

**REHABILITATION AND HUMAN CAPABILITY FORMATION OF  
SCHEDULED TRIBES IN KERALA:  
A STUDY ON POOKOT DAIRY PROJECT**

*Thesis Submitted to the University of Calicut  
for the Award of the Degree of*

**Doctor of Philosophy in Economics**

**By**

**ATHIRA K**

*Under the Supervision of*

**Prof. (Dr.) K X JOSEPH (Retd.)**

**Department of Economics**

**University of Calicut**

**DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS**

**UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT**

**DR. JOHN MATTHAI CENTRE**

**ARANATTUKARA, THRISSUR**

**APRIL 2024**

## CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this thesis entitled, “**REHABILITATION AND HUMAN CAPABILITY FORMATION OF SCHEDULED TRIBES IN KERALA: A STUDY ON POOKOT DAIRY PROJECT**”, Submitted by **ATHIRA K** for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, to the University of Calicut, is a record of bonafide research work carried out by her under our guidance and supervision. The contents of this thesis, in full or in part, had not been submitted to any other institute or University for the award of any degree or diploma. Plagiarism is checked and found within the permitted limits.

Supervising Teacher

Co-Guide

  
**Dr. K X JOSEPH**

Professor (Retd.)

Department of Economics

Dr. John Matthai Centre

Aranattukara, Thrissur



**Dr. MUNEER BABU M**

Assistant Professor

Department of Economics

Dr. John Matthai Centre

Aranattukara, Thrissur



Place: Thrissur

Date: 16/11/24

## DECLARATION

I, ATHIRA K, affirm that this thesis titled “**REHABILITAION AND HUMAN CAPABILITY FORMATION OF SCHEDULED TRIBES IN KERALA: A STUDY ON POOKOT DAIRY PROJECT**” is a bonafide record of research done by me under the guidance of Dr. K X Joseph, Professor (Retd.), Department of Economics, University of Calicut and Dr. Muneer Babu M, Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, University of Calicut. I declare that this thesis had not been submitted by me earlier for the award of any degree, diploma, fellowship or any other similar title.

Place: Thrissur

Date: 16/4/24

  
ATHIRA K

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<b>Abbreviations</b>	<b>Description</b>
AAY	Antyodaya Anna Yojana
ADR	Adult Dependency Ratio
AHADS	Attapady Hills Area Development
ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
APL	Above Poverty Line
ARDS	Acute Respiratory Distress Syndrome
BL	Beneficiary Labour
CDR	Child Dependency Ratio
CI	Capability Index
CL	Casual Labour
CSSEIP	Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FRA	Forest Rights Act
FYP	Five Year Plan
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report
ILO	International Labour Organisation
ITDP	Integrated Tribal Development Project
KFRI	Kerala Forest Research Institute
KIRTADS	Kerala Institute for Research Training and Development Studies of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes
KVASU	Kerala Veterinary and Animal Sciences University
LPG	Liquefied Petroleum Gas
LSD	Least Significant Difference
LSGI	Local Self Government Institutions
MGNREGA	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
ML	Main Labour
MRS	Model Residential School
NABARD	National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development
NCST	National Commission for Scheduled Tribes
PESA	Panchayats Extension to Scheduled Areas Act
PMAY	Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana
PVTG	Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups
SCP	Special Component Plan
SEEDS	Socio-Economic and Education Development Society
SMTDP	Special Mutli-Purpose Tribal Development Projects
ST	Scheduled Tribes
STDD	Scheduled Tribes Development Department
TDR	Total Dependency Ratio
TEO	Tribal extension Officer
TRDM	Tribal Resettlement Development Mission
TSP	Tribal Sub-Plan
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WHO	World Health Organisation

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## ***Chapter I***

### ***Introduction***

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- **Introduction**
- **Formulation of the Research Problem**
- **Objectives**
- **Methodology**
  - Sources of Data
  - Area of Study
  - Method of Study
  - Methods of Data Collection
  - Analysis of Data
  - Analytical Framework
  - Operational Definitions
- **Limitations of the Study**
- **Chapter Scheme of the Study**



# INTRODUCTION

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## 1.1 Introduction

Tribal communities across India have been living at a subsistence level for centuries, where they have achieved equilibrium with their habitat. With the gradual spread of the "higher productive organisation of caste society" under Hinduism, they became the target of exploitation by the chieftains and overlords, who imposed various obligations on them (Sinha & Surjit, 1982). After the British conquest of India and the resultant political and economic unification of the territories that comprised it, monetization spread to the tribal communities as well. From comparative isolation and dependence on exchange and barter, the tribal communities were brought into the vortex of monetization in their relations with non-tribals who had increasing access to them. This led to the emergence of money lenders and consequently, tribal indebtedness. The obligation to return the loan was to be fulfilled through the provision of labour at a rate below the prevailing market rate of wages on an obligatory basis, as directed by the lender. Such a system of obligation to serve others was termed "bonded labour" (The International School of Dravidian Linguistics, 1996).

In Kerala, the bonded labour system was most pernicious in the Wayanad area, where the Adiya and Paniya were dispossessed of their lands during the feudal period and at the commencement of the British administration. British commercials who started the plantation of tea, coffee, and other commercial crops in the area found the paniya a ready-made source of labour. The native landlords found them a convenient workforce for both their paddy fields and their plantations of commercial crops. It was in their interests to keep the workforce in a condition of perpetual dependence, which they did by binding them to work on their holdings for at least one year at a time. The system was enforced by exploiting the religious beliefs of the tribal people. At the annual festival in March – April at the temple of the Valliyoorkavu Bhagawati (female deity), where traditionally all the families would gather, the landlords or their agents would approach the headmen or heads of families of the tribal people and advance various amounts ranging upto Rupees 200 to them. The acceptance of the amount would entail a bond on oath before the goddess that the tribal family would stay in accommodations provided by the "master" and work for him for nothing more than subsistence and customary gifts on holy and festival days and the entire family would be bound to work. Between the 1930s and the 1970s, the significant inward movement of

Christian settlers from Travancore to Wayanad precipitated a further wave of violent alienation of Wayanad's tribal population from their land. Encroachments and illicit transfers of tribal land led to widespread displacement of the tribal communities (Munster & Vishnudas, 2012).

When the bonded labour system was abolished by the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act 1976, the immediate effect was a great deal of distress among the tribal families that had been dependent on it for subsistence. The erstwhile masters reacted strongly to the law by refusing employment to the tribal workers, and shopkeepers refused their supplies on credit, hoping to depress agricultural wages in the process (The International School of Dravidian Linguistics, 1996). In this circumstance, to rehabilitate the enfranchised bonded labourers after the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act 1976, the government utilised large areas of the private forests that had vested in the government under the provisions of the Kerala Private Forests (Vesting and Assignment) Act 1971. Numerous rehabilitation projects were put out to support bonded labourers. One such rehabilitation initiative was Pookot Girijan Collective Farming Cooperative Society, popularly known as Pookot Dairy Project. The primary objective of the project was to enhance the socio-economic status of the tribal groups.

In this context, the study focuses on examining the effects of rehabilitation on the tribal communities in Pookot settlement by integrating theoretical frameworks derived from the Basic Needs Approach and the Capability Approach. The study aims to shed light on certain inquiries pertaining to the efficacy of rehabilitation and land distribution in shaping the human capability formation of marginalised segments of society, in terms of their human development indicators.

## **1.2 Formulation of the Research Problem**

One of the primary challenges confronted by the tribal communities in Kerala is the land alienation. Throughout the course of history, there has been a recurring pattern of the appropriation and usurpation of tribal territories by dominant entities such as the high caste, native rulers, colonisers, and other influential groups. The issue of landlessness has profound implications not only for the economic circumstances of tribal groups, but also for their overall cultural and social structure. This is due to the fact that the majority of tribal communities share a profound and significant connection with their lands (Kunhaman, 1985). In light of the historical marginalisation experienced by indigenous tribes in terms of their

displacement from ancestral lands and their subsequent transition into predominantly wage labourers, the government has undertaken measures to initiate rehabilitation initiatives.

Rehabilitation is the provision of substitute means of subsistence that provide freedom from the most heinous forms of exploitation. Henceforth, it can be posited that the process of tribal rehabilitation holds paramount significance in the overall advancement and progress of tribal communities (Kjosavik & Shanmugaratnam, 2007). The government has undertaken a multitude of rehabilitation projects aimed at establishing sustainable means of livelihood and ameliorating the plight of landless tribal communities, who have borne the brunt of enslavement and persistent displacement. The Pookot Dairy Project is one such initiative aimed at the rehabilitation of 110 tribal families who had been subjected to the oppressive conditions of bonded labour. The Pookot Dairy Project functioned as a cooperative society for a period of 23 years. After a span of 23 years of operation, the project was eventually demolished, leading to the division of the land among the various tribal groups. The efficacy of the 23-year project in imparting the tribal groups with the requisite knowledge and skills to attain self-sufficiency and competence remains a subject of contention. The efficacy of a rehabilitation project can only be regarded effective if the targeted individuals have achieved an optimal socio-economic status, which will in turn led to the human capability formation. The initiation of a rehabilitation project and the distribution of land titles are followed by big financial offers, and the welfare measures around this are much celebrated affairs for the government involved. An in-depth investigation into each of these experiments will reveal the grim reality of the people living in them.

The perceptions of the rehabilitated tribal communities regarding their needs, present-day life situations, and transformations are to be brought to light. A detailed journey through their life, from decades ago to their future aspirations, could evoke new thoughts, which may be a contribution to existing literature and may help while planning, and implementing welfare programs and policies for Scheduled Tribes.

The research questions attempted to answer through the study are,

- How were the indigenous communities forced into exploitation and marginalisation?
- What factors contributed to the land alienation among the scheduled tribes?
- How have certain indigenous groups in Kerala evolved into bonded labourers?
- What were the initiatives of the state to rehabilitate the freed bonded labourers and landless tribal population?

- What was the Pookot Dairy Project's rehabilitation strategy for the upliftment of tribal communities?
- What led to the suspension of the Pookot Dairy Project?
- Did the Pookot Dairy Project's land distribution succeed in terms of distribution and equipping the recipients for their transition from agricultural labourers to landowners?
- How has rehabilitation impacted the scheduled tribes in terms of human capability formation?

### **1.3 Objectives**

- I. To analyse the pre-migration and post-migration experiences of the rehabilitated tribal communities in the Pookot Dairy Project.
- II. To explore the impact of rehabilitation on the human capability formation of the scheduled tribes under study.
- III. To assess the institutional schemes and programmes undertaken for enhancing the livelihood of Scheduled Tribes in Kerala.

### **1.4 Methodology**

This section deals with numerous research approaches and techniques used for addressing the key objectives of the study. Descriptive Research Design has been adopted for the proposed study and employs the household survey method. Data Sources, the area under study, method of study, methods of data collection, analysis of data, operational definitions and analytical framework of the study, comprises the methodology.

#### **1.4.1 Sources of Data**

The study employed both primary and secondary data and has adopted a mixed approach. The secondary data includes the reports of the Integrated Tribal Development Programme office, Wayanad; Tribal Extension Office, Vythiri; Tribal Development Department, Thiruvananthapuram; the Kerala Veterinary and Animal Sciences University, Wayanad; the Kerala Institute of Local Administration, Thrissur; the Kerala Forest Research Institute, Thrissur; and the Kerala Institute for Research, Training, and Development Studies, Kozhikode. The study also used census reports, economic reviews, national and international journals, books, and newspapers. The primary data used in the study is both qualitative and quantitative. The collection of primary data was done through different methods of data

collection, such as household interviews, key informant interviews, and focus group discussions. Two interview schedules had been prepared. One was for a household survey, and the other was for a focus group discussion. The investigation also included extensive observations as a key component.

#### **1.4.2 Area of Study**

The research is being carried out within the Pookot tribal settlement, situated in the Vythiri panchayat of the Wayanad district. The indigenous community residing in the settlement was formerly associated with the Pookot Dairy Project, which was established in 1979 with the objective of rehabilitating landless tribal communities in the Wayanad region. A total of 420 hectares of vested forestlands were allocated with the objective of facilitating rehabilitation efforts. The primary objective of the project was to facilitate the rehabilitation process of 110 individuals who had been liberated from bonded servitude within the district.

In 2003, the Dairy Project was demolished and the land was allocated to the Tribal communities. A total of 42 households belonging to tribal communities were allocated holdings of land measuring 5 acres each, while an additional 46 households were granted lands ranging from 1.5 to 2 acres in size. Prior to wrapping up of the Dairy Project, a total of 100 hectares of land were allocated to the Priyadarshini Tribal Society in 1994 for the purpose of establishing tea plantations. Additionally, an additional 100 acres of land were designated for the Kerala Veterinary and Animal Science University. Subsequently, allocations of 26 acres and 20 acres of land were made for the establishment of the Government Model Residential School and Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya, respectively. The land allocated to the Tribal communities in the settlement is partitioned into five distinct regions, namely Aanamala, Appadukunnu, Narikodemukku, MRS Kunnu, and Cocoamoola. Tribes were allocated land through the lotting method. A total of 88 households belonging to various tribal communities, namely the Paniya, Kuruma, Kattunaika, Urali Kuruma, and Kurichiya, were allocated the aforementioned land.

The Pookot Dairy Project in Wayanad district was chosen as a subject of study among the various rehabilitation projects executed in Kerala due to the prevalence of the bonded labour system in the Wayanad area. This region witnessed the displacement of the Adiya and Paniya communities from their lands during the feudal era and the early stages of British rule, making it particularly pertinent to examine the impact of the project in this context. Furthermore, a transfer of 100 acres of the vested forestlands of the Pookot Dairy Project

occurred, with the recipient being the Kerala Veterinary and Animal Sciences University (KVASU). This transfer was made under the condition that employment opportunities are provided to the members of the Dairy Project. Consequently, a sense of inquisitiveness arose to investigate if the introduction of an external intervention, specifically the KVASU, has yielded any discernible effects on the socioeconomic well-being of the tribal people.

### **1.4.3 Method of Study**

Case study method is used to conduct an in-depth research to evaluate the rehabilitation project, with focus on Pookot Dairy project. Since the study focuses on the entire population, census method is adopted. The tribal group that participated in the Pookot Dairy Project and obtained land is the universe in this particular study. Pookot Dairy has granted land to 88 tribal households. Since only 84 families reside in the Pookot settlement currently, 84 make up the study's population.

