of state decisions in their socio-economical life.

Quoting Foucault (1978), “Where there is power, there is resistance” This also means, as Lughod (1990) observes, that “where there is resistance, there is power”. Tribal rebellion and resistance movements should be analysed as the result of years long utilization of power by ruling class to oppress, exploit and exclude the tribes; socially, economically and politically. Over the time period there were many tribal resistance from different parts of the nation both in the pre and post independence periods. The state has tried to repress and subjugate these conflicts and organized or unorganized resistance from tribal communities. It was in order to preserve the exploiting power order in the society, for the economical and political benefits of the government as well as the ‘included’ or ‘delimited’ socio-economical group.

## Resettlement: a political subjugation

The resettlement of tribal people is viewed as a subjugation method to repress the voices of resistance against alienation, to mute the voices for ‘restoration’, to breakdown the collective organization of tribal people. And importantly the idea of resettlement satisfies the included class

by taking no actions to restore the land from settlers, which they have possessed from tribal people. Altering the role of land from a community owned resource into an individuals' resource also impact on the integrity of tribal communities and reflect the political agenda behind doing so.

### **Research Objective**

To study the socio-economic and political consequences of resettlement and its impact on the health of tribal people who displaced from Wayanad and resettle in Aralam, Kannur

### **Specific Objectives**

- To understand the state policies and processes involved in displacement and resettlement of tribal people in Kerala
- To study and compare the variables related to livelihood, economic, psychological, socio-political and cultural wellbeing between resettled and non-resettled study groups.
- To explore the consequences of displacement and resettlement on the health of displaced tribal people resettled in Aralam farm, Kannur District.

### **Population**

The resettled (from Wayanad) Paniya tribe households in Aralam farm, Kannur and Paniya households (non-resettled) in the respective villages in Wayanad constitutes the population for the study.

### **Research Methodology**

The methodology has emerged from a conceptual framework developed for the purpose of operationalizing this study and to accomplish its objectives. There is already a good literature available on some of the aspects that are a part of this study; however, this study, instead of studying any one aspect of the displacement-resettlement process and impact, seeks to comprehensively explore various aspects – social, economic, political, cultural, and health

concerning the specific case of tribes displaced from Wayanad district and resettled in Aralam farm area of Kannur district. For this purpose, a comparative and descriptive study design has used wherein the Wayanad paniya tribes displaced to Aralam farm as also the members of the same tribe who were not displaced from their original habitat, is studied. The latter will serve as the control arm to be compared with those displaced. Having done this, both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection is employed. Qualitative methods include in-depth interviews, key-informant interviews and non-participant observation, to collect information on lived experiences and processes implicit to displacement, resettlement of the tribal people and their response to the same by way of movements or otherwise. And quantitative data collected on aspects like household assets; household incomes and consumption, food consumption, self-reported morbidity and anthropometric measurements, using methods such as; household survey and anthropometric measurement. The study also utilized secondary information availed from various official documents from Panchayath, tribal development office and office of plantation corporation.

It is necessary to mention that the primary visit was not conducted in a planned manner since the permission was not granted by the department of tribal affairs, Kerala state. The primary visit was supposed to include interactions with the resettled Paniya tribes in Aralam, however, did not happen due to the mentioned reason. Instead, the researcher visited the TRDM office and collected information from the official staffs, including tribal development officer and Panchayath elected representatives of LSG of the area. The data from the officials noted that more than 400 families were resettled to Aralam by giving proper land papers till 2017. So the sampling method and planning was done to study a relevant number of participants, especially for the household survey. However, once the final permission was granted by the tribal affairs department, the researcher could only identify less than 70 houses with people staying in it (in the 7<sup>th</sup> block of the Aralam farm where Paniya tribes from Wayanad are resettled to).



## **Methods of data collection and sampling**

### In-depth interview

An in-depth interview is used as a method for qualitative data collection. The semi-structured interview schedule prepared as the tool for conducting interview with the study participants. It was used as the major tool for exploring major study aspects and domains. The method is picked out considering its possibilities to explore a wider range and richness of in-depth qualitative information. The interview was conducted with the resettled tribal people and non-displaced tribal people after building a strong rapport with them. This method delivered more bias-free, time and value given interactions, confidentiality for the participant, and sufficient qualitative data for supporting the study arguments.

The in-depth interviews were conducted after the preliminary household surveys conducted by the researcher. He was familiar with the participants and supposed to have better rapport with them. It was difficult for him to build initial trust and professional relationship with the Paniya tribe members, especially in the Aralam farm resettlement area. Many were reluctant to participate in the survey, or they showed lack of interest. However, when the researcher explained the need and purposes of the study, they got encouraged to participate. Researcher's prior experiences for conducting surveys in the tribal areas and fieldwork exposures during the bachelors time helped him understanding the limitations and cultural barriers of the Paniya community members. Those participants, especially women participants who were initially very unwilling to take part, had contributed very effectively in the later stages of the interview. The same houses were visited many times to meet every individual member of the household to have a better understanding and their perspectives on the issues that the study is concerned.

The in-depth-case studies were conducted with 12 paniya households out of six were from Aralam and another six were from Wayanad. These twelve households were chosen from the households selected for the purpose of the survey. Purposive sampling was used to identify the households for in-depth interviews from the selected panchayaths in Wayanad and resettlement area in Aralam, Kannur. From Aralam, three of the household chosen for in-depth case studies lost their land due to development projects including the demarcation of their land as reserved forest. Another three lost their land to encroachers. The researcher considered to include women and children also as

informers apart from the main respondent (in the cases where the main respondent is a male). This was purposively chosen to get the perspective of women and children's experiences about displacement and resettlement processes as well as life after resettlement.

### Household survey

Household surveys were selected and employed as another method of data collection for the research by considering its unique use in collecting information on social, economic and demographic statistics of the population. It is noted that this method is used for the collection of detailed and varied socio-demographic data pertaining to conditions under which the resettled tribal people live, their well-being, activities in which they engage, demographic characteristics and cultural factors which influence behaviour, as well as other social and economic parameters. For the study, it is also essential to understand the population's socio-economic and political living conditions. Necessary information such as their livelihood, income, social status, education, engagement with the market and outside community, sanitation and hygiene, agricultural, drinking water, work participation, socio-cultural change, political participation and decision making, children's education, health status and care facilities etc. were collected using this method. The method ensured less time consumption, more relevant data and highly convenient at the same time.

In the case of household survey, there was no need to choose a particular sampling method to select the households for household surveys in Aralam due to the fact that only 68 families (Paniya families who resettled from Wayanad to Aralam farm) were currently living in the settlement houses. It is informed by the TRDM office that many of those who were given land in Aralam had returned back to their native places in Wayanad. All sixty families were taken for the purpose of conducting household survey excluding eight houses due to various reasons. Some houses were not chosen due to the reason that there was no availability of dependable informer for providing necessary information. At one house, the survey was discontinued because the informer consumed alcohol during the survey and invited the researcher to take part. Some households responded that they are not interested in taking part in the survey as they think that these are not going to benefit them. They said that they had given many interviews and surveys regarding their problems many

times to government and individual surveyors; however, there were no actions to resolve their piercing issues. However, for conducting household surveys in Wayanad, a proportionate sampling was used for the three villages from which same paniya tribe households were resettled in Aralam farm. The studied households in Aralam were displaced majorly from three Panchayaths of Wayanad district. So, representatively an equal number (58) of households were selected for the household surveys from these selected Panchayaths.

### Key informant Interview

Key informant interviews were conducted with various identified stakeholders based on the subject of exploration. The study proposes key informant interviews as a distinct way of collecting information and for understanding the problems from different perspectives, to explore on the history of; displacement, resistance and resettlement etc. from those who were closely linked to the tribal movements, political organization and state administration etc. The list of interviewees included; members of local self-governance, officers in the tribal development department and offices, local tribal leaders and tribal promoters, health care workers including traditional tribal health practitioners, teachers, authorities of plantation corporation and other members who could contribute to the topic of inquiry. No sampling was required to select the key informant as there were limited numbers of participants available and possibly could include most of the identified participants as planned. Care was given to include to fetch information which could facilitate in diagonal crosscheck the data provided by the primary participants of in-depth-interviews and household surveys. Some of the key informant were ready to accompany the researcher for meeting households for conducting the surveys and interview, however, not encouraged by him since considering the possibilities of manipulating the interviews in the presence of an influential outsider.

### Anthropometric measurements

It is identified that the research will require anthropometric measurements in order to interpret the health conditions of the study population, especially the women and children. The basic anthropometric measurements considered here are height and weight. The households for conducting anthropometric data collection was selected from the list of households who

participated for the household survey. All available and permitted members during the data collection were selected for collecting measurement data. Standard equipment were utilized for weighing and measuring heights of the participants. Trained women belonging to the tribal community were available to measure anthropometric data. A women was selected since considering the comfortability of other women and girl children who participated in the study. A remuneration was fixed for their service in Aralam. It was difficult for the participants to come over at a common point and participate. So, the researcher and the trained person visited every houses-one by-one in the resettlement area in Aralam for anthropometric measurement. In Wayanad, the help of a women tribal promoter was used to collect measurements in two Panchayath; however, she refused the remuneration paid by the researcher. In the third Panchayath, the data was collected by the researcher himself. The help of an active member of adolescence girls committee run by ICDS in the Panchayath were utilized in measuring height and weight. The researcher requested the help of a trained nurse or any staffs from the primary health centre for conducting measurement were denied by the authorities, however, the researcher managed to conduct with the available and dependable resources.

#### Non-participant observation

For conducting non-participant observation during the tribal committee meetings and gramasabha meeting, the researcher got informed from the Panchayath and tribal promoter regarding particular meetings date and venue. Accordingly he participated in those meetings considering the convenience. Care was given to participate in those meetings where the study participants are partakers. The method helped to fetch highly important information for the study and to its arguments. Data on the democratic involvements and political participation by the study participant, the political bargaining and decision making processes in both study locations, how these tribe communities are dominated and marginalized by other class and caste communities etc were most relevantly collected through these methods by attending aforesaid meetings. These data are diagonally crosschecked with the information provided by the study participants and data acquired through other methods.

## **Chapter Scheme**

The whole thesis is arranged into five chapters. The opening chapter includes an extended introduction to the key research area with extensive review of the literature. This portion covers various global, national and state specific contexts of tribal displacements and resettlement. Aspects of legislative, social, economic and political in relation with the displacement and resettlement are discussed in detail with relevant theoretical and empirical literatures. Substantial points were discussed to arrive at research gap and significance for the present study.

The second chapter titled ‘The conceptual framework for operationalization of the research’ provides a methodological account and contextual knowledge of the study. The theoretical and conceptual understanding which led to the conception of the study is discussed in detail. The contextualization and problematization of the study concepts are included. The research methodology is an important section of this chapter which talk about the objectives, scientific process and methods of data collection and analysis.

The chapter titled ‘The Process of Displacement and Resettlement: Experiences and Consequences’ is the third chapter of this thesis. The portion contains discussion on the historical identity crisis or the downward social mobility in terms of identity experienced by Paniya tribal community in Kerala, which is titled as ‘The changing identities of Paniya community; through displacement till resettlement’. The tribal communities in Kerala were displaced and resettled due to various reasons that can be classified majorly into three. These reasons and process were detailed in the third chapter. The chapter also discusses the tribal uprisings in the state, especially in Wayanad district. Various tribal movements and agitations in the name of land restoration are discoursed with the experiences of participants. The total sum of these agitations and political awakening is considered by the researcher as the prime reason for conceiving resettlement project at Aralam in Kannur by the state government.

The Fourth chapter, the lengthiest chapter, of the thesis analyse the impact of resettlement in the life of resettled Paniya households. The chapter is divided into to four major parts on the basis of domains of life on which it dialogs about. The domains discussed in the chapter are; Livelihood security and economic wellbeing, Social and cultural, Political, Physical and Psychological

wellbeing. The qualitative and quantitative data collected employing various methods have put together under each domain and interpreted.

Major findings of the study are taken for discussion in the fifth chapter titled 'Discussion and conclusion'. This chapter summarizes the thesis by explaining findings in the light of various relevant literatures.

### **Ethical Consideration**

The ethical concerns of its participants were taken into consideration by the researcher and undertake all measures to ensure it, from the beginning to end. The purpose of the research in all cases is clearly communicated to the responded while same time keeping no risk for biased responses. Informed consent was taken prior to the interviews, and permission was taken to audio record the conversations. The participation was always on a voluntary basis where they had the right to withdraw at any stage of the interview or can deny answering for particular questions in the interview schedule. There were instances the respondent refused to answer for some set of questions and probing. By considering the research ethics, the researcher ensured that the research data would be used only for academic purposes and confidentiality of the respondents are always maintained. Photographs or any other materials collected during the research would only be used with maintaining confidentiality and ethics of the research.

There were moments during the interview that the participants became emotionally distraught and breakdown. In such conditions the interview was being stopped, the participant got comforted and all practically possible help such as writing applications/letters to authorities on their behalf; putting a word regarding them to the local health authorities like the ASHA, ANM or PHC doctor were done on various cases.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **The Process of Displacement and Resettlement: Experiences and Consequences**

## **The Process of Displacement and Resettlement: Experiences and Consequences**

The interactions with the Paniya households resettled in Aralam farm in Kannur district provided insights for developing an in depth understanding of the conditions which enforced their displacement from villages of Wayanad. In-depth interviews were planned and conducted with eight Paniya tribe households from both study locations, Aralam farm and Wayanad. Additionally, all the one hundred and twenty households included in the household survey were encouraged to elaborate their views on displacement, displaced people, their problems and the government policiess in this regard. This further enriched the perspectives presented here.

Dispossession of and displacement from ancestral and traditionally owned land is not a new phenomenon for the tribal communities in Wayanad. They were forced to leave their hilly territories during the British time, and subsequently, when the people from the plains started eying Wayanad for their exploitative business interest. Afterwards, the successive governments in Kerala, as well as other private entities, continuously distracted the life of various tribal settlements and illegally encroached upon them in the name of development. The households in Aralam farm were forced to resettle by depriving them of the ownership and possession of their ancestral land. While some households had stories of their displacement beginning as far back as during their grandparent's period, while others have experienced it in their own life.

Before being resettled, the tribal communities who are currently staying in Aralam have gone through various kinds of distress in life. If some of them lost their land to the government sponsored development plans, including the demarcation of reserved forests, done without any regard for the wellbeing of the tribal communities, in some other cases, the land was encroached by the outsiders to set up large plantations and private estates, or small plots of land by employing state power and legislature against the original inhabitants, the tribal communities. The financially prosperous class from non-tribal areas which was politically powerful and enjoyed high social position was able to succeed in its attempts to influence everything in their favour.

Taking their traditional right to forest land for granted, the tribal communities, by themselves, did not show enthusiasm for having any formal papers prepared for possession of their land; neither did the government create awareness among them for doing so until very recently. The concept of ownership or possession of land is viewed very differently among tribal communities with some



variations existing between communities. The community, which cleared and developed the land into a cultivable land, were considered as the ‘owner’ in various tribal communities. During the visits to Thottaamoola tribal settlement in Wayanad, the Mooppan (tribal leader) of the community told that,

*“...in earlier time, those lands which we were readied for cultivation for our own consumption and protected from the wild animals, or availed for our community’s utilization, either for dwelling or for other purposes, were generally considered as land owned by our community. However, now things are changed, whoever can produce papers regarding the same is considered as the owner of the land. It is not necessary that they have to cultivate or dwell in the particular land. Also, nobody is interested in knowing as to who were cultivating the particular land; what is written in the paper (meant land records or documents) becomes the truth today”.*

It has been highlighted by various researchers that many government policies initiated during the colonial or post-colonial period broke down the fragile fabric of tribal life and their support systems (Bijoy, 2003). The experiences of the study population with government legislation and policies also substantiates this fact. Tribal communities of Wayanad have also gone through the agony and deprivation which arose due to the various actions of the government. Surprisingly, those legislations and policies which came into existence in the name of tribal development, are actually in the fore front of anti-tribal strategies undermining tribal wellbeing in Wayanad.

### **The changing identities of Paniya community; through displacement till resettlement**

The study population, with which the researcher interacted, have gone through various stages of identities and identity crises in the history of transition. In each stage, we observe a Paniyan with various socio-economic, cultural and political circumstances. Although the individuals that the researcher interviewed has not directly experienced or have gone through these each stage, however, they have their own version of the stories of their ancestral journey and struggles in every stage of identity changes. The current Paniya population who were settled in any of the resettlement area that as outside the district, as similar one in the Aralam, or settled in the colonies

and proper dwelling inside Wayanad itself, or living as landless community, are the product of these changes in their identity in the history due to numerous factors. Here we are attempting to draw the changes of Paniya identity which may begin from the Forest and hill-settled era into today's status of the Paniya tribal community. Until and unless we discuss the contexts of Paniya tribal circumstance through these various stages, it will be difficult for us to place the displacement and resettlement in the tribal scenario in Wayanad.

There are many answers for the question regarding the identity of Paniya tribes of Wayanad. It is majorly due to the reason stick on where one places the Paniyan in the history of their transitions and from where did they begin the life story of Paniyan. During the interaction with the Pania households, some of them described their origin and existence as sons and daughters of Ippy (Hippy) hills of Wayanad. Anthropologists who have done research regarding Pania tribe have traced their origins and historical connection with forest and hill, as many researchers evidently stated that they are initially a hill-tribe who depended majorly on forest produces for supporting their livelihood (Santhosh, 2008). Their social, economic and cultural life was closely linked to the forests in Wayanad. They did community agricultural practices for their consumption in forest lands and closest areas of their dwelling in the hills (Somashekharan, 1976). The interactions with study population and key informants evidences that the knowledge Paniyan exhibits on roots and tubers found in the forest; medicinal plants which are available in the forest areas in Wayanad; their knowledge about various trees and stones, cultural practices which are rooted in forest and nature; knowledge of collecting and utilization of various forest produces exhibit that they were depended on the forests in Wayanad. Even to make sense of the present-day condition of the Paniya tribe population which has been removed from their natural habitat, it is important to grasp this history of the tribe.

Pania tribes were used as bonded labours by Chettis and Gaounders who migrated from Tamilnadu and Karnataka. While Paniyan were living in the forest and hills, the plain land was once largely cultivated by the Chettis and Gaounder communities. They exploited Paniyan in many ways to improve their surplus from agriculture (Somashekharan, 1976).

At a later stage, people from the coastal plains of Kerala migrated to Wayanad, which led to the establishment of large-scale plantations, conversion of forest land to private properties, clearing of

forest woods for various purposes under the British government. This happened in a large number, especially from the 1920s onwards as noted by many researchers (Jacob, 2009). This caused numerous illegal encroachments in the lands of tribal communities who were settled in the forest and peripheries, including Paniyan. In the same period, many forest lands were demarked as reserved forests which ultimately curbed the dwelling and access of tribal people in their existing ancestral forest land. The Paniyas was reduced to the landless agricultural labours and displaced to other communities where agriculture was not identified as the part of their livelihood culture. Bonded labouring was still practised though the British government abolished bonded labour by law, many Paniyas continued to be exploited as bonded labour (Sebastian, 1990).

Then comes the stage which starts after independence, when due to various policies implemented by the successive state governments in Kerala, the Paniyas were reduced to the status of being lowly paid landless casual labourers. There has been a lack of sincerity in implementing legislation and policies that are concerned with the welfare of tribal communities; the tribal land alienation, restoration and re-distribution. This period has also seen a large number of tribal displacements in the name of development. Not only that the tribal communities in Wayanad have not benefitted from the much acclaimed land redistribution program of the government, but have in fact lost control over the existing tribal land to non-tribal people who migrated to the tribal areas and acquired land for cultivation.

The fifth stage of the history of Paniya tribe, it is related to the political mobilisation of tribal communities in the district. Although there were small and more significant movements and agitations against various state policies in the past, the tribal communities attempted to mobilize politically and stand up to exert pressure for protecting their interests during this period. State responses were aimed at subjugating and repressing these movements using various political mechanisms and the state-power. Rather than being an empowering mechanism, resettlement of landless and displaced tribal people was done in a manner to break the spirit of the tribal people to demand 'restoration' of their lands, and to weaken their unity and tribal identity by resettling them in different locations, especially at distant places like the one in Aralam in Kannur district.

The sixth stage in this history is the life after resettlement. Displaced from the familiar environment of their native place, the Pania people resettled in alien environments in distant places are

considered as outsiders, unemployed, uncultured, unskilled and an exploitable community. In other cases, where Paniya community are continuing a life of displaced but non-resettled, or living in the colonies without a piece of cultivable land as their own. They become the 'colony Panian' for the government as well as for the larger society.

### **Displacement and Resettlement of Paniya community**

The qualitative data regarding the experiences and the processes concerning displacement and consequent resettlement to Aralam were collected during the in-depth interviews took place with the participants for the case studies. This provided rich information on different aspects of the processes which led to the displacement, the experiences of the people who have gone through the process of displacement and dispossession of their land, and its impact on the lives of the Paniya tribal community. Likewise, the household interviews helped in measuring the loss of property in the form of land and other means of sustenance. The key informant interview with various tribal leaders, political representatives, people who have influenced or witnessed the process also gave the foundation to understand the concerns and circumstances that the Paniya tribe community displaced from Wayanad had gone through. The extensive reviews on the land alienation and displacement of tribal communities in Wayanad collected from various sources also helped in understanding the larger picture of the history in connection with the data collected through the primary methods as mentioned above.

### **Displacement: The final outcome of a series of anti-tribal incidents**

Displacement and resettlement of tribal communities, as implied in this study, are not one-time incidents or process that was undergone at a point during the life period of these communities. Rather, these are multi-layered processes where the same tribal household or their ancestral family have gone multiple displacements and resettlements in many cases.

The living example to this multiple displacement and resettlement are the Paniya households of Paniya community who were recently settled to Aralam from Muthukad colony. The same households were displaced and ultimately resettled in Muthukad Narendra Dev colony (Calicut district) in the year 1980 after facing alienation from their owned lands in Wayanad district.. The same community were displaced twice before they reached in the Muthukad colony in the said

year. Later, they were again forced to dispose off their legal land (given by government as part of the resettlement project) in Muthukad colony and got resettled at the Aralam resettlement area in Kannur. Similarly, there are Paniya households in Aralam, who were initially given land in the Suganthagiri resettlement project in Wayanad district itself, between 1975-80; however, they were unable to sustain there due to various reasons such as the lack of cultivable land, unsuitable land for constructing houses, and frequent wild animals attacks. They left the area and started living in their relatives house in Panamaram, Wayanad. Rather than there being any one cause which led to the displacement of Paniya households to Aralam in just one go, we find that the whole process was affected over a long period of time, sometimes over generations, passing through different locations due to a complex web of factors. Consequently, in some cases, when we state displacement and resettlement, it does not only mean the land/colony dwelling where the tribe were living just before resettlement, but we are pointing to the original ancestral/traditional land of the particular household. Ignoring this would mean ignoring the prolonged, multi-layered agony wrecked by the entire process in which their lives are never allowed to resettle and rebuilt in an holistic manner. Minus a comprehension of these complexities, we run the risk of having a very simplistic understanding of the tragedy of displacement and resettlement wherein they were displaced from one area and resettled in another area by giving proper compensation, and that this is inevitable if the country is to develop and prosper. After all, the families displaced to Aralam farm were given one acre of plot each as displacement compensation. Mindful of such pitfalls, we explored and analysed various incidents which ultimately led to the current resettlement in every case.

## **The process of displacement and its consequences; an analysis**

### **Development induced displacement**

One of the significant reasons for the displacement of the population studied in Aralam was the gradual dispossession of Paniya tribal land to the non-tribal encroachers who settled on this land coming from outside the district. The detailed process of dispossessions and encroachments led to the alienation and displacement is also given for the dedicated portion under the chapter. The people of Pania tribe who continued to live in Wayanad itself, have also undergone to some extent

evictions and dispossession of their land. However, they are managed to live there with their dwelling as well as some portion of their land for cultivation. The cases in which the land was taken officially or unofficially by the government in the name of development-related activities, were comparatively more frequent during their parents' or grandparents' time. For example, the case of households who were evicted from the *Banasura* hills between 1975-80 for constructing India's largest earth dam, now known as Banasura Sagar Dam in Kalpetta, Wayanad. It is reported that 60 families of Paniya tribal community were displaced and resettled to the geographically plain areas (known as *Kuttiyamvayal*) from the largest hill in the Western Ghats in Wayanad. However, as stated by a tribal leader who closely works with these communities, that the real number of Paniya and Kattunaikka community households who got displaced from their original lands in the hill for the said dam project is much higher than what is officially acknowledged. The households recognised by the government as having been displaced as part of the construction of dam, were given land in other locations including geographically plain areas which led to fear and panic among the resettled people about raising dam water, especially in the monsoon seasons. In the recent flood in 2018 and in 2019, the majority of the households resettled to these areas were severely affected. The researcher interacted with the inmates of flood relief centres in various locations in Wayanad, including centres where the affected tribal population were also temporarily reallocated. Many of them lost their valuables, houses, cattle and cultivating fields. While on the one hand, displacement and resettlement to new area alienated the tribal families from their natural habitat, on the other hand their problems continued in the new area; the devastation caused due to floods are the latest in the series.

Those affected households which were evicted due to the particular project from their traditionally owned land, but were not acknowledged by the government as such, were also not recognised as having any legal claim to receive land in compensation. The tragedy and misery experienced by these households was far intense. Balan, whose family were flown to Anjukunnu colony from the project area in Banansura, told that - "The actual number of the households who were displaced and not identified as eligible for resettlement and compensation is actually higher than those who were resettled and compensated.". There are many of them like Balan, attempted through various means to have their name included in the list of affected people so that they can also be provided legal titles to hold land in resettlement area, however, they could not get succeed with it. The

Panchayat authorities and political leaders whom they tried to meet did not show any positive inclination.

Shivan, belonging to one of the displaced families living in Aralam Informed: “My father and his cousin brothers were in the forefront for all these attempts to get an equal viable land in the nearest location to our lost land, but he was threatened many times for what he was doing. That time we were also not grown up enough to understand the what was happening. In the earlier days, we expected that we would also get a piece of land somewhere in Kalppetta (Wayanad). However, it was only later that we came to know the fact that we were excluded from the list, as many others were”.

According to Ramachandran, tribal *mooppan* as well as a tribal political leader from Panamaram, Wayanad, there were meetings between the tribal community members and the Thahasildar of that time, and he assured that there would be the second phase of land distribution and resettlement project in which all tribal members who lost their land will be given land, however, it did not happen.

The major objective of the aforesaid Banasura project is to supply water to the hydro-electric project in the adjoined Kakkayam dam in the Calicut district. The only sufferers were the socio-economically poorer and marginalised tribal communities from Wayanad and who were not adequately provided land or any resettlement options. The government identified and distributed the excess land accumulated project to private parties where they erected several tourist resorts and allied buildings. The tribes in the district were benefited neither from the hydro-electric project nor from the development of Banasura as a tourist destination. However, they were the only people who agonised from the period of conception and implementation of the project. the core cause of all current problems faced by the tribal people are these primary displacement took by the government. The people who were forcefully evicted from their traditional land tried to stay with the people who got alternative land, however government did not provide any assistance in the form of fund or subsidies for constructing houses and or ready to acknowledge them with providing subsidised ration to those household. They were later moved to various tribal colonies inside Wayanad district within some years from the displacement took place, forcefully or self-decided in the absence of any other viable options. The tribes who were moved to colonies could not

cohabit with the atmosphere of colony life in 0.01 to 0.05 acre land (one cent to five-cent colonies) dwelling. The people once were rich with their forest and hill based resources, and cultivated varieties of needful things for their own consumption were limited into severely small dwelling without land that also resulted to the higher dependency on the market for supporting their life. “we were felt like as we are jailed”, stated by Kalan, which clearly indicate the intensity of their problems and traumatization that they have gone through in those days of life course.

The responses of people who have got evicted and displaced from the peripheries of Karappuzha dam are not much different from the cases we have already discussed. The government assured land for resettlement, however, did not provide it in the spirit, which left many Paniya tribal community members into complete landless and attached miseries. They were settled to various legal and illegal colonies or settlements in the nearest locations. It is reported that 168 tribal families were given the land of 75 cents (0.75 acre) as part of the proposed resettlement project. According to Ramanathan, a tribal activist, the proposed land were not properly used for the settlement purpose. There was a significant gap between eviction from the project land and resettlement assistance, which led many tribal to dislocate and flew to other colonies where their relatives or known persons were settled. Apart from that, the government identified a section of tribal people (noted as 199 families) as the illegal settlers in the proposed Karappuzha dam project area. They have not had the necessary documents and legal papers to claim their right over the land in which they were living for many years. The government treated them as encroachers, consequently did not provide an adequate amount of land for dwelling or cultivation (this category of people were given only 20 cents of land including homestead purposes). This differential treatment between legal claimers and encroachers by the government were also visible in providing resettlement assistance in the form of further financial packages. Subsequently, many of the tribal households ended up in depending their relatives’ houses in various location in the district.

As stated by Kundan, “we were sure that the government is not going to recognise and give us an equal amount of land we had lost in Karappuzha. We heard that some of the people lost their land were given 10 or 20 cents of land later, however, there were no moves to provide us the land. Notwithstanding, committed efforts from our people to raise voice against the different attitudes of government towards different communities, we failed in getting things on track”. It is understood that those communities other than Paniya were holding some kind documentation to



prove their ownerships to their lost land. The political weakness and lack of knowledge about the importance of legal document on land ownership among Paniya ultimately helped in precipitating the process of losing their land. The government and other communities utilized and looted the ignorance and lack of education among Paniya community.

“We knew, we knew that there is no way to protect our land from losing it from our hands, since it was a large government project proposed in the land which we were owned. So, our demand was not focused to prevent displacement from our land, however, to recognize our loss and adequately address it for compensation”, said Chenkan, who remembers these incidents as it happened during his adulthood age. It clearly states that the powerless community was never stood entirely against the project or losing their traditional land, however, they were demanding an alternative land.

Some of them resorted to *Nellarachal* tribal colony followed by failing to get land for resettlement from the government. There was no land for cultivation for the households who migrated to colonies. It was one room and one kitchen for the entire family. “The number of households does not matter. If you have four members you will be given one house, and even if you have eight members in your family still you will be provided with the same”, said Chella, who stayed both in the *Nellarachal* as well as in the *Anjukunnu* colony. There is a group of houses in *Aralam* they known as *Anjukunnu colony*, the name came because those households were once dwelling in *Anjukunnu* colony in Wayanad.

The recent news (Manoj, 2018 in *The Hindu*) from the proposed project in *Karappuzha* reports that illegal cultivation by people and the rise of mushroom growth in the project land posing many risks to the developments in the area. Once tribes owned the land and later they were displaced by government to start the project, however, the non-tribe communities are exploiting the land for their livelihood and income, especially by growing cash crops in the land. The project is planned to be developed as a multipurpose utility and tourism is also a part of the objectives. The surrounding non-tribe people are optimistic about the possible economic benefits that the project can bring in their life. As it is in the case of *Banasura* dam, the only sufferers from the conception of *Karappuzha* project were also the tribal communities, especially the socio-economically backward tribe like *Paniya*. Also, the other communities were always benefitted from both projects as the public utilities aimed by the projects as well as the emerging tourism scope in both areas.

## **Displacement due to the encroachments**

The case of encroachments by individuals of non-tribe communities and its consequences are not in a much different way. It happened most of the time as gradual dispossession rather than a one-day eviction or as displacement after recognition as it is partially in the case of tribal land alienations for the development purposes. There are many incidents and events taken place before the land was legally transferred to the hands of encroacher.