### **1.4.4 Methods of Data Collection**

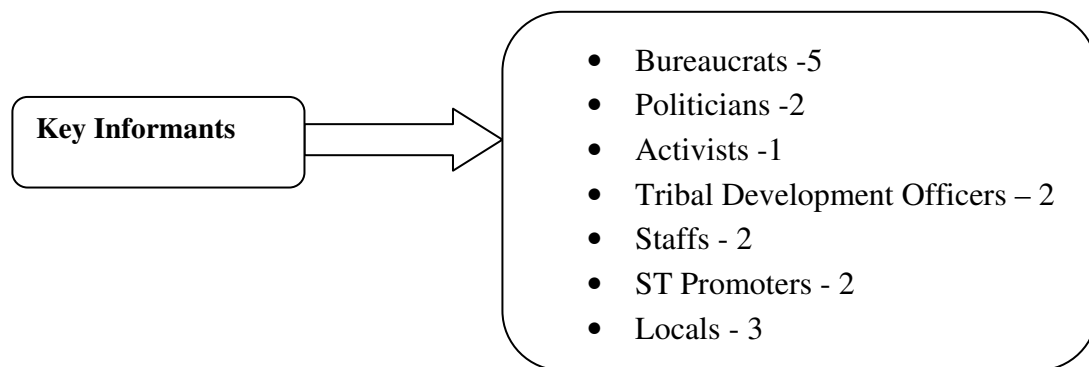
The collection of primary data was done through different methods of data collection such as Household Interview, Key Informant Interview and Focus Group Discussion. Interview schedule was used as tool for data collection. Two interview schedules had been prepared. One was for a household survey, and the other was for a focus group. The interview schedule used for the focus group discussion included more in-depth and qualitative elements. A further technique the researcher employed was observation.

#### **Household Interview -**

To study the socio- economic and political characteristics of the families, the interview schedule was used. Details of the housing, infrastructure, occupation, assets, skills, social welfare, agriculture, health, education, and governance were the major components included in the schedule. Direct interaction with the tribal people helped to obtain relevant information about the study.

The researcher clearly indicated the objectives of the interview and pointed out the thrust areas to be addressed. The interviewer also provided certain information to motivate the respondent to answer the questions and visited each and every household and observed their way of life.

## Key Informant Interview -



The Bureaucrats includes the Director of Tribal Welfare (1979), Directors of Integrated Tribal Development Programme (ITDP) and Kerala Veterinary and Animal Sciences University (KVASU). Politicians meant in the informants include MLA and Panchayat member. Staffs are the office workers who were the part of Pookot Dairy Project. ST promoters include the current promoter and the one at the time of terminating the dairy project. Locals in Pookot include residents who have tales to share regarding the Pookot Dairy Project.

## Focus Group Discussion –

The researcher held Focus Group Discussions with members of different tribal communities who have received land in Pookot as part of rehabilitation through dairy project. The researcher invited the tribal people, both men and women from different communities residing in different areas of settlement with the help of the tribal promoter (appointed by the Tribal Development Department). 10 members participated for the discussion. All the pre-arrangements were done by the Tribal Promoter. Chairs were arranged in a circular shape and members were made to sit comfortable for an effective discussion and expression of ideas. The researcher gave an introduction about the discussion topic and facilitated the members to talk. The session lasted for three hours and the researcher recoded all the discussion points.

### 1.4.5 Analysis of Data

The interview schedule was mainly categorized into several segments of capability formation, such as livelihood, assets, education, health, social participation, democratic participation, and institutional schemes. The field inferences were systematically consolidated and statistical models were used for data analysis and interpretations of field surveys.

In order to evaluate the institutional schemes, both secondary and primary data has been utilised and a descriptive approach is been employed to present the data. The primary data is subjected to analysis using a simple percentage analysis method.

To analyze the demographic profile of the tribal households, the Total Dependency Ratio (TDR) method was applied for calculating the number of depending members in the tribal households. The Total Dependency Ratio (TDR) is a sum of the Aged Dependency Ratio (ADR) and the Child Dependency Ratio (CDR).

$$CDR = \frac{\text{Number of Children between 0-14 Age group}}{\text{Number of Population in Productive Age Group}} * 100$$

$$ADR = \frac{\text{Number of Adults in 65 & Above Age group}}{\text{Number of Population in Productive Age Group}} * 100$$

$$TDR = CDR + ADR$$

The experiences of tribal communities prior to and post migration were examined via using the methods of focus group discussions and personal interviews. The narrative method is employed in this section to document prior and post-migration experiences. The narrative technique involves the presentation of qualitative data through the use of narratives that convey the words and experiences of the individuals comprising the study population.

To study the impact of rehabilitation on the human capability formation of the tribal population, Capability Index has been computed. Capability Index (CI) has been constructed for the rehabilitated tribal communities with the help of five constituent variables- Health, Education, Income, Political Freedom and Social Network. The capability index of the tribal population of the Pookot settlement is calculated as the Geometric Mean of the household capability index. Household Capability Index is a composite index of health index, education index, income index, social network index and political participation index. The Capability Index sets a minimum and a maximum for each dimension. This is expresses as a value between 0 and 1.



Household Capability Index is calculated as:

$$CI = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n w_i X_i}{\sum_{i=1}^n w_i}$$

CI = Capability Index

n = Number of terms to be averaged

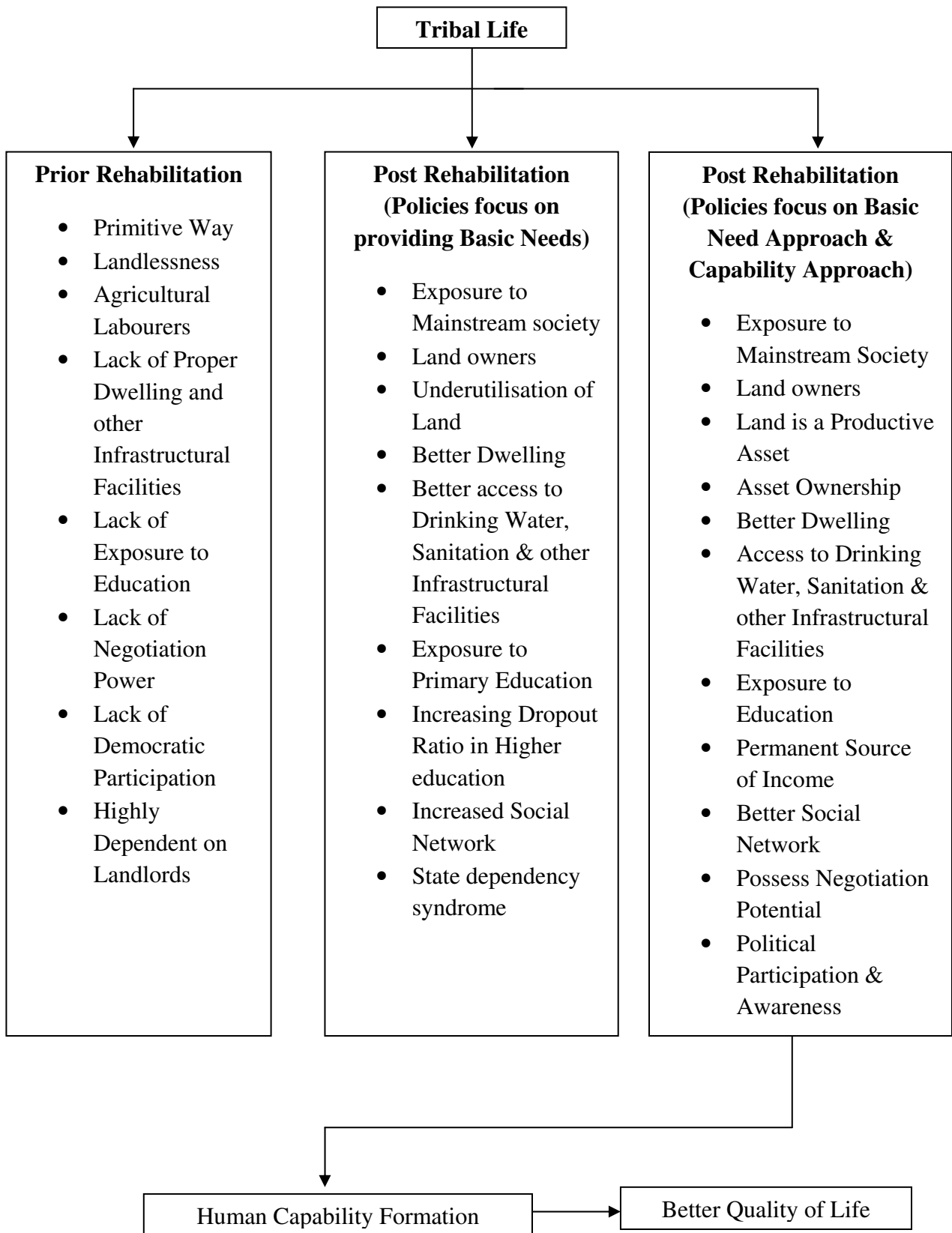
$w_i$  = Weights applied to X values

$X_i$  = Data values to be averaged

In order to analyse the inter community differences among tribal communities in terms of their capability achievements, the study employed the One Way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) method and subsequently conducted the Fisher's Least Significant Difference (LSD) post-hoc test. The Lorenz Curve and the Gini Coefficient were employed to examine income disparities.

#### **1.4.6 Analytical Framework**

Projects implemented for the rehabilitation of landless tribal communities have continuously aimed at the objective of their amelioration, thereby liberating them from exploitative circumstances. The attainment of entitlements by the tribal population as a result of the rehabilitation process will inevitably contribute to the enhancement of their overall quality of life. In order to attain the entitlements that can enhance the overall standard of living, it is imperative to prioritise the provision of sustainable livelihood opportunities and income generation activities. The responsibility for the formulation, finalisation, and implementation of any project should rest with grassroots level organisations. The formulation of project objectives by centralised officials, without due consideration of the needs of the actual beneficiaries, is unlikely to result in the formation of capabilities among asserted beneficiaries. The paramount emphasis ought to be placed upon the adoption of a participatory approach, rather than a centralised decision-making approach.



The conceptualization of societal development in mainstream society and that of marginalised communities, such as tribal communities, diverge significantly. Throughout the

years, it has been observed that the government has consistently encountered challenges in accurately discerning the specific requirements of tribal communities and subsequently implementing appropriate measures to address them. Development programmes consistently prioritise the provision of fundamental necessities, thereby resulting in the state being characterised as a "Nanny State" and the tribal population becoming reliant on this aforementioned state. In order to achieve self-sufficiency within tribal communities, it is imperative for the state to prioritise the development of human capabilities.

#### **1.4.7 Operational Definitions**

- Rehabilitation - Rehabilitation is the process of providing land and provision of substitute means of subsistence that provides freedom from the most heinous forms of exploitation.
- Rehabilitated Area - The geographical area where the landless tribal people are rehabilitated by the Government of Kerala, which is located in Pookot, Wayanad.
- Scheduled Tribes - The inhabitants of the rehabilitated area irrespective of gender who are scheduled in accordance with article 342 of the constitution of India. The word Adivasis, Girijans and Indigenous communities are interchangeably used in the study to refer to the tribal communities
- Human Capability Formation - An individual's attainment of Economic Facilities, Infrastructure facilities, Human Capital, Social capital and Political Freedoms.
- Economic Facilities - Income, Saving, Indebtedness, Source of Income, Land Holdings and Agriculture.
- Infrastructure Facilities - Housing, Access to Drinking Water, Sanitation & Electricity and Ownership of Durables.
- Human Capital - Education, Health, Knowledge & Skills.
- Social capital - Social Relations and Social Organisations.
- Political freedoms - The prospect of engaging in participatory planning.

#### **1.5 Limitations of the Study**

Similar to any research, this particular study also possesses inherent limitations. The scope of this study was restricted to the Pookot Dairy Project exclusively, as it was deemed more pragmatic to conduct a population study rather than a sample study. The process of selecting the target population for the study presented several challenges. The initial obstacle encountered was the fact that a total of 88 tribal households obtained land through the

rehabilitation project. However, for the purposes of this study, only 84 of these households could be included as part of the population. This was necessary as it was discovered that 4 of the households did not reside in the Pookot settlement and consequently never returned to tend to their land. Another notable limitation was the existence of subfamilies within the settlement that did not receive any allocated land, but rather constructed their houses on the property owned by their parents. In order to mitigate challenges associated with evaluating the data pertaining to land distribution, these populations of the subfamilies were excluded from the study. Another limitation pertaining to the selected population for the study was the observation that, even though being part of the Pookot Dairy Project, two households were not allocated any land during the distribution process. However, they have built a temporary, run-down house in Puramboke Bhomi and are living there, and it is regrettable, however, that these households were not accounted for the study due to their exclusion from the land allocation process. One additional constraint of the research pertained to the duration of the recall period. Given that the first objective of the study was of a qualitative nature and employed a narrative methodology, the act of recalling information held significant importance. The researcher encountered a predicament in this regard, as the first generation population passed away in some households, and subsequent generations struggled to recollect the information. Another limitation of the research pertains to the elderly population's limited knowledge regarding their precise ages. Furthermore, the ages recorded on their aadhar cards are deemed unreliable due to the absence of proper identification and their inability to recollect this information accurately. Another significant challenge entailed the establishment of rapport and effective communication with the tribal communities. The indigenous communities, such as the Kattunaikas, exhibited reticence and reluctance in their initial interactions, displaying a certain degree of timidity and hesitancy in their communication. The establishment of rapport with these communities necessitated a considerable investment of time.

## **1.6 Chapter Scheme of the Study**

There are seven chapters in the study's structure. The first chapter is an introduction that covered a thorough overview, a statement of the problem and the research questions, the study's objectives, methodology and limitations of the study. The theoretical development and the review of empirical literature are covered in the second chapter. It covered topics like the definition of Scheduled Tribes, constitutional protection for tribes in post-independence

India, socioeconomic issues affecting tribes, discourses on tribal development in the context of India and Kerala, problems with tribal land and reforms, rehabilitation of tribes, and a theoretical analysis. The third chapter describes the population distribution of the Scheduled Tribes in India as well as in Kerala. The chapter also provides a detailed overview of the land laws, alienation, bondage and Kerala's history of tribal rehabilitation. The fourth chapter details about the pre-migration and post-migration experiences of the rehabilitated tribal population in Pookot and also an overview of their demographic profile. The fifth chapter attempts to explore the aftermath of rehabilitation on the human capability formation of the scheduled tribes. The chapter also attempts to construct Capability Index of the tribal communities. The sixth chapter includes the institutional schemes and programmes initiated for the scheduled tribes in Kerala and also emphasize on the schemes implemented for the tribal population in the Pookot settlement. The study's findings, conclusions, recommendations, the researcher's contribution, and potential future research fields are covered in chapter seven.