The experiences of Velan and his family, who were resettled to Aralam from a tribal colony in the place called Kommiyad in Wayanad, explicit the melancholy and tragedies of displacement process due to the dispossession of their traditionally owned ancestral land to the a non-tribe settler. The respondents were adolescences during when their family lost their possessed ancestral land. An attempt to understand the period of displacement and loss of their land was made through several other probing questions which leads to the hints regarding the period of their settlement in Wayanad. It is identified that the households were once displaced from their traditionally owned land more than forty years back. The particular settlement area, which the households were dwelling, currently known as Edamunda. The family of Velan with some other Paniya tribe households were settled in the hilly area of Edamunda from the years of their conscious age. It is not sure that the settlement was in their original land which was transferred from ancestors or they were acquired as there is no exact detailed shared by the household regarding it. However, the data collected regarding their worship, common burial land, sacred practices and ritual performed under a particular tree etc details exhibit that the land was handed over by their grandfathers. It is said by the respondent that the government provided them (for a group of Paniya households settled nearby) a piece of land in the name of social farming. The year of this land distribution is not able to call back by the respondents. The households with the surrounding neighbours of the same community used to cultivate in their traditionally owned land as well as they have had free access to the hilly and forest land near to their settlement. However, there is no forest land the researcher could find in the said area when he visited Wayanad during the fieldwork, many of them might have possibly converted into private coffee estates which were seen in the surrounding hilly areas close to Edamunda. The major cultivation by the tribal community, according to the respondent were, *moolan*, *cheema*, *cholam* and *thana* (cereals which are in rich of protein). The rice was also cultivated in the area, however, not in large quantity. The kind of rice was called *karanellu*, which

means the 'land rice', that does not require a paddy field for cultivation and can be cultivated and harvested in hilly areas.

“Those days we cultivated rice for to satisfy our minimal needs, for that we used the seeds of our *'karanellu'* *'moonnaampakka nellu'* and some other kind also which I am unable to recall now, it's cultivations were based on the rain, which was harvested within three to four months. We did not have paddy, in paddy, only they (the upper caste Hindus or other tribes who possess cultivable paddy land) cultivate. Their varieties of rice are different from ours; ours were the best one with the great fragrance (with a pleasant face, it seemed he is missing those time). Beaten rice was prepared many times from it, sometimes we make *'kanji'* (rice soup), since kanji can be added much amount of water and served to any number of people (laughing). If nothing were there to consume in the monsoon nights, we children were used to run to the hilly side and come with something like wild yam, *nooraam kizhangu*, *veli* in our hands to satisfy our hunger. There are nights we ate the skin of tapioca alone and slept”. He said that they hadn't had the concept of individual ownership for their produces from land as well as individual responsibilities towards the labour for work in the land as well as to guard their plants and produces from others. They had a collective responsibility towards all the works related to cultivation.

“We had never used any kind of *marunnu* (meaning medicines to denote pesticides) or fertilizers in our soil in those days, other than some amount of cow dung, ash from leaves, manure from forest wastes. We had energetic banana plants whole years which doesn't need anything other than the first rain (initial rain at the beginning of monsoon season) water flowed from the forest land, so we had intentionally used to divert the flow of water from hills though our cultivating land so that the land gets its energy back”. However less they cultivated, still it is understood that much varieties of product they grew in their land for their self-consumption without using any kind of pesticides or fertilizers than a minimal amount of natural available organic resources. They had believed that each and every species in the land have ownership to the produces out of the land. They call it *pachikale pank* (shares for birds), *ezhonnala pank* (shares for reptiles) etc to acknowledge that every other species comes to their fields comes to get their share. “During *vithuvitha* (initial stage of cropping cycle) we throw some seeds in the name of these species, so that when it grows these animals were given some portion the produces. We believed that, if we would recognize the right of other animals, they also respect our right over our portion and doesn't

disturb our cultivation”. This indicates that the tribes are the suitable agricultures and environmentalist at the same time.

They had also used other natural and non-destructive ways to protect their harvest from animals by employing various methods like the one which the respondent have shared, “we cultivate rice with a border of *Koram*. So any trespassing animal will see the *Koram* first and think that this field is full of *Koram* plants and leaves the harvest without any disturbance to rice”. There were animals habitations in surrounding areas in the hills, however, there were no attacks to human settlement according to his knowledge. “If we live in harmony with them, respecting their requirements and life they will also give you back the same. The conditions in Aralam is entirely different. The wild animals are frequently disturbing only because human beings are exploiting them at a severe manner. By human being, I did not mean that it is we (settlers) but there are other people, hope you get about whom I’m talking (laughing)”. I understood that, it is also shared by other respondents like non-tribal labours in the Aralam plantation, the staffs in Aralam corporation ltd, Paniya settlers and many other key informants including politicians and public leaders regarding the problems created by forest department consciously or unconsciously leading into numerous wildlife incidents in a resettlement area. This part we will discuss more in details in the upcoming chapters regarding domains of life in the post resettlement period. However, the reason for highlighting it here was to differentiate the philosophical understanding of the same Paniya tribe in the cohabited and mutually respected relation between other species in the land. A community, who’s major proportion is still under the landless category today, believes in the right to the land of each and every single species. It might be because they knew the value of a piece of land and better inhaled the pain of losing the right to access it.

They lost their land to a Christian family who was settled in Kalpetta, Wayanad, who is an earlier migrant from the plain district, respondent has no information about the outsider or his family. He remembers that the various chettan (meaning elder brother used to denote a Christian) families (From Vythiri and Kalpetta together had brought some amount land in the forest hills near to their settlement for the purpose of coffee plantation, thought the plantation was not started until the tribal households were displaced from their dwelling. “I do not know they actually brought it from anyone or just took it like that (encroached). Because in our times, nobody other than tribal people from our community was climbing into the hill, actually nobody had the courage to go there

(laughing). We knew each and every corner of the hill, for use it was an easy task, even we children could go by closing our eyes too (smiled with a proud face)”, said Velan.

Which indicates that the studied Paniya community households were so much used the forest hill areas in supporting their livelihood at a day-today basis. Apart from food items and fertilizers in the form of manure for their crops, forest land provided many other valuable resources to them. It is un-doubtfully clear that the forest gave them unconditional comfortless by physical materials resource as well as the psycho-spiritual wellbeing. Their '*pooi deyi*' (Goddess earth), '*malai chathan*' (hill saint), '*kallurutti thevan*', etc were believed to be in those hilly areas. They believed that their life was blessed with keeping good spiritual link with these gods. Many trees were considered as sacred and they pray before particular trees for particular needs or wish. On occasions they practiced worships and offering to particular gods using '*pandom vilakkum*' '*seva*' '*thavidu*'. In-depth analysis of changes in these cultural and ritual practices in contrast with the life of Paniya people in the resettled in Aralam will be given in the upcoming chapter on various domain.

From the discussion, it is understood that the forest hills were legally under the possession of government or private parties (as the legal information regarding the possession before the entry of Christians were unable to probe and recall by the respondents), however, the tribes had customary rights over the land which they were used in this area. The entry of Christian families in the form of legal owners of these land who proposed for large level cultivation seriously affected the free access of the tribe community into the area which was traditionally used by them. In the early days of a visit by the outsider who pretend as the new owner were accompanied by the officials from village or municipality (people from adhikari's office as said by the respondent) visited the area and dug various places in order to demark the boundaries or to estimate the area of land. He shared that they heard the land is purchased by a church which is situated in the southern part of the Wayanad, however there is no evidence regarding the same could collect. There is also the possibility that the land might have purchased under the church or church running institutes to get relax the legal formalities, tax or get exempt from the legal frameworks of land re-distribution. Many people (officers, said by respondent) visited the area within about one year. Once a person came and asked the tribal households to put their thumb impression in a paper. When they inquired about the purpose, the person informed them that they are going to start an estate here in the land

they purchased. For that, they have to fence the boundary as well as to bring their vehicle to the lower position of the hill. For that, they need to take their vehicle through the side portion of community-owned land. The respondent said that, according to the communication our fathers, they understood that it is a non-objection certificate to allow the landowner to bring their vehicle through the land which they owned as social farming area as well as some portion of their traditional land. It was also communicated that if they give consent, they will provide adequate employment under the proposed estate. The households were not aware of what was actually written in the paper, however, they (the three household heads) given their thumb impressions. After some months from this incident, a lorry with iron lines (wires) and concrete pillars reached in the area. The vehicle passed through their cultivating land, however, there were no major crops lost since it was an off-season for that particular harvest. Nevertheless, the tribal communities settled in the area as well as those who lost their, small but significant portion of land, were heavily concerned about the developments. They were though it would be the first and last incident a vehicle go through their land, however, it was repeated many times in the later period. Many outside labours and some tribal households from their settlements were also called during the land preparedness to turn it into a suitable area for coffee plantation. He said it was a massive cleaning in which each and every shrub and trees were cut down to earth. The tribal community were not agitating in any organized or individual ways, however, they were felt destructed. The whole land which said to be purchased by the new owner was not converted into plantation land. In the later attempt, the fencing with barbed iron wire was started. The tribal owned land for social farming and a large portion of their ancestral land including land which they give for road purpose for the outsiders were also coming under fencing. The tribal people in group agitated against the move by the landowner, and the progressing works were stopped by the labours came from outside. However, began in the early morning on the next day with more number of labours. "I don't know they were labours or gundas of them" (the said owner of the land). They forcefully suppressed the agitation of the tribal members against the fencing process which encroached their land. An outsider has shown them a piece of paper and said that this paper is given from the adhikari's office, which states that the land is belonging to some particular members from his community. Moreover, he also threatened them by saying that if any further issues developed in this regard then he would bring the police to teach them a lesson. Later the protest by the tribe was diluted due to various reasons including the fact that they haven't had any kind of documents to support

their ownership to the land which they used to dwell as well as cultivate. The other households from the same community were worried that they would also lose land if they turn against the 'new legal owner' of the land. In actual, the outsider employed the trick to dividing the strength and unity among tribes by only encroaching land of a portion of the tribal households. So that he succeeded in creating two groups of people among the tribal community, as one section who were the affected and another section who was unaffected, till then.

According to Velan, three households were gradually forced to leave their settlement after frequent threats and disturbances created by the encroacher, by the time his family left the settlement area for permanently due to the same reason. He and some other elder members from the group of displaced were migrated to their relatives' houses, a distant relative of his mother's family settled in the place called *Porunnannur*. Also, he don't have information regarding which all places the neighbour members were migrated to. His mother and father were living with the neighbour *paadi* (community) which is near to their earlier location. After some years they had got selected for resettlement in a two cent tribal colony in Panamaram, Wayanad.

“We felt that the colony dwelling would be at least better than living somewhere in which we have had not any ownership. The overcrowding in the relative's house where our parents always caused problems among the households. They were also having a lot of concerns regarding whether we will ask for ownership in the later. It was not even in our dream to purchase a piece of land and construct a house for our dwelling it may cost the whole our earning for life long. Only people from other communities were able to purchase land. I don't remember in my lifetime, any of my known person from our community purchased land for constructing a house or for the purpose of cultivation. It is the government which made us to beg for a piece of land or a dwelling in the colony, and the same government is now assuming that we are people loved to live the colony system. You can see Sir, look these houses built by the government (pointing towards to the settlement houses which are near to his house in the 2/7<sup>th</sup> settlement in Aralam), these houses are looking like '*aduppukoottiyapole*' (means the stones in a fireplace to denote that it is built like the very colony houses in Wayanad). Nobody from our community said them (the government authorities) that we would love to be settled in the colony kind houses. But now they are saying that 'our leaders' during the resettlement period asked to build houses very close one to one kind like one in the Wayanad. Which leader? We didn't had any leader, do we?”. The life after settling

to a colony which is located in Panamram were literally a nightmare for the household to recall. It is reported that the households who were already settled in the colonies were from numerous various location in the district. There was no single piece of land given for cultivation, neither for self-consumption. “We couldn’t even plant a chilly while were in the colony due to the lack of land, if we spat from our home it goes to the other person’s courtyard”, said Shantha, by adding that it is not an exaggeration but reality. This is indicating the severe scarcity of land in the tribal resettlement colonies in those time in Wayanad.

“Lot of things in life got changed after losing our land and once we settled into the colony. Elders couldn’t go to the ‘*thodu*’ (a small kind of river) for fishing which was solely consumed at home or in the cases of any excess amount we were used to giving to any neighbours or people from other ‘*jaati*’ (‘caste’) too at free of cost. We never brought fish or crab during our settlement in Edamunda (the place of original settlement). It was plenty available in seasons. The practices of cultivating our varieties of crops got lost, with the land. Apart from the crops we cultivated, a broad varieties of wild edible things were collected and consumed during those days were unable in the vicinities of our colony. It was not even available to taste. We became dependent on rations provided by the government. The emerged necessity to work as a manual labourer to have smock and fire on our kitchen fireplace, and the severe lack of occupations together created a situation in which many days we had only one-time food”. Paniya had the knowledge and the depth of forest for extracting forest-based resources for supporting their livelihood, and in other many ways, however, there is no forest land left to the freely access of Paniyan. Later, the Paniya learned to cultivate in the paddies due to various circumstances, however there is no paddy land in their hand today. The attempts and efforts put by the households in order to get selected for resettlement is detailed under various sections inside this chapter.

### **Forest and Wildlife sanctuary; The demarcation which led to the displacement of tribal people**

The tribal conditions were not much different from, what we were discussing in the incidents of development induced displacement as well as the displacements caused due to the encroachments by private parties, in the cases, where the prime reason of losing land is government’s demarcation of tribal’s traditionally owned land as forest land, especially reserved forest land. There are much evidence to state the relation of Paniya communities and their dependency over forest land, as once



their identity was coined as ‘forest and hill tribe’, as we have seen while discussing on the identities of Paniya communities throughout the history of Wayanad. Though there are no dedicated censuses in the form of quantitative data on the exact number of Paniya population and households who lost their traditional land located in the forest in Wayanad, however, there is information which qualitatively understands the lose of tribal land in the name of forest land demarcation during and after the British period. The thick populated Paniya colony households in the tribal colonies inside various forest divisions and ranges under the Wayanad forest department is the crucial evident information which indicates the historical relation of Paniya tribal community with forest. The large available literature as well as the data collected by the researcher on their various cultural practices, their extensive knowledge on numerous shrubs, edible wild items which are available in forests, their stories of their grandparents in relation with forest, their agricultural and medicinal practices etc many aspects clearly indicate their historical link with forest land.

According to the data collected from the records and reports of Mananthavady forest division, there are 1353 tribal households living under various tribal colonies under the forest lands together from North and South Wayanad divisions. These are the colonies, not the original ancestral land-based settlement with liberal access to the surrounding fauna and flora of the forest. There are number of colonies identified by the forest department as the vacant colonies where there are not households are occupied, especially in those which are located inside the forest range (wildlife circle) of Tholpetty and Kurichiyat which have no tribal households dwelling currently in the 32 settlements, though it had a land of 61.02 hectors of land. Out of these 32 settlements, many were Paniya settlements. It shows that once the forest land was owned by tribes from various communities including Paniya were shrank into to limited colonies by the government through demarcating rest of the land as wildlife and reserved forest, and later the tribes were resettled to colonies outside the forest area or they themselves were forced to leave their settlements inside the forest due to numerous circumstances raised by the government, legislative and private entities. Experience of households interviewed for case studies and as the part of household interviews are explicating the continues displacements and resettlement of tribal people from once place to the other following the loss of their traditional ownership and possession.

In the cases of households who are settled in Aralam, the primary displacement from their traditional land took place much before the generation of the respondents, especially in the events

where the land was owned in current forest demarcated land. They reported that they had settlements inside the various community in the forest areas like Kunjhom, Chithalayam, Muthanga, Kurichiyat, Sulthan Bathery and Tholppetty. Many of these areas are now having no households in their earlier settlements, or they have a negligible number of households dwelling. In most of the cases, government recognized these tribal habitants but could not provide the access and customary right over the forest land and its products in their resettled area, however, in the colonies inside the forest boundaries itself. The main reason of having a number of ‘colonies’ rather than the natural community settlements is the government intervention to limit the access and utilisation of forest by tribal people. “these new humanmade or government made colonies are not the original settlements of tribal people made by them for their dwelling. Their settlements were mainly located in a suitable place from where they could access the forest for the resources which they are needed in a way that they wish and without harming the forest. These new colonies just increased the population of households in an area by limiting their freedom to build new homes, demarcated and compartmentalized the forest land and colony land in which they required permission from forest department to enter to forest land, even in case if you want to pluck a bunch of leafs for medicinal purpose or to collect some amla for the consumption of their child”, said Tribal extension officer, Thondarnad. Also said, “do not put my name when you submit this report to somewhere, but this is the reality that happened with the poor tribes”.

As my father said us, we lived in the forest area which my demarcated as government (forest) land in Kurichiyat forest. We were having more than forty households of our community living there apart from households from Kattunaika and some Hindu community, of which name I am not remembering, were also living in the periphery areas of the forest. We collected mainly the amla honey, firewood, whole of our traditional medicines, roots, aroma produces, etc many from the forest land. As well they (the mentioned other community members) were also depended on forest to collect other various materials. Father said once that our grandparents were having a specific number of amla tree, from which only we were allowed to take amala. Likewise, we identify a certain number of specific trees for collecting honey from it. The *mooppen* (tribe headman) had all power to take the last word regarding about sharing these trees and resources among households and to solve problems arising regarding the same.

Another household shared his memory of staying in the Muthanga forest peripheries which place now called as the Ponkuzhi Paniya tribal colony. According to him, there is no chance for the tribal settlements in Ponkuzhi colony these days, however, the information from forest department indicates that there are 11 Paniya households are still dwelling in this particular colony. This area is located between the Muthanga wildlife forest range of Wayanad and Bandipur forest of Karnataka state. The forest range is established as a wildlife sanctuary in the 1970s and it became under the project elephant after twenty years of its conception. The life of the tribal people who were settled inside the proposed range went uncertain after these developments. “forest was our life, father used to say it every time, these miseries started in life ever since we had left (forced to leave) the sacred forest. Earlier we were given land and a houses build one close to another like in a colony setup in Ponkuzhi. Later we were taken to out of that colony into another tribal colony which is in Anjukunnu, by saying that each family would be given proper land of 5 acres and a house constructed. Moreover they (the government) assured our right and free access to forest product as we were doing. The reason they were putting behind to vacate our settlement was the possible problems we create to the wildlife as well the attacks from their side, especially elephants. I heard from my community members that several time they have seen elephants in groups close to their settlements, however, there was no history of attacks. Actually, our grandparents were living in harmony with wild animals by respecting their rights”. It is reported that the tribes used their own traditional techniques to protect their settlements from the possible attacks of wild animals. They used to create animal trenches, local instruments that produced a sound which keeps the animals away from their area. It is said that the community members were well aware of the life style and changes of the animals. The free settlement areas inside the forest premises were resettled to the tribal colonies in the periphery areas of the forest, by the government. At the same time, severely restricted their entry and access to the forest land for various purposes. In the later stage, these tribal communities were forced to leave their second settlements to other tribal colonies by employing various push and pull factors purposefully. “According to my knowledge, none of the households who left the original settlement got the promised five acres of land. Also, like ours, none of them got access to the forest after once we left our land. It was said that there would be committee formed to decide and maintain our customary right over the land we left behind, as well the resources which were used to collect for self-consumption and for marketing. We were part of the first two meetings while were in our second resettlement colony but did not

get any benefits from it in the way as we expected. Neither while we were in Wayanad nor we are in Aralam able to enjoy its benefits. Today too, we go to Aralam forest land (of Wildlife sanctuary) to collect a piece of fire wood as thieves” said Kelan. The researcher was happened to meet a group of tribal women in an evening during his field work in the Aralam resettlement area. These blocks of Paniya tribal people who came from Wayanad was so close to the Aralam wild life sanctuary. The tribal women were trying to trespass the iron fencing (broken wires by elephants while entering to the settlement areas) to enter into the forest land to collect some pieces of fire woods for their household needs. When they saw the researcher, they had started running back to their blocks and while he discussed it with the tribal promoter, he said that the women were afraid that they thought the researcher as some officials from the forest department. Once lived in the settlements inside the forest premises by enjoying peaceful and liberal access to their necessary resources which were available in the forest, now ended up as trespassers to collect firewood pieces which are abundantly available in the forest.

“They were dragged out to the forest with pseudo objectives of protecting their lives from wild animals as well as to protect the wild life from the human's interventions and interferences. However, who is concerned about the same community, resettled to Aralam, on the base of aforesaid reason, is frequently attacked by a number of wild elephants which trespasses to tribal's resettled land. Why the forest department as well as the tribal department who were in front for displacing and resettling tribal people from forest is acting as they are not aware of the murders happened to the people who were resettled to Aralam by them?, why they are giving a blank eye towards the frequent news from Aralam on the wild animals attacks which injured many from the same Paniya tribal community once they have ‘protected’ from wild animals attacks by dragging their settlement out of the forest in Wayanad?” Gopi, who is a retired military officer organizing free training for the tribal students inside the farm, asked during key informant interview.

The households who were once settlers were resettled into colonies which are not even close to the forest or the places of their original habitations. The problems of livelihood opportunities related to poverty and hunger were reported as it was also noted in the case of other tribal people who were resettled into a tribal colony from their traditional occupation. The forest provided them much of their resources needed to support their livelihood and life as a whole. None of them was adequately given land right and customary right in order to access forest land in a way which

satisfy their needs and as the law states. Though many of the other socio-economically established tribe's community, in comparison to Paniya, were able to negotiate with the government for providing land rights under various legislative measures which focuses on the tribe communities customary right over forest land. “They (tribal extension officer) have called use for meeting at Kunhom office (TEO office) twice. There were many people from other communities too who were not knowing since they belong to some other parts of the district. It was assured that all the households would be provided with a fixed land right over the lost land or similar alternative land in the forest. There were committees build with representatives from each *ooru* (tribal village), including the *mooppan* (tribe head) and other members preferably someone who is educated. However, there were more members from other communities, who were settled near to our places in Ponkuzhi and the forest peripheries. We were not called for any follow-up regarding the same but heard that some of the people from Naika community got some land and access to ‘our’ land”. It is clearly indicating that how effectively the (Recognition of the Forest Rights) Act have practically implemented at the ground level. The illiterate and socio-economically and politically backward session of the tribal community, the Paniya, were not benefitted adequately from the Act. Nevertheless, they must hold the right to access forest land for various produce other than timbers, fish and crabs (which were consumed in plenty by them) etc. In other words, the Act was benefitted differently for different communities based on their political and negotiation power grounded in their social and economical abilities. Many of the households with whom the researcher interacted, said that they were ended up in severely congested tribal colonies before resettlement to Aralam. “What was the need then to resettle us to Aralam if we were provided with our land right and resources inside our village in Ponkuzhi?” Balan, responded when asked about the provision of land right through the communities form for the purpose.

The traditional tribal health practitioner from Nellikkunnu, near Amabalavayal, said the researcher that the strict conditions and limitations in accessing forest for collecting medicines have burdened him practising treatment in these years, especially during many other lands in which medicinal plants were largely available earlier were turned into plots of houses and other buildings.

“We know how to make you run away from this land if you are not ready for the resettlement. You will know it when the elephants come on your courtyards”, responded Krishnan said about what was the officials told about eviction and settlement. This indicates the pressure and force

government authorities created for the resettlement of tribes from forest to non-forest colonies. The above said respondent and his households were resettled to Aralam in 2008 but could not continue their life there and return to Wayanad. Now they are living in a colony in Nochatiiil. “Please ask the government to provide us with land in Wayanad itself where we have some basic amenities to live with. Aralam is a ‘hell’, that is why nobody wants to live there, many of our knowns did not go there even after seeing the condition of people who are already settled” Ammini, wife of Krishnan added by thinking that the researcher can report their problems to the government. The people who were once selected for resettlement, like one in Aralam, are later considered as the land holding household. Their name would be permanently get deleted from the list of landless households by the government. So, even if someone came back to Wayanad due to the problems in cohabiting there in Aralam are considered as land holding households and are not eligible for further consideration for land distribution. Some of the tribal households who are currently staying in the tribal colonies shared that they are worried to not to accept any kind of offer from government in the case of land distribution even if they are not happy with the land or area. Because, once they denied to accept the offer there is chance that they might get deleted their names from the list of landless tribes and which end a chance to get a piece of land from the side of government. Many people who are settled in Aralam also stated that they were forced to get resettled because of this uncertainty created by the officials.

The majority of the households whom the researcher met during his fieldwork in Wayanad do not possess a proper title deed for their dwelling in two to five-cent colonies. Some of them lost as their parents are not paying land revenue on time, some households are not aware that they have to have a document for even dwelling in a colony house, others said that their parents lost it somewhere etc. The researcher were reported by the colony households that even the government disconnect electricity supply if there are delay in submitting the fees. It makes them difficult to manage these kinds of things during the hard days of unemployment and poverty. The houses are utter unhygienic in someplace like one in Panamaram There is no proper drinking water supply in the colonies. Their diet is based on the day today occupations of the breadwinning member of the household. This information were collected through the fieldworks during flood days in 2018. The flood was hitting a number of houses in the field locations in Wayanad. The conditions of households in the colonies are in complete apathy even today after so many years of resettlement.

Many of them who lost land in the forest area were resettled to this kind of colonies in various location of Wayanad before they resettled to Aralam in and after 2007.

Since we have discussed the conditions which facilitated for the displacement of the tribal land in detail with the experiences of various households and community, in coming **session**, we will go deep into the actions and attempts taken by the tribal communities in order to get the possession of their displaced land or for restoration. Most of them, who had lost their land by encroachments by private entities, government's development projects, and demarcation of the forest area and wildlife sanctuaries, were considered as landless tribes and temporarily got resettled to tribal colonies inside the district. There is a long history of their mobilization and movements in small and large ways to restore their land. We will discuss the experiences shared by the household in line with the overall tribal movement history of the district.

### **Tribal responses after displacement; towards the restoration of their land**

The decreased unity and strength among the tribal community after displacement and resettled to various locations in colonies were one of the explicated fact identified through the interactions with tribal households and other key informants during the study. Apart from this reason, the tribes who were settled to temporary colonies have not had any prior experiences of agitations, and they were not politically organized in a non-tribal society. Their problems were rarely taken to the established legislative systems as an alternative they primarily attempted to resolve it among them employing their traditionally established ways. The socio-cultural, economical and the political systems of the outer society was not build in a way to understand the problems of the tribal communities, especially of those communities who lived in the forest or the peripheries of it. So as, it was apathetic towards the conditions of the tribal communities who were resettled to colonies. The skills, knowledge, practices, ideologies and beliefs of these tribe communities were not apposite to the requirement and followings of the so-called modern society. Because of the same reason, tribes resettled to colonies always felt that they are outsiders and out-grouped from the mainstream society surrounded their settlements. The recent arrest of more than 20 tribal adults who were jailed from Wayanad district within few months from the establishment of the POSCO Act is just an incident like many other, to think that, are our system developed in a form to

understand the differences in the socio-cultural life of the tribes in our state. Those who got jailed for early age marriages are not even allowed to see their children yet. Our system is not empowered enough to understand the surroundings of the tribes and to educate them at a certain extent, however, all set to punish them if they cross the boundaries of the established rules of which they are not even aware of.

### **Political uprisings of tribes in Wayanad**

The political presence and participation of the colony based resettled tribal households were limited to the electoral voting. Many of them were the supporters of the left politics according to the interactions that the researcher had with the households. In the explicit forms, there were some limited number of sittings and *dharnas* in front of post-office, Tahasildar's office etc which were the very rarely participated ones by the mentioned households and their elder generations. "Among us (Paniya community people), the people who have lost their land and settled to colony houses were often considered with a lower status than the people (other Paniyan) who have even minimal possession of the land as his own with *Patta* (title deeds).

In comparison with other Paniyan, "we were sometimes called as '*colony paniyanmar*'" which means the Paniyans of the colonies. There are some other ideological rooted practical reasons for the differential considerations and participations of the colonised paniyans in the popular political spheres which were organized by the left organs in the district. This was before the conception of caste and another social category as one of the major reason for having a stratification among the society, other than a class, in the explicit ideologies of left. Their organizations were mostly focused on the agricultural workers and other working-class sectors among the tribes, including Paniya. However, being landless and frequently unemployed Paniya tribes from the colony houses were rarely took part in these class consciousness and mobilizations in the district.

There were numerous small and larger mobilizations of tribes, which however hijacked by the major political fronts in the state. The households doesn't recall the exact year and name of some of these movements. Nevertheless, the mostly remember about that movement in they took part in the later period in history. One of the most mentioned tribal uprising in the name of tribal land and its restoration which employed the method of encroachment of private forest land as an



organized way to agitate against the land displacement of the tribes in the state. This movement was known as the 'ambukuthi samaram' (Ambukuthi agitation); it was happened in a place called Ambukuthi in the study location block called Mananthavady in Wayanad. It was started with filing an application in 1994 to the then government of Kerala for restoring tribal land which was lost to the private forest land in Wayanad. The case was filed and backed up by the Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Restriction on Transfer and Restoration of Alienated Land) Act, which enacted in 1975. The movement leaders found that there is 128 acre of reserved barren forest land is there in the place called Ambukuthi and a majority of this area is encroached by outsider non-tribes. It is reported that, as the part of the movement, more than 220 families of tribal communities took part to encroach back this said forest land and built their sheds over the area. However, the police and the 'encroacher outsider' who possessed the titled deeds for this land from the government, tried to stop the tribes from encroaching, the tribes succeeded to build their small sheds. Very few of the households interviewed and their older generation took part in this move. They have some stories of 'ambukuthimala samaram' which were shared by those who took part in it. Some of the tribes who are settled in Wayanad were participants of this movement. "we went with our leaders for *kudilukuthi* (raising shed) agitations which were happened near to our locations in Mananthavady. Many tribal members from our community were called to participate in it as it was for emerged for landless tribal communities, like us", said Cholan. Later to the tribal occupation of these land, the police and officials from the forest department with the assistance of outsider-settlers have demolished all the temporary sheds and set on fire. "I do not know the name of the particular movement which you are talking about, however, I have participated myself with my friends and neighbours in a big rally organized in Wayanad, which was raised due to the demolition of tribal houses in Mananthavady and nearest areas. This happened at our younger age, around thirty years back". Other households also reported their experiences in participating rallies and mobilization, however many are unable to recall the name and year of the same. Land displacement and restoration of alienated tribal land were the major slogans of many movements emerged in that time also it was mentioned as the reason for huge number tribes participation in it than any time in the history. Much of the portion of the land was converted into plantations and estates by the encroacher outsiders in Wayanad by the time, as it is the case of Ambukuthimala. It was reported that more than 300 tribal people were arrested due to the reason that they encroached the land as part of their movement and related incidents. Cases were registered against a large number of tribal

households who took part in the movements. The Ambukuthi movement later led to the hunger strike which was forced to stop due to the reason that cases were taken against the participants by stating that they are attempting to get suicide. The tribes seek helps from the human right commission, however there was no positive gesture given to the tribes. The real owners of these land, the tribes were given any single piece of land, however, the movements helped in unite various tribal small movements to develop the tribal consciousness among them, which in later fueled for other tribal movements.

The experience of Cheengeri tribal agitation was also a similar case. Which was happened in the year 1995. The Kerala state government had brought 528 acre of land from Tamilnadu in the year 1957 for the purpose land distribution among 100 landless tribal households from Wayanad. Each households were supposed to get 5 acres of land after five year terms of settlement in the land. The clause of 5 years was kept to handover the title deeds to train the re-settlers regarding the use of land. Teaching the people of the land to how to use it, seemed contradictory, though it happened in the case of Cheengeri. However, the land was not distributed to the tribes after the five year term. Instead, it was given to 147 non-tribal encroachers and rest of the land was kept under the agriculture department of the district.

The focus of tribal movements towards the land of Cheengeri started in the year 1995. It was a more planned and the organized kind of effort from the side of tribes organizations which came together for a common cause. Cheengeri is located in Sulthan Batheri thaluk of Wayanad district. So, participants for the study have not had direct experiences which took place in the location, however, many of them were aware of the movements. Nevertheless the tribes encroach to a larger area in Cheenger could not continue to live there due to employment of state power which held cases against them as it was in the earlier experience of Ambukuthi movement. The government built a boundary in few days with iron barbed wires to restrict the further entry and encroachment of tribal people to Cheengeri land, however, it was brought for the purpose to distribute among landless tribes and the non-tribal outsiders have encroached a nearly half of the total land. Even though these movements were not literarily called successful in achieving its proposed objectives, it was more successful in a way which created the identity consciousness among tribes, to create awareness on the socio-political aspects of land ownership and to unite for further actions. Since all the political parties were showing a completely negative approach towards various political

emergence and attempts by the tribe made them realize that the tribe have to alone for their rights, and the need to establish the politics based on tribe identity.