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## *Chapter II*

### *Developments in Literature: Theory and Empirics*

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- **Introduction**
- **Theoretical Underpinnings and Framework**
  - Approaches to Human Development
  - Hierarchy of Needs
  - Basic Needs Approach
  - Capability Approach
- **Empirical Literature on Tribal Development**
  - Defining the Tribes
  - Constitutional Provisions
  - Approaches to Tribal Development
  - Phases of Tribal Development
  - Socio-Economic Status of Tribal Communities
  - Tribal economy and Development
  - Tribal Land and Land Alienation
  - Displacement and Resettlement
  - Rehabilitation of Landless Tribes
- **Conclusion**
- **Research Gap**

## **DEVELOPMENTS IN LITERATURE: THEORY AND EMPIRICS**

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### **2.1 Introduction**

The present research problem takes its theoretical derivatives and conceptual frame from the nascent discipline development economics. The study examines the relationship between rehabilitation which is a development initiative and its impact on human capability formation. The study poses the issue of rehabilitation of scheduled tribes in Kerala. This part of the study focuses on the theoretical aspects of development as well as reveals empirical studies on the tribal development and rehabilitation. The literature review attempted in this chapter is organized in the following sequence. An examination of theoretical developments is given in section 2.2 and section 2.3 reviews the empirical literature on different dimensions.

### **2.2 Theoretical Underpinnings and Framework**

Development has conventionally been perceived as a fundamentally narrow economic issue, necessitating a substantial rise in real per capita income for its attainment. As a result, the concept of development was primarily characterised by the sustenance of economic growth, traditionally evaluated by the measurement of gross national product, along with specific components and their respective rates of increase. The measurement of development evolved to be determined by economic growth. The aforementioned perspective was linked to the prevalence of Keynesian economics, which prioritised the analysis of broad economic aggregates. This approach gained significant traction during the 1950s, when there was a notable increase in the recognition of development and underdevelopment issues (Keeton, 1984). In contemporary times, economic development has evolved beyond its previous association solely with economic growth. While the former now encompasses notions related to the "quality of life," the latter remains focused on quantifying enhancements in production and productive capacity. The lack of significant poverty reduction despite the historically high rates of economic growth during the 1960s and 1970s led to a widespread demand for a re-evaluation of the concept of economic development. This re-evaluation aimed to encompass the eradication of absolute poverty as a crucial component. Streeten argues that development should be reconceptualised as a means to combat the prevailing global challenges, including malnutrition, disease, illiteracy, slums, unemployment, and inequality (Todaro, 1981).

As long as the individuals living in poverty lack access to the necessary resources for economic productivity, they will be unable to participate in or reap the benefits of economic growth. Consequently, they will effectively be excluded from the economic process (Keeton, 1984). All individuals possess fundamental necessities that are imperative for survival. The fundamental necessities for sustaining life comprise of unequivocally essential elements such as food, habitation, health, and protection. The absence or critically low levels of any of these factors results in a state of complete underdevelopment. One fundamental objective of economic activity is to furnish the maximum number of individuals with the resources necessary to alleviate the vulnerability and suffering that result from inadequate access to sustenance, housing, healthcare, and security. The enhancement of the quality of life, commonly referred to as development, is contingent upon the presence of economic development. The achievement of human potential would be unattainable without consistent and ongoing economic advancement at both the individual and societal levels (Todaro, 1981). Hence, development can be defined as a process of qualitative improvement or advancement. The concept is commonly understood as a component of change that is considered favourable, reasonably anticipated, appropriately strategized, and efficiently implemented or influenced by governmental intervention. The concept of development encompasses three key elements: (a) the presence of change, (b) the existence of a plan or prediction, and (c) the active involvement of the government in order to attain the predetermined goal. The concept of "development" is also employed to denote the process of facilitating and promoting individuals' ability to fulfil their own aspirations (Basu, 1985). Hence, it is imperative to establish a connection between the transformation of society and the comprehensive and harmonious advancement of its economic, social, political, and administrative dimensions.

### **2.2.1 Approaches to Human Development**

The human dimension of development is not merely another addition to the development discussion. This novel viewpoint presents a groundbreaking method to reframe our traditional approach to development. This revolution in thinking has the potential to mark a significant milestone for human civilization and the democratic system. Instead of being relegated to the remnants of progress, individuals have the potential to assume a central role as both the focus and agents of development. They should not be reduced to mere economic abstractions, but rather recognised as vibrant and active participants. Rather than being rendered powerless victims or subservient to the development process they have set in motion, individuals have the capacity to become its controllers and directors (Rampal, 2015). The fascinating issue of



establishing the dominance of individuals in economic growth has been the focus of extensive development efforts spanning several decades. This statement suggests a shift towards a novel model of human development.

The rediscovery of human development is not a recent innovation. This work pays homage to the pioneering figures in the realm of political and economic thought. The notion that the evaluation of social arrangements should be based on their capacity to advance the concept of "human good" can be traced back to the teachings of Aristotle, an ancient Greek philosopher. Immanuel Kant upheld the longstanding practise of regarding human beings as the ultimate purpose of all endeavours, as seen by his assertion, "one should always act in such a way as to treat humanity, whether in one's own person or in the person of any other, as an end in itself and never merely as a means." The concept that human beings serve as the ultimate purpose of all endeavours was a prevalent motif within the literary works of numerous early philosophers.

### **2.2.1a Hierarchy of Needs**

An increasing amount of contemporary research is concerned with the assessment of the individual's "Quality of Life". In such an assessment it is important to have clear understandings of what the individuals' needs and wants are (Gratton, 1980). In this context, Maslow's 'Hierarchy of Needs' is being discussed.

"The basic tenet of Maslow's theory is that humans strive to actualize or realize their individual potential, that is, to grow and enhance the self" (Lea et al., 1987). As individuals strive to realize their potential, a hierarchy of needs is presented by Maslow as a ladder of human achievement that has to be climbed. There are five levels of needs. The first level in the hierarchical structure pertains to the fulfilment of fundamental necessities, comprising food, water, sleep, and sexual gratification. Unless such needs are satisfied then they become dominant. For example; for the man who is extremely and dangerously hungry, no other interest exists but food. He dreams of food, he remembers food and he wants only food (Trigg, 2004).

After the fulfilment of fundamental necessities, the requirement for safety emerges as the subsequent priority. Individuals endeavour to attain stability, health, comfort, protection and balance. The primary components of this group of needs encompass the requirement for

healthcare protection and ensuring economic security in terms of money, savings, and insurance.

Hargerty (1999) grouped together the third and fourth priorities under a general category of social needs. The third priority is commonly known as belongingness, which includes love, affection, and acceptance. This means, being part of a family, community, and society at large, and establishing intimate and significant interpersonal relationships. Self-esteem is the fourth priority. It is a social need that individuals might pursue once their primary desire for belongingness has been fulfilled. This includes the need for individuals to attain prestige and status, which can solely be achieved by social acceptance from others.

Finally, the pinnacle of Maslow's hierarchical framework consists of the need for self-actualization, which is also known as moral need. The attainment of such higher needs can only be attainable once more materialistic basic needs are achieved. Even in cases where individuals have their other four needs met, they may still encounter shortcomings in their overall human fulfilment, such as feelings of estrangement, a sense of life lacking meaning, and experiences of boredom (Lea et al., 1987). According to Hargerty (1999), the concept of "need" pertains to an individual's inherent aspiration to achieve their full potential and become whatever they are capable of becoming. This potential has the capacity to manifest in several forms, such as creative expression, artistic endeavours, or acts of great altruism that contribute to the betterment of public service.

Maslow postulates that as a consequence of 'lower need' satisfaction (physiology, safety and belonging needs) the individual is able to seek gratification of 'higher needs' (self-esteem and self-actualization needs). Maslow's approach provides a basis for this theoretical development by introducing the notion that individuals move up the hierarchy of needs in accordance with changes in income. The fulfilment of demands at the lower levels of the hierarchy is contingent upon an individual possessing enough income, which enables the acquisition of essential goods such as sustenance and shelter. As an individual's income rises, they may reach specific threshold points that enable them to progress towards fulfilling higher level needs (Trigg 2004).

### **2.2.1b Basic Needs Approach**

The International Labour Organisation and the World Bank's joint efforts largely led to the development of the basic needs approach (Keeton, 1984). The idea of basic need is outlined

as follows in the ILO report created for the World Employment Conference in 1976: Two components make up the basic needs. A family's basic needs for private consumption are first and foremost included in them. This includes things like proper housing, food, and clothing, as well as some household items and furnishings. Second, they comprise fundamental services provided by and for the community at large, such as access to clean water, sanitary facilities, public transportation, and facilities for health and education. The report also adds non-material basic requirements like the right to participate in decisions that impact them, the realisation of fundamental human rights, and employment both as a means and as an end to achieving basic needs.

### **Different Basic Need Approaches**

The conservative approach and the radical approach are two distinct basic need approaches. The idea that development should prioritise reducing poverty through the activation of improperly or underutilised productive components, by providing enough well-paying jobs, and by ensuring access to basic public services for all, is at the core of both models. Both strategies acknowledge the need for shifts in demand and the production structure away from the needs of the minority (the rich) and towards those of the majority (the poor); both demand the use of appropriate technology wherever possible; both call for the adequate provision of and access to public goods and services for all; but they differ in the ways in which these goals can be achieved. According to the "conservative" approach, the proper application of changes in the production and demand structures, as well as increased mobilisation of the productive resources available to the poor will enable the necessary increases in output and effective demand for satisfying basic needs. However, the "radical" approach believes that in order to meet the basic requirements of the poor by the end of the century, this must be combined with a redistribution of the current wealth and resources. In other words, the "radical" approach advocates an immediate redistribution of current wealth whereas the "conservative" approach favours a long-term redistribution of wealth as it is created. According to the "conservative" perspective, the required adjustments can be made as long as the proper sectoral policies are implemented and the current political/economic order is modified to allow the poorest groups to take part in identifying their needs and developing plans to meet them. The "radical" approach, however, contends that vested interests in the status quo prevent the necessary reforms from occurring; participation alone is insufficient, and a total shift in economic power is required (Krzyszni, 2015).

## **Principles of Basic Needs Strategy**

### Value judgements-

Of course, defining what constitutes "basic needs" is crucial to the basic needs approach. Basic needs methods focus on achieving "socially acceptable" levels of consumption rather than merely ensuring survival. Minimum levels of consumption of some things are necessary for survival and the maintenance of a productive existence. Rather than being limited to the bare necessities for survival, basic requirements should be understood in the context of a society's total economic and social development. Therefore, the idea of fundamental requirements is a moving target. The makeup and extent of what is seen to be the minimal, "socially acceptable" amounts of consumption will inevitably alter as development occurs (Keeton, 1984). Therefore, every strategy for meeting basic requirements must make moral decisions and take into account the unique features of the local economy. This entails taking into account social preferences, external economies, links between requirements and the consumption of specific commodities and services, the severity of gaps in the normative consumption patterns, the resources at hand, and the costs of satisfying wants.

### Popular Participation-

The basic needs approach acknowledges that traditional development techniques, at least in part, failed because they attempted to impose development on local people without first involving them in planning or decision-making. Additionally, little attempt was made to create the social framework or requisite attitudes for self-sustained development. Basic needs priority must be assigned based on value judgements; therefore, if possible, these decisions should be made by the communities, governments, and "people" who will be implementing the priorities (Keeton, 1984). A basic needs plan is doomed to failure without local support and passion, hence it is imperative to infiltrate the attitudes required for the successful adoption of a basic needs strategy.

### Absolute and relative needs-

The basic needs approach seeks to address the issue of poverty, yet poverty is a complex social, economic, and psychological term in and of itself. Both absolute and relative poverty exist; some people may experience relative poverty due to their wealthy neighbours. Similar to this, it is possible to think of basic needs as both absolute and relative, with the desired levels of fulfilment depending on both local and global conditions. Therefore, because it is

impossible to isolate the issues of income and consumption distribution from those of poverty, measures aimed at reducing poverty by meeting basic requirements must necessarily address one or both of these issues. The target levels for basic necessities must also be nation- or even region-specific, and they must be proportional to the ability of a country or region to provide those needs. The level of development obtained and the availability of resources will determine this capacity. It will also depend on how desirable it is for income and spending habits to be equal (Keeton, 1984).

#### Institutional Constraints-

The institutional characteristics of the society must be considered in any basic needs approach. Not all economies are created equal; some may be market-oriented while others are centrally managed; some may just have rudimentary market systems; and in some societies, consumers have more knowledge than in others. These traits will determine the scope of the authorities' direct or indirect involvement in achieving the strategy's goals as well as the size of the necessary intervention (Keeton, 1984).

#### Supply Side -

Assuring the proper availability of basic goods and services is the primary prerequisite of a basic needs strategy. Without such items, the shifts in demand brought on by policies meant to raise target groups' incomes will lead to excess demand on the markets for necessities, which could lead to inflation and/or shortages. An "announcement effect" with regard to fundamental necessities is necessary and may help to induce the supply of the necessary products and services where markets are primitive and market signals are weak. Policies intended to boost incomes should be focused on the production of basic needs goods and services because the absence of such an increase in output would significantly hinder any basic needs approach. Basic products and services can be separated into those for private use (like food and housing) and those for public consumption (like water supply, health care, and education). It is important to identify and support formal and informal businesses that produce both types of essential goods and services by implementing the proper policies. From an economic perspective, how basic commodities and services are divided between private and public consumption largely depends on how resources are distributed between these two economic sectors. Even though basic requirements like food and shelter are considered to be the responsibility of the private sector, it is clear that the market system has failed to meet these demands on its own. Therefore, public policy measures would need to be implemented

in order to change (or expand) the existing service, which would need some sort of market intervention in the private sector. The responsibility of policymakers in the provision of products and services for private consumption should be to remove barriers and enhance incentives for their production and consumption. Health, education, transportation, and water supply are just a few examples of the products and services that the public sector plays a more direct role in delivering for the general population (Keeton, 1984). Similar to this, it is preferable for the individuals whose basic needs are to be addressed to be involved in identifying those needs rather than having them dictated from above.

#### Demand Side -

The third requirement of a basic needs strategy is that poverty groups' incomes be increased up to and above predetermined minimum levels by more effectively utilising their human resources through employment in productive endeavours. Both underemployment and unemployment can lead to insufficient incomes, therefore policies should focus on both the rapid development of options for productive employment as well as raising productivity in industries with high rates of underemployment. Therefore, policymakers should work towards maximising the use of already-existing resources through appropriate technology and goods. This entails a strategy of internal self-reliance through methods and goods that are tailored to regional needs rather than imported from elsewhere in the world. Education, training, and research may need to be redirected, and programmes to increase the output of the poor's resources—particularly their labour—may need to be implemented (Keeton, 1984).

In conclusion, any basic needs approach—conservative or radical—should be built on the understanding that issues of poverty and basic needs deficits must be addressed through a complete set of measures rather than through a small number of ad hoc efforts.

Despite considerable effort, no reliable indicator of basic needs has developed. The measuring efforts primarily focus on the primary basic needs. In their examination of many attempts to establish social indicators, Streeten and Hicks (1979) focused on the following: health (life expectancy at birth), education (literacy), food (calorie supply), water supply, and sanitation. The concept of basic human wants was initially derived from Aristotle's notion of a complete life, encompassing personal autonomy and the availability of material commodities. Nevertheless, the World Bank's iteration limited its scope to the procurement of commodities and services necessary for attaining satisfactory levels of nutrition, health, housing, water and sanitation, education, and other fundamental needs. The recognition of

various aspects of deprivation associated with income insufficiency was a significant contribution. However, the discussion failed to adequately consider the aspects of personal autonomy and agency, except for a subtle acknowledgement that the redistribution of public resources often necessitates substantial shifts in societal power dynamics. Unsurprisingly, the basic needs approach received a barrage of criticism. The primary criticisms revolved around the perception that this effort was characterised by a top-down, state-driven approach and a narrow focus solely on material necessities.

### **2.2.1c Capability Approach**

In the literature, there has been much discussion on the connection between economic growth and development. The latter is, in general, normative in character and incorporates welfare indices that economic growth (i.e., a simple increase in per capita income or GNP) need not necessarily ensure. According to Sen (2000), "the usefulness of real-income comparison for judging different persons' respective advantages" is constrained by the diversity of people and their circumstances. Earlier the notion was that once a nation achieves economic growth, development or social advancement follows. They base their argument on an examination of the experiences of numerous industrialised countries. However, despite widespread economic prosperity in West Asian nations (caused by the oil boom), neither social nor human development advanced as a result. While others progressed in the opposite direction, certain African nations managed to advance their social development to a level comparable to that of many developing nations (UNDP, 1990). By the 1980s, these conflicting observations called into doubt the dominant development paradigm's assumption that there was a close relationship between the expansion of individual human choices and national economic progress. The first Human Development Reports (HDR) of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) was created in this environment, and Mahbub-ul Haq's team also put out a new development paradigm.

According to each country's ranking in the human development index (HDI), the UNDP has been issuing annual reports on global human development since 1990. Since the UNDP published its inaugural report on human development, the methodology has become a potent means to examine wellbeing across nations. The logarithm of GDP per head, literacy rates, and life expectancy at birth are used to calculate the HDI. The founders of HDR were convinced that a straightforward integrated measure of human development is necessary to persuade the general public, academia, and policymakers that development should be

measured by improvements in human well-being rather than only economic advancements. They also realised that the idea of human development is too complex and rich to be adequately conveyed by a single measure or even a group of indicators. The process of expanding people's options, which can be limitless and subject to change throughout time, is known as human development. The UNDP asserts that among these options, "living a long and healthy life, getting an education, and having a fair level of living are the most important ones. Political freedom, the provision of human rights, and self-respect are further options (UNDP, 1990). Giving people the tools to take charge of their own lives and make the changes they value is one of the approach's main objectives. Thus, their ability to make decisions depends on development (Alkire & Deneulin, 2009).

Mahbub ul Haq (1995) asserts that the primary goal of development is to increase people's choices. These alternatives are theoretically limitless and dynamic. People frequently place a high value on accomplishments that do not directly or immediately translate into increases in income or growth rates, such as improved access to knowledge, better nutrition and healthcare, more secure employment, protection from crime and physical violence, fulfilling leisure time, political and cultural freedoms, and a sense of community involvement. The goal of development is to create an environment that allows people to live long, healthy, and productive lives. The human development paradigm addresses all facets of development, including basic social services and safety nets for the underprivileged, as well as economic growth, global trade, budget deficits, and fiscal policy. The expansion of people's options and the enrichment of their lives are the focal point of the development model, yet no part of it is outside its purview. From that angle, all facets of life are seen, whether they be political, cultural, or economic. As so, economic progress becomes merely a part of the paradigm of human development.

Human development was described as "both the process of broadening people's choices and the level of their achieved well-being" (UNDP, 1990) Enhancing people's variety of options in all spheres of their lives—economic, social, political, and cultural—in the now and the future is the goal of development. Choices in this context don't simply refer to what one would like to do, such as listening to music with the windows open in the middle of the night or enjoying a leisurely life surfing in Malibu. It is acknowledged that expanding people's options is what is valued in what people can be or do. The approach to human development must address this value dilemma. What worthwhile options should public policy support? Who decides what is worthwhile? How are major differences resolved? What about morals



that seem repugnant, ignorant, or harmful? Our values are inevitably somewhat diverse due to the enormous diversity of human beings. However, communities can still reflect their values in their evolution, whether those values are equality, harmony with nature, peace and order, monetary wealth, or the well-being of their offspring.

The ability of people to act as agents in their own lives is important to the human development perspective. People are not merely passive recipients of great social welfare; rather, they are engaged participants. According to this perspective, growth interacts with people's freedom to choose how to live their life. Who decides what kind of development they want is ultimately up to the people. People need to be given more power so they may determine their own local priorities and the best ways to address them. For instance, when faced with the decision between modernism and material success and cultural tradition and poverty, According to Amartya Sen (1999), "If a traditional way of life has to be sacrificed in order to escape crushing poverty or negligible longevity, then it is the people directly involved who must have the opportunity to participate in deciding what should be chosen." Expanding valuable liberties and agency go hand in hand. People need to be free to pursue an education, talk in public without fear, express themselves freely, form associations, and other things in order to be agents of their own life. But people can also create a space where they can learn, communicate freely, and other things by acting as agents.

The perspective of human development takes into account the requirement to remove obstacles people encounter by their own initiatives and efforts. The idea is that not only can human lives be vastly improved in terms of wellbeing and freedom, but also that human agency may purposefully bring about fundamental change by fostering stronger society commitment and organisation. Indeed, the two main principles that give the emphasis on human growth cogency are these two. This emphasis relates, on the one hand, to a clearer awareness of how and in what ways human lives can go far better and, on the other hand, to a fuller comprehension of how this improvement can be brought about through a strengthening of human agency. I'll refer to them as "the evaluative aspect" and "the agency aspect" of human development, respectively.

The human development method is by its very nature multidimensional and plural. Both health and education are important. Both political participation and culture are important. Higher taxes on tobacco and alcohol may be just as successful at ensuring that people have the chance to live long and healthy lives as spending more on health services. This issue is primarily one of fiscal policy, but it also touches on health policy. It deals with

agricultural policy just as much as it does with exchange rate policies, as a currency devaluation may encourage exports and give farmers more opportunity to make a respectable living than farm subsidies. In addition to gender, environmental, industrialization, and technology policy, it also addresses educational policy. And so it continues. Thus, not just economic factors but also many other aspects of people's life are related to human growth. Therefore, it cannot be contained inside a single discipline. Numerous disciplines are included in it, such as politics, economics, law, sociology, and philosophy.

There are fundamental concepts for evaluating development processes. Mahbub ul Haq mentioned four of these, and they have all been used to human progress on several occasions. They are: sustainability, participation, efficiency, and equity. When discussing justice, impartiality, and fairness, equity also includes the notion of distributive justice, notably in terms of providing equal access to opportunities and outcomes for all people. Although it differs from the idea of equality, which calls for treating everyone equally, it is related to that idea. The equity principle acknowledges the possibility of preferential treatment or affirmative action for those who experience unequal chances as a result of various obstacles. Although distributive fairness is given consideration, efficiency in the system is not sacrificed in the process. The most effective use of already available resources is how efficiency is typically characterized. Efficiency is understood from the perspective of human development as the least expensive way to achieve the objectives through a variety of interventions that maximise opportunities for people and communities through the best use of institutional, human, and material resources. To expand choices and enable individuals to make the greatest use of possibilities, it is vital to show that the intervention chosen gives the best results. In the human development concept, participation and empowerment allude to the idea that people are both the goal and the method of development. It's about the mechanisms that make people believe they have the right to make decisions in their lives. The right to make decisions that will impact their lives is at issue. This principle suggests that people need to be active at every stage, whether at the level of policy-making or implementation, not just as recipients but also as agents who may seek and realise goals that they value and have reason to value. While the word "sustainability" is frequently used in connection with the environment, it is not limited to this aspect alone. It speaks of long-term viability in all spheres—social, political, and economic. Environmental sustainability refers to attaining developmental goals without endangering the region's natural resource base,

biodiversity, or the resource basis for coming generations. The method of financing development is referred to as financial sustainability. Particularly, progress should prevent nations from falling into debt binds. In order to ensure participation and involvement while preventing disruptive and harmful aspects, social groups and other institutions are interested in social sustainability. Other significant principles that can support socially sustainable growth are freedom of expression and appreciation for variety.

Amartya Sen's groundbreaking contributions to the fields of welfare economics, social choice, development economics, and poverty and famine have had a significant influence on the human development approach. Despite the enormous breadth of Sen's writings, his "capability approach" to economics and the social sciences in general has had a significant impact. Amartya Sen (1995) states in "Inequality Re-examined" that a person's capability to accomplish functionings that they have reason to value offers a broad approach to the examination of social arrangements, and this results in a specific method of seeing the assessment of equality and inequality. The fundamental tenet of the capability approach is that social structures should work to increase people's capabilities, their freedom to promote or achieve valuable beings and doings. An essential test of development is whether people have greater freedoms. A test of inequality is whether people's capability sets are equal or unequal. The terms "functionings," "capability," and "agency" are the key concepts in the capability approach. The numerous things a person may value doing or being are referred to as functionings (Sen, 1999). Functionings are the important actions and conditions that contribute to a person's well-being, including having a healthy body, feeling safe, being educated, working effectively, and being able to visit loved ones. Functionings are related to goods and income, but they also talk about what a person can do or be as a result. People enjoy the benefits of being well-nourished when their fundamental demand for food (a commodity) is met. Being fed, educated, and clothed are only a few examples of extremely fundamental functionings. Other, more advanced functionings include being able to play a virtuoso drum solo and consume caviar. Different aspects of life can be related to both simple and sophisticated functionings. As an illustration, whereas some may be more concerned with connections, empowerment, and self-expression, others may be more concerned with survival, employment, and monetary well-being.

The term "capability" describes the many synergies of functionings (beings and doings) that a person is capable of. Thus, capability is a collection of vectors of functionings that indicate a person's freedom to lead one kind of life or another...to select from potential lives. The

various functional combinations that a person is capable of achieving are referred to as their capabilities. Instead, capabilities are "the substantive freedoms he or she enjoys to lead the kind of life he or she has reason to value"(Sen, 1999). Forms of opportunity freedom are capabilities. Similar to how someone with a lot of money may purchase a variety of goods, someone with a wide range of skills can engage in a wide range of activities and choose from a variety of career routes. For this reason, a budget set and a capacity set have been contrasted. Thus, a person's actual potential is described by their capabilities. Capabilities only include options that users actually value. Capabilities could not be defined as actions or conditions that individuals do not value or have good cause to appreciate. This is emphasised in several of Sen's definitions of capability, such as when he says that it refers to "a person's ability to do valuable acts or reach valuable states of being." Additionally connected to the idea of freedom is the idea of capability. Sen (1999) defines freedom as "the genuine opportunity that we have to achieve what we value." He contends that freedom consists of two components: opportunity and process. The opportunity aspect focuses on "a person's capacity to realise those things she has reason to value," whereas the process aspect emphasises "the freedom involved in the process itself"

The capability approach's third fundamental idea is agency. Agency is the capacity of an individual to pursue and accomplish objectives that they both value and have good cause to value. Someone who "acts and brings about change" is referred to as an agent (Sen, 1999). Forced, repressed, or passive people are the reverse of people with agency. In order to determine what a person can accomplish in accordance with their notion of the good, it is crucial to consider their agency (Sen, 1987). Agency broadens one's sphere of care to encompass issues like halting climate change or aiding others. Concerns like these are now included. According to this viewpoint, people are seen as being creative, active, and capable of acting in support of their goals. Other approaches that place a strong emphasis on self-determination, real self-direction, autonomy, self-reliance, self-determination, empowerment, voice, and other concepts are connected to agency. Because agency is a concern, development methods must encourage involvement, public discourse, and democratic practice.

According to the capabilities approach, development is a process of increasing peoples' actual freedoms. According to this approach, expansion of freedom is seen as the primary ends and the principal means of development. They can be referred to as the "instrumental role" and "constitutive role" of freedom in development, respectively (Sen, 1999). The implications for

development analysis are numerous. For instance, it acknowledges that a person who is "prevented from speaking freely or participating in public debates and decision is deprived of something that she has reason to value" (Sen, 1999). Even if the person doesn't immediately have a reason to exercise her right to free speech or participation, it would still be a violation of her rights if she were given no other option. Sen makes the argument that these characteristics' importance should not be demonstrated by demonstrating how they indirectly affect other aspects of development, like wealth; rather, these freedoms are integral to enhancing the development process.