Several other movements for similar purposes emerged in the various parts of the district until the end of the 1990s when all-tribe movements were strengthening. There were attempts by the major political parties to attract and hijack the political movements by the tribe though forming their tribal wings for movements. However, a large majority of the tribal leaders and members were not happy with it. When every legal and political promise were failed in providing land for the landless tribe, it saw the emergence of Muthanga agitation in the leadership of AGMS, which was based on the identity-based politics among tribes.

### **The emergence of tribal identity-based politics**

The emergence of the tribal identity based political mobilization was clearly evidenced in the post-1990s tribal organization. It was often understood as the result of historical suppression and exploitations that the tribal communities have undergone in Kerala. Moreover, the complete apathy among changing governments of left and right political fronts regarding the concerning issues of the tribes in the district coined with the intensified problems due to continuation and escalation of neo-liberal dominations in the life of tribal communities, also found relevant in emerging a suitable situations to development of ‘tribes stands for tribes’, identity-based politics in the state. Apart from other every reason, the question and need regarding the restoration of tribal land among the objectives helped in uniting tribal communities in Wayanad during and after the Suganthagiri plantation land distribution after the collapse of governments approaches in establishing a tribal run cardamom project from the 1970s onwards. After the failure of the project due to the decreased subsidies of the government due to budget constrains (though it is matter of financial priorities of the government) and in the competition with established neo-liberal companies in the same field, the tribal workers have organized mobilizations for minimum employment which alternately led to the distribution of project land among the workers of the cooperative. It was an evidence for the rest of the tribal communities, including the Paniya that the movement with a cause which is led by the tribes for the tribal can be a successful one.

The Muthanga tribal movement to recover their alienated land was the most discussed and considered as the milestone in the history of Kerala tribal agitations. The movement was well planned under the organization of tribes called AGMS. The failure of government in providing land according to the contract made in 2001 with the tribal organization and the report of tribal deaths due to starvation fueled the emergence of Muthanga movement which encroached land inside the Muthanga wildlife sanctuary area (1 and 11<sup>th</sup> block) in 2003 — led to the employment of state power and the fatality of two, one tribal member and a police officer. A large number of tribes were got attested and jailed. The key informant interview with the participants, leaders and media reporters during the incident informed that many of the tribal members are still facing the legal issues which originated from the Muthanga incident. The legal changes in the form of amendments to the original Acts which proposed the land restoration diluted condition to provide an alternative land instead of the alienated land. Post-Muthanga, the contract made between tribal organization and government made the use of this amendment to protect the non-tribal encroacher by providing an alternative land for the landless tribes. Lalitha, Paniya women of Aralam who is family, is resettled from Kannur district, stated that “it is the strength and courage showed by our fellow communities members in Wayanad during the agitations which led to the decision of giving land in Aralam and that the sole reason why we have got land”. The government identified Aralam farm, then run by the central government, to resettle the landless tribes from Wayanad and Kannur district.

Being insisted by proper guidelines and legislature for restoring the lost tribal land, the government was interested in resettlement. Both the right and left government in the state stood together against the poor and marginalized sessions of the state in order to not to implement the concerned law and amend it in their favor. This concerns we have discussed very detailed in the review portion of the dissertation however the intention was to note the same here for highlighting government’s alternative plan for the landless in Wayanad was a resettlement instead of restoration of their land in the district.

The question that many stakeholders asks and the responsible politicians and authorities keeps quite is regarding the reason for finding a land for resettling Wayanad landless tribes in a distance place called Aralam in Kannur.

# **CHAPTER 4**

## **THE IMPACT OF RESETTLEMENT: VARIOUS DOMAINS OF LIFE**

## **LIVELIHOOD SECURITY AND ECONOMIC WELL BEING**

(Domain 1)

Lack of livelihood options among the resettled Paniya community households in Aralam, Kannur is one of the core problems reported through all forms of research inquiry during the study. The households were engaged in varieties of occupations ranged from agriculture works to construction to plantation labour while they were settled in Wayanad. In the post-resettlement period, the community had undergone a penetrating phase where there is no dependable employments that suffices the basic needs of the households. And the situation still continues without any significant positive changes even after three new government took place in state. In contradictory to this conditions, the Paniya households enjoy a better availability of livelihood options, significant amount of wage in Wayanad. However the difference is only significant when we compare the options of livelihood and wage between populations in the both study locations. The quantitative data collected about the primary and secondary employment, women work participation, unemployment, income etc. will put more light on the economic and livelihood status of Pania households studied in both locations.

Prior to the resettlement, the government offered permanent employment for minimum one person from every household in the Aralam plantation corporation. It was said that at least one person belonging to the ration card (weather it is a joint family or a nuclear family) would be given employment. As reported by a majority of households resettled in Aralam, this offer attracted many of them towards the resettle project proposed by government despite many other obstacles. They said that they were optimistic about life after resettling to Aralam as they expected every family would be having a breadwinner who have regular income by working in the plantation corporation. However, none of the resettled Paniya tribes in Aralam from Wayanad reported having or had appointed neither permanent nor temporary in Aralam Farm Corporation, in contrast to the offer promised by the government prior to resettlement.

A majority of the study households in Aralam depend on daily wage labor outside the premises of the settlement area which includes low wage, but high risk work in most of the cases, or temporary work in farm plantations. For example, the riskier jobs including climbing trees and collecting

pepper from highest trees were given to them. The women members in households who reported working are mainly depending on MNREGS and minor waged works inside the farm. The other communities belonging to different religions including Christians, Muslims and various caste communities of Hindus, settled in areas surrounding Aralam farm depend on the economically cheap labour of the Paniya tribe whether it is in the construction field, cultivation field or daily wage manual labour.

The first category of the income source is labelled as 'Manual wage labourer-Class 1' which includes; Agricultural labourer, Plantation labourer, Farm or estate worker and Construction worker. The range of wages for this category is identified from both field location (Kannur and Wayanad) as 500-700 Rupees per day. The lower range is noted as paid in Aralam in a majority of the cases compared to Wayanad. The second category is 'Manual wage labourer- Class 2' which include the casual labourers and also workers under MNREGS, which yield a range of payment from 200 to 350 rupees per day. The third category is termed as 'Both cultivators and agricultural labours.' The wage for agricultural labouring ranged between 350 to 500 rupees per day, however, the income of the household in this particular category also includes the income from selling out their produces (though a less number of household from Wayanad engaged in cultivation and their income from marketing their products are very minimal). The fourth category is labelled as 'Seasonal minor farmworkers', which is the most underpaid employment among all categories. The income for a labourer in this category is 50 to 75 rupees per day. Lack of any other viable occupational opportunities and severe financial uncertainties led households to engage in these kinds of employment. The other sets of employment from the coded list like government employment, self-employment, cultivation etc. were not merged with any above said categories since there is no data found against them.

The Table 1 shows the details of primary income sources among the respondents of both study locations. Primary income source is identified based on the contribution of which into the overall annual income of the family. The primary income were decided on the contribution of it to the total family income. Suppose in a household, the major annual income is acquired through 'Class-2' category, then it is identified as the primary income source of that particular household. In the

same way, the second contributing source is classified as the secondary income source of the household.

Table 1: Primary Source of Households Income

District	Manual Wage Labourer- Class 1	Manual Wage Labourer -Class 2	Both Cultivators & Agricultural labours	Seasonal Minor farm works	Total
Aralam, Kannur	0	59	0	1	60
	0.0%	98.3%	0.0%	1.6%	100.0%
Study locations in Wayanad district	38	9	11	0	58
	65.5%	15.5%	19.0%	0.0%	100.0%

There are no households from 7<sup>th</sup> block of Aralam Farm, Kannur reported having an income source in the Manual wage labour class-1 category while 38 households (65.5% of the total household) from Wayanad reported having income from Class 1 type of employment. The majority (98.3%) of the study households in Kannur were having their primary income from Manual Wage Labour Class-2, while only 15.2% of the households in Wayanad reported this to be their primary source of income. Only one family fetches their major source of income from the least paid category, the ‘Seasonal minor farm worker’, in Aralam. It is found that 19% of the household from Wayanad having their primary income from the source category ‘Both cultivators and Agricultural labour’ while none of the household from Kannur.

Table 2 gives data about secondary source of income across the population of both study location (Aralam-Kannur and Wayanad).



Table 2: Secondary Source of household income

District	Manual Wage Labourer-Class 2	Seasonal Minor farm works	Total
Aralam farm, Kannur district.	21	8	29
	72.4%	27.6%	100.0%
Study locations in Wayanad district	55	2	57
	96.5%	3.5%	100.0%

Out of the total 58 households from Aralam (Kannur), only 29 households (less than 50%) reported having a secondary source of income, while every household from Wayanad reported having a secondary source of income. From Aralam, out of the 27.6 percent of households who reported having secondary income is engaged in lowest-paid category termed as ‘Seasonal minor farm works’ while only two household (3.5%) from Wayanad depending this wage category for their secondary income and rest of the 96.5 % depending on comparatively better paid ‘Manual wage labour class-2’. In Wayanad, out of the 38 households who reported having a primary income from source ‘Class-1 labour’, 36 households reported also having a secondary income from ‘Class-2 labour’.

The interpretations regarding livelihood and income are made by analysing the data on the primary occupation (Table 1), the secondary occupation (Table 2), women participation in employment and the reasons for not being able to engage in regular employment. The displaced and resettled tribal people who came from Wayanad to Aralam are facing a severe lack of livelihood options. The better paid daily wage manual employment under the Aralam Farming Corporation Kerala Limited is already occupied by people who are either from non-tribal communities living outside the settlement areas or tribal communities (Kurichiya, Mavilan etc) settled in Aralam from Kannur district itself. All the permanent employees who were working under the corporation continued to work there even after the resettlement. So, there was no permanent post vacant for the tribes resettled members inside the farm. Moreover, the state government did not do anything to create employment for employing tribal members through any possible means. Apart from that, all

temporary works were given to outsiders and tribe communities other than Paniya. The Paniya tribal people resettled from Wayanad, are neither given permanent nor temporary employment by the Farming Cooperation Ltd; however, they had been assured employment for at least one member from every family prior to resettlement. During the process of resettlement, employment under the Aralam Farming Corporation Kerala Ltd was said as the institution where the source of livelihood would be given to the resettled families. However, in reality, the corporation was adequately given cheap and convenient labour force whenever and whichever form it required, but the resettled tribes were not provided anything which can be called as an adequate livelihood. The corporation is also outsourcing their farm work to various private groups in which the private entity have the freedom to recruit workers for completing the tender works. It is noted from the discussion with Managing Director of Aralam farm; from field observations and discussion with migrant workers of North India inside Aralam farm, that they also recruit migrant workers from other states for completing tender works. When the researcher inquired regarding the reason for not appointing any Paniya tribal members and recruiting migrant workers instead, the representative of the Aralam Farming Corporation Kerala Ltd, personal secretary to the Managing Director, responded that they recruit anyone with proper skill and tools (machinery as well) to do the works in better and faster ways as possible. *“If Paniya tribal members do not possess these two requirements, then we are helpless to do anything”*, he added. Moreover, he also said about the experiences of earlier attempt to recruit Paniya tribal members who had migrated from Wayanad and subsequently settled in Aralam:

*“We had given employment to some members from this category of tribal (Paniya from Wayanad) as the first term. However, the attempt observed as a failure since they did not turn up after some days of work. Do you know that, once they get paid their wages after two weeks, they enjoy that money by drinking alcohol and having lavish food? They do not think to save it for the future or to resume their work until the money is finished within days. They come again after some days with some excuses regarding health issues or some pointless concerns in Wayanad (at their earlier settlements in Wayanad). They were all good hard workers, but we were unable to keep them due to the frequent and unacceptable absenteeism among them”*.

He also told that the tribal people who worked inside the farm were provided with a onetime meal for supporting them to continue their works. It is said that, the scheme was not provided instead of wage, however, to motivate the employees in the form of appreciation. The reason for this scheme seems to have been only to ensure increased productivity of tribal labours working under the farm, disappointingly not the larger concerns of poverty and hunger among resettled tribes during those time.

The data shows that none of the study households at Aralam are having employment in the Class-1 labour, which indicates the intensity of livelihood and economical constrains of the Paniya tribal households who were displaced from Wayanad and subsequently resettled to Aralam Kannur. Class-1 labour includes all kinds of employments which provide a standard wage rate which matches with the overall standard payment for one-day manual wage labour in the state. No family members from Aralam reported having been involved in an employment (in the short term as well as long term) that is capable of providing a standard income (considering the daily wage rate in Kerala) for the household. A major proportion (98.2%) of the resettled Paniya tribes in Aralam are depending on Manual Wage Labour class-2 for their primary income. However, this income is not sufficient to satisfy their day to day needs. Moreover, this data also point towards the economic exploitations facing by the resettled tribes in Aralam and in the absence of a better-paid job in an accessible manner, paving the way to emerge a tendency among non-tribal people to call the resettled tribes for various kinds of manual labours which were always paid half of what were paid for non-tribal workers. In actual, the resettlement has provided the outside community with an option to avail cheap labour of the resettled tribes and left with no alternative, the tribal members compelled to work. The disparity in wage between tribal labour and non-tribal labour is still prevailing though it was denied by the TRDM (Tribal rehabilitation development mission) officials during the key informant interview. In the same time, in Wayanad study location, the proportion of people who fetch their primary income from 'Class-2' employment is significantly less at 15.2 % only. The disparity among wage given for the resettled Paniya tribe in Aralam and a non-tribal laborer is very visible. As well as, the differences in the wage for daily employment in Wayanad and Aralam for the labourer belonging to the Paniya community itself show significant differences. However, the differences are there in Wayanad too, but the differences between wages is not as extreme as it is in the Aralam.

Another important fact in the data worth talking about is the engagement and availability of employment under the category of both ‘Cultivators & Agricultural labours.’ While a significant proportion of 19% of the study households in Wayanad find in come under this category being their primary source of income, none of the study households from Aralam is engaged in employment under this category. Due to the specialty of particular land given to Paniya resettled tribes, cultivation is nearly impossible. Moreover, the lack of any irrigation facility and frequent wild animal attacks add to the obstacles that have led the people to stop cultivation in Aralam. In a place where every household faces severe drinking water scarcity, it means less to talk about the availability of water for irrigation. While in Wayanad, many of the settlements in the study area are located in places where the land is suitable for cultivation, though they possess a smaller amount of land and minimal cultivations.

In the severe dearth of livelihood options, the households in the settlement depends on ‘Minor farm works’ in the farms under the Aralam Farming Corporation Kerala Ltd or other privately owned farms. In the study, it is found that 27.6% of the households depends on these kinds of employment and consider it as their secondary income. Meanwhile, only 3.5 % of the participants from study location in Wayanad district reported working in these categories of employment to earn their secondary income. Moreover, the rest of the study population, 72.4% and 96.5% respectively from district Kannur and Wayanad depend and consider ‘Manual Wage Labour-Class 2 as their secondary income.

The researcher interviewed an ex-military person who is willingly providing physical training sessions for more than 15 aspirants from tribal communities from Aralam settlement area for the purpose of recruiting them into army force. It was necessary for him to mobilize some fund for the purpose of supplementing nutritious food for the students who participate in the sessions considering the fact that many of them are not receiving adequate food every day. So he planned to meet some financially well off households who are settled in the outskirts of the farm but people did not contributed for the cause. As reported by Unni, the voluntary trainer (Ex-Captain in the Indian military services), one of them commented that:

*“we do not have any issue in contributing some money, but the problem is that where we will get cheap labours in future if these children get into some government forces (military department)”*

By quoting it here, an attempt is made to indicate the fact, that many resettled tribe households form a cheapest labour class for the well-off neighbor non-tribal communities. In other words, they become the readily available, cheap and highly obedient labour class for the high class, caste and religious communities in Aralam. The condition of severe scarcity of employment fertile the situation even further.

The wage for a paniya labourer is relatively low when compared to a labourer from other community. It is reported that the daily wage of non-tribal for manual labour (non-professional) wage range from 600 to 750 rupees while it varies from 350 to 450 for the tribal labourer for the same kind of works.

A majority of the work sites are out of the settlement area, around 14-kilometer distance from their settlement. The far distance creates extra expenditure for the people who go for works outside the Aralam settlement. There is no convenient public or private passenger vehicle service from settlement area to outside. Consequently, in many cases, they have to pay 50 to 80 rupees (if there are people to share the transport amount) for commutations, which is more than 20 per cent of their hard-earned per day wage. In the earlier days of resettlement, the tribes were given temporary works inside plantations of cashew, pineapple, coco, rubber and coconut. However, nowadays with the introduction of machinery for varies kinds of work, the number of tribal people working in the plantations has reduced suddenly. In an interview taken place with the managing director of Aralam farming cooperation, he said that:

*“before introducing machines for plantation works, the tribal people and people from outside (non-tribes) were included in the workforce of the corporation. However, nowadays we have very less time during crop harvesting, collection and process. So we were forced to introduce machines. However, there also we have given priority for tribal people, if there were tribes with machines and proper skill in working with it, then we would have selected their tender only. However, none of the tribal labours has given tender for working with machines inside the farm”.*

The tribes, especially those who have resettled from Wayanad, are not in a financial position to invest in that or acquired skill in operating those machines. Many tenders for works like clearing shrubs in cashew plantation, spraying pesticides, planting pineapple plants, collecting rubber milk

etc are already given to contractors from outside communities. In the name of technical works, many of the manual works done by tribes were now given to people of other community.

Every worker in the exploitative category of employment, in which the least amount of payment were given despite the amount of work being completed by the employee, eight from Kannur and two from Wayanad, are women. In Aralam, the category of woks include collecting cashew from the planation for a full day and the payment were often given on the total weight of the cashew collected. A long day required activity, however paid with minimal amount of remuneration. The below table (Table number 3) helps us to understand the participation of women in employment in both study locations. Here, the categories of employment are differ from what we discussed in the case of primary and secondary income source since women from both study locations limited only to participation in MNREGS and minor farm works.

Table 3: Women participation in Employment

District		MNREGS	Minor Farm Works	Not Working	Total
Kannur	Count	30	13	52	95
	% of the total working	31.6%	13.6%	54.8%	100%
Wayanad	Count	58	2	35	95
	% of the total working women	61%	2.2%	36.8%	100.0%

A higher number of women (18-year-old or more) participation in MNREGS is observed from Wayanad with 30.5% of the total women while it is half (15.8%) of it from Kannur. The number of women engaged in severely underpaid ‘minor farm labour’ is significantly more with 6.8% from Kannur while it only 1.1% from Wayanad.

A significant proportion of women (6.8%) participation in the exploitative underpaid manual labour works in Kannur indicates the poverty and lack of better employment options for Women.

Moreover, a clear gender difference is observable in the kind of occupations and wages paid for women and men. In Wayanad, a substantial number (61%) of women are engaged in MNREGS employment schemes while it is only nearly half of that in Kannur (31.6%). It indicates that there is lesser participation of women in MNREGS from Kannur while comparing to data from Wayanad. The data on the reason for not engaging in MNREGS is also collected. (Need to discuss in detail).

More than half (54.8%) of the women in Aralam and 35% of women from Wayanad are not engaged in any employment. This number excludes all those who are pregnant, lactating and aged less than 18 years. The reason for, 14% and 11% women respectively from Wayanad and Kannur, are not working because of the household works they are undertaking. Moreover, 14% of women from Aralam and 8.1% from Wayanad are not working because they could not find a job for themselves. It is difficult to find an employment for women, especially for the class 1 and class 2 category employments. And it is worth to note that the women from Aralam reported that illness as the reason for keeping them away from employment is 10.5% while none of the women from Wayanad reported it as the major cause for not working. The extreme poverty and lack of nutrition among households in Aralam have affected the health of the people, especially the women and adolescence girls. We will discuss it in detail in the domain under food consumption and health status. However, the reason for the proportion of women stated that they are not engaged in employment is ill-health, and this indicates a possible relation between nutrition and food availability among women in Aralam.

### **Migration of labours from outside the state and the non-tribal workers; Diminishing further hopes of Aralam Paniyan**

Moreover, nowadays many labours from north-Indian states are working inside the farm who are appointed by the person who got the contract. It was initially denied by the director when the researcher inquired about; later he said that the contractors have the right to choose their labours for completing their work. Everything contributed to the deterioration of the income for tribal families, especially for those who belong to the Paniya tribe (Aralam settlement) from Wayanad. One of the most important things to be analyzed here is that those whomever tribes are given

permanent or temporary employment under Aralam farming corporation (ltd) are majorly from other tribal communities who are resettled from Kannur district itself, as reported by MD. It should be read with the comments from tribal development officer at TRDM; he said

*“the resettled tribes who were originally belongs to Kannur itself and having much more ‘connections’ are living a better of life than the Wayanad tribes. They themselves consider better than these Paniya community. So, they lead with their contact with panchayat members, tribal development officers and staffs. They are much ‘trickier’ than the Paniyans and doesn’t ‘look’ primitive..... The better portion of the land was acquired by these non-paniya tribe members using their relation”.*

It describe while comparing to tribal people who came from Wayanad, those who were settled from Kannur itself are more social, economically progressive, having more political affiliations and contacts which resulted in availing and accessing various economic and social development sources. It is an answer to the question why non-tribe and tribe communities who settled from Kannur are given employment in the form of permanent and temporary while none of the tribal members of Wayanad origin is placed under the farming corporation, although they constitute the most marginalized and disadvantaged in terms of their social and economic determinants of development.

Again, a critical observation made about the nature of works in the case if any of the Paniya members of Wayanad origin are employed for temporary work or tender works under the plantation. The riskiest and the most laborious portion of work was always given for them while risk-free and less laborious works was always distributed among other tribes and non-tribe community members. This was often stated as (MD and Secretary of Corporation) the quality work was not provided by Paniya tribes and so forced to call others who are better with skills and knowledge in the area. The ‘quality’ often intend to mean by the authorities, as far as the researcher could probe into, about the commitment, punctuality in the working place, achieving more targets etc. Nevertheless, inquiring with participants explicates that the authorities only recruit other tribe and non-tribe communities for works under plantations, however when they denied doing certain kind of works due to its intensity or risk underlined in it, then the choice is turned to Paniya



households of Wayanad origin. They undertake it despite the risks and hardness due to the severe scarcity and choices of other employments.

### Reasons for not engaging in a regular employment

Since it is identified that a significant number of employable members of the study household are not engaged in any kind of income generating activities or regular employment, a concerted effort was made to understand the reason for such high unemployment. The Table 4 gives the reasons for not being in regular employment. Statistical tests were employed to understand the statistical significance of the findings.

Table 4: Reasons for not engaging in regular employment

District	Could not find a job	Illness	Distance	Own cultivation works	No interest in manual works	Could not find & Distance (participants reported both as reason)	Could not find, Distance & Wild animal (participants reported both as reason)
Kannur	30	19	7	0	0	46	46
	22.8%	14.4%	5.4%	0.0%	0.0%	34.8%	34.8
Wayanad	47	9	0	41	19	0	0
	35.6%	6.8%	0.0%	31%	14.4%	0.0%	0.0%

(Note: The major reasons were merged into categories for better analysis across both the study locations)

One of the major reasons reported from both of the study locations is the unavailability of employments. A 22.8 per cent of the households from Kannur and 35.6% from Wayanad reported

that they failed in finding a job. Unavailability, distance to the work place and frequent wild animal attacks reported by the majority (69.6%) of the household for not engaging in employment in Kannur while these did not contribute to the unemployment in Wayanad. Households from Wayanad also did not engage in regular works due to involvements in their cultivations (Market or self-consumption oriented). Illness contributed as the reason for not regular works for 14.4% of households in Kannur while it is 6.8% in Wayanad.

The manual employments under the Farm Corporation are classified into the category of 'Manual wage labour- Class 1'. However, none of them from the study location in the farm has employment in this category. There are manual wage labour works available outside the resettlement area. The distance from these locations to the resettled area of Paniya tribes comes from Wayanad is more than 14 KM. In the absence of a public transport system, the cost of transportation for both sides is higher than 300 rupees per day. The available transport system, which is arranged by the tribal department, is said to be not functional every day, not at a convenient time as reported by the participants. In the same time, study locations in Wayanad are not situated in an isolated and distantly located areas from their major sources of livelihoods. Thus, the distance was never considered as a factor for low performance in the households regular engagements in employment. Except in the events of some households who migrate to plantations and estates in Kodagu district of Karnataka during the season, rest every household studied were able to find some kinds of agricultural, construction related or other kinds of manual wage labour of Class 1 or Class 2. A 22.8% and 35.6% respectively from Kannur and Wayanad found not involved in any regular employment due to the reason that they are unable to find a proper job. (Need to explain here why they are unable to find a suitable job with quotes given to substantiate this data.)

(Note: The experiences of physical and economic exploitation faced by people who works in the coffee plantations of Kodagu district of Karnataka needed to be articulated here. Several households interviewed from Kellur explained their earlier life experiences of working in the estates and plantations without basic living conditions and inhuman settlements. The workers are exploited economically, and they were provided with a portion of their said wage in the form of alcohol. However, they were forced to move into Karnataka in the seasons due to the severe poverty and hunger. The long duration works provided them with a certain amount of money altogether, though which is many times underpaid than the standard wage to be paid. In today's

scenario too also people migrate during the season for ‘*kodagupani*’, meaning works in Kudagu in Malayalam.)

The frequent wild elephant attack, especially during early morning and evening time, noted as another reason for not availing a job, though is available at a far distance from home. The people are worried to go out at this time as they had seen numerous elephant attack in recent years. The distance from Aralam wildlife sanctuary to the settlement of tribe is less than three KM. In the absence of a proper functioning electric fences and dependable boundary dig (elephants dig), elephants easily access to the settlement area. Among people who are not engaged in regular employment, a 69.6 % from Aralam reported that they are unable to work due to three major reasons which are; long distance to the working field, frequently wild animal attacks and could not find a job. Comparing it with the data from Wayanad, none of the household employment is restricted by wild animal attacks. Their settlements (from the study location in Wayanad) are at a safer distance from forest areas. It is noted that the Aralam farm was having proper electric fencing while it was maintained as a government farm for production. Neither the forest department nor the tribal development affairs department took interest to maintain the fencing after the resettlement of tribal people. Thus, through the dysfunctional areas of fence, elephants and other wild animals began to enter to resettlement land.

*“Elephants and other wild animals are not having proper vegetation and food options inside the Aralam wildlife sanctuary that is why they are coming to farm land for having coconut, pineapple and other food items”,* said by PA of MD, the Aralam Farm corporation.

*“The animals are not getting proper drinking water, and thus they are trying to access to the river in the boundary areas between farm land and sanctuary land. This also tends their frequent visit to settlement area”,* explained it by a non-tribal farm worker.

Showing a family of 6 monkeys sitting on a cashew nut tree which is on its blooming season, the security guard of Aralam farm described *“These monkeys destroy each and everything inside the farm, this has a major contribution in the lessened production”*. Two forest officers stopped the researcher while he was riding a motorbike inside the tribe settlement block in the evening during

one his field work day. They said that “*there is two elephants are roaming around in the 13<sup>th</sup> block area, so we have closed this route, you can go through the other ways*”. Apart from the restriction in accessing employments, this creates numerous other problems which we will discuss under various themes in the coming sessions.

Illness also contributes to the reason for unemployment in both of the study locations, 14.4% and 6.8% respectively from Kannur and Wayanad. The detailed analysis of the morbidity pattern we will discuss in the particular domain. However, it is important to mention that the illness like arthritis, backpain, anaemia etc. prevent people from engaging in economically viable activities in the events it is available. This data was also put for triangulation with the medical professionals working in the areas of both study locations. As the data shows, a larger number of people from the Aralam resettlement area are unable to work due to their poor health conditions in comparison with population from Wayanad. The effective treatment to suppress and ameliorate the most reported backpain and other physical pains are available with traditional tribal health practitioners. These physical conditions are reported to be arisen due to the hard labour in general. Manual labour workers for Wayanad reported of continuing works by taking possible medical and treatment options available to them from traditional tribal health practitioners, while these facilities were not available to people in the Aralam resettlement area.

Another important fact discovered regarding the reasons for being unemployed is that there is a younger section of comparatively educated than their older generation, which is not into any kind of manual labour yet because they are looking for a better job than manual wage works. From Wayanad, there are 19 adults who reported their reason for not working as mentioned above. However, there is no household reported so from Aralam.

Only two families of Paniya tribe out of 67 household surveys conducted in the Aralam farm settlement area are having people working in a professional sector (though unorganized). One of them is a driver working in a school bus while the other is self-owned auto rickshaw driver. The auto rickshaw was given by Panchayat government as the part of employment generation program. The women member of a household own it, and she only has the licence to run it. However, due to severe back pain, she is unable to ride it. Whenever her husband tried to ride it with passengers, the police have caught him for not having a valid driving licence and bribed to escape from cases. When he tried to approach the Panchayat authorities to change the ownership and issue a new

licence in his name, they denied it by saying that the project was formed for the empowerment of women. Rest of the families in Aralam are mainly depended on low paid daily wages for striving their life further. In the non-seasonal period, it is found that their income dip to a pathetic range.

A significant portion of their income is spent for commutation to access various services like PDS, Health institutes, market, work site etc. They are 14 km away from their market, 5 KM away from Sub centre, and have to travel more to reach a hospital with specialty care and IP. It is not always about the distance, it is precisely about lack of any transportation facilities which are convenient for them. They have to spend a minimum of 300 rupees if they want to call an auto rickshaw for accessing market or ration shop. It is creating a serious financial burden for the families as reported by many.

### **Livelihood enhancement programs and Loans: The tribal stories**

The researcher interacted with the various stakeholders of a Grama Sabha that is conducted in Aralam panchayath in which participants of this study were also supposed to attend. When the researcher asked him about the reason for not taking any loans for the last some years, one of the participants from a tribal household, Velli told with hopelessness written large on his face during Grama Sabha and Ooru Koottam (the tribal village committee) that:

“We people (tribes) can access various loans and financial subsidies for enhancing our livelihood. However, when I and many of my known approached the banks and the Panchayath they (the officials) asked us to produce the ‘adhaaram’ (the legal land document) as evidence of property against the loan. However, after 12 years of resettlement, we have not been given our original document to prove our ownership, we have only been given ‘patta’ (possession certificate) which does not prove our permanent ownership to the land where we have been resettled to. The bank says that this is not enough to provide loan since we do not even possess the right to cut down even a single tree from that land. The government authorities tell us to take a loan for enhancing our livelihood, the same government institutes (banks) says that we do not possess the ownership document to avail loan and again the same government is not providing us with the necessary document even after 12 years. What kind of mockery it is sir?”

The same issue was tried to put forward by another tribal member of the re-settled area during Grama Sabha, however not encouraged or given much importance by other participants as well the official authorities.

Every year there is a project under the local self-government to distribute subsidies for poultry farm for the eligible tribal households. Most of the household apply for the scheme with all necessary documents. According to the finance structure of the scheme, 50 per cent of the expense are supposed to borne by the beneficiaries and rest 50 per cent as the subsidy by the government. Four months old 25 chicken of 100 Rs each are distributed under the scheme, so 1250 Rs should be borne by tribal beneficiaries, and the same amount is supposed to be taken as the subsidy by the government. However, none of the tribal households surveyed was able to pay the amount on time, and the scheme was either went laps or people of other communities (non-tribe) got benefitted. The unplanned and unfeasible scheme is going unbenefited for years while it would have been a better livelihood addition for every household of the re-settled tribe if there taken measures.

The researcher had attended a digital financial literacy programme conducted in collaboration with local self-government of Aralam as the part of a Grama Sabha meeting. Generally, the session was included the information on how to do online transactions using online banking services, fixed deposits, cashless purchases etc. What does such a programme mean to a community which does not even have a bank account and surplus to save in it for the so called 'digital transaction' is still to be questioned.