The instrumental role of freedom, examines "the ways in which various kinds of rights, opportunities, and entitlements contribute to the expansion of human freedom in general, and thereby to promoting development" (Sen, 1999). A variety of freedoms that make up an individual's potential can be identified in a specific situation by taking a closer look at the developmental process. Sen (1999) identifies economic facilities, social opportunities, political freedom, and transparency guarantees and protective security as various instrumental freedoms that either directly or indirectly advances overall freedom. Each of these freedoms can be examined in light of their constitutive and instrumental roles, which, respectively, reflect the means and ends of development. The constitutive role of freedom aids in our understanding of what determines the level of freedom that prevails in a society, whereas the instrumental role of freedom is essential to comprehending how the current level of freedom affects people's capabilities and how it is maintained in the society.

The current study puts itself within the theoretical framework of development discourses, specifically the "Capability Approach" and some aspects of the "Basic Needs Approach." It seeks to enhance our understanding of the "Hierarchy of Needs" in order to effectively implement development initiatives such as rehabilitation projects, for the human capability formation among the most marginalised segment of society, namely the Scheduled Tribes. The primary objective of this study is to examine the effects of development practises, specifically interventions, on the human capability formation of the tribal community. The intended transformation necessitates a deliberate and intentional course of action. Development refers to the amalgamation of policies, programmes, and power with the aim of achieving a desired objective. The state employs it as a mechanism, encompassing both instruments and institutions, in order to accomplish objectives, pursue targets, and facilitate transformation.

### **2.3 Empirical Literature on Tribal Development**

Various studies related to tribal issues lead to better understanding of trends, the gaps of existing information and different kinds of perceptions towards tribal related issues. In this section, the empirical literature has been discussed in different aspects;

- Defining the Tribes
- Constitutional Provisions
- Approaches to Tribal Development
- Phases of Tribal Development
- Socio-Economic Status of Tribal Communities
- Tribal economy and Development
- Tribal Land and Land Alienation
- Displacement and Resettlement
- Rehabilitation of Landless Tribes

The tribal population in India is the aboriginal inhabitants, who have traditionally relied on the natural environment for their livelihoods and possess cultural practises that are well-suited to their physical and social surroundings (Baiju, 2011). They have historically experienced physical and social isolation, as well as cultural and economic marginalisation. The interactions between tribal communities and non-tribal populations within tribal territories, along with the evolving policies of the government regarding forest management, have given rise to a multitude of challenges faced by tribal communities.

In anthropological literature, tribals are often described as individuals who possess a combination of the following characteristics: isolated ethnic groups, low population density, a rudimentary economy, primitive technology, a basic political organisation, a simple religious system, and the absence of a written script for their language (Preet, 1994). The tribal community has historically faced disadvantages, lack of integration into mainstream culture, and limited participation in the societal opportunity structure. They exhibit a profound state of desolation inside the extensive socio-economic disparities prevalent in our nation. If the caste hierarchy can be conceptualised as a two-person zero-sum game, wherein one side comprises the "superior" priestly, landlord, and merchant classes, while the other side represents the marginalised scheduled Tribes or "outcasts." Within the context of enduring

socio-economic animosity, it is consistently observed that the game tends to disproportionately benefit the castes deemed to be "superior" (Panda, 1998).

The tribal population are considered to be the most susceptible segments of the population. They are subject to exploitation due to long-standing social and cultural disadvantages, which are further compounded by environmental influences. The longstanding exploitation and repression experienced by indigenous communities have resulted in significant marginalisation from the broader socio-economic development of the nation. The autonomy of tribal communities over forests in India was curtailed during the British rule by the implementation of the "Crowns Control over Forests Act" in 1865. This legislation resulted in the designation of tribal individuals as "encroachers" on territory that had historically belonged to them. As a result of a single legislative modification, the affected individuals found themselves transformed into trespassers within their own forested areas, subjected to externally driven systems of forest management that flagrantly disregarded multiple aspects of their economic and cultural well-being. The forests and other natural resources within their regions were progressively perceived as commodities, resulting in the expropriation of their lands as private property. Their escalating reliance on unscrupulous moneylenders associated with influential feudal landlords and local politicians contributed to extensive land dispossession, as well as permanent or seasonal migration. Their own, highly subtle and organically embedded systems of conflict resolution were undermined. The various transformations that have occurred have had a significant impact on the indigenous communities, leading to a notable decline in their self-esteem and sense of worth. Consequently, these communities find themselves grappling with an ongoing struggle to establish and maintain a clear sense of identity (Zacharias, 2003). The implementation of various policies, including isolationist, assimilationist, and integrationist approaches, has shown to be unsuccessful in achieving the emancipation of this particular group. State governments have implemented a multitude of legislation with the intention of protecting tribal interests, but, these efforts have shown to be ineffective (Preet, 1994).

In an age when the subcontinent was sparsely populated and large tracts of difficult-to-access forests lay outside the limits of higher civilisation, populations with very different levels of material and cultural development could coexist without significantly encroaching on each other's resources and territories. During this time, tribes survived in forests and hills for thousands of years without having more than passing interactions with people who lived in the broad plains and in the centres of civilization. No organised efforts were made to entice

indigenous tribes into the caste system, not even during the height of Hindu culture. The continuance of primitive lifestyles on the outskirts of advanced civilizations did not seem at odds with the social philosophy of missionary activity, which was predicated on the notion of the permanence and inevitable existence of caste divisions. The influx of modern populations into the tribal territory led to closer interactions between aboriginals and Hindus. In these areas, cultural divides tended to blend together, and the tribes increasingly assimilated into the lowest socioeconomic strata (Preet, 1994).

In the context of India, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes face structural deprivation, which is attributed not only to their limited access to economic resources but also to the strong association between poverty and social identity, principally determined by caste (World Development Report, 2000). Furthermore, individuals belonging to marginalised groups are often subject to negative treatment within traditional societal institutions, as their voices and influence are frequently marginalised and excluded from many social spheres. In addition, it is worth noting that marginalised populations, such as the Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribes, and Fisher Folks, have a greater degree of deprivation, despite the fact that Kerala's human development index is comparable to that of many affluent nations (Nishamol, 2020). The Human Development Indicators of the above communities in Kerala are far below the average of mainstream communities, as reported in the Kerala Development Report of 2008 and the Census of 2011. This observation suggests that the governing system is ineffective in distributing the benefits of economic advancement to the lower strata of society in the country. Among these three categories, the Scheduled Tribes are the most vulnerable and are experiencing significant levels of deprivation.

### **2.3.1 Definition of Tribes**

The term 'Tribe' lacks a universally agreed definition and has been subject to many interpretations by different scholars. As already mentioned, the Indian constitution does not provide a specific definition of Scheduled Tribes, except for the declaration that they encompass "the tribes or the tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities," as specified by the President of India through a public notification (Constitution of India, Article 342) (Rao, 1992).

The term "forest tribe" was used in the census reports of 1881, when the first "proper" all-India census was conducted, rather than "tribe," and that too as a sub-heading inside the more general category of agricultural and pastoral castes. The latter censuses show more serious efforts to make



a differentiation. So-called animists were included in the table for caste and others by Risely and Gait, who were in charge of the 1901 and 1911 Censuses, respectively. In the 1921 Census, Marten used the same format, but he altered the heading from "animism" to "tribal religion" (Singh 1985).

In its operational manual statement from 1982, the World Bank stated that "tribal people" were defined as "those ethnic groups typically with stable low energy sustained-yield economic systems, as exemplified by hunter-gatherers, shifting or semi-permanent farmers, herders, or fisherman and exhibiting varying degrees of characteristics, such as geographical isolation, unacculturated or only partially acculturated into the social norms of the dominant society, non-monetised or Even though tribal regions have been established, they typically have loose tenure over customary lands that the dominant community may not recognize as legally binding. As a result, they have limited enforcement power against encroachers. The Imperial Gazetteer of India (1908) states that "a tribe is a collection of families bearing a common name, speaking a common dialect, occupying or professing to occupy a common territory, and is not usually endogamous, though originally it might have been so." Although the term "tribe" was originally meant to refer to communities and people with a shared heritage, as colonial rule spread, it came to be closely associated with social traits that are frequently referred to as primitive. Nevertheless, the idea of a tribe has been rethought over time. Tribes are seen as a society as well as a group or community. They are portrayed as a society that has its own unique area, language, culture, laws, norms, and governance structures (Xaxa, 2016).

A formal definition of a Scheduled Tribe is lacking. There are no such legally defined criteria in the case of a tribal community included in the schedule, unlike in the case of Scheduled Caste, where certain precise criteria have been set for defining a community's official position as Scheduled Caste (Kulkarani, 1994). The criteria used to create the lists of Scheduled Tribes between 1950 and 1956 were primitiveness and backwardness. Additional criteria included "more indications of primitive traits, distinctive culture, geographical isolation, shyness of contact with the community at large, and backwardness" when the list of Scheduled Tribes was revised in 1965. On the basis of data from the 1961 census, an attempt was made to identify the most backward tribes in terms of percentage of literacy of each tribe, percentage of workers engaged in various occupations, remoteness and inaccessibility of the habitat, and mode of agriculture adopted by a tribe (Singh, 1984).

However the Scheduled Tribes could be defined in general as the “oldest strong kinship bonds with distinct customs, moral codes, religious beliefs and rituals and low level of technological development (Rao, 1992).

According to Majumdar (1950), the most widely accepted definition of a tribe in the Indian context is a social unit comprised of families or groups of families who share a common name, reside in the same geographical area, communicate in the same language, adhere to specific marriage and occupational taboos, and have established a structured system of reciprocal obligations and mutual cooperation. A tribe is inherently an endogamous social group, wherein its members restrict their marital unions exclusively inside the confines of the tribe. A tribe is comprised of multiple clans, each of which asserts connection among its members. This kinship is established through either totemistic division, territorial contiguity, or shared residency. A tribe can be considered a political entity due to its possession of a political structure. This structure may involve the acknowledgment of hereditary tribal leaders or the consolidation of various sections into a territorial collective governed by clan chiefs or hereditary monarchs. In tribal communities, it is customary for each division, whether it be a tribe, clan, or sect, to establish a council of elders. The primary role of this council is to provide support and guidance to the hereditary headman in matters pertaining to the tribe. Additionally, a sense of solidarity and group connection is prevalent among the members, shaping their attitudes towards the tribal authority. It becomes evident that there are several discernible characteristics associated with a tribe. The characteristics of these groups can be summarised as follows: (i) They share a similar ancestry, tradition, or history. (ii) They tend to be small in number. (iii) They inhabit specific geographical territories and are isolated from mainstream society. (iv) They practise endogamy, marrying within their own community. (v) They possess a distinct culture, characterised by unique forms of religion, social taboos, rituals, and beliefs. (vi) Characterised by primitiveness in its essence, (vii) a shared linguistic system, (viii) an economy that is self-contained and uncomplicated, (ix) a governmental structure that is clearly defined, (x) a way of life that is communal in nature, and (xi) a mutually beneficial association with the surrounding environment (Bijoy et al., 2010). The majority of tribes originally exhibited a nomadic lifestyle, characterised by their frequent relocation from one location to another. The transition from a nomadic lifestyle to permanent settlements was facilitated by the introduction of agriculture.

According to Bhengra et al. (1999), the Scheduled Tribes (STs) make up about 8.08 percent of India's population. The phrase Scheduled Tribes refers to the communities listed by the Indian

President in accordance with Article 342 of the constitution. It is an administrative word that applies to a certain geographic region and is intended to indicate socioeconomic growth rather than a particular ethnic status. Nearly 90% of Adivasis rely on agriculture as their primary source of income. Hunting and gathering are still important, but their use is dwindling as Adivasis have less access to resources. Many refer to the adivasis' situation as one of internal colonization because of the colonization of their homelands and woods. In addition to being a marginalized segment of Indian society in terms of culture and economics, Scheduled Tribes have always been geographically and socially secluded. The interaction of tribal people with non-tribal people has further driven them down. Numerous tribal issues have been caused by the encroachment of non-tribals into tribal tracts and the government's revised approach to managing the woods (Preet, 1994).

### **2.3.2 Constitutional Support for the Tribes in the Post-Independence India**

During the colonial era, the British authorities enacted the Forest Reservation Policy in tribal areas, with the intention of establishing their rights over the forest resources for the purpose of exporting wood and other forest products to their motherland. This policy had a detrimental impact on the lives of tribal groups, exacerbating their already challenging circumstances. Following this, there was a notable expansion of plantation lands in the elevated regions, with a particular focus on sites adjacent to tribe communities. The displacement from their traditional homelands has a negative influence on their life (Bijoy & Raman, 2003). Furthermore, by implementing an isolationist strategy within tribal communities, the British government effectively marginalised these people from the broader societal framework. Moreover, there was reluctance on their part to offer assistance for the advancement of these underprivileged communities. According to the Kerala Development Report of 2008, the socio-economic transition of the tribal community residing in the reserved forest areas of the country was minimally impacted by the isolationist mindset and Forest Reservation Policy implemented by the British Rulers. Following the attainment of independence, the Constitution of India accorded heightened importance to the socially and economically disadvantaged communities, namely the Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled Tribes. The provisions of distinct safeguards were formulated and multiple tribal committees were appointed to gain a comprehensive understanding of the actual experiences of tribal communities and to identify resolutions for the challenges they face.

### **2.3.2a Constitutional safeguards for Scheduled Tribes**

Based on the comprehensive provisions in Article 46, which cover both the developmental and regulatory aspects, the government of Post-Independence India has developed a number of safeguards for the educational success and socioeconomic development of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes. Important social safeguards in the nation are Articles 23 and 24, which effectively forbid the use of forced labor and the employment of children under the age of 14. These broad rules are acknowledged as essential parts of the financial protections offered to the Scheduled Tribes. Article 244 and Article 275(1) of the Indian Constitution give Scheduled Tribes specific economic protections. The Fifth and Sixth Schedules contain the provisions relating to the general administration of Tribal Areas. The protection and preservation of the cultural and educational rights of indigenous tribes is guaranteed under the provisions of Articles 15(4), 29(1), and 350A of the constitution. The promise in the provision ensures that each State would be given unique authority to advance marginalized communities' education. Additionally, it promotes the development of education in each person's native tongue. The political protections for tribal tribes are guaranteed by Articles 164 (1), 330, 332, 334, 243D, and 371, which primarily involve the reservation of seats in legislative assemblies, the Lok Sabha, the Panchayath, etc (Sahay, 1998). The implementation of service safeguards for the Scheduled Tribes across the country is covered by the constitutional provisions mentioned in Articles 16(4), 335(4), and 320(4). In order to strengthen the tribal society inside the country, the National Commission for Scheduled Tribes has put policies in place to guarantee reservations for Scheduled Tribes in government services.

### **2.3.2b Committees for Scheduled Tribes**

The establishment of committees for addressing the needs and concerns of Scheduled Tribes is an important aspect of governmental efforts to promote inclusivity and social justice. These committees play a crucial role in safeguarding the rights. The Government of India has established multiple committees, led by notable officials or experts, in accordance with the stipulations outlined in the Constitution of India. These committees have been tasked with assessing, documenting, and proposing resolutions for a range of concerns affecting the scheduled tribes throughout the nation. During the early phase of independence, tribes were commonly classified as 'backward' rather than being recognized as 'Scheduled Tribes'. In the year 1953, the President of India granted approval for the establishment of the first commission for the Backward Classes. This commission, led by Kaka Kelkar, was tasked with the identification of specific categories or communities among the nation's backward

class population. In 1959, a committee was established under the leadership of Verrier Elwin to assess the operations and efficacy of Special Multi-purpose Tribal Development Projects (SMTDP) across the nation. The SMTDP, as stated by the National Commission for Scheduled Tribes in 2014, serves as the primary administrative entity for tribal development initiatives. The Dhebar Commission was established in 1960-61 by the Central Ministry in accordance with Article 339 of the Constitution of India. Its primary objective was to assess the present socio-economic conditions of the tribal population inside the nation. The committee conducted an in-depth analysis of the socio-economic situation, land ownership, and land alienation among diverse tribal people across India. The recommendations of the study were formulated and presented in the Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes, drawing upon the Nehruvian Concept of tribal development as outlined in the Dhebar Commission Report of 1961. The Lokur Committee, in 1965, produced a report on the advisory committee's recommendations for the Revision of the list of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. They proposed a set of five fundamental characteristics that can be used to distinguish tribal communities from the broader societal context. Based on the provided information, a revision was made to the preexisting roster of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Rath, 2006). The Shilu A.O Committee was established in 1966 to assess matters related to tribal development and welfare activities within the framework of the Tribal Development Block (NCST, 2007). As per Article 338 of the Constitution of India, a committee was established to address the welfare concerns of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This committee, led by D. Basumantarai, was tasked with examining the efficacy of the Constitutional Safeguards for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the year 1969 (Basumatarai, 1969). The study by Burman, B.K.R (1982) titled "Committee on Forests and Tribes in India," aimed to enhance the economic well-being of tribal communities by emphasising the advancement of livelihood opportunities. The report specifically highlighted the importance of collaboration between the Forest Department and tribal populations in achieving this objective. The formation of the Bhuria Committee for the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes took place in 2004, in accordance with the provisions outlined in Article 339 (1). This study analysed the constitutional provisions pertaining to the Scheduled Tribes as outlined in the 5th and 6th schedules of the constitution, as well as the developmental methods implemented across several sectors under the Tribal Sub Plan (Bhuria, 2004). The Bandhopadhyaya Committee performed a study in 2006 on the governance and development of tribes in areas affected by Left-Wing extremism. Furthermore, in 2009, a comprehensive examination of the inter-sectoral challenges

pertaining to tribal development was undertaken. This study, coordinated by Dr. Balachandra Mungekar, focused on evaluating the effectiveness of administrative and governance practises in the Scheduled Areas. Mungekar (2009) highlights the imperative of revitalising self-governance institutions, the significance of including participatory methodologies in programme implementations, and the necessity of fostering an efficient delivery mechanism. The report conducted by the Xaxa Committee in 2014 analysed the socio-economic, educational, and health conditions of indigenous groups. The primary focus of the study revolved around key concerns in the fields of education, health, livelihood and employment, involuntary displacement and migration, as well as constitutional and legal matters (Xaxa, 2014).

### **2.3.3 Approaches to Tribal Development**

In the Indian context, tribal development is characterised by three significant approaches. There are three main approaches that may be identified in this context: (a) the assimilation approach, (b) the isolationist approach, and (c) the integration approach. The initial approach, assimilation is widely regarded as a universal process. The phenomenon of assimilation occurs as a result of the interaction and adaptation between diverse cultural groups. According to Ogburn and Nimkoff (1955), assimilation can be defined as the process through which people or groups, who were previously dissimilar, gradually become similar and same in their perspectives and attitudes. Assimilation can occur either spontaneously or through compulsion. Cultural adaptations and assimilation occur as a result of migration, the expansion of knowledge delivery systems, religious motivations, national interests, and the process of development. The process of forced assimilation involves the integration of less dominant civilizations into a more dominant one. Assimilation represents a potential approach for addressing challenges within tribal contexts. According to Rao (2012), the process of assimilation, as supported by social reforms and voluntary organisations, serves to facilitate and promote the integration of tribal people into the broader fabric of national society. This method prioritises the transformation of tribal living conditions to align with mainstream cultural norms and the implementation of modern development practises inside these communities. Within the framework of resettlement, the process of assimilation encompasses a broad range of factors, including cultural intermingling and the incorporation of developmental initiatives within the resettlement region.

Isolation or segregation represents an alternative strategy for the advancement of tribal communities. As per this particular perspective, tribal communities actively choose to isolate themselves from the dominant civilization, thereby residing in a different cultural and traditional existence. In this context, the term "isolation" pertains to the occurrence in which a group or community becomes detached from the dominant society in terms of cultural practises, lifestyle, and place of habitation. This method was proposed under the belief that tribes will thrive more effectively inside their natural environments. According to Elwin's (1939) recommendation, it is advisable to maintain tribal communities in designated zones that are geographically separate from the dominant civilization. Preserving their autonomous identity and safeguarding against various forms of prejudice would be beneficial for individuals. According to Mann (1983), it is imperative to establish policies aimed at minimising the interaction between tribal and non-tribal segments. These restrictions additionally impose limitations on the transfer of land to individuals who are not affiliated with tribes originating from external sources, thereby serving as a preventive measure against the alienation of tribal land.

According to Vidyarthi (1981), the philosophy of integration can be considered as a tribal development model influenced by Nehruvian ideology. The strategy of tribe development that is being discussed completely rejects both the isolationist and assimilationist approach. While the practise of isolation regards indigenous tribes like objects in a museum, assimilation compels them to assimilate into the dominant societal group. Integration strategies aim to facilitate the assimilation of tribes into Indian civilization while preserving their cultural and traditional practises. According to Rath (2006), policies are formed by considering both protective and promotional measures. Additionally, it places emphasis on the holistic advancement of tribal groups, encompassing several aspects such as healthcare, education, economic progress, housing, sanitation, and legal assistance. In his analysis, Rao (2012) examines the advantages associated with the integration approach in the context of tribal development. The author highlights that the implementation of integration strategies enables tribal communities to access the advantages of contemporary society by means of protective and promotional policies and programmes. Since 1974, there has been a consistent adoption of the integrationist strategy in tribal development by both the Union and State Ministries.

### **2.3.4 Phases of Tribal Development in Post –Independence India**

Through improved welfare, better management, and development of the tribal lands and Scheduled Tribes, the Indian Constitution envisions substantial protection of tribal interests. The Five-Year Plans were seen as the means by which indigenous people would benefit from deliberate development and progressive insertion into the national mainstream.

The First Five-Year Plan advocated for the transfer of funds from general sectors to tribes and the use of special sectors to provide additional funding. The Shilu A.O. Report (1969) noted that administrations frequently relied primarily on special provisions for funding development in ST regions; it noted that the flow from general sectors was extremely inadequate (Kunhikrishnan 2009).

Reduced economic inequality in society received particular attention in the second plan (1956–1961), which placed emphasis on economic development. The planning of development projects for Scheduled Tribes has also taken into account their social, psychological, and economic issues as well as a respect for and knowledge of their culture and traditions. It is obvious that Jawaharlal Nehru's five-point strategy for tribal development was important to the planners. The second five-year plan saw an increase in expenditure, and the creation of 43 Multipurpose Tribal Blocks—later known as Tribal Development Blocks—was particularly significant. These blocks were designed for 25,000 people rather than the 65,000 people in a general block, and they received more funding from the central government (15 lakhs as opposed to 12 lakhs).

The third plan (1961–1966) upheld the same philosophy of promoting equality for Scheduled Tribes through a variety of policies and programmes, noting that much progress remained to be done after looking at the Third Plan's programmes.

According to the fourth plan (1969–1974), the main objective was to quickly raise the average living standard of the population through policies that also advance social justice and equality. Under the Fourth Plan, tribal welfare projects received funding from the federal and state governments in the areas of education, health, agriculture, communications, housing, drinking water, livelihood programmes, and legal assistance. Most significantly, as part of a Central sector programme to counter the growth of left-wing militancy, six pilot programmes were established in 1971–1972 in Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, and Orissa. Each of



these projects was overseen by a different Tribal Development Agency, which was ultimately combined with the Integrated Tribal Development Projects under the TSP in the Fifth Plan.

The creation of the Tribal Sub-Plan for the direct benefit of the development of Tribes in the country during the fifth five-year plan (1974–1979) signalled a change in strategy. A Task Force on Tribal Areas led by L.P. Vidyarthi and an Expert Committee led by S.C. Dube assessed the situation of tribal development prior to the TSP's implementation. These committees made a number of observations that were pertinent to the development of the TSP. Both the Committee and the Task Force concurred that the issues facing various tribal communities throughout the nation are unique and advised paying closer attention to a flexible developmental strategy that would meet the various demands of various tribes. Although an integrated approach was favoured, both Committees emphasised the significance of taking into account disparities between tribally majority and -minority locations as well as the various strata within the tribal community itself so that all benefits were not only enjoyed by elite groups among tribes. In order to ensure accountability, non-diversion, and utilisation for the welfare and development of adivasi, the TSP mandated that funding from the centre and the states be quantified on the basis of population with budgeting methods. The TSP did represent a significant departure from the previous methods of planning for tribes given these objectives and structure.

The Provisions of Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act 1996 (often referred to as PESA) and the 73rd and 74th Amendments to the Indian Constitution introduced a new system of self-government in the nation's Fifth Schedule regions in the 1990s. Given that decision-making in local planning and welfare distribution went to the lowest tier of government - the Panchayats - this should have greatly increased the TSP's efficacy (Kunhikrishnan 2009).

### **2.3.5 Socio- Economic Problems of Scheduled Tribes**

Following independence, the Indian government chose an integrated approach to tribal development, giving tribal populations the opportunity to choose how they wanted to live rather than imposing on them the greater society's way of life. Even now, tribal groups are at the bottom of the socioeconomic scale in the nation, despite countless efforts made for their welfare (Chandran, 2012).

Tribes differ not only in size, language, geography, etc., but also in exposure to the wider community, claims Xaxa (2001). Although not entirely absent, there was little or no contact between the tribes and the rest of society before the British arrived. However, the situation has changed since the start of colonial control. Through transportation methods like roads and trains on the one hand and the expansion of trade, commerce, and the market on the other, tribes have come into greater touch with the larger civilization and been exposed to the outside world. In the post-independence India, this process has been pursued more assiduously through a variety of integration techniques, with a focus on geographic, economic, and political factors. The level of integration and its history vary from tribe to tribe, but those who have experienced these connections and exposure historically—especially for more than a century—have not always performed better than those who have experienced less exposure.

The primary causes of the indigenous people's economic difficulties are workplace injustice and unhelpful tribal programs and policies. However, the majority of their social issues are caused by the deterioration of their emotional vitality and sense of self. The main sector of the occupational pyramid is where tribes are disproportionately concentrated. They depend on ad hoc methods of agriculture and collecting from the forest for their subsistence (Panda, 1998). Typically, tribal communities have been established in trouble spots. Such areas have a weaker resource base. The majority of these regions are prone to drought, far away, without access to transportation, rocky, forested, desolate, and with extremely unfriendly climates. Potable water shortages are a typical occurrence in these areas. Due to very poor soil quality or over exploitation of the land fertility, the majority of the places where they live produce inferior crops. Another feature about these locations is the low degree of investment in resource development. The resource bases of tribes in Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Bihar, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, and other states are consistently impoverished, and they also have very low net investments per hectare of land. The tribes are supposed to have migrated to more remote, inhospitable locations as a result of a protracted fight against the frequent disruptions by invaders in their prior habitation in the rich lands (Pande, 1991).

The issues that tribes encountered during the colonial period, such as losing control over land and other resources due to the alienation of land to non-tribes and the state-sponsored relocation initiatives, have persisted unabatedly in the post-independence period. In practically every aspect of modern life, tribes suffer from poverty, persecution, exploitation, and discrimination (Xaxa, 2005).

The invasion of non-tribes into tribal areas in Kerala has had a negative impact on the life of the state's indigenous people, particularly between the years of 1930 and 1960, when vast amounts of tribal territory were destroyed. Tribal farmers became agricultural wage workers of migrants as a result of the extensive land alienation, and new forms of production evolved in tribal districts. As a result, the local market transitioned from being a tribal economy (which used the barter system) to a cash one. (KFRI, 1991; Therakam, 2010). Moreover, their traditional consumption patterns changed in favour of the cash economy, like the consumption pattern of settlers. Hence, the need for money increased for purchasing consumables from the cash economy, and subsequently, tribes became more deprived and financially unsecured. In short, uncontrollable land alienation, changes in the cultivation patterns, lack of employment opportunities, absence of permanent livelihood assistance, low wage rate, and the fluctuations in the peripheral economy in the tribal regions created barriers to the socio-economic development of tribes in the state. These led tribal communities to a higher rate of poverty and vulnerabilities (Mathur, 1977).

The situation of Scheduled Tribes in Kerala is marginally better than that of their counterparts nationally. In Kerala, only little more than one-fourth of the population lives below the poverty line, compared to over half of the tribal population (Chathukulam et al., 2012). According to Shyjan and Sunitha (2009), the STs are comparatively underprivileged in terms of literacy rates, average years spent in school, retention rate, and access to basic utilities, and a sizable portion of the population is still employed in the primary sector. The deprivation of scheduled tribes is caused by the same factors that enabled Kerala to achieve a level of development that is recognized internationally. The tribes have not benefited from the land reform package, social reform movements, or the role of missionaries in promoting basic education.