The researcher have met households who have benefited from the livelihood enhancement schemes of the concerned grama panchayaths in the study areas of Wayanad, however, not up to the satisfying quantity, that cannot significantly improve the livelihood condition. The Paniya participants who have cattle in their house owned it through some kind of livelihood enhancement schemes of subsidies. The problems of beneficiaries' contribution also resulted many of them did not qualify for the scheme as it is discussed in the case of Aralam poultry scheme. Apart from that there is a subsidy scheme for the people who have coconut plantation in their land. None of the households in the Aralam are having a coconut plant in their land due to various reasons. In contrast, in Wayanad, every household reported to have matured coconut plants in their land. Some of them are getting subsidies for fertilizer from agricultural department. Notwithstanding, In

general these kinds of schemes are mostly utilized and exploited well by people who are from other communities (tribe) and non-tribe high class communities, as reported by vice president of Aralam Panchayath and Tribal Development officer of Niravilpuzha, Wayanad.

### **No change in government funding for Aralam LGS after the resettlement**

This is something to be considered as very important problem which is explained by the Vice President of Aralam Panchayath as the core cause of severe scarcity of the fund for the development schemes of tribes in Aralam re-settlement area. He said that the fund for tribal welfare distributed by the government (Department of Tribal Affairs) are only enough to look after the benefit of below 20 per cent tribal households in the Panchayath. He alleged that the number of tribal household of the panchayth seen an increase of 5000 household after the resettlement from 2003-2005 period onwards. However, there was no increment in the fund for their welfare proportionately to the increased number of tribal households. And explicating the severe inefficacy of the government, he added that, their welfare fund is being received by the Panchayath of the place in Wayanad where they lived prior to the resettlement about 12 to 15 years back. Despite a number of attempts from the side of Aralam Panchayath there is no actions taken by the Tribal Department to resolve this highly significant issue, told the Vice president.

“The Aralam panchayath have more than ten other tribal settlements to look after, the ‘load’ of tribal people have increased manifold after the resettlement.

There are discussions ongoing for the proposal to increase the fund”, he added.

It was also confirmed from the President and Vice presidents of Panchayat in concerned panchayath in Wayanad that there is no fund deductions happened on the name of resettlement of colony settled tribes to Aralam. They are still availing the amount of welfare fund from state government which proportionate the pre-resettlement tribal household population. The matter is very intense that there is chance of fund lapse in resettlers’ respected panchayaths (prior to resettlement) while there is a significant fund shortages for the welfare activities in Aralam after 2007 large tribal resettlement.

## **Optimism about livelihood and economic life**

A comparison of the future economic-livelihood plans and aspirations of the Paniya tribal households in both study areas help us to understand the optimism and constraints towards life. People of the Aralam are always concerned of the highly shrink economic and occupational options after resettlement, however left with no other options since their settlements are placed in a far distance place from where they can access some new occupational options and various manual labours. Nevertheless, some of them works outside the settlement area for the non-tribes and plantation owners, they are losing a significant portion of their daily wage for the purpose of commutation to their working site, as well as in the form of food (mostly lunch) from nearest restaurants. None of the participants from Aralam settlement expressed an optimistic plan for empowering their economic life or enhancing their livelihood. In the same way, the authorities from the department of tribal development and the grama panchayath neither shared anything to resolve the problem though their development plans and initiative are not actually met its objectives. As the researcher examined last ten years' minutes of the discussion on the various development plans of the working committees in the Panchayath, he understood that in every six months the discussion happens on same plans and projects and never attained any of it except the distribution of auto rickshaw for three Paniya women. Due to lack of follow up and extend of help in the form of services, two of the families who got auto rickshaws are not benefiting from it currently.

Highly contrast to the situation in Aralam, the household of study population in Wayanad showed an optimism in their words about future livelihood plans, especially the youth section of the community. They are hopeful about future possibilities of cultivation of areca nut and cashew. The people in Edamunda settlement areas of Thondarnadu panchayath felt more happiness about the MP funded drinking water project which can also utilized for cultivation in water scares seasons as well as, anticipated by one of the participant. They are expecting a wage hike in coffee and tea plantations in 'Kudagu' district of Karnataka, however the current wages are very low. Many of the tribal households studied from Wayanad reported that they works in Kudagu plantations which is an additional occupational option for many households especially in the seasons of work shortages in their village.



## **Unproductive land which plucked the possibilities at bud; How did they survived the difficult days?**

When compared to people who have resettled from Kannur to Aralam, the Paniya tribes who migrated from Wayanad was given land with zero plants and crops. The earlier were given land with coconut, and some of them got to land with coco and elder cashew plants. However, none of the families of the later section has given land with any income priorities. The government offer was also included 'land with cash crops' would be distributed. However, it did not happen in the case of Paniya communities who came from Wayanad. The total planation of having 7000 acres of land was divided equal, and one part of that was decided to distribute for the landless tribe and maintain another part as a plantation. However, the portion possessed by the corporation was containing most cash crops while tribal-owned land was mostly barren with no plants, especially which owned by Paniya tribes of Wayanad origin. The lessened political power among them to integrate and strive for their right particularly after resettlement resulted in they adjust with this maladies and injustices.

In the earlier days after resettlement, there were no occupations at all for the people. An amount of 3000 rupees per household distributed by the government as an immediate fund for those who resettled was not enough to meet the expenses of transporting materials from Wayanad to Aralam. The families which include infants, children, pregnant ladies, lactating mothers, older and diseased members were accommodated in temporary sheds raised by tarpaulin sheets, and bamboo steams in the absence of a safe a house. Still, some of them are staying in the better version of these kutcha houses.

Many of them worked very hard for the whole day to dig out a medicinal plant's root, cleaned and scratched its skin, then dried it in the sunlight and sold it in the nearest market for buying rice for the day. They remember that they were earned only 70-100 rupees that even not every day. It was highly challenging for them to find a job outside the settlement area since it was very far especially without any transport facility, they were completely outsider and were not given acceptance among other general communities who are settled in the neighboring areas. It was the time for severe hunger and starvation among Paniya resettled in Aralam. Though several years have passed things, have not changed much further with them.

## **Income from cultivation**

Income from cultivation in own land and land are taken for lease (in some cases) have found which helped the household in meeting their financial needs in Wayanad area. The minor amount of cultivation which is mostly consumed at the household level also analyzed as an agent for reducing financial expenditure on food consumptions. They cultivated arum, elephant yam, coconut, rice, jackfruit, a large varieties of vegetables which were utilized for self-consumption at household. Other cash crops like cashew, areca nut, coffee though at minimal amount are cultivated and sold at the market which in many cases reported as supported in their strive for financial stability. In complete contrast to this condition, the Paniya households of Aralam resettlement area are holding land which is not suitable for cultivation due to many reasons. The attempts to initiate vegetable farming for their own consumptions were failed because of water scarcity and wild animal disturbances. So cultivation neither contribute to financial benefits nor support as a source for household consumption. Which ultimately leave the tribe to purchase each and everything from the market. For instance, the people surveyed in Wayanad is self-sufficient in producing coconut for their whole year consumption while people in Aralam are purchasing it from the market or wait for someone to donate them since none of them has a coconut tree grown in their land given for cultivation. A very in-depth analysis can drawn from the very detailed quantitative data on cultivation and consumption in both the Wayanad and Aralam region.

The total number of people have worked with marginally better wages, and income from cultivation, savings out of producing food for own consumption etc have contributed to a significant standard in terms of the economic life of the non-resettled Paniya members in Wayanad. There are wage differences between a tribal and non-tribal worker for the same kind of manual works they do. However, the difference between averages is not as tremendous as it in Aralam. The number of paniya participants utilising employment opportunity in MNREGS is slightly higher from Wayanad while comparing to Aralam. The difference is observed due to long-delayed payment and far distance to the working sites among people of Aralam. Moreover, in terms of the number of days of employment though MNREGS higher among Wayanad region with 90 to 100 days of work while it is less with a range of 60-70 in Aralam. The supervisor and overseers for monitory the scheme and its implementation also include members of Paniya members while in

Aralam none of the members is from their tribe community. The position holders only belong to people from higher socio-economic background communities in Aralam.

There are mainly three shops inside the Aralam premises, and none of them is owned and run by Paniya tribes. One of them is owned by a Muslim family who is illegally holding the land and running the shop inside the Aralam resettlement area. The other two shops run on the name of Kudumbasree units of tribal household (not of Paniya community) but actually owned and managed by people from non-tribal communities who reside outside the settlement area. The fact brought here to analyze that how still outsiders are having economically viable activities inside the resettlement area while the tribal household is leading an utter pathetic economic life.

## RESETTLEMENT IMPACTS ON SOCIAL AND CULTURAL SPHERES

(Domain 2)

Paniya community traditionally observes several rituals and customs despite the degree of changes in the extent of doing it. It is interpreted from in-depth case studies and key informant interviews of the tribal stakeholders, that the resettlement to Aralam from Wayanad has a very significant effect on the endurance of these practices. The foremost reasons for change and loss in practices are reported due to the vicissitudes in the cultivation pattern, financial paucity, deficiency of a particular material and human resources, environment and geographic factors and access to religious systems. The changes have a lot of underpinned effects on the social, economic, political and cultural life of the tribe which leads to affect the psychosocial and -physical health. Attempts are made here to explore the various socio-cultural life events of both displaced and non-displaced tribes and brought forward for comparison.

When a girl attains puberty, the family with close relatives conducts a ritual ceremony called '*thirnadu kallyanam*' to announce the community that she has attained her puberty and come of age. On the day they girl will be taken a bath in fresh turmeric grinded with leaves of various (mention names) medicinal plants (known for preventives to skin diseases and allergies) mixed in warm coconut oil. Some mentioned that they also arrange medicinal steam bath ('*aavikkuli*') as the part of ritual managed with the help of traditional health practitioner (usually prefer females who practice) who have experience and knowledge in it). The ceremony happens on the seventh day after attaining puberty. On the same day, the family invites people of their community and feed them feast called '*sadya*' with numerous locally cultivated items included, which happens during the evening. The relatives or any of the community members usually gifts some new dresses or money to the girl. Unavailability of tender turmeric (in large amount) and medicinal plants due to lack of cultivation leads to tribes dropping the ritual or minimalised its richness in practices. They have forced to shrunken it from turmeric bath to having a turmeric bindi on the forehead, from various medicinal plants in bath water to literally nothing. There are no medicinal plants of their knowledge is grown in Aralam, despite many attempts to grow it in their land turned failure due to many factors from lack of irrigation to wild animals disturbances. These days, they completely depend on the market to conduct the feeding ceremony for the community. Lot varieties of items like roots, green leafy vegetables, were used for cooking on the day. However,

the severe scarcity of these products left the burden on already weak shoulders of the families. Nobody in the community is having savings as cash, purchasing a new dress or gifting some money on the day of the function are skipped from the ceremony part. A community of Paniya tribe usually evolve very organically, which may include 15 to 20 houses which belong relatives. However, when they were resettled to Aralam, the surrounding community was not something that emerged spontaneously. Most of them lived around as neighbours in Aralam are brought from various locations in Wayanad and very rarely that included relatives. So, as to call it their community, in their perspective and terms of very ritual ceremonies like the mentioned one, are supposed to be of a community which only includes relatives. This does not intend to mean that they consider relatives as the part of their community members. However, it depends on what purpose they use the word community or 'our people'. They reported that it was very difficult for them to invite and organize these kinds of functions among peoples who are completely 'unknown' to them and 'none' for the girl. The researcher was invited by a tribal promoter (who belongs to Kurichya tribe community) for the mentioned ceremony in the night time, but people of the family did not seem entertained and interested to engage him in the function. This incident also indicates how uncomfortable they are to expose their customs and very own practices before someone who is an 'outsider' to them. The lack of tribal traditional health practitioners leads to discontinuing their health practices related to the ceremony, like medicinal steam bath linked with puberty ceremony. Many of the tribal traditional health practitioners are in Wayanad, those who are in Kannur districts are only at a far distant from Aralam. None of the family surveyed in Aralam accessed them or consulted practitioners in Kannur in the events of diseases also. Mainly because they are unaware that there are tribal traditional health practitioners available in Kannur district, those are very far away from their settlements, and they do not know whether treatments are similar to what they did in Wayanad. It is least important to test whether researcher intends to portray these rituals (turmeric bath, medicinal bath, serving food with locally available items including bamboo rice etc) as health-oriented or not, as far as the community consider and believe that those traditions which definitely have a greater impact to their daughters. Subsequently, it does not invite the scale of modern standards to evaluate and 'scientifically' prove or disprove the efficiencies of similar rituals in impacting their health.

Paniya community celebrate the end of the harvest season (February month) by a set of rituals called '*ucharal*'. It is a celebration closely linked with the agrarian days of the tribe. The

participants say that in the early years it was celebrated as a three days ceremonies followed by various rituals. It is noted that on those three days no cultivator or labour should touch the soil, it is a rest day for the paddy as well as for the one who works in it. All of the workers (men and women) come together in the field for celebrating their year of harvest. They pray together to their god. In Wayanad, ucharal celebrations are seemed to be hijacked by religious centres of Hindu. Those whoever have little cultivation go to some particular temples (of Hindus) with a portion of their produces and donate there for the God's grace for a better harvest in next year. Others also go to temples and did whatever contribution that they can do. When it comes to Aralam, they do not celebrate 'ucharal' these days. There are no cultivators among them, and there is no temple for them to pray for grace. In earlier days this celebration of harvest happened in the temple called 'Valliyookavu', on the days of celebration the higher caste Janmis brought tribal bonded labours for giving an amount for whole next harvest year. These are the stories talked of by some of the participants who happened to hear it from their parents. Nowadays, it is reported that there is no transaction of labours that happens on 'ucharal' celebration. However, many tribes from the Paniya community in Wayanad visit the temple during those days; they prefer to purchase all their agricultural tools for the next harvesting year from the market, which is only available on celebration days. In Aralam, the extremely fewer number of them prefer to visit 'Valliyookavu', since it is expensive for them to reach and spend one night in Wayanad. Moreover, for a community distanced from cultivations, purchasing tools for it seem to be meaningless.

Ear boring is generally celebrated in the form of a ritual among Paniya tribes when the girl child attains her age 3 to 6. It happens in the houses of the girl with expenses are borne by the maternal uncle or maternal family of the child. The ceremony followed by a feast for all guest among own community and presenting gifts for the child. A gold ear ring is supposed to be brought for the child within some months of the ceremony. It is conducted among resettlers in Aralam but not at its fullest due to mainly because of the financial burdens attached to it. Nowadays it celebrated for the sake of boring ear than a larger get together of relatives and community members. While in Wayanad, the participants said that they are managed to conduct the rituals as they celebrated it in earlier days. *"It happens only one time in her life, the happiest function for our girl, so even if it adds burden still we prefer to celebrate it for her"* said by a mother from Wayanad. It is understood from the conversations that rituals and celebration which calls the relatives and community participation enriched the bond and unity between each family with the surrounding community.

Paniya only preferred to get married among them. It is reported that polygamy is performed hardly while polyandry is not at all have a space in the tribe customs. The bride's family have to be paid in cash, dress, as ornaments, coconut oil and grains by the groom as bride price for the marriage to happen. In many places, it is noted as '*thalappanam*' among Paniya tribe means 'marriage by purchase', it is said by the participants that they perform paying 'bride price' or something that can be called a dowry that paid by groom's family. Apart from that, every year after the marriage, the groom has to pay the bride's parents in cash or rice. The bride's family holds the right to bring her back to her home in case the payments are not satisfactorily or adequately given. The system mentioned above is in all way inverse to the current dowry system performed by the majority of other castes and religions which are essentially burdening the brides' families. So, it is presumed that the births of girl children in the Paniya families were considerably less counted as a financial burden for the family, contrary which creates a support system for the girl's parents in their old age period. The rare instances wherein Indian culture, the girls have considered as the asset instead of a liability. Many of the things given as dowry were produced by the tribe themselves. However, nowadays production of ragi, rice and other spices are comparatively less. Gradually, there is an erosion happened to kinds of these functions among Paniya tribes residing in Wayanad. However, resettled tribes of Aralam, in dearth any cultivation, are already forced to purchase items from the private market for 'bride price' which ruins the purpose of it by adding more financial burdens. Apart from this, many statements indicated that they are away from practising it and instead encouraging a reverse dowry as popular though illegal practices among many of other culture in India.

The rituals follow by the Paniya community after the demise of a family member is called '*ezhampula kazhikkal*' which happens on the seventh-day of death. They follow various sacramental activities throughout a week. All the closest family members and blood relatives would stay together with the whole these days. It is identified by the Paniya members that these rituals adds strength and unity among lost family. It helps them to recover from their bad days, both material and psychologically. The resettled tribes are reported the ceremonies are not happening as it was in their original places. All their relatives are in Wayanad; in many cases, it is difficult for them to travel a long distance to attend the function as well as to stay a week by leaving their home. In the same way, the people of Aralam are not able to participate in these kinds of ceremonies which happen in Wayanad. This has resulted in reducing the bond and affection

between tribes of Aralam and their relatives in Wayanad. Kabani river and the temple of Thirunelli both are in Wayanad is perceived as very divine river among Paniya community members to do their later rituals of their ancestors. It is reported that many of the family members are unable to do their rituals there due to the expenses it calls for as well as the problem in physical access. The tribes of Wayanad is currently practicing all above ceremonies as they were doing in the early days except some variance, however not affecting the whole purposes.

The dropout rate and absenteeism among school going children are very high among Paniya tribes in Aralam as said by the tribal development officer (TRDM) in an interview with the researcher. He said that out of 480 students from various tribal communities around 180 are frequently absent in their classes. Moreover, most of the absent students belong to the Paniya community, referring to a speech he addressed the ‘oorukootam’ meeting on 6<sup>th</sup> March 2018 at the 7<sup>th</sup> block of Aralam resettlement area. The in-depth interviews with Paniya families and key informant interviews include school teachers explicates some of the significant reasons are not about the interest of the students as portrayed by the tribal development authorities rather many causes are enrooted on various social and cultural factors. When compared to other students, Paniya students take a bit more time to understand the basic concepts, said by the school teachers. Moreover, they feel inferior among students of other communities. In the seasons of cashew harvest, children from the Paniya community reported engaging in minor labour activities inside the plantation, some time for a little earning or to help their parents. This was also reported as the cause of absenteeism among children. “In the events of any illness occurring to their parents or relatives (like their grandparents) in Wayanad, the family migrate temporarily to there by which their children miss their class or sometimes drop their classes”, said the teacher.

Meeting a gang of children at the middle of a shrubby forest with an electric lantern in hand: On a field work day, the researcher was travelling to block number 13, on his motor bike. He met four children walking through the path carefully having an electric emergency light in their hand. He stopped and tried to talk with them. When he asked them about the reason why they are not in school on a working day, by raising the lamp, they said that they are going to charge that lamp at TRDM office, which was handed to them a day before as a means for the night light to prevent from wild elephant attacks. The light only means to help in gathering the community members in the events of an elephant attack. They said that for the last two weeks every frequent night the



elephant came to their settlement area from Aralam wildlife sanctuary which is located only 3-4 KM away. Thus, it is their duty to take this lamp every day to the TRDM office for charging it. They showed me a settlement shed near to where we met, which was destroyed by an elephant last night. The psycho-social and political impacts of these very frequent wild animal attacks and disturbances will be discussed in details on other sessions dedicated for it. The reason for putting this experience here is to highlight the fact, that there are many other causes why Paniya children are absent in their classes. Contrast to this, in Wayanad also, there is a significant number of student reported to be absent and dropout in their classes. Major reasons reported by tribal promoters include; inferiority complexes among Paniya tribe students in the competitive educational system. The mother tongue of Paniya is not pure Malayalam, it is known as 'Paniya basha'. So, understanding things in a language which they are not comfortable as other children (even from other tribe communities) makes it a herculean task for Paniya students from early classes. It is a fact that schools offer a platform for integration among students of Paniya and other communities. However, it should be able to study and form actions in order to recognize and resolve the emerging problems most scientifically.

How did they missed various professionals and performers from their community?: Paniya tribe community members performs their own traditional dances, songs and artistic rituals using particular musical instruments (cheeni, thudi, kuzhal etc) during various ceremonies and devotional days as they consider. It is reported that many of these performances are seen a drop after the resettlement mainly due to the lack of skilled performers in the settlement area. The newer generation of the community are not trained or experienced kinds of performances. There are changes also in Wayanad as stated by participants from the study area however the reason for the changes are due cultural acculturation with surrounding community. Like there are many changes in the rituals and ceremonies related to marriage due to the effect of other predominant communities living in the surrounding areas if tribal settlements. The elder people of household reported that the youngsters are shy to perform their cultural festivals and arts forms in front of public especially peoples of other communities. There is no much importance are given to the cultural and artistic performances of Paniya community in the schools and other education institutes where Paniya younger generations are engaged. While, culturally, the performances of other communities are highly entertained and taught through professional institutes the Paniyan's art again subjugated. The situation of Paniyan in study locations in Wayand is not much differ

when we look into the expression of tribal arts and cultural forms. Tribal art forms are presented in the name of tribal tourism. The researcher had visited various tourist spots and parks in Wayanad which offer 'tribal truism', 'tribal dance' etc as some of the main items in the list for the tourist. Their art forms and cultural ceremonies are kept open in front of the non-tribal communities as a means to entertain. When there are presentations of tribe dance, tribe food and showcasing their life through museums as something an exotic kind for the name 'tribal tourism', the tribe are actually losing their cherished art and culture. For instances there are lot of instruments and tools such as bow, arrow, agricultural tools, ornaments, utensils etc in a government museum at KIRTADS, Calicut.

### **Paniya '*Paddies*' became Paniya colonies**

None of the Paniya tribe members liked to call their natural settlements as colonies. Many of them identify that the 'others' (non-tribes) uses the word colony with implications to 'un-cleanliness, dirtiness, cultureless, landless and mostly submissive' settlements. They traditionally call their settlement as '*padi*'. Historically from the period of Britishers their settlements are officially denoted as colonies, even after they were settled in proper places with land. Today, the officials (government departments of forest, tribal welfare etc) as well as the general public are adding 'colony' to their settlement name. For instance, 'Edamunda' is a place of Paniya and Kurichiya settlement in Edavaka grama panchayath of Wayanad district. The official documents and as well as the authorities calls it 'Edamunda tribal colony'. When the researcher asked about it to the Panchayath vice president who have governance duty of Edamunda, said that, usually all settlements in the Panchayath is termed as 'colonies', despite the fact whether they are official colonies or not. Paniya participants doesn't wanted to identify them as people from colonies. Even after the resettlement to Aralam, many of them are known as people of various colonies, for example a group of neighbouring households in Aralam is known as Thachankunnu colony since some of them are resettled from specified colony in Wayanad. British left India in 1947 but the tribes in state are still colonized !.

## POLITICAL LIFE, SELF-GOVERNANCE AND RESETTLEMENT

(Domain 3)

The '*Ooru Koottam*' or the tribal village committee is the modern version of the olden local governance and legislative system among Paniya and various other tribal communities in Kerala. These committees had the right to intervene in disputes among their members, reside over and plan ceremonies and festivals, organizing help towards the common cause etc. Traditionally the committee leader was the head of the village known as 'koyma' or 'mooppan' who was elected by villagers based on various priorities (accessed through an interview with an elder participant from Wayanad). However, the 'Ooru koottam' became the part of the official local government system, it has lost its political power in reorganizing the resources among their members and decide on the matters concerning to their life. These changes are observed both at Aralam and Wayanad regions however the seriousness of functional erosions happened were high in Aralam village committees. The researcher has attended 'oorukoottam' at both study areas, and his observation, as well as interactions with the stakeholders, has confirmed the findings. The village meeting for Paniya community has been conducted with other tribe communities which itself ruins the basic idea of having an 'orru koottam'. The communities like Kurichiya are considered as of higher social order by Paniya communities, and in many instances, it is observed that the earlier dominates the later. Consequently, conducting a village meeting to discuss and plan the welfare and development, with various tribe communities together is not a successful practice. The paniya tribe members are considerably introvert especially in the presence of 'others', and paniya women do not even talk if there are male members from other community. So for the last some years followed after the resettlement, Paniya community of Wayanad origin have not utilized their power in the process of decision making by attending the village committee and participating in the discussions. In contrast with this, the Paniya community studied in Wayanad have their right to conduct separate village committee meetings whenever it occurs to be urgent for them. Only people of Paniya tribe participate and discuss and intervene in the decisions. The political power to negotiate their rights is more visible in the process as the 'mooppan' (tribal head) decide the place and date of the meeting, he decides the agenda for meeting by consulting senior members of the households, he decides who all from outside (tribal development office, grama panchayath etc) to be called for the meeting, duration of the meeting and positively interrogate the decisions of the meeting. With a

severe dissimilarity, the concerned Grama panchayath decides the date and place of the meeting, the tribal development officer and the panchayath ward member decides the agenda of a particular meeting, they decide who all to be given chances for discussion, and they take the upper hand in finalizing the decisions. Even the tribal promoter (TP), the representative, chosen by the tribal development department does not have space his role in talking for the rights and welfare of the community in Aralam. The meetings in Aralam usually conducted near to the settlement areas of Kurichiya communities considering their convenience to attend the meeting while the Paniya community members have to attend the meeting by walking several kilometres resulting many of them who are interested skips the meeting. While the gap between the earlier meeting and the latest meeting in the Wayanad region is four months, it is 18 months in Aralam. All quantifiable information regarding village meeting and participation are collected from 120 households across Wayanad and Aralam study areas which help us to analysis and discuss this part with better inputs.

The researcher also participated in Grama Sabha meetings both study areas in Aralam and Wayanad. It has been found that the participation of people from Aralam is significantly lesser when compared to the proportion of participants from Wayanad due to distinct social, cultural and political reasons. On the day of village committee meeting itself, the tribal promoter informed the participants about the forthcoming Grama Sabha and additionally he said that *“it is not necessary for all of you to come and participate in it, whatever discussed in this meeting (oorukoottam) will only be discussed there (at grama sabha)”*. It is not clear that what was the reason for demotivating the Paniya tribe households from participating in Grama Sabha; however, that was also a cause for them not to participate in it. Secondly, the Grama Sabha meetings are conducted in a location which is more than 10 kilometers away from their settlement. The lack of enough and convenient commutation facilities demotivated many of the households from being part of the meeting especially the expenses for travel was perceived high by them. As the third and one of the most important reasons, the venue of the grama sabha meeting was a conference hall of a Christian church. For people consider themselves as socio-culturally backward of the society was completely uncomfortable to attend a meeting at a religious centre of people who belongs to the socio-economically affluent class. Through probing, questions and in-depth inquires, it is understood that they consider that they have little voice to talk and interrogate with people of other high class, caste (of Hindus) and religion (Christian and Muslims). It was also clearly observed by the researcher and noted that only one person from the tribal community (Kattunaikka) were given

chances to talk about problems related to access bank loan for livelihood enhancement at the end of the grama sabha discussions, however, by that time the panchayath ward member was busy in managing tea and snacks for the participants. Nobody given an ear for whatever said by the tribal member, especially the non-tribal participants were shattered to get their cup tea.

Tribal Promoters are the representatives of a particular community who negotiate directly with the tribal department of the concerned area. Whom will be selected by the department through an interview considering their educational qualification and various leadership qualities. TP work for the tenure one year and renewed based on the decisions the department. For the last six years, the representative tribal promoters for the Paniya community or Wayanad origin in Aralam, are from Kurichiya tribe. The collected information from participants and interviews with various tribal promoters indicates that, in Aralam, the tribal promoters from Kurichiya tribe are not sufficiently able to represent the problems and concerns of the Paniya community. A Paniya member can only be supposed to understand the problems of their community since he/she is closer to their lives as well as to issues faced by them. The possible political agenda behind selecting only people from Kurichiya community as a tribal promoter for an area of Paniya community needs to be studied.

Another important matter, which is similar to the one mentioned above is the selection of 'ooru mooppan', the headman of the village. In traditional communities, the selection was based on the priorities of communities grounded their experience, age and family. However, in contrast to the Wayanad area, the 'mooppan' was selected by the committee of tribal promoters and mostly influenced by government authorities concerned. Moreover, in no cases, the core representative (the headman) of Paniya community cannot be from any other tribe community. However, the 'mooppan' of Paniya tribe in Aralam is from a Kattunaikka community. Apart from all the issues related to the practical impossibilities in perfectly representing the community to the socio-cultural-economical hierarchical difference between Paniyan and 'mooppan', the representative headman is not a regular resident of Aralam. This makes the problem further aggravated. The current headman has his own house and plantations in Wayanad, and he only comes to Aralam on the day of the village committee. He is a much influential person with more economical stability through own better cultivation and plantations. So the question again arises, how can a person who neither belongs Paniya community nor stay with the community is capable of representing their voices in the concerned platforms. They are entirely different from their headman in terms of

social, cultural, economic and political life. In entire contrast to the situation in Aralam, every headman from the study area in Wayanad belongs to the community they are representing.

Aralam resettlement, as far the researcher explored, is a complete unplanned scheme of tribal resettlement, at least in the case of Paniya re-settlers from Wayanad. The initial days from the year 2003, tribes were resettled into this area without any plan for their safe accommodation, safe drinking water, livelihood options, health care, education, transportation, sanitation, safety from frequent wild animals attacks, communication facilities and other infrastructure essentials for a better life. However, still, they have come from a far distance notwithstanding of all sorts of issues. An eighty per cent of the resettled tribes from Wayanad has resorted back to their relatives' houses in Wayanad due to the issues. Brought this to discuss that, there is no political movements or activities are organized by the Aralam re-settled tribes despite numerous socio-economic and political issues. They have reported that the unity and strength among them have been decayed after resettlement. They have come from various houses, various settlements and with various experiences. Generally, their networks are more vibrant between their relatives, and they feel more united with them. Resettlement has resulted in trashing their social capital by distancing them from their strong networks. Consequently, the strength for uniting against the common causes was declined overtime and did not see any protest or agitations against any issues post-resettlement period. For instances, there is no Anganwadi and ASHA worker dedicated to the people in Paniya settlement in Aralam. Every household when interviewed wished to have a centre in their area. However, none of them is ready to raise voice for their need through village committee meeting or at Grama Sabha. There are very frequent attacks of wild animals including elephants which resulted in losing the life of 7 and numerous injuries. The elephant wall and electric fencing to prevent the entry of wild animals to resettlement areas are not functional. The researcher himself scene an elephant in a people living area on a fieldwork day, and forces from forest department were trying to bring elephants back to the sanctuary, which is only 4 KM away from peoples settlements. Still, no one from this community protested or raised any actions against their problems. The study area in Wayanad has witnessed numerous mobilizations and protest in the last 15 years for the reasons includes land right, availing a public crematory ground for Paniya community, for having an anganwadi centre, for considering Paniya members into the list of beneficiaries for housing scheme etc.

In many instances, the researcher noted that the resettlement areas of the Paniya settlement in Aralam are referred to as 'tribal colonies'. How come it can be termed 'colonies' even after providing an acre of land for each family for the purpose of housing and cultivation?. After the first visit, the researcher understood that the reason for this denotation. The houses in the settlement area were built in a colony model. In every 10 cents of land, there was one house built, and their land for cultivation is 2 to 3 km away from their houses. The participants said the researcher that they did not give any priority by the government authorities neither in deciding the land nor choosing how that should be divided as cultivation land and homestead land. Which ultimately left the houses similar to the colony type and the barren land of 90 cents as uncultivated. When the researcher inquired about it at TRDM office, they said that the representatives of political leaders in Wayanad asked to distribute the land in the mentioned way by referring "paniya communities wished to live in colonies". However, every household denied by stating that it is not their wish to live in colonies but the circumstance raised by the government itself is causing them to live in the colonies for years whether it is in Wayanad or Aralam.

The land in the resettlement area was not physically demarcated to the tribal people who came from Wayanad instead it was demarcated with location identification (geographical location numbers) numbers in the land document called '*patta*'. This information was not in the case was enough to physically identify and understand the boundaries of the land. It took years for the household to identify their land in some instances. That developed some uncertainty among those who raised their temporary houses and also frequent clashes among them on the base of land boundaries. There are still households in Aralam who do not know the precise location and boundaries of the land given for them to cultivate. This incident indicates that how they were subjugated in all possible ways by downing them without giving their land with fullest tight over it. This subjugation is also analyzed as the cause of deteriorated unity and cohesion among resettlers.