In Kerala, Scheduled Tribes continue to be the most underdeveloped group. Tribal differences in the deprivation index, which gauges quality of living, have shrunk. But compared to the general population, the level of deprivation in terms of housing, basic amenities, and economic standing is extremely high. The availability of decent housing and basic amenities is essential in assessing an individual's total well-being because it has an impact on the health of the tribal people. Any segment of the population's general well-being will be significantly improved by improvements in the housing options and fundamental amenities related to health and cleanliness. However, despite government efforts to alleviate their difficulties, the tribal community continues to live in poverty (Thara & Nair, 2013).

According to Rajasenan et al. (2013), backward tribes are those with low or inadequate education, employment, and living standard indicators, such as the Paniya, Adiya, Urali, Kattunaika, Muthuvans, and Irula. Tribes with good education and employment have a better living standard, so they can generally be referred to as forward. The failure of government initiatives and aid meant to strengthen Kerala's tribes is the cause of this paradox because the needy are not receiving it. Due to their high level of education and good style of living, one particular community, the Malayarayan, benefits the most from the reservation in government posts.

According to Thulaseedharan (2015), there are roughly 15 tribal communities in Wayanad, with the majority residing in panchayat-provided homes that cost one lakh rupees and some in huts. While the younger generation attends school, the older age lacks basic literacy skills. Some individuals have completed their high school and high secondary education, but no employment opportunity has presented itself. In every community, there are more females than males due to the proportion of indigenous people. There are also fewer kids in the next generation. When the cause of the decline in the number of men was looked into, it was found that tribal people are being kidnapped in large numbers to work in the coorg plantations. Male tribals, particularly the younger ones, have been drawn to Coorg by a lack of economic opportunities in the hamlet. They experience a lot of exploitation. To keep them from growing weary and losing their energy while working, they are given alcohol and narcotics. This has an impact on both their fertility and general wellness. There are fewer offspring and shorter male life expectancies in many tribal tribes in Wayand.

Indigenous peoples typically experience the worst health results in the world and have few opportunities to express their own opinions about their circumstances. The paniyas, one of the most underprivileged communities, are frequently caught in a cycle of illness, debt, and poverty that has its roots in their history of captivity. Through positive discrimination, affirmative action, and the adoption of unique tribal development plans, efforts have been made to enhance the lives of indigenous communities. Although they have no voice, marginalized tribal communities continue to experience high levels of poverty and poor health (Mohindra et al., 2010).

In her research, Panikker (2015) discovered that the infant mortality rate and body weight ratio in Attapady are significantly lower than WHO standards and significantly lower than the figures for other marginalized groups in India alone. Malnutrition-related fatalities were

extremely prevalent in Attappady. Largely impacted were women and little children. Aside from anemia, the causes of mortality were identified as asphyxia, acute respiratory distress syndrome, apnea, low birth weight, development growth delay, and intrauterine growth restriction. The reasons given included a lack of health care facilities, poor cleanliness, and malnutrition in addition to errors in the implementation of the tribal reformatory scheme.

In tribal societies, economy and education go hand in hand, and a significant amount of waste and dropouts can be attributed to families using their children for economic gain. A tiny percentage of the tribal boys' problems have been resolved by the establishment of residential schools, the provision of midday meals, ashram schools, etc. (Vidyarthi, 1981).

### **2.3.6 Tribal Economy and Development**

The tribal people can be divided into four main groups based on their level of eco-cultural development, acculturative influences, and techno-economic development. The first type of tribals are those extreme and size communities that still engage in some pre-agricultural activities including food collection, hunting, and fishing in addition to some agricultural activity. They live in isolated, inaccessible regions that are cut off from the mainstream. They're referred to as primitive tribes. The second category includes tribes that are said to be a little more evolved, engage in shifting cultivation, and have some interaction with outsiders. The third group consists of tribe members who may be seen as in transition. They are somewhat acculturated, have interactions with the outside world, have more sophisticated agriculture than the shifting cultivators, and are therefore likely to adapt to development. The fourth group is made up of acculturated tribal peoples who have adopted contemporary lifestyles and technologies and are hardly identifiable from non-tribal people (soundarapadian, 2000).

These very traditional relations control societal developments since the market economy does not just replace them but rather articulates them to a larger commercial network. The introduction of capital into tribal areas alters the fundamental character and understanding of property relations. Since they exercise corporate rights over property rather than rigid individual ownership, tribal people generally do not consider land as a commodity. However, the spread of the private property idea and the commoditization of labour and land changed social relations (pathy, 2003).

Over 400 Indian social groupings have been given the official designation of Scheduled tribes, according to the academic study of Xaxa (1999). Over the past almost 100 years, numerous people have noticed and characterized each of these groupings. The prevailing theory among

anthropologists has been that when a tribe experiences change as a result of losing its seclusion and integrating closely with the larger society, sooner or later and invariably, it turns into a caste. Contrary to popular belief, tribes have evolved into socially distinct and peasant-like groups without losing their unique identity.

Tribal economies were mostly subsistence economies. Only the amount needed for their own usage was generated by tribal people. They had no understanding of the market. The only place they could exchange goods and services was at the weekly market, which served a number of nearby villages. The weekly market has been the most fundamental example of globalization in tribal economies. Globalization is now having an impact on this weekly market. As a result, the tribal has been connected to consumerism and liberalization (Jain, 2001).

According to Padhy (2002) tribes in India mainly depend on agriculture and forest produce for their livelihood. But unfortunately, due to lack of proper institutional arrangements for provision of credit marketing of agriculture and forest products in tribal regions, tribals have been exploited by the money lenders and traders. To put an end to the kind of exploitation and ensure accelerated economic development of tribal economy the government have emphasized the need for the creation of co-operatives in the tribal regions. One of the major objectives of the co-operatives in tribal areas is to procure minor forest products and agricultural produce from the tribals at remunerative price and to narrow down the price spread between the tribal producers and non-tribal consumers.

Limited wants, a subsistence economy, direct production, a low man-to-land ratio, an unorganised market, a low marketable surplus, a lack of profit motivation, an indifferent attitude toward building wealth, a lack of economic competition, an adoption gap, and a lack of an economic model for development are significant economic constraints on tribal development (Patel, 1992).

In order to foster a responsive, transparent, and responsible public service delivery system, a new paradigm for tribal development is conceivable, one in which the formulation of programs and schemes, their execution, monitoring, and evaluation are done in accordance with the felt needs and participation of the tribal population. In order to address the current issues and challenges associated with the implementation of tribal-specific schemes and projects, Grama Panchayath and the respective oorukootams should work together to take an honest initiative. This initiative should ensure that the disadvantaged tribal community receives a fair and high-quality service. This practice of devolving responsibility for tasks, employees, finances, and service delivery would aid in including the excluded in a nation's growth and outreach from a wider perspective (Baiju 2011).

### **2.3.7 Tribal Land and Land Alienation**

As per Marx, in a capitalist society an alienated man lives in an alienated nature and he performs estranged labour and the product of his labour becomes alien to him. Since land alienation is the crux of the depeasantization of the tribals, the concept assumes utmost importance in the analysis of tribal rights as a part of human rights discourse. Alienation was defined by Hegel and was used by Marx to describe a condition in which man far from being the active initiator of the social world seemed more a passive object of determinate external processes. Marx says, alienation is fundamentally a particular relation of property, involving involuntary surrender to antagonistic 'other'. Alienation is inherent in exploitative relations of production and its nature varies with that of exploitation. The concept of alienation may be interpreted to understand a specific problem of the tribals where land becomes the primordial source of exploitation and results in the creation of a society where exploitative production relations exist (Kumar, 2015).

The question of land is not just a result of the existing situation but its origin may be traced to the periods of deprivation of tribal lands or to periods of the withdrawal of their rights to exploit forest. Gradually, due to various structural changes within and outside the tribal systems, the more advanced groups forced the tribals either to retreat to the nearest jungles or to become landless labourers. Basically, moneylenders, traders, the feudal lords, or the rich peasants exploit the tribals most. It is an established fact that there is large scale alienation of lands which belong to the tribes and grabbers invariably in all cases are the non-tribes. This phenomenon has further been ruined by the emergence of new forces of production (Kumar, 2015)..

Land has been a key component of wealth creation and production since the beginning of capitalism. Land serves as the actual site of production and accumulation. Land ownership serves as a proxy for poverty. Inequality and stark discrepancy are highlighted by both land quality and anomalies in land distribution. Literacy does, without a doubt, increase people's awareness of their freedom, but it does little to help them struggle against injustice in order to break free from the shackles of poverty (Janamani, 2005).

The keystone of Kerala's indigenous economy was land in the broadest sense. As long as land was held in common ownership, the tribal members did not ask who owned the land. The tribal economy had previously been a uniform, homogenous society of primary producers under this structure. The interaction that grew between the tribe members and those outside the system through time progressively brought about changes in the way the tribal economy was organized. The tribal peasantry eventually split into two groups: the landowners and the landless. As a result,

landlessness among the tribal people, an issue unheard of in their previous society, became a sobering reality. From one place to another, landlessness was to varying degrees.

In the state, indigenous households make up about 30% of all households. The former princely states of Travancore and Cochin have the lowest rates of landlessness. The first permanent farmers in these three districts were the major tribes, Kanikkar, Mala Arayan, Muduvan, and Urali. The Malabar region has the largest percentage of tribal homes without laboratories, with the districts of Wayand and Palakkad leading the way. The paniya and Adiya were formerly slaves who had no recent land ownership. A significant portion of the fertile ground that the adivasis had used for shifting cultivation has been encroached upon as a result of the massive inflow of non-adivasis, robbing them of their sole source of existence. The terrible events at Muthanga, Kerala, were the result of adivasis' frustration with the state's successive governments for failing to return their land, according to Bijoy and Raman (2003).

The self-sufficient tribal people were allegedly converted to become coolies and dependents as a result of the Kerala Tribal Land Reform Act in 2004, plunging them into the depths of self-degradation. The Land Reform Bill's main goal was to eradicate land exploitation. Small farmers from Tamil Nadu and Kerala's plains joined the tribal settlements in the Western Ghats and discovered cheap, rich land with the tribespeople who were happy to offer their land for cultivation. The new immigrants saw it as a wonderful chance to claim the land for free or for a small fee that could be paid more in kind, such as salt, alcohol, and tobacco, than in cash, through lease deeds and mortgage deeds, with or without the tribespeople's knowledge or consent. Due to land alienation, the tribespeople lost a large portion of their territory and their social structure disintegrated.

For the adivasis living in the state, history is an unending cycle of oppression and horrors with no break from the past—not even with the establishment of the state in 1956 and the communists' takeover of power in 1957. Even the land reforms, which were supposedly most successfully executed in the Marxist Kerala, failed to help them in any way. Tenants were given occupancy rights when tenancy and landlordism were abolished in 1970, but in the adivasi belts, events took an odd turn with settler farmers acquiring the land rights while posing as tenants, and the adivasis losing lands from their position as landlords (Raman 2002).

Many Uralies, according to Kattakayam (1983), do not support the state government's land reforms because they are prohibited from leaving their current habitat in quest of virgin soil. Tribal lands are continuously being alienated despite the Kerala Scheduled Tribe (Restriction on



Transfer of Land and Restoration of Alienated lands) Act of 1975 being in effect. The Act prohibits non-tribal people from acquiring tribal territory or encroaching against them. 96 examples of Urali families' lands being alienated have been documented by the Tribal Welfare Department. The Uralies are being forced to relocate deeper into the forest in search of habitat as non-tribals continue to purchase their properties at extremely low prices.

Land alienation and land acquisition for public projects are significant issues relating to tribal land that have a negative impact on the agriculture of tribal territories. The main causes of tribal members losing their lands are sales or benami transactions, and occasionally corrupting of records by powerful landowners. The main factor that has contributed to the severe economic backwardness of tribal economies over time is land alienation. Because of the increasing alienation of tribal lands to non-tribals and even some wealthy tribals, a sizeable percentage of the tribal population in the Koraput region is now economically destitute and has been reduced to the status of landless agricultural laborers (Mohapatro, 1987).

Alternative land-use and management techniques are recommended by Purushothaman (2005) to enhance the base of income for poor marginal farmers. As indicated in the paper, the tribal community's foundation of support has been weakened by land alienation, soil deterioration, attacks by wild animals, and decreasing access to woods. A lack of entrepreneurship or the inability to use traditional talents for sustained living has been caused by weakening community rights, loosened social cohesion, disappearing ethnic customs, and land alienation. The native farmers have not been able to increase the land's productive potential due to their reliance on temporary labor and development assistance. Poverty and degradation are caused by a combination of soil moisture stress, decreased self-reliance, and a high vulnerability to developmental aid. The indigenous people of Anaikatty could escape the cycle of poverty by increasing the productivity of dry land agriculture.

A committee in each state and union territory should review all current Acts and Regulations with the ultimate goal of totally prohibiting transfers of tribal members' land to non-tribals for some time in order to prevent land alienation. Without the consent of the Deputy Commissioner or the Collector, all transfers—by sale, mortgage, gift, or lease—under any kind of agreement or contract entered into by tribal members in favor of non-tribal members should be prohibited. It is also necessary to launch an education campaign for the tribal members, preferably through non-official organizations, to inform them of the laws or regulations made for their benefit and provide them with the necessary financial and legal assistance.

According to Munster and Vishnudas (2012), the left-wing Keralan government sought to interpret the Forest Rights Act as a means of acquiring forest land and carrying out ten-year-old commitments to transfer land to landless adivasis. The Act's provisions were not the best way to deliver them redistributive justice, nevertheless. The well-intentioned Forest Rights Act had no effect on the region's unique historical and legal context.

According to Raman (2004), the adivasis' plight is not solely attributable to a shortage of land. The adivasis have been crushed by globalizing neoliberal reforms, just as other marginalized populations around the world. The Kerala plantation business is in crisis as a result of the federal government of India's deregulation of the export-import policy, which has also led to a decline in the price of coffee and tea. As a result, many adivasi plantation workers have been laid off. The number of work options has been further diminished by the advent of new crops like vanilla. This has made the situation for adivasis worse because it promotes the long-term leasing of land, particularly state-owned land. This has an impact on the possibility of land redistribution while endangering local food production.