To exemplify how political power and unity among Paniya community members are resulted to deteriorate though series of experiences from displacement to resettlement, the researcher brings his field engagements with some of the households who gone through multiple displacement and resettlement. It was reported by some of the Paniya households from Aralam that they have been earlier displaced from Wayanad and resettled to Narendra Dev Tribal Colony which is located in

Calicut district. That is a resettlement project area run by the state government that situated in Muthukad. Under the resettlement project, one acre of land was distributed to each displaced Paniya tribes families from Wayanad district in the year 1980. Moreover, additionally, 2.5 acres of land was later distributed to each family for the purpose of ‘social farming’. Earlier, the area was rich with forest resources and the settlers were having access to the forest areas of Wayanad since it is on the border area of two districts. However, the same place currently looks like a private rubber estate. The unchecked encroachments and exploitations by non-tribal members had left the Paniya re-settlers as landless again. Instead of restoring the lost land from encroachers, the government decided to resettle the tribe members to Aralam by giving one acre of land to each family. They are the visible victims of multiple displacement and resettlement. The researcher has paid a visit to the stated area for understanding the multilayered problems reported in detail and met various stakeholders concerns to the issues, including the resettled tribal members, non-tribal settlers (illegal migrants to resettlement areas), scheduled tribe promoter of the area and Gram Panchayat members who once involved with the issues. Re-settlers were from Wayanad and border areas of Calicut, who lost their traditional land due to the state government’s notification of reserved forest land. Each family was given 1 acre of land and later 2.5 acres additional for social farming. Currently, the number of families is reduced to 15. Tribal land alienation by people from plain areas for the cultivation of rubber and developing private estate is stated by tribes as the reason for leaving the resettlement area. Each house of the tribal family in the colony were surrounded by rubber plantations. These plantations are under the ownership of people from plain areas, who brought land from tribal people, which is legally not possible. Non-tribal people from the plain areas also migrated to colony areas with their families and built houses in the resettlement area. Discussions with them explicit that the land belongs to them was purchased from tribal people, and they hold the legal papers as proofs for showing the authenticity of ownership. The tribal people were having a place of worship close to the forest area, which was under the resettlement area. After the migration and interference of non-tribal Hindu settlers, they have built a new temple (bigger in size) according to their beliefs, in the earlier ‘worship land’ of resettled tribes. This should be considered as the alienation of tribes spiritual places. No drinking water and sanitation facilities for the colony people even after 37 years of resettlement. No houses were electrified. Those houses of non-tribal migrants were electrified and given sanitation facilities. The hospital facilities are very far from the colony. Three tribal families out of seven who left the



resettlement area were shifted to Aralam tribal resettlement area. They are the victims of dual displacement and dual resettlement. Earlier displaced from Wayanad district and resettled in Muthukad resettlement, later displaced from there and resettled in Aralam tribal farm. If earlier the displacement was due to the government intervention, later it was due to the exploitative interference of non-tribal migrants. Tribal members become scapegoats in many criminal activities like killing wild animals, felling forest woods, local preparation of alcohol etc done by the non-tribal settlers as well as people from the plain areas. It was in 2010 the Muthukad Panchayat given complaint to Registrar and district Collector on the illegal registration of tribal land to non-tribes. The panchayat also insisted in their complaint for reallocation of lost land for tribal in the resettlement area. However, the inquiries ordered by the Collector and Tahsildar after a field visit in Narendra Dev Tribal Colony did not reach anywhere.

## PHYSICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WELLBEING

### (Domain 4)

This portion of the data chapter deals with the health status and allied information collected to examine with the other three domains of life of the study population we had discussed in the earlier parts. As the study intended to look at the impact of economic and livelihood, social and political consequences on the health of the study population, the objective and methodology guided to collect necessary health related information to suffice the purpose of compare and contrast health status among study population. Since, through the inquiry utilizing various data collection methods, suggested by the methodology for conducting the study, the researcher had collected data on self-reported morbidity, qualitative data on 4As (availability, affordability, accessibility, acceptability) of health care services, social determinants of health, health care expenditure and anthropometric measurements.

#### **Health care services and utilization**

The hospital, which is specially dedicated for the tribal people, named as the ‘Tribal Ayurveda hospital’, comes under the Indian system of medicines of AYUSH. It is the only tribal Ayurveda hospital running in the district under the district medical office, Kannur.

*“However the name indicate the hospital is dedicated for serving the tribal people, there is no relation it have with the traditional medicinal practices of tribes. The diagnostic, treatment and medication are completely based on Ayurveda”,* said Medical officer, Tribal hospital, Aralam.

*“A very less number of patients from the Aralam resettlement area utilizes our services, I hope because of the distance for them to access it and also the expenses they have to bear for commutation, many were not opting this service”,* added by the MO.

She also mentioned about the traditional health care practices among the tribal people when the researcher asked about the traditional health care practitioners and service utilizers among tribal

community, stating “Yes, we also noticed that there are healers and quack health practitioners among tribal people. Some of them pretend as they use Ayurveda medicinal plants and herbs for treating illnesses”.

The hospital is also utilized by members of other community in the area. The researcher had interaction with the patients and service beneficiaries who were present during the field visit to the hospital. They reported that they used to utilize the services regularly.

*“Since it is the closest hospital to our house and the medicines are completely free of cost, we do come here for any kind of ailments. The Ayurveda medicines provided here will cost huge if we buy it from private medical shops or from any vaidyar (traditional Ayurveda practitioner. The only problem we face here is that the doctors keeps changing”,* said Chathunni, 59 (who belongs to a non-tribal community).

*“In the month of Karkkidakam, many people consult doctor here for availing thailam and kuzhamp (medicinal oils) for doing seasonal ‘sukha chikithsa’ (preventive therapy using Ayurveda medicines and controlled diet)”* said Gopalan, 63, who regularly utilize the services provided by the hospital.

However, none of the participant from Aralam resettlement area reported that they have availed it for these kind of treatment. Paniya respondents from Aralam farm reported that they are not a regular beneficiaries of the dedicated tribal Ayurveda hospital situated in Aralam due to various reasons.

*“I know that there is an adivasai hospital there in Aralam panchayath where we get Ayurveda medicines at free of cost. I have never been to there because it is far from our settlement area. However the medicines are free, we have to spend for the transportation from our hand. And that would cost much for us. There are no public transport facilities available for us to commute between the said hospital and farm (settlement)”,* said Kamala, 38.

Similar comment about the accessibility issue reported by another respondent,

*“We have to spend more than 350 rupees to commute between our houses to the hospital. And there is no convenient transportation facilities even if have turned up to go.”* Said Shoba, from Aralam.

Distance and the lack of transportation facilities are reported by various respondents as the cause for lack of utilization of the said services. However, the issue of physical accessibility is not the only reasons reported. The Paniya tribal members of Aralam are less acceptable towards the Ayurveda system for particular kind of diagnostic and treatment methods based on their experiences and belief.

*As Chenkan reported, “The hospital might be of adivasi’s name however the doctors are not from our community and the medicines provided are not of tribal medicines. Many (non-tribes) from other district come to Wayanad for accessing tribal vaidyan (traditional tribal health practitioner) and medicines. And here in Aralam government is providing the tribal ‘normal Ayurveda’ not the ‘tribal Ayurveda’”.*

It is indicating the acceptability of the Ayurveda health care institution among tribal community. It is not mean to state that the Paniya community members doesn’t accept the Ayurveda system of health care, however, for particular kind of illness and diseases they precisely prefer their traditional system of health care over Ayurveda.

*“it may not shine in the attractive glass bottles with sticker (label), but much more enough to get rid of your illness”* said Babu, 34 when asked about the traditional tribal health care.

*“The kuzhamp and thailam (medicines in the form of oil) provided in the Aralam hospital as well as from the Keezhpally Ayurveda dispensary is not efficient at all when compare to the Choppan’s (tribal traditional health practitioner) handmade oils. He is blessed by god to treat, he got talented from his father. There is a difference between medicinal knowledge you learns from books and learns by doing. I believe from my experiences that our medicines (tribe’s medicines) is much more effective, at least to our body and kinds of illnesses we face”,* Balan said.

Arun from the Aralam resettlement area was taken to a traditional health practitioner from a tribal community in Wayanad who provide specialized care for bone fracture, persistent muscle and body pain. He had a bone fracture in his right hand after met with a motor bike accident. The researcher met him during the household survey and interacted with him regarding the kind of medication he taken. The accident happened while he was in Aralam, however was taken to the tribal health practitioner in Wayanad believing that the ‘proper care’ was provided by them.

*“the plastering and other medications provided in the Periya hospital (Government allopathic hospital) may solve the problem temporarily but the pain and stretching issues will recur after some age. We have seen it with many of our people, especially during the cold (winter) seasons, the pain recure”*, said Arun.

It is not the single case of Arun. There are many respondent reported that they believe in the traditional care when it comes to certain kind of illnesses. The *ottamoopli* (one time medication) medicines for asthma and other breathing related illness provided by various tribal health practitioner in Wayanad. Raju, the current tribal promoter (belongs to Kurichiya tribal community) of the area reported having severe breathing problems in the earlier days after resettlement, in the winter season.

*“I tried to treat by consulting doctors in Keezhpally hospital as well as in Periya government hospital (both are in Kannur). There was no significant improvement in the condition after taking medicines properly as directed by the doctors. The difficulties were hidden by the medicines however resumed once the medicines were finished. We had so many traditional health practitioners among our community, however, not available in Aralam. I consulted one of them in Nellikkunnu area once I went to Wayanad for some other matter. I took it (medicines) three consecutive days as suggested by him (the practitioner) and I was perfectly okay afterwards. I never had the issue after that, even in the winter seasons”*, Raju said. *“It doesn’t mean that I never consulted allopathic doctors after that, but what I mean is, for some kind of illnesses the tribal medicines are highly efficient than allopathic medicines. I have many experiences to substantiate that”*, He added.

*“I never come across any kind of ottamooli (medicines that are said to be taken only one time or maximum three days as said by the traditional health care practitioner from Wayanad) in Ayurveda. Ayurveda also become like English medicine (allopathic system). Why because, we have to take the medicines just to suppress the pain (mean to symptoms) for temporarily. However when we stop the medicines, the problem recur. In our medicine (tribal system) you will find a lot of ottamoolis that are hundred percent guaranteed to completely cure your illness. That are not suppressors but medicines to treat your problem for the life time”* said Asokan with a proudness in his face.

There is no single traditional tribal health practitioner, who currently practices medicine, available in the tribal resettlement area in Aralam. Since, all the interviews with the tribal traditional health practitioners took place in the Wayanad except an interview with a practitioner from Aralam who currently discontinued practising due to various reasons. The list of the traditional health practitioners were collected from the directory prepared by KIRTADS, Calicut. Also identified some of them from the information provided by the respondents of household survey conducted.

*“the restrictions put by the forest department and the strict procedures for availing the permission letter to access the forest for collecting raw medicinal plants and other ingredients for making medicines becoming a serious problem for me and other practitioners nearby. Despite taking permission, many times we get harassed and threatened by the authorities. They set unnecessary time limit for us and limit out entry to some areas. Sometimes you are not sure that how much time you may need to find and collect certain leafs and plants”,* said Chelan vaidyar from Wayanad.

*“how can I practice medicines in the mere absence of medicinal plants?, I was forced to stop doing it...I was not doing it as a complete profession however the purpose was to serve the people with the knowledge and skills that I have got transferred from my father and grandfather ....I had never charged any fees for the medicines or for the kinds of services that I provide. Whatever the patients provided according to their ability was accepted. I was keeping in touch with many other practitioners, even from other community members (including other*

*tribal communities). However, thing got completely changed after resettled to Aralam. There is scarcity of medicines in this land (Aralam). A very very few number of plants are available here that doesn't even count to the five percent of the required raw medicines essential to prepare drugs for the treatment",* Baskaran, the one and only traditional health practitioner from Aralam stated.

**The mobile medical unit; Presented as an *ottamooli* (single ingredient medicine) for all health concerns of resettled tribes**

A jeep with the name board written 'mobile medical unit, Aralam' was moving through the roads leading to various settlements in Aralam. The driver keeps honking continuously to inform the people (resettled to various settlements) that they (the medical team) are arriving. The researcher followed the vehicle once it moved towards 'Kuttappan' colony in the 7<sup>th</sup> block of Aralam where the settlers are Paniya tribes from Wayanad. There is a significant distance from their settlement houses to the road where the mobile unit vehicle can reach. Very few number of patients reached to the road by rushing though the slippery paths that connect the gut road to their settlement 'colony'. The doctor started diagnosing, however, sitting inside the vehicle. A mother with a small baby boy in her hand was also there to consult the doctor. The scorching summer shine was burning the patients while the doctor and team was inside, with more comfort. The doctor started diagnosing the boy keeping the stethoscope out through the window while the mother held her son at a height. The scene was highly dissatisfying due to the visible immense distinction between the service providers and the beneficiaries.

*"The mobile medical service was never utilized by those who cannot reach the road during the visit of the medical unit. It is very difficult for us to reach on time. On some expected days they may skip the service. We might be waiting them after taking a full day leave from thozhilurapp (MNREGS) or woks (minor) in the farm. The information (regarding off days) was never passed to us",* said Chandrika.

The respondents reported that the services were irregular. When the researcher expressed dissatisfaction about the way these medical services was provided on the road, Chathu responded by saying that

*“the adivasis (tribes) are born to run after government services like these (medical unit). However we run, we get the least of what we actually deserves to get”.*

Some doesn't access the service despite having illness condition, saying

*“why we need to get these tablets every week when the reliefs are very temporary? The medicines are not sustainably helping me to rid off my knee pain. I used to get medicines from them (medical unit) in the earlier days however stopped because there was improvement in the condition as well as due to the stomach ache that I started developing after consuming these english (allopathic) medicines regularly. Our pachamarunnu ('green medicine'-meant to denote tribes traditional medicine) is not having any side-effect like these because it is made from the nature”, Velan.*

Some others who utilize the service were women who reported having anaemic health condition. The medical unit provides iron tablets those who reported having the problem. There was a 'mega medical camp' conducted by the block medical office of the area. There were a significant number of women and adolescents girls identified with having serious anaemic conditions. The strategies developed to compact were providing 'awareness on nutrition', distribution of iron tablets etc. The inquiry regarding whether they have enough nutritional food available to consume was out of consideration by any agency. What changes the so called 'awareness' could create in a society where there is lack of food to consume. The iron folic acid supplementation was the product of those findings during the medical camp. Many were consuming it for years, however, no visible change in the health condition. They also get 'advice' to have proper nutritional food while taking the medication. Some of them have stopped taking the tablet,

*“we know that it doesn't going to create any magic. We are worn-out and deteriorated not because that we are lacking iron but food”, Kani said.*



Despite recognizing the severe malnutrition and anaemia among women and children, the government and the concerned departments are not effectively tried to implement any actions that truly resolves the conditions.

*“I used to take the tablet, for long. Later stopped taking it as many of my neighbour also did. Why we need to take it when there is no change?. If we consult for any other ailments then the medicine are only available in the pharmacy (of PHC) or we many need to go to Keezhpally (for buying medicine from private medical shops). However, they (the medical unit) always have a good stock of this miracle tablet (iron folic acid)”*, Ashitha said with laugh.

*“Whatever they advertise as the mobile medical services, we get only very few. We were made to consult for some particular illness. The services is not enough at all as you can observe that many of our people might be suffering with various conditions (health), however they did not consulted the doctor, why? Are we beggars on the roadside to get treatment and medicines at road?. Do you think that the girls and women, and even men, get enough privacy to consult a doctor on an open place like road?”* said Chandrika Balan, 42.

### **Self-care preventive and promotive healthcare practices and treatments**

The said *sukhachikilsa* is also done among Paniya community, but they utilizes other kind of medicines and services of tribal traditional practitioners. In Wayanad, the respondent reported that they practices the *Karkidaka chikilsa* (the said preventive medicines during the month of Karkkidakam). None of the respondent neither from Wayanad nor from Aralam reported that they do *uzhichil* (full body oil massage) during the period as people of other community often prefer to do as the part of preventive health practices. However, the respondents from Wayanad said that they get *tharimarunnu* (medicinal dried wooden and shrub pieces), *thailam* and *kuzhamb* from their local tribal health practitioners for doing oil massages and steam/medicinal bath at home.

*“we were also doing kind of karkkidaka uzichil from our Vaidyan in the earlier time. But nowadays it is very costly to do from them since they have*

*very good number of good customers from other community and even from other district. Everything becomes packages and business these days which are not affordable for people like us. So we try to do it at home, however less benefit it would serve.”* Said Velan 61.

‘Pathilakkari’ (ten kind leaf dishes), a diet practice observed among Paniya community is identified during the Malayalam month of Karkkidakam “The last three months in the year, *idavam, midhunam and karkkidakam* the rainy months are also known as ‘*panja*’ masam, to mean the months of scarcity, especially the last one when there were rain for continues five to six days. The gap between rains called *idachorcha* was used to collect leafs for making ‘*curry thoran*’. Ten leafs were said to be utilized in good amount to balance the ‘*kitchen economy*’ as well due to the importance of including the green leafy food during those seasons. *Thaalu, thakara, thazhuthama, kumbalam, mathan, vellari, cheera, chena, thoova, neyurni* are the leaves used during this period. The leaves I mentioned are considered to provide ‘good health’. Apart from that, some people also use *keezharnelli and mukkutti* which are essentials for many medicines that we prepare. It is said that our body and mind are ready for a refreshment during these months or reasons. Both requires rest and piece for a better restart” Said Cheruma Sankaran, a traditional tribal medicine practitioner from Paniya community in Wayanad.

The respondents from Wayanad reported that they still continues to practice these traditional preventive treatment and medicinal diets during the month of Karkkidakam. “We are not practicing it as we were doing it in the earlier time, however, we do it. Additionally we also consume ‘*uluva kanji*’ (a dish prepared by adding various been and pulses) and horse gram with jaggery. We believe and said that during these months, our muscles get slacken and our body is highly efficient to absorb the food we consume. Nowadays things are totally changed, even the climate. Now people get sweat in the month of heavy rain, Karkkidakam” expressing less satisfaction in the practices and sad about the changes in the climate that adversely affect the human kind, said Radhan 58 from Thondarveed colony.

*“For minor boil and burns we used to have a homemade and highly efficient medicine at every house. This was prepared with the ghee which was present in the desi (local) chicken. We collect the ghee and boiled it to bottle. This was usually stored inside the kitchen for ready use. We doesn’t do that, the said is not*

*available these days. Nobody grows chicken here and may be because no one is much interested or aware of these kinds of things”, said Peruma, 64 from Aralam farm.*

## **Psychological Wellbeing**

In the recent years there are numerous attempt from various sources to tag the tribal victims of poverty and marginalization as ‘mentally ill’ or people with ‘psychological abnormalities’. The killing of Madhu, a tribal person from Attappady tribal area in Kerala is an example to the said. A group of people murdered him for stealing negligible priced grocery items from a shop in the periphery area of Attappady, Palakkad district. It is said that he took it for own consumption out of severe hunger and poverty. The people and the government easily forgets the core reasons; dispossession of land, unemployment, malnutrition, hunger, discrimination etc that leads someone like Madhu to take such actions to survive his or her life. Neither the civil society nr the government seemed genuinely worried about the shrinking of total constituted tribal population of his Attappady from 90.26% to 34% respectively from the year of 1951 to 2011. Portraying tribal victims as mentally ill or ‘mad’ became the easiest option to hide the structural inequalities and system failures.

This portion of the data chapter is about the psychological impacts of the displacement and resettlement is an unpretentious attempt to explore the mental health issues concerning to the Paniya tribal members through in-depth case studies. So the analysis and interpretation of this data made by utilizing the comparative framework is not in any way intended to help the ongoing social control of the participant tribal households by terming them as psychologically unfit. However, the intention is to understand the effects of traumas and various violence on the psychological wellbeing of the Paniya tribal households originated from the historically continuing socio-economical marginalization and appropriation of their resources.

The people who had gone through miseries and tragic situations in their life are left with a long-term effects on their psychological wellbeing. The status of Paniya resettled to Aralam from Wayanad are not differ in any case. Many of them have faced the intense forms of physical violence and tortures including sexual exploitations, economic exploitations, etc had precipitated

various psychological conditions among them, especially among the weaker sections of the community including the children, women and elder households. The impacts of forced displacements on the mental health of the tribal participants are explored through various methods of data collection which clearly indicates that the impacts are significant and multi-faceted in nature.

There were various methods and attempts made by the private stakeholders and government in order to displace the Paniya communities from their land. The case of households who were forcefully displaced from their ancestral land in then Thondarnad panchayat by the Christian invaders is an example to expose how physical violence staged by police and other authorities which helped the outsider to displace the tribal from their land (This case is detailed in the earlier portion of data chapter which is related to displacement). Similar cases of physical atrocities also reported by the households who were displaced from Karappuzha during the dam project period as well as the project extension period. “We were also beaten and threatened of physical violence even by other tribal communities. The authorities and political party were in favor of the tribal communities which is far better off than us (Paniya) people. Though we were the earlier settlers in the area, very few from our community got land as part of the resettlement project. However, majority of those who got land were from scheduled caste who were not originally lost any land in the area. And some tribal households also got land. The authorities turned this other caste and tribe people who got benefitted, against we people, when people from our community started questioning this disparity and asked for considering our name for resettlement project inside Wayanad district” Chenkan (58 year old), adding to the various experiences of Paniya tribal communities became victims of physical atrocities and exploitations.

The incidences took place in Kellur tribal area in Vellamunda panchayath of Wayanad is an example to show the intensity of physical atrocities that the Paniya households gone through in order to protect their right of over their community owned land. The *ooru mooppan* (tribal leader) said that the higher caste people took over the public cemetery land of tribal though a gradual dispossession. The resistance raised by the tribal community in the settlement area were frequently repressed by the higher caste people by employing physical violence as well as government supported threatens. Though the tribal community were successful in reacquiring their right over the specified land, they had to go series of panic and traumatized situations.

There are cases reported of physical assaults of Paniya tribal labours happened in the plantations, estates and in other locations of their livelihood engagement including agriculture. During the fieldwork period there took an incident of murder of a tribal plantation worker who is settled in a colony called Kenichira in Wayanad. Though the evidences pointed on the chances of suicide it is later found by the investigation team that it was a planned attack for the frequent agitations by the worker for increasing the wage. Similar cases of physical assaults and economical exploitations are also reported by the households during the study. “Sir, have you ever heard of reducing the wage due to whatever the reasons”?, Umeshan (37 year) asked prior to sharing his experiences. He works in the coffee plantations in Wayanad as a daily wage labour. “I’m a pruning expert in the field of coffee plantation. Very less people get expertise in this area since it needs lots of training and it comes with heavy risk and responsibility when compared to the other kinds of work in the field of coffee plantation. For the purpose we were also paid bit better than other workers. But nowadays the company reduced our wage stating that the company is facing problems in market or market is down. When we, the workers, asked to take decisions to improve our wages the authorities in company threatened us by saying that if we are not ready then they will get hundred slaves like us”, he said. Through slavery is abolished by law, the conditions of plantation workers are somewhat similar to slavery with kinds of threatens and lack of plausible employment options. For the same kind of works, a non-tribal member get better payment. These long period physical violence and assaults

### **Addictions**

The tribal households despite of the study area, are addicted to various kinds of habits includes alcohol, tobacco chewing and smocking. If in earlier time they reported to use areca nut and palm, toddy for addiction but these days they use foreign liquor. In both cases the source of the addictions are mostly reported as employer or owners of plantations. In the past, during the time of feudal system, alcohol was supplied to their labours in order to maximize their work output, to work extra time and in some it was distributed in place or as part of their wage. In the case of Aralam, most of the household have at least one person who is addicted to alcohol. They reported to have this habits before the resettlement took place, however increased the frequency of consumption only after started working in private plantations near Aralam settlement. After resettlement they were employed on cashew plantations under very low wage but were additionally given the perks of

alcohol. Consequently many attracted towards these underpaid manual labour as well as addicted to alcohol. The youngest generation of Paniya community from Aralam resettlement is also reported to have addictions.

### **Mistrust and doubtfulness**

Every social and cultural institution of the Paniya tribe community were seen a significant change after the displacements occurred from their original land. Most of them have gone through number of situations where they experienced kinds of deceptions and victim of fraud actions by non-tribal members, government authorities and as well as political parties. These long term experiences precipitated the condition of mistrust and suspicion towards the outsiders (official government authorities, political representatives, religious leaders, community representatives from other community) among the Aralam resettled Paniya tribe households. They have lost their faith in many of the social and administrative structures, however, so called democratic ways they operates. Because, the long years of their experiences taught them differently.

They express doubt and mistrust since they were habituated to experience it from the every non-paniya community, every other stakeholders.

*“...after the resettlement to Aralam farm, we were studied by a number of researcher for government. We have explained to them the each and every problems we faces here. Sir, till today, we were not benefitted from surveys and studies like this. Either they are reporting to the government some other stories or they government is not interested and hopeful about our life after the resettlement...”* (said Muthi, 62).

This is what the researcher told by one of the household who is settled nine years back to the Aralam farm. Many of them were suspicious about the intention of the researcher’s visit to the area. They said that they were never benefitted out of these kinds of studies. They believes that if the outputs of these studies were utilized properly during the program planning and implementation then their life would have been entirely different.

*“...we were used to go for the oorukoottam (tribal meeting) and gramasabha meeting. But at the end all the programs and fund were given to other religious communities who are already rich. We always necessitated our basic needs during the meetings but when programs are implemented none them were satisfied our needs. So nowadays many of us are not hopeful about these processes which are only conducted for the sake of conducting or for the purpose of having government documentation, nothing for betterment in our misery life conditions...”* (Balan, 46).

Keeping apart from the impact of displacement and resettlement on the political conditions of the resettled tribes which we have discussed under the concerned domain, there are severe implication on the political participation of these households due to the mistrust and lack of faith in these democratic process. The erosion of tribes faith in the political systems including the one which they pretended to be standing for their rights also said as double-dealer by the community members. *“none of us said that we need houses that to be build in the colony format like what many of us were owning in Wayanad”*, Kamala (42 year old) and many other households from Aralam expressed the similar concerns. *“We thought there would be an end for calling us colony paniyans after the resettlement from colonies in Wayanad to Aralam. But see what happened !. We became the new colony paniyan in this new area”*, Sunitha (36 year old) expressed her disappointment. Colony system is not the actual housing system of Paniyan. It is the government which limited our life into colony settlement and called us the colony Paniyan, she added. However, as the TRDM director said during the oorukoottam meeting, some of the movement and political leaders who pretend that they are working hard towards the rights of the landless tribal communities were interested in creating a colony type housing system in the new resettlement area (in Aralam farm) which created many practical problems in our agricultural system. Due to the problematic visions set behind having colonies in Aralam, all of the resettled households were given their 90 cents land (90 percent of the land given to one family) were allocated at a distant location from the constructed houses for dwelling. None of the household stated that they were given choice to select their desired location for settlement and land for agricultural purpose. They were not consulted before allocating the land for dwelling in the form of colony type, like the one which they had in Wayanad. Due to these experiences too they had lost their trust towards the

political organizations and its leaders which are many a times highlighted for their actions towards the rights of tribal people in the state.

All tribal households who were resettled to the Aralam farm were promised the provision of employment under the Aralam farm corporation limited, at least for one member from every households. This attracted many households who were initially were not ready for the resettlement plan outside Wayanad district. But in reality none of the households from the Paniya community who were resettled from Wayanad were given employment under the Aralam farm corporation limited. This single incident itself raised the suspicion and mistrust among the resettled households towards its government. As it rightly expressed as, “we people are cheated by many during our times in Wayanad, and it continues even after the resettlement” said Kannan, 56.

“It is the 4<sup>th</sup> year that the government (Aralam panchayat) is coming with a poultry farm scheme for the tribal people in Aralam farm resettlement area. Every year a good number of people apply for the scheme and none of us were eligible since we couldn’t pay the beneficiaries contribution of the scheme which is the 25 percent of the total fund. The tribal household can’t raise that much amount (Rupees 1800) for contributing to the scheme. And every year these schemes were given to households from other religious group or other tribal communities who can afford to pay the contributory amount. This is happening for the last some years and our tribal members are fed up now that they are not interested in these kinds of show offs by Panchayath just to pretend that they are planning for the tribes during Gramasabhas, but implementing it for others”, Said Sunila, 38 (who were once the tribal promoter from 2/7<sup>th</sup> block of Aralam resettlement area). These kinds of frequent experiences helped in developing a hopelessness and strong faithlessness among the resettled households.

There is injustice played in the allocation of resettlement land happened in the case Paniya households who got resettled to Aralam. When compare to the other tribal groups who got resettled to Aralam various parts of Kannur itself were given much more viable land for agriculture as well as in terms of many other reasons. A large majority of the household who were part of the household survey indicated that they are not happy at all about the differential treatment by the government authorities in deciding location for settlement. Which also added to the reason for developing anger and a kind of inferior complex among Paniya households. The advances that the other tribe given and disadvantages that the Paniya households given were explicitly visible in the



socio-economic and political status of both communities. So, the kind of land which were distributed itself played a major role in the long run of both communities, disappointingly differently. So the anger and the inferior complexes during the earlier time of resettlement got intensified over time.

### **ASHA Workers**

“Either there is no Asha worker assigned to the area or the assigned Asha worker is not doing their duty properly. I haven’t seen any Asha worker visiting our settlements, not even for one time”, complained Girija from Aralam. Many respondents from Aralam reported that they have never availed any services through the Asha worker. “I had remember that only once I met her during an immunization camp at the dispensary” said Ambili, however she reported that the worker have never visited the settlement area according to her knowledge for any kind of survey or documentation, village sanitation purposes or any kind of health related matters that are supposed to be their duties.

The tribal promoter of the area reported that there is only one asha worker for the large number of the blocks under the resettlement area in Aralam farm. So the assigned is overloaded with duties and responsibilities that is out of her limit. “Especially, the area of 7<sup>th</sup> ward were Paniya tribal population from Wayanad are resettled to, is geographically tough to reach due to the terrain portions and without a private vehicle. Even if we have own vehicle many settlement is not having road connections. That is also a problem for her (ASHA worker) to reach the particular settlements (Paniya settlements in 7<sup>th</sup> block) you (the researcher) are talking about”, said the Tribal development officer, TRDM, Aralam. “...however, I believe that she is able to manage her duties through other representatives and tribal promoter employed there”, he added.

When the researcher inquired with the primary health centre at Keezhpally under which the Aralam resettlement area is coming, the CMO reported that there is an Asha worker assigned for the tribal households settled in the resettlement areas in Aralam. And ensured that she will investigate if there is any issues relating to the complaint made by the beneficiaries. She also informed the researcher that there would be a posting of five new ASHA workers from the tribal communities

itself in the coming days. The candidates are already selected for the purpose and the necessary training would be provided accordingly.

Due to the unavailability of the current Asha worker for conducting an interview with her, the researcher had a telephonic conversation for collecting information from her.

*“the duty location I got is very large, the Aralam farm resettlement blocks itself is a vast and settlements are located very far from one to another. ....we have also duties to compile lot of reports and documentations. So, it is becoming impossible to visit every settlement and meet the households. However, I try to collect information and keep in touch with the community through their representatives, tribal promoters to coordinates the activities. I was present during the recent mega medical camp organized in the Aralam farm through which I had interaction with a good number of people in the farm. ....And the good news is that the government is going to appoint new facilitation workers who would work as the new Asha workers for various blocks inside the farm which will lessen the work load of current ASHA workers and thing would be more efficient.”*, said Thanka, the current ASHA worker placed in the Aralam farm.

There is a high contrast between what is reported by the participants from Aralam and Wayanad regarding the services provided by the Asha worker. The respondents from Wayanad reported that they availed various facilities through Asha worker. “she (Asha worker) visit our houses at least once in a month for various purposes. Proper information is given by her regarding the immunization dates and process. She visit us prior to the immunization date and ask us to bring our candidate. The reminder is also given over phone and through the *oorumooppa*n (tribal leader of the particular tribal hamlet) and tribal promoters. In short, she ensures that our children are immunized regularly” Said Raju from Edamunda, Wayanad.

“She (Asha worker’s) is doing her duties perfectly, but we people are not obeying her instructions, properly, regarding the alcohol consumption. However, she keeps on telling us to change our addiction. We know the drawback but unable to stop it and to stick on with the decision to stop consumption” said Gangan from Nellikunnu, Wayanad.

Radha, the particular tribal promoter to the area reported that the Asha worker consistently attempts to address the problem of severe alcoholism among settlers in the colony.

*“I don’t know whether does the attempts reached any success or not, however, the Asha worker with the help of other authorities keeps on working to change the addictive behaviours among our people. We (tribal promoters) also extend all our support regarding that. Many people in our community is addicted to various kind of things. Do you know that our oorumooppa (tribal community leader) is also severely addicted to alcohol?”* said Radha.

Similar kind of affirmative activities by tribal promoter together with ASHA workers were also reported by the participants from other study locations in Wayanad. During the flood disaster volunteering period in Wayanad the researcher had opportunities to visit various other tribal areas and to interact with large number of Paniya community tribal members. The researcher observed that the Asha workers are greatly engaged with the disaster management team as well as the health workers of temporary rehabilitation centres. The Asha workers worked as the linking bridge between various government systems and the tribal population. The researcher also interviewed the concerned Asha workers in the study area as part of the key informant interview. They are well aware about the demographic information especially of the tribal population.

### **ICDS workers**

The Anganwadi worker is one of the most important and effective functionary of the scheme where they had various roles to play with the community that they are engaged with. The beneficiary group of the ICDS scheme vary from new born to old age. As a worker who is close to the community would be much more effective in understanding the problems, finding solution with the available resources when dealing with promotion of child growth and development. As part of the duties she is supposed to work as an agent for social change and community mobiliser for the better cause for the ICDS beneficiaries.

The Anganwadi which is situated in the place called Koderichal is much far from the 7<sup>th</sup> block where the Paniya community people are resettled to. The researcher have visited the anganwadi and interacted with the worker, helper as well as the pre-school children belongs to various tribal community.

*“The distance to the Anganwadi is a problem for the said (beneficiaries from 7<sup>th</sup> block) people to access the service. There is an anganwadi which is situated bit more close to their settlement, however, there is no proper road facility available to go there from the settlement area. There is no pre-school going children registered here from that area since they cannot commute between the anganwadi and settlement area every day”,* said the Anganwadi worker.

*“You can simply say that there is no services are given to the people of 7<sup>th</sup> block despite they are the most needy and necessary addressed beneficiaries of ICDS. A good number of adolescence girls are actually eligible to avail the supplementary nutrition which are provided through Anganwadi, however, none from the block is availing it. In Wayanad, our daughters of our relatives and other known people are getting the benefit of this scheme”*

*“Amritham podi (the supplementary nutrition provided from ICDS to the children in the age group of 6 month to 3 years) is not given to any children in the beneficiary age group. We were assured that we will be provided it when she (the worker) came here for a survey months back, however, none of the children from our block are availing it”,* said Leela from Aralam. She is a mother who have a child in the eligible beneficiary age group for supplementary nutrition.

### **Access to health care services during self-reported symptoms**

The table 5 indicates the number of people who reported having a disease symptoms in the period of last fifteen days. Seventy one participants from Aralam have reported that they had one or more kind of disease symptoms while thirty five have reported the same from study locations in Wayanad. The table also have the data about the people who took any kind of treatment methods in the events of symptoms occurrence. In Wayanad 94.3 percent of the total people who reported having disease symptoms have utilized one or more than one kind of treatment methods while the same is only 21.2 percent in Aralam, Kannur.

Table (No 5): Availing treatment for an illness symptom occurred in the last 15 days

Study location	Any kind of treatment taken		Total
	Yes	No	
Aralam	15 21.2%	56 78.8%	71 100.0%
Kannur	33 94.3%	2 5.7%	35 100.0%

The reason for not taking any kind of treatment methods even after occurring the symptoms were also explored by the researcher. From Aralam, where a significant number of the people who reported having symptoms however did not get treated, a 30.5 percent reported that they did not get the symptom treated because they did not find any change in the symptom condition even after consulting the doctor and taking medicines when the symptom occurred last time or earlier. The distance to the government and other private health care centre as a reason for not getting the symptom treated alone accounts for 13.6 percent of the population in Aralam who did not go for treatment. The lack of tribal health care practitioners for consulting accounts 11.9 percent of the population from Aralam for not going to treatment. An 8.5 percent did not get treated because of the additional expenses that they have to bear for consultation, medicines and for the commutation. Similarly an 8.5 percent decided to not to get treatment considering that the symptom is not serious and might be a self-curing one. The unavailability of tribal medicine coined with the lack of any improvement in the condition when the symptom occurred previous time even after consulting accounts for 11 percent of the population reported having symptom to not to take any kind of treatment.

Table (No 6): The type of health care provider in the cases in which the participants availed any kind of treatments.

Study Location	Provider				
	Traditional Tribal practitioner	Govt. Mobile medical team	Government hospital	Other	Total
Aralam	1	4	9	1	15
	6.6 %	26.6%	60.0%	6.6%	100.0%
Wayanad	11	0	22	0	33
	33.3%	0.0%	66.7%	0.0%	100.0%

Among the total the participants who availed treatment for their symptoms occurred during the last fifteen days of the survey, a substantial proportion (more than 60 percent) of them utilized services at various government hospitals (Table no 6). When there is a significant number of people, a 33 percent of the total people who availed treatment depended on traditional tribal practitioner from Wayanad while only 6.6 percent (only one respondent) from Aralam reported to have utilized the same.

The system of medicine utilized by the respondent were also explored by the researcher which came up with the data that state when 18.2 percent of the total population went for treatment from Wayanad accessed Ayurveda system while there is no participant from Aralam reported that they have utilized Ayurveda in the similar cases of requirement.

Table no 7: treatment taken for chronic symptoms in the last one year

	Any kind of treatment (Excluding selfcare)		
	Yes	No	Total
Aralam, Kannur	61	36	97
	62.9%	37.1%	100.0%
Study locations in Wayanad	18	6	24
	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%

Table no 8: Any kind of self-care methods for chronic symptoms in the last one year

	Any kind of self-care treatment		
	Yes	No	Total
Aralam, Kannur	31	66	97
	31.95%	68%	100.0%
Study locations in Wayanad	21	3	24
	87.5%	12.5%	100.0%

A significant number (87.5 percent) of participants, who had one or more than one chronic symptoms in the last one year period, from Wayanad reported that they have used some kind of

self-treatment to cure or to relieve the symptoms for temporarily or permanent together with other treatment methods or as primary option. However, from Aralam, a lesser number (31.95 percent) reported the same despite having more number of cases reported (97 in Aralam compare to 24 in Wayanad). From Wayanad, more number of participants reported that the self-care is often used together with other major or the primary treatment method followed to 'speed up' the recovery time, to 'supress' the pain during the treatment period, to control the recurrence of the disease (as a preventive health care methods) and to bring back the earlier physical stamina and health condition (as a primitive health care method) after the recovery of some particular disease. However, from Aralam, the participants reported having utilized self-care as a primary method to cure the disease 'in the absence of any other effective treatment methods', 'due to the lack of a desired treatment option', also 'due to the experiences of ineffective treatment availed in the past'. The participants both from Wayanad and Aralam reported using '*prasavaraksha*' medicine after the delivery. However, the participants from Aralama reported that they are not using as 'fine' as they used it earlier.

"There were people among us to prepare '*naadikkashayam*', '*mukkidi*', pulses powder with Ayurveda medicines, '*prasavaneyy*' and other small medicines used during the pregnancy as well as after the delivery to improve the health condition of the women. Now very less people here (Aralam) have knowledge about it and there is no much resources available to do it. There are some people from Aralam who buys some kind of these medicines from shops (Ayurveda medical stores), but I don't think that are as effective as one we prepare at our own house." said Rachimma, 63 from Aralam.

"there wouldn't be any change in the condition (disease condition), that I know. I have consulted the doctor in English (allopathic) and Ayurveda, even homeopathic as some suggested.... I have worked very hard for a good number of years. Now my body is tiered and the treatment now are only giving temporary relief to the pain. It doesn't allow me to work for continues period....who can afford to go and get the medicines from the hospital for every week, and the English medicines are 'strong' (having side effects) that having it will create burning sensation in my stomach for day time. There are adivasi medicines available in Wayanad, there are paniyan with *chottu vidya* (small hacks) they have some special *koottu* (ingredients of medicines) that they only collect and prepare which are very famous even for these kinds of disease....there is also a *vishari* (a person



who is expertized in treating snake poison) who is also well enough to treat joint pains like this one who belongs to Kurichya category. There is no one from either from Paniya nor from other community practice medicine available here. For the kind of self practices (self-treatment) which you (the researcher) had talked about, there is need of '*murivenna*', '*chukkadhi*', '*kachooram*' etc. items, disappointingly that are not at all available here. So what I do, on some days, is to apply some warm water with salt that is applied with a *thorthumund* (cotton towel) before I take bath. Nothing else" Said Koran (58) who is suffering from knee pain for a last some years.

"I often apply *thailam* (oil base medicines) for having relief from the back pain, especially on the evenings after a heavy work....these oils are not prepared by us but you can find it in every house either they are purchased it from any local practitioner (belongs to tribe community) or from *Edavaka* (private Ayurveda shops in Edavaka)...I don't know whether it can be called as 'medication', we are using it for temporarily reducing the body pain that occurred due to hard physical labors. Whenever these 'pain' doesn't allowing to work (employment), then we consult doctors, however temporarily relief that also provide" Said Balan from Edavaka.

Participants from Wayanad reported having used local medicine that are collected from their own land, neighbours land, river side and from barren land in treating various symptoms. For seasonal allergies and respiratory difficulties especially during the months of winter they use a plant leaf called '*karinochi*' to boil water and drink.

"The plant is famous for its use against breath related problem....Everyone knows about it. If you (the researcher) come here in the month of December and January you can experience a heavy wind in the cold morning. Many of us are not that 'friendly' with it since it become reason for allergy and breathing difficulties. To cohabit with these health problems we people use some 'techniques'. And '*karinochi*' is one of the famous among them.

### **Availing free health care at a bigger cost for commute**

It has been reported by many of the respondents from Aralam study location that the distance and the lack of dependable transportation facilities together creating huge burden on the already financially weakened shoulders of the tribes. From the survey, the data state that in Aralam a 56.6 percent of the total population reported accessed government healthcare facilities had spent 100 to 300 rupees alone for commutation excluding other cost for purchasing medicines. However, from Wayanad study locations, 66.6 percent of the respondent spent less than 100 rupees and rest of them (33.3 percent) availed it without having any expenditure for transportation. This additional cost alone reported as a reason for participants reluctance towards accessing the government free health care provisions in Aralam.

*“some people (outsiders and authorities) ask us why don't we hire private autorikshaw together and go to the hospital like the government tribal hospital which is situated far (more than 25 km) from our house. It is not like an occasion like marriage that everybody get ready together and hire a vehicle and share the expenses. Nobody know when we may require to go to the hospitals. So, it can't be something very pre-planned. Who will wait till your neighbours to get unwell to accompany you to the hospital for sharing your auto charge?”* said Leela, 49.

There is no private transport vehicles available with the Paniya community members who were resettled to Aralam from Wayanad and having settlement in the 7<sup>th</sup> block. So if they want to hire any vehicle then they have to call it from outside the farm, usually from the nearest town called Keezhpally. In that case they are supposed to pay an additional cost since the vehicle is coming to pick up them from outside and from a distance of more than 15 km.

Participants from Aralam reported that they wish to consult traditional tribal health practitioners and Ayurveda doctors for particular kind of diseases. For joint pains and back ache many wish to avail traditional practitioners or called the tribal *vaidyar*. The tribal practitioners are not available in Aralam. There are some practitioners in the place called Manathana which is in the Kannur district and the practitioners are belongs to the Paniya community. However the respondents reported that they did not avail the service due to the long distance as well as they did not feel much accepted there.

*“Even our community (Paniya) people, who are originally belongs to Kannur itself, doesn’t consider us equal. They perceive as outsiders or trespassers and ‘not-originals’. They express a sympathy towards us, however, consider with less social status. This disparity is even visible in the kind of work we both do and the remunerations that we get for the same work. So, even if the practitioners are available near to the farm (resettlement blocks) still it would be difficult for us to go and meet them”.*

### **Nutrition, Food Consumption and PDS system**

#### **PDS system**

There are even tribal households in Aralam who belongs to APL and BPL categories, although there is provisions for them to get included in the AAY rationing categories. Three households reported that they are possessing APL ration card while other three reported they belongs to BPL category. However, in Wayanad, all 58 households reported having AAY category ration card. It is informed from the authorities that there are technical reasons for mislaying these households into higher income categories. Even after the households have reported to the concerned authorities through their ward representatives there are no action taken in order to rectify the mistakes and provide them the services. Households who belongs to AAY and BPL families depends on private markets for their consumables which doubles the financial burdens which already exists. Eight of households from Aralam reported that they do not possess a valid ration card and have no access to ration schemes. In all cases the concerned authorities reported that the new ration cards are not issuing for the last 6 years. The application of a household got rejected due to the lack of proper documents attached to it. They have not given a chance to renew their application. They were denied the card as well as the subsidized rations for the said reason. However, the households’ studied in Wayanad possess proper ration cards, there are variations observed between the allowed amount of purchases of items and actual purchases in the last six months. Only three households from Aralam across both the districts reported that they doesn’t regularly purchase from ration shops since they belongs to APL category.

Table No 9: Rice available to purchase through PDS for AAY

District	Rice available to purchase in the previous month in Kg		
	14 Kg	21 Kg	28 Kg
Kannur	16	26	4
Wayanad	0	0	58

The table number 7 shows that the availability of rice to purchase through PDS scheme in ration shop. The actual amount the AAY card holders are entitled to purchase in the state is 32 Kg per month. While across the study locations none of the family were availed to purchase the full amount of rice. In Wayanad all households who belongs to AAY purchased 28 Kg of rice while only four households from Aralam, Kannur were given 28 Kg of rice from ration shop. Sixteen and twenty six households were given 14 and 21 Kg of rice respectively. Some households reported from Aralam that the ration shop dealer stated that the amount of rice is less for the particular month. Instead they were provide with 7 Kg of wheat. Quality of rice purchased in the previous month was reported as the similar quality to the rice from the markets. The households reported that the quality is significantly improved in the last 6 months. Prior to it there were '*pachari*' supplied through PDS, which is a kind of verity which was not generally considered for cooking in Kerala. "We used to wait for people (non-tribes) from outside our area (settlement area) to exchange our '*pachari*' with their rice (general rice used for cooking). They need our '*pachari*' to prepare their breakfast which is costly to purchase for them from market. But for us, we need the normal rice, so we give our 16 Kg '*pachari*' to get 5 or 8 Kg of normal rice from them", Shoba, 37 reported from Aralam. None of the households from Aralam reported taking any action for ensuring the availability of 32 kg entitled amount of rice per month. In contrast to that few households from Thondarveedu Paniya settlement in Vellamunda panchayath, Wayanad reported that they have argued with the ration shop keeper many times and reported to the ward member through their Grama sabha and '*oorukoottam*' tibal committee. However, there is no positive action took place to curb the issue.

We can reconfirm the above said circumstance of Paniya households in Aralam related to the lack of proper supply and availability of rice through PDS when we analyze the increased amount of supply of wheat. The households in Aralam are supplied wheat in many cases instead of rice which they are entitled to purchase in every month. The table no10 given bellow shows the amount of wheat purchased by households across both district.

Table No 10: The amount of wheat purchased in the last month with number of participants

District	Quantity purchased in Kg			
	2.0 Kg	5.0 Kg	7.0 Kg	14.0 Kg
Kannur	3	4	26	16
Wayanad	0	58	0	0

An AAY ration card holder is entitled to purchase five kilograms of wheat per month, however, we can see that more than 50 percent of the total household belongs to this particular category from Aralam purchased 7 kilograms and 30 percent of households purchased 15 kilograms of wheat. The households who purchased more quantity of wheat than permitted amount reported that they were given wheat instead of rice against their wish. Some of them were misinformed that it is 'normal' to provide wheat instead of rice though PDS. In some cases when households asked rice instead of wheat, the shop keeper informed that there is less amount of stock and availability of rice that is why wheat is supplied. But some complained to the researcher that the shop keeper is selling our entitled rice to the non-tribal households who resides outer areas to Aralam farm and gets their wheat instead for supplying to resettled tribes. In contrast, whole households participated in the study reported that they were supplied by their entitled amount of wheat every month. And there is no cases reported for supplying wheat instead of the entitled amount of rice.

## Food Consumption

Table no 11: Availability of enough food

		Get enough food		Total
		Yes	No	
Location	Aralam, Kannur	0	60	60
		0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Wayanad	19	39	58
		32.8%	67.2%	100.0%

When asked about availability of enough food, 67.2 percent households from Wayanad and all the households from Aralam reported that the food available for them is not enough in the last one year. Out of that, 96.7 percent from Aralam reported that they face unavailability of enough food during whole 12 months in the last one year while it is 67 percent from Wayanad. Two households from Aralam and 19 households from Wayanad reported that the unavailability is faced for some months.

Table no 12: Duration of food unavailability

		Months		Total
		Whole 12 months	Some months	
Location	Aralam, Kannur	58	2	60
		96.7%	3.3%	100.0%
	Wayanad	39	19	58
		67.2%	32.8%	100.0%

Table no 13: Consumption of milk in the last 30 days

		Amount of milk consumed in Ltr						Total
		Not consumed	1 ltr	2 ltr	3 ltr	5 ltr	6 ltr	
Kannur	Count	34	16	10	0	0	0	60
	% within Aralam	56.7%	26.7%	16.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Wayanad	Count	6	14	32	2	3	1	58
	% within Wayanad	10.3%	24.1%	55.2%	3.4%	5.2%	1.7%	100.0%

Food consumption detail was collected as part of the household survey. The important and significant information are put here for further interpretation. Majority, 56.7 percent of the households from Aralam reported that they haven't consumed milk in the last 30 days. Whereas only 10 percent of the households from Wayanad reported that they haven't consumed milk in the last one month. The household average consumption of milk is higher for Wayanad when compare to Aralam.

Table no 14: Average number of eggs consumed by household in the last one month

Study Location	Average household consumption
Aralam, Kannur	5 eggs
Wayanad	9 eggs

Average consumption of egg is also significantly higher for households from Wayanad. The average consumption for Wayanad is 9 whereas it is 5 for Aralam.

Table no 15: Consumption of fish in the last one month

		Quantity of Fish			Total
		2 Kg	3 Kg	4 Kg	
Kannur	Count	33	27	0	60
	% within Aralam	55.0%	45.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Wayanad	Count	14	40	4	58
	% within Aralam	24.1%	69.0%	6.9%	100.0%

All the households from both study location reported that they had consumed fish during the last one-month period. Majority of the households from Aralam consumed 2 or less than two kilograms of fish in the last 30 days period. However, 69 percent of the households from Wayanad reported that their average household consumption in the last one-month period was 3 kilogram.

Table no 16: Consumption of green leafy vegetables in the last 30 days

		Amount of Green leafy vegetables consumed in Kg				Total
		.0	.5	1.0	2.0	
Kannur	Count	22	4	32	2	60
	% within Aralam	36.7%	6.7%	53.3%	3.3%	100.0%
Wayanad	Count	0	0	25	33	58
	% within Aralam	0.0%	0.0%	43.1%	56.9%	100.0%

Consumption details of green leafy vegetables is considered as important due to its significance in the nutritional satisfaction of the household members. 36.7 percent of the total households from Aralam reported that they haven't consumed it in the last one-month period while every households from Wayanad reported they had consumed it. 43 percent and 57percent of the respondent from Wayanad reported consumption of green leafy vegetables in the quantity one kilogram and 2 kilogram respectively.



Table no 17: Consumption of poultry meat in the last 30 days

		Meat in Kg			Total
		.0	1.0	2.0	
Aralam	Count	60	0	0	60
	% within District	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Wayanad	Count	49	6	3	58
	% within District	84.5%	10.3%	5.2%	100.0%

None of the households from Aralam reported that they have consumed poultry meat in the last 30 days while 15 percent of the households from Wayanad consumed it in various quantity.

Table no 18: Consumption of Coconut oil in the last 30 days

		Amount consumed in Ltr			Total
		0.1	0.2	0.5	
Aralam	Count	2	54	4	60
	% within District	3.3%	90.0%	6.7%	100.0%
Wayanad	Count	0	0	58	58
	% within District	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The respondents from Aralam reported that the use of coconut oil for cooking was significantly reduced after they reached in resettlement area due to various reasons. Among the respondents, 90 percent reported consumption of less than 200 ml of coconut oil in the last one month while all the households from Wayanad reported it is 500 ml or more.

Malathy and her malnourished children:

I visited Malathy's home during my field work in the 2/7 Paniya settled area in Aralam. Malathy is 29 years of age, mother of four. I could meet three of these children who were there inside the house – with their wide blank eyes staring at me. There was little sign of any subcutaneous fat on their faces, and the cheek had virtually disappeared in attestation of their malnourished existence. Malathy's family did not possess an AAY (Antyodaya Anna Yojna) or BPL (Below Poverty Line) ration card. For the last several days the family was making do with just one meal a day. The second meal was afforded only as fortuitous leftover from the first one, that too almost exclusively for the children. The supplementary food received from ICDS wasn't of much consequence either, leaving the kids and their parents with perennial hunger gnawing at their stomach. The elder sibling, a daughter aged 13, is studying in Wayanad, in a government school, and stays in the hostel there. Though overage to avail of ICDS services, the family continues to draw food supplements from ICDS in her name too for these supplements help constitute the thin dividing line between hunger and succumbing to hunger. The youngest child in the family is all of 11 months old, is severely underweight, and still almost exclusively dependant his mother's milk. Malathy knows that there isn't much milk left in her breasts to satiate the child. The neighbourhood Anganwadi does not provide the supplementary nutrition supplement - food grain powder called 'amruthram' for the child despite entitlement. Ever since the family came to settle in Aralam, they have not had regular occupation or regular income. While they were in Wayanad they could cultivate food for the family in their own farm; however, now almost everything has to be purchased from open market, and many a times at rates higher than normal. The family does not have access to potable drinking water supply and electricity at home. With tears in her eyes, Malathy made a pathetic submission:

“If hunger hits the stomach of elders, then we adjust by drinking warm water, but how can I fake and cheat my son and daughters by giving it to them when they cry out of hunger?”

## BMI Status

Presented below are the information regarding Body Mass Index collected using Anthropometric measurement. Various age groups and gender wise tables are formed to understand the data in detail. The table 19 indicate the BMI status of individuals belongs to the age group of 15 or higher. There is significant difference exist between the study population of Aralam and Wayanad. When we see the severely underweight category, it is near 30 percent in Aralam while same is 11 percent in Wayanad. Similarly, the number people belong to normal category of BMI from Aralam is only 31, that is 15.7 percent of total adults, the same in Wayanad is 56 (27.2 percent).

Table no 19: BMI Status- All individual-15 year or higher age group

Study Area		Status					Total
		Normal	Underweight	Severe	Very Severe	Over weight	
1	Count	31	75	30	59	3	198
	% within Aralam	15.7%	37.9%	15.2%	29.8%	1.5%	100.0%
2	Count	56	89	37	23	1	206
	% within Wayanad	27.2%	43.2%	18.0%	11.2%	0.5%	100.0%

Table no 20: BMI Status-Women belongs to Reproductive Age group 15-49

Study Area		Status					Total
		Normal	Under weight	Severe	Very Severe	Over weight	
1	Count	8	35	11	28	2	84
	% within Aralam	9.5%	41.7%	13.1%	33.3%	2.4%	100.0%
2	Count	19	50	17	7	1	94
	% within Wayanad	20.2%	53.2%	18.1%	7.4%	1.1%	100.0%

The percent of women belongs to the very severe category of BMI status from Aralam is 33.3 percent or one out of every three women is very severely underweight. While the number for same category from Wayanad is 7 (7.4%). A significant proportion from both study location, 18 percent and 13 percent respectively from Wayanad and Aralam belongs to the category of severely underweight.

Table no 21: Men belongs to the age of 15 year and above

Study Location		Status				Total
		Normal	Under weight	Severe	Very Severe	
1	Count	23	39	17	20	99
	% within Aralam	23.2%	39.4%	17.2%	20.2%	100.0%
2	Count	37	37	19	12	105
	% within Wayanad	35.2%	35.2%	18.1%	11.4%	100.0%

Similarly, an important observation can also be made in the case of BMI of men belongs to the age group of 15 year and above. While the percent of men belongs to the category if very severe underweight from Aralam is 20.2, the same for Wayanad is 11.4. The proportion of men belongs to underweight and severely underweight category from Aralam is 39.4% and 17.2% respectively.

## Social Determinants of Health and Living Conditions

Table No 22: Fuel for Cooking

District		Firewood	Both Firewood and LPG	
Kannur	Count	60	0	60
	% of Total	100%	0.0%	100%
Wayanad	Count	38	20	58
	% of Total	65.4%	34.48%	100%

The table no 22 contains data about the availability of safe cooking fuel in the household. None of the households from Aralam study location reported that they have LPG at home. At the same time, 16.9 percent of the households from Wayanad study location reported that they have LPG connection at home and use firewood in some cases. The percentage of households from Wayanad depend only on firewood for cooking is 65 percent.

Table 23: Availability of functional latrine

District		Available	Not available	Total
Kannur	Count	46	14	60
	% of Total	39.0%	11.9%	50.8%
Wayanad	Count	58	0	58
	% of Total	49.2%	0.0%	49.2%

Availability of sanitation facility is one of the major indicators of health and a social determinant of health. The data on availability of functional latrine facility was collected during household

survey. While all the households from Wayanad reported that they were provided an hygienic latrine by the Panchayath government and it is functional, 14 household (23.3%) from Aralam reported that they don't have a functional toilet facility at household.

Table no 24: In the case of unavailability of functional latrine

In the cases of functional latrine is not available				Total
Use Neighbor's Toilets	Use Neighbor's toilet and Open field	Open field and Use non-functional	Use neighbor's and Non-functional toilets	
1	2	9	2	14
7.1%	14.3%	64.3%	14.3%	100.0%

In the case where functional latrine facility is not available, 9 households depend on open field (open defecation) or their non-functional toilets which indicates a serious unhygienic condition. The other five household reported that they depend on neighbor's toilet or do open defecation.

Table No 25: Source of drinking water

Study Location	Source of the drinking water				Total
	Treated Tap water	Covered well	Uncovered well	Shallow ditch	
Aralam, Kannur	0	0	11	49	60
	0.0%	0.0%	18.3%	81.7%	100.0%
Wayanad	42	16	0	0	58
	72.4%	27.6%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%

One of the contrasting and significant data on social determinants of health was the source of drinking water and distance to those primary sources. While none of the households from Aralam reported that they don't have access to treated tap water facility, 73.4 percent of the households from Wayanad study location reported that they have easy access to the resource. And rest of the households (27.6) from Wayanad who doesn't have access to tap water facility depend on safe and covered well water for household use. However, the case in Aralam was totally opposite to Wayanad, 81.7 percent of the total households studied from Aralam have the most unhygienic and unsafe source of drinking water, that is shallow ditches. It is observed by the researcher and noted from the interviews with key informant that stray dogs, buffalo, cow and other wild animal also use the same source of water, especially in summer season.

Table No 26: Distance to the source of drinking water

Study Location	Distance to the source of Drinking water					Total
	Within House	Within .5 KM	Within 1 KM	Within 1.5 KM	Within 2 KM	
Aralam, Kannur	0 0.0%	4 6.7%	33 55.0%	15 25.0%	8 13.3%	60 100.0%
Wayanad	55 94.8%	3 5.2%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	58 100.0%

While 94.8 % of the households from Aralam reported that they have their water source within the premises of their house compound or the vicinity, none of the household from Aralam reported the same way. Only three households from Aralam reported that they have their water source within 5 KM distance from their home. 55 percent of them need to walk more than 1 KM and 38 percent need to walk more than 1.5 KM to access to their nearest drinking water source.

Table no 27: Cultivable Land owned by the household

	Education level						Total
	No land	1 cent to 20 cent	21 cent to 40 cent	41 cent to 60 cent	61 cent to 80 cent	81 cent to 1 acre	
Aralam, Kannur	60	0	0	0	0	0	60
	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Wayanad	0	13	14	17	13	1	58
	0.0%	22.4%	24.1%	29.3%	22.4%	1.7%	100.0%

Every households, whether the amount of land is less or high, reported that they have some land in which they can cultivate. None of the household from Aralam reported that they own cultivable land. The availability of cultivable land contribute much to the self-consumption, livelihood and health of the tribal households. It is reported by the households in Wayanad that they consume a larger chunk of their produces. The amount of land for cultivation in Wayanad varies from 5 cent to 85 cents.

Table No 28: Education status of households belong to the age group of 20 or above years

		Education level				Total
		No formal education	Till 5th	Till 8th	10th Pass	
Aralam, Kannur	Count	8	39	23	6	76
	% within Aralam	10.5%	51.3%	30.3%	7.9%	100.0%
Wayanad	Count	0	18	42	4	64
	% within Wayanad	0.0%	28.1%	65.6%	6.3%	100.0%

From Aralam. 10.5% of the households belong the age group of 20 or above reported that they did not have formal education. While majority (51.3 percent) of the respondents in the stated age group



had studied only till 5<sup>th</sup> standard in school, 65.6% households from Wayanad reported that they have formal education till 8<sup>th</sup> standard. Although, only 30 percent of the households from Aralam reported have formal education till 8<sup>th</sup> standard.

## CHAPTER 5

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Problems related to tribal resettlements and rehabilitations like Aralam are not new, isolated or should not be seen limited to the purview of a single incident. Aralam is only a tiny reflection of the unchecked non-tribal and commercial encroachments into the tribal areas, government approaches during the British rule, the developmental models introduced by successive state and central governments in independent India, and a set of exploitative laws and inefficient legislative systems. As elsewhere, the tribal rehabilitative projects like Aralam resettlement are just one of the outcomes of the years-long marginalization and oppression that the tribal community has gone through.

It is also important to note that although the state often achieves the status quo of maintaining comparable Human Development Index standards and growth outlook to developed countries, a significant percentage of its total tribal population (less than 1.5 per cent of the total population in the state), is still landless and significantly lagging in socio-economic and political spheres when compared to other communities. From this, we need to understand that the fruits of development have not been distributed to all (social groups) the people of the state in the same quantity and manner.

According to the latest figures from the Niti Aayog (November 2021) Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) Index 2019, Kerala holds the first position for many indicators as one for the ‘zero hunger’ state. However, it is worth reminding a recent case, Madhu, a young tribal member from Attappadi, Kerala, was killed by the locals for stealing food. We came to know about serious hunger problems among Attappadi tribes because Madhu was killed and the media covered it. However, there are still many ‘Madhu’ among us who live in abject poverty and hunger in the so-called ‘zero hunger’ state, Kerala. The issue should not be seen limited to a single incident. In the same Attappady, a 2013 UNICEF report found that anaemia and malnutrition in pregnant women were the leading causes of infant mortality. The lack of medical facilities and trained health workers and lack of transport facilities were on the list of causes of infant mortality. At the end of November (2021), there were 247 pregnant women in Attappady, of these, 150 are malnourished. Most women give birth for the first time in 20 years. According to health officials, their body weight during pregnancy is average between 35 and 45 kg.

The great irony is that those who have been deprived of the benefits of development are the most marginalized sections of the society who have lost their homes and livelihoods in the name of development. This is not just a coincidence, but clear politics. From a class and social hierarchical point of view, however, a development that is rooted in the property and identity of those living at the bottom is not a development at all. There are a number of incidents before us to study and understand how and why tribal resettlements in India are not 'successful'. It is argued that the people affected by displacement have never been adequately rehabilitated because the process of rehabilitation does not take into account the fact that they are accustomed to traditional ways of earning their livelihoods, and may not have the means or the privilege to be able to pursue alternative livelihoods (Sharma & Singh, 2009). The tribal resettlements were all part of the larger developmental approaches, that serves the interests of the ruling and dominant class in the country, and should not be looked as isolated cases. It is not a new knowledge to the policy makers or the government that the process like displacement, resettlement and rehabilitation of tribal community leads to their loss of social capital, political powerlessness and rootlessness.

While celebrating the decisions and plans taken by the Kerala state government during the Covid period, some things are definitely forgotten. It was almost eight months after the lockdown period that the government first discussed the tribal issues in the context of Covid induced problems. Many of the tribal households living in rehabilitated areas like Aralam still have ration cards at their Wayanad address. Therefore, no additional rations or special food kits provided by the government were available in such areas. None of the people's livelihood issues living in the tribal villages and colonies were specifically considered or discussed. It is not a trivial matter that the government and the policymakers, who were deeply concerned about the closed cinema theatres and jewelry shops, did not say a word about the tribal issues. The Kerala's online education system during the Covid period has often been the subject of much appreciation, and many states have since adopted similar models. But the reality is that the government has not sought to know the extent to which tribal students in Kerala are included in such online education system and to ensure that arrangements are made in their areas for continuing their education. Why do tribes, who belong to the lower strata of society, become more miserable and isolated when a pandemic situation arises? Why has the development and upliftment that we were celebrating not yet reached them?

## **Kerala Model of Development and the Tribal Outliers**

It is a clear fact and critique that the tribes have not become the beneficiaries of the Kerala development model. The tribes have not benefitted by any of the achievements of Kerala in general in the areas of health, education, food security, etc. It is undoubtedly observable that the tribes were generally a marginalized group in Kerala from this alone. At the same time, the tribes as well as the dalits have to bear the brunt of the socio-economic evils and vulnerabilities that have formed behind the Kerala development model. For example, if the promotion of cash crops in the forest land, organized land grabbing, political-mafia-benami ties, and bureaucratic tyranny all turned out to be beneficial to certain classes, while the tribal community would have suffered the brunt of it all.

The average based method of calculating the socio-economic standard of life always indicated a better position for Kerala, however, the variables stood far behind the national averages for marginalized communities in many instances. In a study which critically examined the status of tribal communities with specific comparison with the overall indicators of human development index states that the Kerala model of development renowned for its exceptional experiences during the 1970's and the 1980's does not explicit how the model kept out the tribal population just by measuring the indicator's average of total population (Shyjan & Sunitha, 2008). The values of high growth and development reported in the state are distinctly far ahead of the various tribal communities in Kerala.

The question relevantly emerges here is the perk of this globally recognized development model, which significantly ensured social development without adequate economic performance was equally distributed among all social groups in the state or not. Kurien (1995) stated that the marine fishing communities in the state are also an outlier like tribal communities in the larger development picture provided by the Kerala model. Many researchers and policymakers did not adequately question the socio-economic inequalities produced by the 'well applauded' Kerala model of development. However, there were criticisms from various corners on the state's achievements by keeping the disadvantaged sections far behind from its benefits. Martinez (2020) states that a state with outstanding development indicators fails to address the needs of the tribal population, the state couldn't properly address the pressing issues like poverty, hunger, landlessness, poor health, poor education, low economic conditions etc. The development model

focused on certain social and class groups in the society created an outlier phenomenon in which the tribal and other socially backward sections like Dalits were further marginalized. These outlier phenomena created by relative deprivation and social discrimination against particular sections remains a black spot in Kerala's experience that is too stark to be overlooked (Tharamangalam, 2006).

The life of the marginalized and disadvantaged communities, especially the scheduled tribe, continued miserably without any plausible and affirmative changes even after implementing various national and state-level safeguard measures and policies for the welfare of tribal communities in the state. Consequently, the question raised in the context would be on the distribution of the fruits of the Kerala model of development. The model is known for the upliftment of socio-economic status of the population, however, it treated marginalized communities differently. The benefits were not equally distributed among its people. Instead, certain sections were adequately got supported and some were negatively impacted due to the development initiatives. The life of the historically excluded communities from the mainstream society did not see any significant change in their socio-economic and political domains of life. No questions and criticism against state's achievements and policies adapted were welcomed positively by the political fronts of the state. Writing about the realities of Kerala development model, Balakrishnan (2019) rightly noted that 'any lack of enthusiasm was greeted with intolerance, similar to what ultra-nationalists display today when challenged on their claims about India'.

The sex ratio is less among the tribal population when compared to the general population, especially in the district in Idukki, Palghat and Kasaragod. The educational status, a determinant that has interlink with many other socio-economic and health variables, again indicates a considerable difference between the general population and the tribal households in the state. About 56 per cent of the agricultural population in the State of Kerala, including the Dalit-Adivasi community, plantation workers, landless farmers and a large number of agricultural laborers are still landless. The state with highest literacy rate (94 percent) have a significantly lesser literate among its tribal community. The literacy rate for the scheduled tribes in Kerala is 75.81 percent. We would see a sharper contrast if we compare it with the literacy rate of population excluding scheduled tribe and scheduled caste. The number of tribal children dropout from formal

educational institutions are high when compared to the general population. Some studies states that the government reported numbers of dropout tribal students in Kerala is different from their findings. For instance, the findings of C Krishnan's study of educational issues in the tribal areas are different from those of government figures (Krishnan, 2000). While the government attributes such dropouts mainly to the tribal population's lack of interest in public education, the study found that economic vulnerability, health problems, and lack of school access as well as social causes were equally relevant. The reflection of high percentage of literate and educated women was not equally visible in the participation of women in governance or labour work force in the state. The escalating numbers of unemployed people in the state with a fall in employment in the agriculture economy together create constructive criticism against the so-called development model. The ever-increasing public debt, which is often stated as passing our own daily bills to the future generation, is also questioned by many economists as the failure of the model.

We need to see the tribes who are suffering the bitter consequences of the agrarian problems in Kerala in the context of the high number of tribal farmers labours and manual workers. There are very few tribes in Kerala who are represented or employed in the service sector. In this background, we can see that the new economic and liberalization policies have severely affected both these sectors. The distortions inflicted on the tribal people of Kerala by the government, society, and corporate sectors cannot be remedied by mere external mild-reforms, free ration kits, or financial assistance.

### **Celebrated Kerala Land Reform and the Tribal Landlessness**

After considerable years of Kerala's well-noted land reform backed by legislation, the struggles of landless tribal communities at Muthanga, Chengara and many other places indicate how dubious the achievements were in reality. Less than a week after the formation of the first Communist government in Kerala, the historic Land Reform Ordinance was issued. It was an emergency law that firmly guided that no one (tenants) should be evicted from leased lands or settlements for any reason. The Communist government aimed to create a legal system for the tenants to cultivate and live on the leased land without any hassle. The ordinance was introduced to overcome the delay in getting the bill passed in the assembly as a land reform law.

It is a matter of clear study about how the law that was brought in to reform the landlord relationship so differently affected the tribal communities, who were the real heirs of the land, in the state. EMS Namaduthiripad, the then leader of Communist Party of Kerala and the then Chief Minister of the state, who organized the struggle for the establishment of the rights of the peasants and agricultural workers through legislation, wrote that 'land reform law has not benefited in any of the places where such influence and struggle did not take place or where it did not reach' (EMS, 1995). Amid class struggles and labor (peasant) agitations, the tribes and their years-long problems of landlessness and alienations from traditional land were forgotten by the party and the government.

An article that examines the land reform measures put forward in the Indian states, especially in Kerala from 1957 to 1970, positions that these laws fundamentally protected the interests of certain classes and communities while it forgotten about others particularly about the socio-economically marginalized sections. The fact is that none of the land reform laws were prepared to fully embrace the farmers and tribes working on the land because of rich and higher-class interests. The tenant, including farmers who leased the land from the landlords was treated as a possessed farmer.

Another reason for saying that the Land Reforms Act has negatively affected the tribes in state is that the Land Reforms Act divides agricultural land into two parts, as sections 81 and 82, namely 'plantation land' and 'agricultural land'. The problem exists where the Act excludes plantation land from the land limit that one can own. With the exclusion of the plantation from the Land Reforms Act due to aristocratic pressure, this much-anticipated land reform could not even touch the lakhs of acres of plantation land. Not only that, it has secured lakhs of acres in the hands of foreign plantation monopolies and their benefactors. Land reform, which in the past allowed landowners to convert their land into plantations, has helped plantation monopolies in other means too.

Initially introducing the Agriculture Relations Bill, KR Gowriamma, the then land revenue minister, had predicted that an additional 12 lakh acres of land would have to be acquired if the Land Limitation Act was implemented. This was limited to 8 lakh acres in the early years alone. With the passage of several amendments to the Land Reform Act, including the Concession Acts, it was again reduced to three and a half million acres within a few years. The latest inquiry in this regard state that only around eighty thousand acres of land was distributed to the claimers, that is



even less than ten percent of the initially expected land to be available for distribution after the proper implementation of the land reform Act.

The land reform Act pushed the Scheduled caste and scheduled tribe people, the most backward landless, agricultural labourers, who had been denied land ownership by the higher caste Hindus for centuries, into the colonies. For centuries they had been ostracized by the caste system in the country. Half a century after this land reform, the vast majority of Kerala's agricultural population belongs to scheduled caste and scheduled tribes are living under squeezed colonies with least or no standard living conditions. The life of the tribes and Dalits limited to the shrunken colonies are much enough to disprove the claims of land reform, at least for the case of these marginalized communities in Kerala. In short, the analysis clearly shows that the land reform movement and Kerala land reforms Act (1969) couldn't help to resolve the historical injustice towards the tribal communities in terms of landlessness.

### **Appropriation of traditional land; the role of non-tribal encroachments**

The peasants and rich farmers migration from Central Travancore to Wayanad began in the 1930s. Such migrations, which continued till 1960-70, led to structural changes in the economic, social and cultural spheres of Wayanad, especially to the disruption of the way of life and livelihood of the tribal people of Wayanad. While the reason for impacts on tribal life during the British rule was colonial occupation and exploitation, in post-independence period and after the formation of the state of Kerala, it was these uncontrolled migrations and land alienations that affected the most backward sections of the tribal communities in Wayanad, especially the Paniya and Adiyar.

As part of this, new types of production and exchange systems were formed and became more widespread. The aboriginal economy had no precedence or importance in the newly emerging commercial system. Each change, which was seen as a path of globalization and progress, brought the aboriginal people together into isolated colonies away from their traditional culture and traditional way of life.

The Socio-Economic Survey of the Department of Statistics for the year 1976-78 is said to be the first official record on the land loss of tribes in Kerala during 1967-76. Although the numbers are

not significant, the report is considered important since we can examine the reasons for the alienation of tribal land from that. This is because we can understand the approximate extent of the exploitation suffered by the tribal people with the loss of land. According to the survey, the transfer of land was due to 36 factors. With the exception of a few of the less reported reasons, in most cases the land was lost through fraud activities from the outsiders and non-tribes. The survey reveals that the land was lost for repayment of debts, medical expenses, encroachment, household purposes, etc.

In the introduction to K. Panoor's book, '*Keralathile America*', a book he wrote after the critically acclaimed book '*Africa in Kerala*', VR Krishnayyar writes about immigrants invasion and tribal life, 'those who came to migrate from southern Kerala with the backing of the Bishops and the churches practiced '*kayyukullavan karyakar*' (power is denoted as who have physical power). He referred to the helpless, easily influential, illiterate and untouchable wild children of the Adivasis were severely exploited by the outsiders. Their women had no escape, and their land was lost to the invaders. Yesterday's masters became today's slaves' (Panur, 1989).

After independence of India, no action was taken neither by the central nor by the Kerala state government to reclaim the land which the British companies had leased from the princely states and rich landlords. Instead, the Kerala government, whether led by communist front or by the congress, always acted to legalize and institutionalize these years-long exploitations. The attempt of the LDF government to protect a huge illegal encroachment of plantation land by a UK based private team named Malayalam Plantations Limited was well visible when the government immediately changed the special pleader, MS Bhatt, during 2016 when left came into power. However, there was criticism from various sides, the government went on with the decision. It was based on her arguments, Justice PV Asha issued a landmark judgement that noted the claim of Malayalam Plantations Limited for agriculture tenant status is legally doesn't exist and the land should be taken over by the government. The same verdict also strengthened an earlier report submitted by MG Rajamanikam, the then special officer appointed by the government, stated the land belongs to the government.

Whether it is during the time of LDF led communist government or the congress led government, the various policies and projects in the name of public interest and development always threatened the sustainable life of the tribes in the state. The latest in the row is the proposed hydroelectric

project at Athirappally waterfall, which will also cause a mass displacement of tribal people and distrust the traditional livelihood options. According to a study conducted by the River Research Centre, Ollur, found that the proposed hydel unit was likely to displace 234 tribal persons from the proposed project area. As it is in the case of any other tribal victims of displacement, the trials who are supposed to displace from the proposed project land, “have been displaced many times in the last hundred years especially during construction of the Parambikkulam-Aliyar, Peringalkuthu, Sholayar, Mangalam, and Thunakadavu dams”, quoted S.P Ravi of the Chalakkudy River Forum (Shaji, 2000).

### **Legislative mechanisms and their actual impact on tribes**

The tribal land with customary rights and traditional ownerships have been under the constant threat of continued appropriation by various mechanisms, including a number of legislations, encroachments by non-tribes and big plantations, in the name of forest and biodiversity conservations etc. Serving the rich class and corporate interests, none of the laws introduced at various stages for the land rights and forest right of the tribal communities did ever recognized the customary rights of tribal men working on the land.

The legislative mechanisms enacted in the name of protection of forest land in India was in line with the Indian Forest Acts of 1865, 1878, 1927 of the British regimes. British forest protection laws made life miserable for the tribal people who depended on the forest for their livelihood. The collection of forest resources, forest encroachment and logging were all banned by law. The forest was declared as the sole property of the government. All natural forests were converted into artificial forests suitable for British consumption. The huge requirement of woods for railways, buildings, furniture, etc. reduced the organic forests into selective forests with only teak, rosewood, wild jack wood etc. Such forest protection laws, in short, only gave impetus to the established timber industry and laid the foundation for institutionalizing the same. In some cases, the deforested lands were later converted into large tea and coffee plantations. The then Malabar Collector (acting) Robinson wrote to the British Government that such business and corporatism in Wayanad should be put to good use and provided assistance. He said 'the height of Malabar (Wayanad) and the slope of the Western Ghats are generally suitable for coffee cultivation. It is

attracting more and more attention from capitalists. Therefore, the government should provide all possible assistance and incentives to those who invest in Wayanad '(Robinson, 1857).

The Wild Life Protection Act of 1972, the Forest Conservation Act of 1980 led to more nationalization of the forest in the country and continued alienation of tribes from their traditionally owned land as well. Along with these protective legislative mechanisms, the land acquisitions Acts backed by government supports for the private and 'public interest' equally contributed to the large level of land loss among tribal communities in Kerala.

The Land Acquisition Act, brought by the British in 1894 to acquire private land, got changed its name after independence but continued with its exploitative guidelines that led to alienation and encroachment of tribes land. The right to land is considered only as a legal right under the article 300A of the Indian constitution. In contrast, the tribes consider land as a fundamental right that supports their life and livelihood in numerous means. Due to the same reason, the government is the 'authority of law' to acquire any property

### **Resettled are never settled**

Resettled are never settled in their new socio-cultural, political, economic, and ecological life spheres. And no doubt in that if the resettlement is of a tribal community. The concerned government and authorities claiming to resettle people to a new geographical location by providing a certain amount of land is highly inadequate to call it proper resettlements, since the questions of sustainable life are unanswered suitably with appropriate mechanisms.

You will be happy to see the beautiful sceneries and wildlife photographs of Aralam wildlife sanctuary when you search the term 'Aralam farm' in Google. But, very negligible information is available about a marginalised community, the Paniya, who had been resettled from Wayanad district to a location that lays just two kilometres away from the said sanctuary in Kannur district. A large number of tourists belonging to the affluent class visit the sanctuary to explore the beauty of wildlife and animals in the daytime. At night, the wild animals 'visits' the resettlement areas of the impoverished tribes and destroy their houses, attack them physically and make them psychologically panic. The frontline media do not report news about these attacks with required

importance, even if elephants kill the tribes. The government never addresses the issue with any pragmatic approach as it is always in various issues faced by the tribes in the state.

The life of the tribal households resettled to Aralam is less explored by researchers as well as by the state, at least in the case of Paniya tribe. The marginalised community in terms of their economic status, social position and political participation are further downgraded after subsequent resettlement into an isolated and remote place like Aralam farm where they provided a negligible livelihood, health care, education and other important social welfare facilities by the state. As it is in the case of wild animal attacks, the government, media, and other stakeholders did not show substantial interest in exploring and being plausibly involved with the issues they face. According to the study's conceptualisation, the adverse effect of displacement and the subsequent resettlement of Paniya tribe households to Aralam from Wayanad has impacted the socio-cultural, economic and livelihood, and political sphere of the studied community has affected their health.

In detail, we have seen the findings and analysis regarding various domains of life and indicators of both the group of participants studied respectively from identified villages of Wayanad district and Aralam in Kannur district. Consequently, the researcher has looked into the depth of the differences in quantity and quality of various indicators among both populations to compare, contrast, and discuss with the most appropriate and scientific methods to meet the study objectives.

It is clear from the previous data chapter that there are significant differences among the study groups on their health indicators and variables of health status. Therefore, the following question needed to be addressed: What is the degree of these observed differences? And what are the cause for these differences? How well can we light up the differences in health domain in correlation with other domains studied as economic and livelihood, socio-cultural and political? As the researcher had given much space to portray the analysis of findings in very detail using tables and numbers for quantitative data, as well as in-depth qualitative data on various aspects of the study, he would be keen into bringing the most necessary data here from the findings to follow the most appropriate inputs for discussion.

There are significant differences in the health domain indicators within the study group, the resettled Paniya tribe households to Aralam and the Paniya tribal participants settled in various villages of Wayanad identified for the research. A similar observation can also be done while

comparing the first study group to the literature on various health indicators of the Paniya tribe population in Wayanad and other Kerala districts. Since, the findings were also put to compare between the both study groups as well as compared with other relevant literatures utilised for the research for the purpose of adopting a scientific method to study the variations and to understand the differences and similarities.

Further, the focus has been given by researcher on elucidating these differences in light of other significant domains studied: Economic and Livelihood, Social and cultural, and Political. Thus, an attempt here also made to discuss the role and significance of these socio-political and economical domain on the variations on health domains between study group. In other words, this in core discuss various socio-economic and political determinants of health.

### **Landlessness to Rootlessness; Summary of the Journey of Wayanad Paniya to Aralam**

A large number of tribal households in the Wayanad district of the state were alienated, estranged and dispossessed from their original land based settlements majorly due to the government initiated development induced displacements, evictions and alienations by the non-tribes who were once migrated from the plain land to the district, and land lost to plantation businesses and other cash crop cultivations began by various corporate and individuals. Many studies by historians, anthropologists, and social science researchers explored various dimensions of the tribal displacement in Kerala and specifically in the district Wayanad, which has the highest percentage of tribal population. The current study drags evidence from the Socio-economic survey (1978), Panoor (1999), Bijoy (1999), Prasad (2003), (Kaushik, 2006) etc.

The Aralam Paniya households resettled from various villages of Wayanad districts were also once lost their land and displaced due to one or more than one reason mentioned above. In some instants, there were victims of multiple displacement and resettlement. If some of them had lost their land was lost to the government in the name of expansion of the reserved forest and wildlife sanctuaries in the district, the others had lost their land to construct dams (Karappuzha and Banasura dams) and associated infrastructures. Also, there are households in Aralam whose land was alienated by migrated settlers from non-tribal communities including the scheduled caste.

Whether in the form of organised or individual, the struggles and resistances were forcefully suppressed by the government and influential stake holders employing state and political powers. Long years of determinants and consistent movements by the united tribal political actions in the district and state wide which primarily argued for immediate restoration of the alienated tribal land. However, after the violent collides between the state power and tribal movements, the government finally came up with a proposal to resolve land struggles in the form of distributing land to landless tribes at identified resettlement project areas instead of restoring lost land as the tribes argued and the legislation suggest. The tribal movement leaders and organisers of the movements were forced to take the path of compromise with whatever the government proposed as resettlement project. Thus, the Aralam farm resettlement project came up in the year 2003.

The 2/3<sup>rd</sup> of the total land (7000 acre) acquired for the resettlement project from the central government in Aralam farm was decided to distribute to the landless tribal households from Wayanad and rest to the landless tribes households of Kannur district itself. Nevertheless, only less than four hundred and fifty tribal households were resettled to Aralam from Wayanad. In actuality, out of the said number of households identified as beneficiaries from Wayanad, many already left the project land due to various reasons ranging from frequent wildlife attacks and severe lack of livelihood options in Aralam.

The new socio-political and economical situations and circumstances impacted the lives of the resettled tribal households in Aralam farm very adversely, at least in the Paniya community. The process of displacement from Wayanad to the current resettlement in Aralam of Kannur district is, in short, can be expressed as the title, the people who once were landless but now became rootless. However, there is only a countable number of dependable scientific researches that are published on Paniya resettlement in Aralam, the researcher is confident to state, with the findings presented in the earlier chapters, that the various life domains were impacted by the resettlement which has affected the health of the resettled Paniya households.

As the literature exhibits, the experiences of going through various stages from the gradual dispossession of land or immediate displacement from own land to the latest resettlement land was devastating as explained by the despondence. The displaced and resettled households still carry the fear and agony of their experiences. Whether in the case of the land was lost to any development project, or for expansion or demarcation of reserve forest or by the alienation and eviction by non-

tribal community households, the aborigines of the land faced physical, psychological and economical exploitations that left a lifelong impact on their life domains including in the political spheres. For the resettled Paniya tribes, whose land was lost in Wayanad district, doesn't consider the land they lost as the mere loss of physical property. As the respondents report it, they consider the original land with an added emotional value that often provided them with the comfort of having significant social capital, more dignity and political power through unity. As India's honorable Supreme Court (1997) noted, the land for the tribes is a source of security and economic empowerment. Apart from that, it provides equality of status and social justice which ultimately paves the way for empowerment in a social democratic system. The displacement and resettlement is not merely about losing land and getting land as a physical asset. The above said values and powers provided by the land are not always regained by the tribes who were once displaced and resettle project area in Aralam.

The government authorities compelled the households with forces including physical and legal, their land was evicted by in many cases by the non-tribal community members and large plantation owners. The opinion and decision of the victims or the beneficiaries, the Paniya tribal households, were never considered in any stages during the process. However, the government and other stakeholders often criticised and taken on grant that the tribes for not maintaining proper and necessary legal documents for proving their land ownerships. In other way, it is simply a game of victim-blaming. In many cases, the 'ownerships on papers' itself is a new concept of land ownership for the tribes. The responses from various households indicated in many cases that how they were exploited in the absence of proper knowledge on the legal formalities and procedures regarding land rights. However, the community ownership concept of particular land among tribes were different, as Cheruma (62), a tribal community leader, said "...in earlier time, those lands which we were readied for cultivation for our own consumption and protected from the wild animals, or availed for our community's utilisation, either for dwelling or for other purposes, were generally considered as land owned by our community. However, now things are changed, whoever can produce papers regarding the same is considered the landowner. It is not necessary that they have to cultivate or dwell in a particular land. Also, nobody is interested in knowing as to who were cultivating the particular land; what is written in the paper (meant land records or documents) becomes the truth today". The ownership and value of land were not familiar for the tribes regarding money and legitimacy. Dirar (2016) writes about it, 'land is the biodiversity of the



aboriginal. It is active with birds and plants. The genus man has also passed in favour of its rhythms. The human centric worldview that alienates other species is alien to the tribal culture...the logic of privatising land was also alien to tribal culture. Despite the spread of migration, the adivasis did not grasp the logic of privatisation of land. For the non-tribe who migrated to the land of tribe, the land is a property. That is, he lives alienated from the nature and for adivasis the land is the essence of their soul". The people who often victim blame the tribe for not properly maintaining land records and legal documents should understand the issues in these terms.

### **The health and correlated variables**

The divide between study groups, the Paniyas resettled to Aralam farm and Paniyas of various villages in Wayanad, on defined indicators of health is clear and significant. The processes of displacement and resettlement have tampered the life of every resettled tribal households studied in Aralam in a highly adverse manner. These adversities experienced by the resettled community have been impacting their every domain of life. These collide directly and indirectly affected the health variables and domains of the resettled tribal community.

At the same time, apart from the comparative framework used to assess the degree of differences in the quality and quantity of various health indicators between the study groups, the comparison of data with other tribal, schedule caste and general communities in Kerala also brings out the harsh differences.

As seen under the health domain in the last chapter, the researcher studied various health variables to understand the current health status of the study population. This majorly includes; the self-reported illness symptoms, BMI and food consumption, psychological wellbeing, access to various health care services, social determinants of health and the living condition, the status of traditional tribal health care delivery system, and self-care practices.

A clinical observation was not always required to distinguish the physical conditions of participants of both study groups. The households recognised the hard work and lack of proper food had caused for deterioration of their health. "Whenever we go back to Wayanad, relatives

and others lament that our body is exhausted after settling to Aralam, and they ask are we not eating enough. What they say is very true. Even those who have been here for a few years are physically exhausted. The work that we do here, the soil in which we live, and the wildlife that we fight with have made us destroy our health” said Malathy (39) from Aralam.

The results of the BMI survey conducted by the researcher, shown in the findings chapters, point to very worrying matters. Especially, the case of women and adolescence girls are distinctly needed to be addressed. The BMI status of the women belong to reproductive age (15 year to 49 year) shows that 41.7%, 13.1% and a 33.3% of them respectively belong to category of underweight, severely and very severely underweight according to the BMI standards followed. However not satisfying, the BMI of women belong to the reproductive age is better when we compare it with the respondents from Aralam. From Wayanad, 53.2%, 18.1% and 7.4% respectively belong to underweight, severely underweight and very severely underweight category. It is indicating a very severe deficiency of food and nutrition among the participants. The condition of the Paniya women respondents from Wayanad also cite importance questions while we compare the data with other general community and the NFHS 4 reports that say 20% of the Scheduled caste in Kerala belong to underweight category (IIPS and ICF, 2018). A similar study conducted in Wayanad among Paniya women who belong to the reproductive age group also reports that 59.4 % of participants with a low BMI ratio than 18.5 (Mohandas, 2019). However, in the current study a significantly more number, that as 78.7 % of the total participants belong to various undernourished categories (BMI ratio less than 18.5). In the referred study, it is found that 25% of the participants belong to the severe underweight category, while it is 25.5 % in the current study.

Similarly, the present study reports the severity of under-nutrition among men of both the study groups as Aralam and Wayanad. The percent of Paniya men (age between 15 to 60) in Aralam are 39.4%, 17.2% and 20.2% respectively, belong to underweight, severely underweight and very severely underweight (The classification as I can remember distinguishes three categories – Mildly underweight, Moderately underweight, and Severely underweight – Kindly check). While, for the same group of respondents from Wayanad show a comparatively better result, the percent belong to underweight, severely underweight and very severely underweight category is respectively underweight, severely underweight and very severely underweight. However there is a significant difference in the percent of men living with severe underweight, the total percent of men belongs

to the three category added together is more or less similar. That indicate the intensity of lack of nutrition and food is comparably experienced by the men from both study group.

The major inputs from the medical survey conducted by the district medical office, Kannur (2017) on health of the Aralam tribes needed to be looked with the data on underweight. The survey finds that among the under 5 population, 20 % of the female population and 13% of the male population have anaemia. And among the population 15 % of the female population and 5% of the male population have anaemia. These results to be read with the findings of another study (Dhanya, 2019) conducted among tribal school-going adolescent children from Aralam farm, which found 61.2% of the study's total participants were anaemic. Both studies are taken the samples from the whole resettled tribal community, unlike the current study that only studied the Paniya households resettled from Wayanad. Nevertheless, the situation of the other tribal communities in Aralam are far better when compared to the Paniya households, the prevalence of anaemia is severe among tribes in Aralam.

### **Food consumption and nutrition**

The stated surveys reports, research findings and the current study results point towards the serious nutritional deficiencies faced by the resettled Paniya households in Aralam farm. It is needed to examine the government's action to curb the reported anemia and allied issues of nutritional deficiencies. For example, the government and associated department have initiated an awareness campaign program to educate the importance of consuming nutritious food items among the women who are found with anemia. It is a pure form of victim-blaming. However, the researcher did not think that the lack of depth understanding is not the reason for government to initiate the said scheme. Instead, if the government recognize the reported nutritious deficiencies and related health problems are caused by severe unemployment and poverty challenged by the resettled tribe households, then the political consequences that the government would be facing high. So the government took the safe path in the form of distribution of iron tablet and awareness classes. The people know very well that they are living with significant lack of food intake, “we know that it doesn't create any magic. We are worn-out and deteriorated not because that we lack iron but food”, Kani said. There are even households that reported not having two full meals. Malathy says,

“If hunger hits the stomach of elders, then we adjust by drinking warm water, but how can I cheat my son and daughters by giving it to them when they cry out of hunger”. The Block medical officer reported that even the pregnant women and lactating mothers doesn't care to have breakfast properly instead they have a black tea with bread or rusks. Neither the concerned authorities nor the government can recognise the real causes of hunger and poverty among resettled tribes. The study also reveals government schemes' inefficiency to provide supplementary nutrition for the eligible beneficiaries through ICDS centers. No eligible households were benefited though these schemes in the last six months. There is no Anganwadi center even dedicated and available for the study location.

Another important findings to be discussed with the intense nutritional deficiency and lack of food consumption is the cultivation across the study group for the purpose of self-consumption. From the study households from Aralam, none reported using the land distributed for the purpose cultivation to cultivate means as self-consumption or income generation. While, every households from Wayanad cultivate various crops in the available land including homestead land. This cultivation is a source of partial income for the family and more importantly, it serves as source for food consumption. Often, the arums, yams, vegetables, eggs, coconuts, jackfruits, tapioca, papaya etc. many cultivated in their available land were reported as the sources of food for them. Especially during the bad seasons, when there is a lack of planation and labor works, the income and income sources are diminished. These crops provided them with a significant amount of produce to satisfy their hunger. It is important to note that by doing this cultivation, the knowledge in cultivation and skills in maintenance are existed with the households and transferred to their next generation. The Aralam households were forced to depend market even for green chilly and tapioca while none of the households from Wayanad brought it for cash for the last 12 months. A complete market-based consumption is developed in Aralam due to severe unavailability of productive land, irrigation facilities and wild animal disturbances.

### **Resettlement and Women; the Gender-Specific Health Concerns**

It is only in the recent studies, however not common, the conceptualization of research began to accept the heterogeneity of the people resettled to a newer area that as gender, age etc. than the mere ethnicity. The study suggests that the differential impact of displacement and consequent resettlement on women and men needed to be explored in depth. The examination of BMI data

across the study groups and gender explicit that the problem of underweight is reported from both study location for both gender. Nevertheless, the situations in Aralam is significantly difficult than the case of study groups from Wayanad. Apart from that, it shows that the problem is highly persistent among women compared to men. And most importantly, the women community face the most intense face of the lack of food and nutrition after resettlements. This is also substantiated with the study result that compared to men, the women of Aralam were severely affected with underweight. It underlines the findings of various studies that conclusively state that women are the most affected group in any resettlement, especially the tribal women. It is observed that the men who are manual wage laborers, they work outside the farm area and depend on hotels and other restaurants for food on those days. The food availability for consumption is comparatively higher for men since no women reported working outside the farm and consuming food outside their houses. The women reported that they adjust with the leftovers of food prepared on previous days and also miss their one-time food due to the scarcity. This can also be why the Paniya women studied in Aralam to show the significant disparity compared to the men.

The problems faced by women and their requirements during displacement and after the resettlement is different from men. Bisht (2009) state in her study of women's experiences during the mass displacement of people for the construction of Tehri Dam, Uttarakhand, India, that the displacement not only results in physical dislocation, but also in women's disempowerment. The case of women from Aralam is no means different from the experiences of any other resettlements in India. She is the one who is supposed to fetch water to the house by walking more than one and half kilometer in the summer season that too five to eight times in a day. She has to bear the deficiencies in the quality and quantity of food available for consumption. The duties also include purchasing ration items, consulting doctors in the case of any ailment to their children, etc. apart from the household works. Being resettled at a distant location from the service delivery institution, it became tough for them to reach everywhere by walk. Even the Kudumbasree SHG units in Aralam throw much diminished possibilities for the empowerment of displaced and resettled Paniya tribal women in Aralam. The situations of women who belong to the second study groups of Paniya they are settled in various villages of Wayanad is different from what is discussed. The all-time availability of safe drinking water at their house through different drinking water projects run by the local government is a real relief for them. The SHGs of women are working better in terms of various economic and political empowerment initiatives that attempted

to develop in their functioning area. In many instances, the women stood with the organised actions and movement that took place for the common cause of the tribal community in the district, unlike in Aralam. The unresolved livelihood problems of the resettled Paniya in Aralam has deeply affected the women. However there persisting wage disparity, the women in Wayanad are able to contribute to the family income significantly. The case of the women from Aralam is different, they works for an economically exploitative kind of employments that are however available only during certain seasons. A significant proportion of women (6.8%) engagements in the exploitative underpaid manual labour Kannur indicates the poverty and lack of better employment options for Women in the resettled locality. The daily wage paid to women for this kind of employment ranges between rupees 50 to 75. It is important to note that there is no women labourer from study group from Wayanad reported engaging in the said category of employment. Being employed in the exploitative works inside the farm has affected the women's morale and self-confidence. The respondents understand that they are being exploited but they express helplessness, "I know the payment is negligible when compare to the hard work we do in the plantation. What else I can do in case if I say no to the lesser payment. They (the employer) will get someone else from my community only to substitute me. At least I get cashew mango (to mean cashew apple) to suffice my hunger for one time," said Usha (47) from Aralam.

### **The unplanned resettlement and escalated livelihood uncertainties**

The lack of livelihood opportunities in whole farming and agricultural seasons, unlike any particular farming season in Wayanad, reported as one of the important livelihood issue faced by the tribal household settled to Aralam. The dearth of livelihood options and income is clearly visible when comparing the findings from both study locations. In Aralam, being resettled to a place far from other resettlement areas and settlements of other religions, the Paniya tribal households face intense difficulty in accessing manual wage labours outside their resettlement area. However, the households usually depend on employment as manual wage labours outside the farm premises due to the absence of any other income sources existing inside the resettled farm premises.

The shortage of dignified employment opportunities is very visible in Aralam is similar to the findings of many other studies which inquired about the livelihood uncertainties among resettled communities, especially the tribes. The unplanned resettlement projects always impacted the livelihood and income of the resettled communities in the past too. Building Cochin International Airport Limited 1254 acres of land acquired and 872 households were displaced mainly belong to scheduled castes communities (Aneesh, 2015). The project is criticized for the lack of adequate resettlements for the affected households. Land loss and insufficient resettlement options impacted the livelihood and socio-cultural life of the people who got evicted in the name of 'nation's development'. The skills and knowledge to work in a new area are often considered a serious threat in front of the resettled households in Aralam. The new labourers available in an area like Aralam after the resettlement imbalances the number of required labours and the demand. When there are surplus number of labours and increased competition, the new comers in the labour group, here the labourers from Paniya community were forced to engage in the most under-paid works as well they were compelled to compromise with the significant disparities in the wage paid for them and the existing non-tribal labourer for the same kind of works. The marginalised and socio-economically and politically subjugated community like the Paniya tribe were more impoverished after the resettlement due to the lack of livelihood in Aralam. The socio-economic and political status of the displaced households and community are influential factors in deciding how better they can contribute to the livelihood in the post resettlement period. A comparative study (Hota, 2011) of the resettled tribes and non-tribes due to various dam projects in Orissa indicate that the 'displaced persons with high self-efficacy have utilised the tangible support, informational support, the compensation money in more productive ways, and have participated in more rehabilitation activities to reconstruct their livelihood than the displaced persons having moderate and low self-efficacy'.

They are forced to work in these areas despite lesser wage and huge additional expenses to access the work site in the form of transportation charges. The distance and lack of convenient transport facilities between the settlement area and the worksite alone succumbed a good portion (20% to 30%) of their hard earned daily income which is spent for affording private transport options for commutation. In Wayanad, the spending on commutation for accessing worksite is significantly negligible, as reported by the participants, since their daily wage labour sources is available in their vicinity. Resettled to a remote and isolated area like the 2/7th block of Aralam farm

resettlements, the government did not initiate any kind of affirmative action to address and facilitate the livelihood problems faced by the Paniya tribe households, even after fifteen years of resettlement. When the Kudumbasree and allied initiatives of the state is acknowledged at national and international level for its model to become better poverty alleviation, income generation and women empowerment, the poorest of the poor and marginalised community like Paniyan still being living with hunger and severe poverty that too even in a land which given by the government for their development. However, the need and scope for enterprises in the form of farmers and producing groups are highly required in Aralam.

The wages paid to a tribal labourer is significantly less when compare to the wage paid for a non-tribal labour who is settled in the other villages. These payment differential wage is reported from respondents from the both study locations, however, the degree of disparity is high among Paniyas of Aralam as 37 percent to 43 percent while the same is 7 percent to 20 percent in Wayanad.

The government have exploited the desire of the Paniyan to own a piece of land and to have a dependable employment. Every household surveyed by the researcher stated that they were promised an employment for one individual from every house (one individual from every ration card) under the Aralam farming corporation ltd prior to the resettlement. However, as we have seen in the findings, none of the Paniya tribal households were permanently or temporarily employed under the corporation. However, the participants were not given any written offer letter or document to prove that they were promised employment. The government authorities took advantage of the lack of knowledge and education regarding land rights and legal documentations among tribes. The management of farming corporations has their version of reasons for not providing employment for the Paniya households under the corporation. The escalated use of machineries, adaptation of high skilled and professional cultivation procedures, the lack of productivity by the tribes as manual wage employee etc. were some of the reason cited by the manager for not employing Paniya labourers. Nevertheless, it is found that the tender for plantation work in cashew, rubber, pineapple, coconut were only given to those who have own machines to work. Consequently, the Paniya tribe labourers were left out since very less of them own even the basic tools for manual works. And this fact was not something unknown to the authorities of the farming corporation. The state never addressed the issue and initiated any actions to avail the basic



tools and types of machinery required for employment neither initiated any training to upskill the tribal labourers to undertake these kinds of jobs.

The harsh differences in the class of employment (categorised according to the range of wages) that the households are engaged with and the income that they are fetching indicates the severe lack of economically viable livelihood option for the tribes in Aralam. The study analysed the primary and secondary income sources of both groups of respondents to understand the impact of displacement and subsequent resettlement on the resettled Paniya tribe households' livelihood and income settled in Aralam.

The findings demonstrate that from Aralam none of the households fetch their primary income from a 'wage labour- class 1' while 65.5% from Wayanad have their primary source of income from these categories. Instead, the majority (98.3%) of the households from Aralam depends on the 'manual labour-class 2' as their primary income. Kothari (1972) states the after effect of mass displacement of the tribal community as follows; 'the increasing economic marginalization and cultural insecurity that compel most of the displaced to seek desperate means of survival-cultivating increasingly fragile lands migration, bondage, contract, crime, even prostitution'. The households out of poverty and severely narrowed opportunities of any viable income sources were forced to accept any kind of manual labour works whether it is riskier, exploitative or rigorously underpaid. To substantiate, there are households which depend on the 'seasonal minor farm works', that is the most underpaid and economically exploitative kind of labour category identified, as their primary source of income while there is no households from Wayanad is engaged in these categories for earning their primary income.

A study (Kurian, 2017) on the effectiveness of Tribal Resettlement Development Mission (TRDM) state that 'although the mission has been successful in providing land to a large number of Adivasi families, it has failed to cater to all the land-related needs of these families, ranging from livelihood to preservation of cultural identity'. And 'apart from the threat from the wild animals, agriculture is affected by lack of irrigation and knowledge about scientific agricultural and marketing practices. Moreover, poor soil quality, thick canopy cover in the forest and rocky terrain also add to the impediments. Because of difficulties in practicing agriculture and generating adequate income even when it is practiced, they are forced to take up irregular, informal jobs as daily wage labourers. They often face unfavorable work conditions and payments'.

The amount of land and its sufficiency in terms of needs and means are entirely different. If the tribes are unable to utilise the land in a feasible and their most desired manner, then the amount of land distributed as part of resettlement policy does not make any real-world sense in the life of tribal households. Despite the quantity, the quality of land matters to any, especially for tribes whose life is so much linked to the soil they toil.

### **Wild animal attacks; Psycho-social, economic and other impacts**

It was initially confusing to the researcher to put the issue of wildlife attacks to any particular domains of the study since it is attached to most of the variables tested by the research. The frequent presence of wild animals inside the settlement land in the Aralam resettlement area, especially in the Paniya settlement area, as they are settled close (within 3 KM radius) to the Aralam wildlife sanctuary, is directly linked to the psychological wellbeing, cultivation on land given for the purpose of agriculture, free movement and commutation of labourer to access work site, students to commute to schools etc. A nineteen-year-old boy, with whom the researcher had an interaction during the fieldwork was the last one who got killed by an elephant attack in Aralam in 2020. The frequent attacks of wild animal, including elephants, wild pig etc. created serious panic among the resettled communities in Aralam. The Paniya households in Aralam are living under a constant threat to life. The responsible authorities, neither the forest department nor the tribal department, are concerned about bringing any sustainable solution for it. However, being it is one of the most pressing issue which adversely affect their livelihood, cultivation and psychological wellbeing, the Paniya community, never showed any organised attempt to resolve the issue. None of the respondents participated in a strike against the forest department took place in front of the Aralam wildlife sanctuary that happened in the year 2018. The tribal communities, who are socio-economically better than the Paniya were the organisers of that strike. Their cultivation was disturbed by the free movement of monkeys and deer from the sanctuary was the reason to put up such an event. However, the community, whose life is in threat and disturbed by the wild animals were never came up with an organised action, why? Their political strength to unite against a common cause and social capital has severely tampered through the process of displacement and resettlement.

### **The unproductive land and diminished possibilities for cultivation**

The amount of land given to each household in Aralam is one acre. Out of that, 10 cents of land is given as homestead land and the rest 90 cents is allocated for the cultivation. Whether it is for own consumption or generating income from cultivation, there are no households from Aralam cultivating their land distributed by the government. The given land is not productive and cultivable due to the peculiarities of its soil and rocks.

Apart from that, the 90 cents (90 percent of the total land) of land were given at a different location from their homestead land. In some cases, the distance between their home and 90 cents is more than one and a half kilometers. In a place where frequent wild animal attacks are reported, the households were not even ready to visit their land covered by bushy trees and often provide hide space for the wild animals. And there are even cases in which the households doesn't know where his/her allocated 90 cents land lays between. The land, in some instances, was cited to them after many years of resettlement. To stress, this is the situation faced by the tribes resettled to one of the largest tribal resettlement project in Asia.

In a place like the Aralam resettlement area, where people do not even have dependable sources for safe drinking water, the irrigation facilities may be considered a matter of 'arrogance' by the government and authorities. None of the participants having reported any sources of irrigation facilities to cultivate neither in their homestead land nor in their land given particularly for the purpose of agriculture. Every household considers the lack of irrigation facilities as a strong reason, combined with reasons described above, for not engaging in cultivation.

The wild animals which move freely from the Aralam wildlife sanctuary to the settlement areas of the resettled tribes became the villains when some of the households attempted to cultivate in their homestead land for the purpose of self-consumption. Large numbers of monkeys, wild pigs, deer and elephants trespass the poorly managed fencings of the sanctuary and travel even more than ten kilometers to find their food at plantation land. So the case of the cultivations by the tribal households who are settled just less than three kilometers away from the sanctuary is understandable. Government authorities did not do anything constructively to resolve the issues even after acknowledging the problems through tribal village committee meetings (*oorukoottam*) and gramasbhas.

## **Health care service system**

The lack of access and affordability to proper health care service system was reported from the initiation of the resettlement of the tribe to Aralam in 2003. After the resettlement, ‘in a short period, by May 2008, the absence of basic facilities led to the death of 14 people in the project. Whether it is a snake-bite or an ordinary illness, the main reason for death is, of course, the absence of a hospital and proper transport facility’ (Sreerekha, 2010). Ten years after conducting the mentioned study, the diminished health care and allied facilities remain unchanged in Aralam. The out of pocket expenditure in the form of cost for commutation due to the absence of dependable public transport facilities alone caused the households to become reluctant to access various health care institutions. It is found that in Aralam, 56.6 percent of the total population reported accessed government healthcare facilities in the events of any acute illness had spent 100 to 300 rupees alone for commutation excluding other cost for purchasing medicines if any. However, from Wayanad study locations, 66.6 percent of the respondent spent less than 100 rupees and rest of them (33.3 percent) availed it without having any expenditure for transportation. Quoting from an interview which indicate the issue of transportation to the dedicated hospital situated far away from resettlement project area, “some people (outsiders and authorities) ask us why don’t we hire private autorickshaw together and go to the hospital the government tribal hospital which is situated far (more than 25 km) from our house. But, consulting doctor is not like an occasion like marriage in that everybody get ready together and hire a vehicle and share the expenses. Nobody knows when we may be required to go to hospitals. So, it can’t be something very pre-planned. Who will wait till your neighbors to get unwell to accompany you to the hospital for sharing your auto charge?” said Leela, 49. Supporting to the statement by the tribal women Leela, the Medical officer, Tribal hospital, Aralam said “A very less number of patients from the Aralam resettlement area utilizes our services, I hope because of the distance for them to access it and also the expenses they have to bear for commutation, many were not opting this service”.

## **The Self-care practices among households and its meaning**

A significant number (87.5 percent) of participants, who had one or more than one chronic symptoms in the last one year period, from Wayanad reported that they had used some kind of self-treatment to cure or to relieve the symptoms for temporarily or permanent together with other treatment methods or as primary option. However, from Aralam, a lesser number (31.95 percent) reported the same despite having more number of cases reported (97 in Aralam compare to 24 in Wayanad). From Wayanad, the participants reported that the self-care is often used together with other major or the primary treatment method followed to 'speed up' the recovery time, to 'suppress' the pain during the treatment period, to control the recurrence of the disease (as a preventive health care method) and to bring back the earlier physical stamina and health condition (as a primitive health care method) after the recovery of some particular diseases like jaundice. However, from Aralam, the participants reported having utilized self-care as a primary method to cure the disease 'in the absence of any other effective treatment methods', 'due to the lack of a desired treatment option', also 'due to the experiences of ineffective treatment availed in the past'. The purpose of utilizing self-care practices among participants from Aralam and Wayanad is different and which is very significant since that needed to be read with the limited availability, accessibility and affordability of socially acceptable health care facilities in Aralam.

The resettlement of Paniya tribes from Wayand district to Aralam, Kannur intensified the socio-economic and political problems being experienced by them for long period. The identity of Paniyan got changed from colony Paniyan to 'Wayanadan Paniyan' among 'originals' of Aralam and other local areas in Kannur. The reflections of changed livelihood, social and political structure and power was well visible. These changes precipitated their already deteriorating health conditions, access to health care facilities, utilization of traditional tribal medicine, food consumption, etc. Their access and quality of social determinants of health was diminished in their new area of settlement while there is significant improvement noted among respondents of Wayanad.

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# APPENDIX



## Household Survey Questionnaire Parts

- ❖ PART I- General Demographic Information
- ❖ PART II- Housing, Amenities, Assets and Live stocks
  - Part II-A: Housing and Amenities
  - Part II-B: Availability of Assets and livestock
- ❖ PART III-A)- Land Holding and Cultivation
  - B)- Details of Indebt/Loan
- ❖ PART IV-A- Food Availability and Consumption
- ❖ PART -IV-B- Consumption of staple food
- ❖ PART-IV-C- Food availability from PDS
- ❖ PART V- Morbidity, Mortality and Health Care Access
  - Part-V-A) Minor illness
  - Part-V-B) Major Illness-Required Hospitalization
  - Part-V-C) Major illness-Not required Hospitalization
  - PART-V-D)- Maternal and Child Mortality, other Mortalities
  - PART-V-E)- Awareness on various government health programmes
- ❖ PART VI-Participation and status of availing various government schemes

## Household Survey Questionnaire

- ❖ Household Number:
  - ❖ District:
  - ❖ Panchayat Ward Name and No:
  - ❖ Settlement Block No:
  - ❖ Scheduled Tribe Name:
  - ❖ APL/BPL/AAAY Status:
- 

- Name of the Respondent:
- Age:
- Gender:
- Respondent's relationship to head of the household:
- How long the households are staying in the specific location:

Sl.No	Name	Relationship to head	Gender	Age	Current marital status	Age at marriage	Languages speak	Literacy status	Educational status (highest attained)	Occupation	Period of works in months	Reason if not working	Type of land	Height (cm) and Weight (Kg)
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.
1														
2														
3														
4														
5														
6														
7														
8														
9														
10														

**PART I- General Demographic Information**

*If anything additional/observed regarding demographic information provided:*

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**Codes (For column number 1 to 13)**

Col. (2): Relationship to head: 1- Household head  
2-Wife/ Husband  
3-Son/Daughter  
4-Grand Son/Daughter  
5-Mother/Father/Father-in-law/Mother-in-law,  
6-brother/sister/brother-in-law/sister-in-law,  
7-other (specify)

Col. (3): Gender : 1-Male, 2-Female

Col. (5): Current Marital Status: 1- Single (not married)  
2- Currently married  
3- Divorced,  
4-Widow  
5-Seperated

Col. (8): Literacy status: 1- Literate, 2- Illiterate

Col. (9): Educational Status: 1- No formal education  
2-Till primary  
3-Till high school  
4-10<sup>th</sup> class passed  
5-Intermediate  
6-Graduate  
7- Post graduate

Col. (10): Occupational Status: 1-Cultivator  
2-Agricultural labour  
3-Construction worker  
4-Worker in household industry  
5- Domestic worker  
6-Government employee  
7-Private firm worker  
8-Self-employed in livestock farming

Col. (12): Reason for not working: 1-Retired  
2-Student  
3-Household duties  
4-Couldn't find job

- 5-Illness
- 6-Older
- 7-Differentially abled
- 8- Lesser income
- 9- Distance to the working field

Col. (14): Type of Land: 1- Cultivable land, 2-Irrigated land, 3-Non-cultivable land, 4-Not irrigated land

### **PART II-A Housing, Amenities, Assets and Live stocks**

Housing and Amenities [Part II-A]						
Sl No		Code		Sl No		Code
1	Type of House			2	Material of roof	
3	Material of wall			4	Material of floor	
5	Main Source of Drinking water			6	Location of drinking water source	
7	Main Source of lighting			8	Type fuel used for cooking	
9	Latrine facility is available			10	Type Latrine facility	
11	Type of kitchen facility			12	Electricity provision	
13	Number of Dwelling Rooms			14	Type of bathroom facility	

#### **Codes**

Sl no 1): 1-Kachha, 2-Semi-Pucca, 3-Pucca

Sl no 5): 1-Tapwater from treated source, 2-Tapwater from un-treated source, 3-Covered well, 4-Un-covered well, 5-Handpump, 6-Tubewell/Borehole, 7-Spring, 8-River/Canal, 9-Tank/Pond/Lake,10-Other sources

Sl no 6): Distance in KM

Sl no 7): 1-Electricity, 2-Kerosene, 3-Solar energy, 4-Other oil, 5-Any other, 6-No lighting available

Sl no 8): 1-Fire-wood, 2-Crop residue, 3-Kerosene, 4-LPG, 5-Electricity, 6-Biogas,7-Any other

Sl no 9): 1-Yes, 2-No

Sl no 10): 1-Go to field, 2-Flush system/Septic tank, 3-Service latrine, 5-Pit, 6-Other

Sl no 11): 1-Separate kitchen inside house, 2-Cooked outside home

Sl no 12): 1-Yes, 2-No

Sl no 14): 1- Enclosure with roof, 2- Enclosure without roof, 3-No bathroom

Any comments on housing conditions and the basic amenities for the household:.....

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**Availability of assets and livestock (Part II-B)**

1.Radio/ Transistor		2.Television		3.Computer /Laptop		4.Telephone /Mobile Phone		5.Bicycle		6.Scooter/ Motorcycle		7.Four wheeler	
Code	Tot	Code	Tot	Code	Tot	Code	Tot	Code	Tot	Code	Tot	Code	To t
8. Fans		9.Sewing machine		10. Buffalo		11.Goat		12. Rooster		13. Hen		14. Cow	
Code	Tot	Code	Tot	Code	Tot	Code	Tot	Code	Tot	Code	Tot	Cod e	Tot

Code: 1-Yes, 2-No, Total: Total number of particular item

**PART III-A: Land Holding and Cultivation**

1. Does the households own any land:

Yes-1, No-2

2. If the answer to question no 1 is 'Yes' then what type of land does the household have:

Homestead-1, Cultivable land-2, both homestead and cultivable land-3

3. How much of cultivable land does the household have?

4. How much of cultivable land owned by the house is irrigated?

3. If the household is landless or has only homestead land specify the reason for loss of land/cultivable land:

Sold-1, Encroached by government-2, Encroached by outsiders-3, 4-Never had any land

4. Of total cultivable land, land used for cultivation in the last one year (acre):

5. Land with irrigation facility throughout a year (acre):

6. What all crops were cultivated in the land during previous one year:

Tapioca-1, Rice-2, Vegetables-3, (*More local items to be added to this part which are usually produced by tribal communities in Kerala*)

8. What all produce from the land were utilized for household consumption:

- 1).....
- 2).....
- 3).....
- 4).....

**PART III-A: Details of Indebt/Loans, if any**

**A-Loan taken in the period of last 6 months**

Sl no	Indebt/loan source	Purpose	Amount
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			

**B-Overall debt on the family**

Sl no	Indebt/loan source	Purpose	Amount
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			



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**Food Consumption Details for the period of last one month (PART-IV-A)**

*(Exact consumption amount are collected on daily basis for some items and calculated for the period of a week and month. For Items which are consumed not frequently, details are collected on suitable periods and later calculated for a month)*

House hold member information			Food Category (Amount consumed during last one month)														
Sl no	Age	M/F	1) Milk (In litter)	2) Curd (In litter)	3) Pulses or beans (Kg)	4) Dark green, leafy vegetables (Kg)	5) Fruits (Kg)	6) Egg (Number)	7) Fish (Kg)	8) Chicken (Kg)	9) Mutton (Kg)	10) Beef (Kg)					
1																	
2																	
3																	
4																	
5																	
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7																	
8																	

9																	
10																	

Any comments/observations on food consumption details and related to above query:

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**Consumption of staple food during the last 30 days & It's sufficiency for the last 12 months (PART-IV-B)**

Item Code	Item Name (1)	Consumption out of home produce Last 30 days (Quantity) (2)	Total Consumption Last 30 days (Quantity) (3)	Source (4)	Was the requirement met during past 12 months Yes-1, No-2	If not met, during which month the requirement of particular item was not met from mentioned source (Put an 'X' mark on appropriate month)											
						January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December
1																	
2																	
3																	
4																	
5																	
6																	
7																	
8																	
9																	
10																	
11																	

12																		
13																		
14																		
15																		
16																		
17																		
18																		
19																		
20																		

*(Includes consumption of locally produced items)*

**Code: Sources (4):** Only Purchase –1, Only Home-Grown Stock –2, Both Purchase and Home-Grown Stock –3, Only Free Collection –4, Only Exchange of Goods and Services –5, Only Gifts / Charities – 6, Others –9

**Additional requirement and consumption during last one year**

1. Name of the item	2. Reason for the additional requirement	3. During which all months	4. The amount additionally required (Kg)	Was the requirement met and consumed Yes-1, No-2	6. If met, then from which all sources

**Codes:** Reasons for additional requirement: 1-guest, 2-family functions, 3-cultural ceremonies, 4-donation, 5-Any other: .....

Comments/Observation if any on consumption of staple food:



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**Food availability from Public Distribution System-PART IV-C**

1. Does the household own a valid ration card:
2. If not, mention the reason:
 

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3. Did you buy any items from PDS shops during last six months:..... 1-Yes, 2-No
4. If yes, what are the items you brought:
 

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5. Does the household do a regular purchase for the last 6 months (by examining ration card and verifying with respondent):..... Yes-1, No-2
6. If purchases are irregular, what are the reasons:
 

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7. Purchases made from PDS shops during last 6 months (Crosscheck with entries in ration card)

8. Is TRDM transport facility available for the convenience of shopping in PDS?:.....
9. If there is additional cost than item cost, how much it is for onetime purchase from PDS shop  
Rs.:.....
10. For how many days the PDS shop usually functions in a month?:.....
11. Are you priory informed about off PDS days?:
12. Is the functioning time of the PDS suitable for you to go and do purchase:
13. How satisfied you are about the services of PDS?: .....
- Highly satisfied-1, Reasonably satisfied-2, Somewhat dissatisfied -3, Very dissatisfied -4
14. How would you describe the importance of PDS in your family's welfare?
- Very important-1, Quite important-2, Not important-3, Not sure-4
15. Is there any concerns which prevent you from accessing PDS facility? (Probe on the institutional acceptability, social stigmas of the tribes to appear and interact in public and markets, any earlier experiences etc)

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Items	How much you are entitled to buy?	How much did you buy during last six month?	What price did you pay per unit Rs.	What was the quality 1-Better than market 2-Same as market 3-Worse than market
Rice (Kg)				
Wheat (Kg)				
Sugar (Kg)				
Kerosene (Ltr)				

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16. Do you purchase items from subsidised government stores like Maveli/Supplyco?:

17. If yes, what are the items you usually purchase from there:  
.....  
.....  
.....

18. If not purchasing, then what are the reasons? (Especially, in the events, when requirements are higher than pds quota) :  
.....  
.....  
.....

19. Did you get food on credit over the past 30 days?: .....Yes-1, No-2

20. If yes, then from whom?:.....  
Shop keeper-1, Employer-2, Other-3

**Part V-A-Self-Reported Morbidity Status-Minor illness which lasted less than 10 days (During last 3 months)**

1 S. No	2 Age of the household member	3 Have suffered from any ailment/disease which lasted 1-10 days (Yes/No)	4 If yes, then nature of ailment reported	5 If yes, then nature of ailment probed	6 Duration of ailment (Time Period)	7 If Differently able, Kind of Disability (Codes)	8 Have you taken any treatment (Yes/No)	9 If no why	10 Type of Provider, Sequence in which they were consulted (Codes)	11 Reasons for availing particular method	12 How much was spend (Rs)				13 How was the treatment financed? (Code)	14 Culmination of illness?
											Doctors fee	Medicine cost	Transportation	Any other (mention)		
1																
2																
3																
4																
5																
6																
7																

**PART V- Morbidity, Mortality and Health Care Access**

8																		
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Part-V-B-Major Illness which lasted 15 days or more, that required Hospitalization (During Last One Year)																
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10.Total cost of the treatment? (Rs)							
Sl. No.	Age	Have respondent suffered from hospitalization in last one year	If yes, then nature of ailment	Type of treatment availed before hospitalization (In sequence of availed)	Type of Hospitalization with sequence	Duration of Hospitalization (Time Period)	Reasons for availing particular method*	Culmination of illness?	Doctors fee	Service fee	Medication	Food	Any other	11.How was the treatment financed?	12. Addiction, If any	
									1							
2																
3																
4																
5																
6																

7															
8															

**Part-V-C-Major illness which lasted 15 or more- Not required hospitalization (During last 1 year)**

1	2	2	3	4	5	7	8	9	10	11				12	
										Doctors fee	Medicine cost	Transportation	Any other (mention)	How was the treatment financed? (Code)	Culmination of illness?
S. No	Age of the household member	Have suffered from any ailment/disease which lasted 15 Or more days (Yes/No)	If yes, then nature of ailment reported	If yes, then nature of ailment probed	Duration of ailment (Time Period)	Have you taken any treatment (Yes/No)	If no why	If yes, Type of Provider, Sequence in which they were consulted (Codes)	Reasons for availing particular method	How much was spend (Rs)				How was the treatment financed? (Code)	Culmination of illness?
1															
2															
3															
4															
5															
6															

7															
8															

## Codes

Type provider with sequence

1. Faith Healers
2. Quack
3. Chemist
4. ASHA/ANM
5. Govt. doctor at PHC/CHC/Dist. Hosp
6. Private qualified doctor

<b>Type of Hospitalization with sequence</b>	<b>if not utilizing govt service adequately, probe to the reasons</b>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Private Hospital</li><li>2. PHC</li><li>3. CHC</li><li>4. District Hospital</li><li>5. Medical College</li></ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. No adequate infrastructure</li><li>2. Not aware about the facility</li><li>3. Doctors are not available</li><li>4. Timing is not convenient</li><li>5. Long waiting time</li><li>6. Poor quality of care</li><li>7. Drugs are not available</li><li>8. Long distance from home to the service centre</li><li>9. Need to bribe for accessing services</li><li>10. Earlier experiences of no cure</li><li>11. Lack of institutional acceptance</li><li>12. Indirect cost of treatment</li><li>13. Fear to face/ lack of confidence to meet people from other communities</li></ol>



<b>Culmination</b>	<b>Source of finance</b>	<b>Addiction history</b>
1-Recovered 2-Not recovered 3-Death	1-Spend from savings 2-Adjusted from other daily expenses 3-Sold land 4-Sold any other any valuable (mention) 5-Health insurance 6-Borrowed from other sources	1. Tobacco Chewing 2. Smoking 3. Alcohol 4. Others (Specicy)

## PART V (D)- Maternal and Child Mortality

1. Did any member of this household die since last one year? :

Yes-1, No-2

2. If yes, how many persons died? : Male : Female: Total:

3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
Sl no	Name	Age	M/F	Month and Year of death	Was pregnant?, if yes at which month of the pregnancy	Died at the time of abortion? ( In which Month)	Died During child birth? (In which month)	Reason for death (Said by doctors/Autopsy)

In case of mortalities happened in the household, probe more on quality of health care and services provided, their perception on the health care facilities availed, etc :

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**Part-V-E-Awareness on various government health programmes**

Medium	Programmes	1) Pulse Polio Eradication	2) Family Planning	3) HIV/AIDS Prevention	4)Malaria/Dengue/Chic ken guinea	5) DOTS	6) Leprosy Eradication Programmer
	(Put a tick mark on appropriate column)						
1. TV							
2. Radio							
3. News Paper/Book/ Magazine							
4. Group meeting/ Kudumbashree							
5. Doc/ANM/ASHA							
6. Other, Specify							
7. Not Aware of							

**PART-VI-Participation and availing various government schemes**

NREGA

1. How many household members are eligible to apply for job:
2. How many applied for job:
3. How many got job cards:
4. How many days works the enrolled members got in the last year:
5. How many of them got paid within one month of doing work:
6. If anybody left NREGA scheme, mention the reason:
7. If any eligible member is not participating in NREGA, mention the reason:

Kudumbashree/SHG

1. How many members of the family members are participating in Kudumbashree:.....
2. Is the participating member holding/hold previously any position in the group, mention it:  
.....  
.....
3. If no members are participating in Kudumbashree, mention the reason:  
.....  
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.....  
.....
4. If any of the member left Kudubashree, mention the reason for leaving:  
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Gramasabha

1. Does the house hold member/members participates in Gramasbhas:
2. If yes, does the member participate in the discussions:..... if no state the reasons:

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

3. If does not participates in gramasbha meetings, what are the reasons:

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Integrated Child Development Scheme

What all are the services you are availing from ICDS Anganwadi center:

- 1.....
- 2.....
- 3.....
- 4.....
- 5.....
- 6.....

Probe more on the quality of the services provided by ICDS:

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RSBY Insurance

1. Does households holds valid RSBY card:
2. If no, why:
3. How many household members are registered under RSBY scheme:
4. Did you claim RSBY benefit anytime:
5. How was the experience of claiming benefit (Probe more on perception on RSBY, service utilization, accessing health care though the scheme etc)

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## **Case study check list**

### **Life before displacement**

- About land
- Livelihood
- Political life
- Family and community
- Treats to land, life

### **Experience of displacement/dispossession/encroachment**

### **Life after displacement of land**

### **Experience during resettlement process**

### **Life after resettlement**

- Cultural Practices, Ceremonies, Rituals, language
- Political Life: Gramasabha, Ooru koottam, strikes, sittings, unity among community
- Economic; changes in the occupation, livelihood options, stakeholders, position, relationship, debt, savings
- Psychological
- Land availability, utilization
- Food pattern, availability of food, availability of locally cultured/freely utilized food, changes in the intake amount and quality
- Basic living amenities

### **Experience of leaving resettled places (In the particular cases)**