### **2.3.8 Displacement and Resettlement**

Indigenous people have been exploited and displaced for generations. They continue to be outside the scope of any kind of discernible improvement in their state even after fifty years of development. These people's life are seriously threatened by large-scale development initiatives. As a result of the abundance of hydrologic, forestry, mineral oil, and other resources in many areas with a high concentration of indigenous peoples, these areas are desirable locations for enterprises of all kinds. Therefore, a disproportionately large share of those negatively impacted by development projects are indigenous peoples. Tribal people, who make up only 8% of the total population in India, make up 40% of all displaced persons (Mathur, 2011). The indigenous population is typically harmed by development projects, particularly because they frequently lack legal status and a say in governance concerns. They are especially defenseless because they do not possess any exclusive land rights. There is no basis for creating a compensation package in lieu of their land as there is no legal title. Furthermore, the compensation packages offered have been wholly insufficient to make up for the loss of their communities' land, means of subsistence, and culture (Mathur, 2009). Indigenous tribes' strong spiritual links to their land and fear that their way of life would be lost forever if they migrate further heighten the agony of resettlement. Displacement is in fact a catastrophe for indigenous peoples. Less than 18% of the more over 60 million individuals who were uprooted for development projects since independence are believed

to have been relocated, let alone rehabilitated with alternative means of support (Fernandes, 2008). Large public initiatives had always disproportionately impacted the weakest segments of the Indian population. In India, only those who live in the forests effectively lack property rights (Singh, 1989).

The history of rehabilitation is bleak; it is frequently a tale of arduous struggle. It starts as a battle for fair recompense but quickly turns into one for survival. The oustees typically go from poverty to pauperization since they were not involved in the planning or received no advantages from the project that utterly upended their life (Thukral, 1989). The main beneficiaries of rehabilitation programs must be displaced people and other marginalized groups. It is possible to support the cooperatives of displaced people, especially tribal people, and to provide them with the technical skills needed to manage these cooperatives, small businesses, or specialized employment on the project. Economically, this may be deemed unsatisfactory, but it must be seen as a social investment in communities that would otherwise be further marginalized and pushed below the poverty line so that the advantages of development might reach a few influential sectors (Fernandes et al., 1989). An enormous effective subsidy of India's development effort has been created by generations of people who have depended on the land for their livelihoods and received either little or inadequate compensation for it. People who have disproportionately paid for India's industrial growth through their dispossession and who are somewhat clinically referred to as project affected persons have only recently begun to receive attention as a result of the protests of people's movements in the previous 30 years. Making legally binding commitments to provide all persons impacted by any project of any size with a combination of land, jobs, and equity interests should be the goal of a comprehensive Resettlement and Rehabilitation Bill, which might be incorporated into the Land Acquisition Amendment (Levien 2011).

According to Areparambil (1989) the Chotanagpur plateau is a region that is exceptionally rich in both forests and minerals. Additionally, a sizable population of indigenous people who live in harmony with their environment call it home. This region is undergoing a massive industrialization and development process under the guise of national interest in order to exploit its natural and people resources. The indigenous inhabitants of this region are being massively evicted and proletarianized as a result of this capitalist mode of growth. A sizable share of those who are relocated with little recompense are members of the landless communities. Despite the fact that their culture emphasizes protecting the environment and seeing the natural resources as a life support system, they lack the necessary abilities to operate within the formal structure that controls these resources. The in-depth project reports mention mainstreaming these sections.

However, they continue to play a modest role in the nation's growth, which is governed by a strong but small minority. When the tribal people and other marginalized groups reach this mainstream, they do so only as inexpensive laborers, not as consumers of its goods. The underdevelopment of the tribal region for what is referred to as national development, which is the enrichment of the upper classes, is what might be described as internal colonialism (Fernandes and Thukral, 1989).

According to Dhagamwar (2011) when faced with displacement, indigenous people face a completely distinct set of issues. They are like fish out of water when they are not in their natural, historical habitat. They are hesitant to venture into the city wilderness. For instance, the Bhils who were uprooted by the Ukai dam on the Tapi river in the 1960s were entirely lost in the new environment. They quickly lost the land that had been granted to them in the strange Gujarat to moneylenders and travelled aimlessly back to their own surroundings. Involuntary land acquisition and the forced relocation of populations for a greater good, according to Somayaji and Talwar (2011), are at the heart of the development paradox in the contemporary Indian state. This conundrum illustrates the necessity to strike a balance between upholding minority rights and serving the interests of the majority. However, the procedure raises concerns about who is selected by the state to make the voluntary sacrifice and who would profit from these sacrifices for the common good. The state is attempting to acquire the land through forced acquisition on behalf of a traditional group that has historically been marginalized. Although the goal of development initiatives is to eradicate poverty, forced relocation frequently leads to the emergence of new areas of poverty.

Kujur (2011) discovered that the majority of the tribal populations are, regrettably, concentrated in the country's resource-rich regions. Numerous so-called development projects, particularly those involving water resources, mines, industries, tourism, etc., have been set up in tribally dominating areas, displacing hundreds of thousands of the inhabitants and leaving them on their own. Development in the true sense can never be achieved through a project that causes relocation. Due to the overemphasis on the term "development" rather than "displacement," the debate's focus on the idea of development-induced displacement is constantly blurred. The aforementioned idea, which does not make any real effort toward the victims' rehabilitation, directly or indirectly supports displacement for the so-called common purpose, common good, and national interest. The 4Ds, or dispossession, displacement, dislocation, and disempowerment, are a bigger tribal problem that is reflected in the country's current normative framework for rehabilitation.

The single biggest factor robbing STs in India of their livelihoods, lives, and homes continues to be land loss. The rules governing forests and significant development projects that force people to relocate are just two examples of the many procedures for this type of expropriation of land. The Adivasi groups, who have repeatedly had their resources taken from them in this way, have suffered disproportionate displacement and loss of livelihoods as a result of the exercise of the Indian state's ability to forcibly acquire private property. A 1951 constitutional amendment that eliminated the right to property from the list of essential rights in order to facilitate land reform also lessened the protection afforded to private property. Ironically, the state is now using this to facilitate the acquisition of marginal populations' lands (Bijoy et al., 2010).

Relocation theory, proposed by Scudder and Colson in 1982, and the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model (IRRM), proposed by Michael M. Cernea in 1999, are two important theoretical frameworks or models of resettlement. Based on their research during the 1952 Kariba dam resettlement, Scudder and Colson (1982) created the Relocation theory. The study concentrated on the effects of resettlement as well as the transformation connected to it. This idea states that resettlement involves four stages: recruitment, transition, development, and inclusion. Plans for the resettlement process are developed during the recruitment phase by the relevant authorities (policymakers and government officials). The authorities inform people about their removal or resettlement during the second stage (the transition stage). People find out about their impending migration during this phase, which causes stress and other issues. The third is the stage of development. It discusses how people adjust to their new circumstances after the relocation process and their development attempts. People begin to restore their social networks and economies. People may control the production system and exercise leadership at the local level during the incorporation stage. This idea contends that beginning with their second generation, the relocated individuals feel at home in the new neighborhood. According to Scudder and Colson (1982, p. 32), "partly because of relocation stress limits the range of coping responses of those involved," people going through relocation react in a predictable and generally comparable manner. However, the hypothesis has come under heavy fire, particularly for how it explains involuntary resettlement.

Cernea (1999) put forth the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model (IRRM). The socio-economic and cultural lives of people alter as a result of the complicated process of resettlement. Following industrialisation, several relocation initiatives were carried out in numerous nations due to large-scale undertakings like the construction of mines and dams.

Reconstruction may be a challenging endeavor for citizens and decision-makers. The government and related authorities bear a heavy burden for the successful implementation of relocation and rehabilitation.

For the restoration of displaced people's livelihoods and living conditions, Cernea (1999) has created a thorough model of impoverishment risks and reconstruction. The model aids in the evaluation, monitoring, and analysis of resettlement projects. The model highlights the significant aspects of poverty that arise throughout the relocation process, including: (a) landlessness (b) unemployment (c) homelessness (d) marginalization (e) increased mobility and sickness (f) food insecurity (g) and marginalization (e). Social disarticulation (h) Loss of access to shared resources.

Social capital, human capital, created capital, and natural capital are all impacted by resettlement. Policies for resettlement should aid in helping people regain these capitals. The IRR approach emphasizes proper planning in addition to its goal of socioeconomic rebuilding. The government should create a resettlement strategy before beginning a project. After resettlement, proper monitoring is also crucial. Cernea (1999) argues that impoverishment due to displacement is avoidable and not inevitable. IRR approaches can be utilized as a tool for analyzing the impact of resettlement and it also gives methodological clarity. The development and welfare initiatives for the relocated population should concentrate on preventing impoverishment.

According to Kothari (1996) Resettlement has the opportunity to serve as a platform for the reconstruction of production systems, the improvement of living standards, and the restoration of community and kinship relations. Resettlement must also take place in the same ecosystem and in a similar cultural-linguistic zone. It must take place without breaking the community as a cluster of villages representing crucial kinship relations. The commitment therefore has to be not just for resettlement but for rehabilitation which should be an entitlement and not an act of reluctant generosity.

### **2.3.9 Rehabilitation of Landless/Bonded Labourers among the Scheduled Tribes**

In India, the practice of debt bondage has a long history. The debt that has long existed among the economically exploited and poorer segments of society has led to the creation of the system. The feudal and semi-feudal conditions that characterized the system's early development. In 11 states—Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Karnataka, Kerala,

Maharashtra, Orissa, Tamil Nadu, and Uttar Pradesh—the existence of bonded labour systems in one form or another has been noted. Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes made up 83 percent of the total number of bonded labourers. The bonded labour system was eliminated in the nation with the passage of the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976. The Act mandated the simultaneous cancellation of their debts and the release of all bonded labourers (Verma, 1995).

According to planning commission (1984), rehabilitative programs for freed bonded laborers should be land-based, non-land-based, and skill/craft-based. The land-based rehabilitation programs consist of three main components: (a) land allocation from government or ceiling surplus land; (b) identification of the delivery system for inputs such as seeds, credit facilities, water supplies, agricultural implements, and fertilizers; and (c) reclamation and development of the land that was allotted. The main non-land based programs covered (a) the provision of milk cattle (cows, buffaloes), (b) pigs, goats, and sheep, (c) the extension of veterinary services and (d) institutional connection of marketing, etc. The skill-based program featured (a) skill craft identification (b) raw material, tool, working capital, and workshop supply (c) market connection through cooperatives or state-aided institutions (d) administrative assistance to prevent relapse into servitude.

There are three stages to the planning of rehabilitation programs for bonded workers: immediate physical and economic recovery, short-term interventions to support the beginning of a new life, and long-term interventions to complete the process of self-sufficiency and socioeconomic upliftment. The immediate phase begins when the bound labour is released and lasts until the supply of an asset that generates money. A vast variety of social and economic programs are included in the long-term planning phase, which aims to transform the fundamental characteristics of our agrarian society (National Labour Institute, 1983). The short-term phase covers the initial period when the worker begins managing assets.

Kerala, unique in having voted to power the first communist government in the world, also has the distinction of having the best quality of life index in India, comparable to that of developed countries. Relatively successful land reforms under the leadership of the communists and an organized working-class movement has led to better wages for workers and a more egalitarian distribution of resources. However, due to rapid infrastructural development and migration, particularly of non-*adivasi* farmers, a situation of widespread bondage and landlessness has been created (Bhengra et al., 1999). The Government of Kerala utilized extensive portions of privately-owned forests, which had been transferred to the

government via the Kerala Private Forests (Vesting and Assignment) Act of 1971, for the purpose of rehabilitating individuals who were formerly subjected to bonded labour. The Sugandhagiri Cardamom Project, Pookot Dairy Project, Attapady Cooperative Farming Society, and Chokkad Colony Projects were implemented as rehabilitation initiatives targeting bonded laborers. Regrettably, the Chokkad Project stands as the sole success story (The International School of Dravidian Linguistics, 1996).

The land rights of tribes were undermined by the Government of Kerala through the implementation of the Kerala Restriction on Transfer and Restoration of Land to Scheduled Tribes Act, 1999. Consequently, the process of restoring tribal territory was halted. Consequently, the government was obligated to offer alternate land to the tribal communities. The Aralam Tribal Resettlement program is one of the initiatives in this regard. The rehabilitation plan in Aralam Farm promised each family that moved into the farm a title deed for one-acre land along with other amenities which included basic facilities like drinking water, roads, transportation, schools, electricity and houses. However, it is important to note that there exists no discernible correlation or relationship between the welfare measures implemented for the rehabilitated individuals and the development activities undertaken on their behalf (Sreerekha, 2010).

According to Nishamol and Rajesh (2020), Attappady Hills Area Development (AHADS) was successful in increasing the socioeconomic status and upgrading the way of life of the tribal communities. Their purchasing power improved, and it also encouraged indigenous people to participate in social activities and learn about other developmental initiatives. The AHADS experiment confirmed that the tribal population's social involvement and negotiation potential had improved. The project, however, failed to establish capacities in terms of long-term livelihood options and revenue production activities. After the AHADS project was completed, the lives of tribes became more miserable. The main disadvantage of the AHADS project is the absence of involvement of participatory forums in decision-making. It had a negative impact on addressing local grass-roots issues. By following a de-concentration approach, it was unable to focus on long-term livelihood activities and sustainable development of Attappady's disadvantaged communities. It highlights that the majority of programmes supported by international agencies in third-world nations are undertaken with predetermined objectives that do not take into account the ground realities or the true needs of the beneficiaries.



## **2.4 Conclusion**

The study is grounded in theoretical frameworks that draw upon human development approaches to understanding development. Theoretical literature suggests that historical development efforts mostly emphasized the Gross Domestic Product and Per capita Income, reflecting a growth-centred approach. Later on, the development notion was imbued with a human-centric perspective, leading to the subsequent emergence of the Human Development Approach. The Human Development Approach first placed emphasis on meeting Basic Needs, and subsequently, the Capability Approach developed by Amartya Sen gained significant prominence. According to Sen (1999), the concept of development facilitates greater flexibility for individuals to undergo transformation by enhancing their human capabilities. In terms of empirical research, the existing literature mostly focuses on tribal development approaches, land-related concerns affecting tribal communities, and initiatives aimed at their rehabilitation.

## **2.5 Research Gap**

The existing body of literature extensively discusses the tribal population within the nation. The literature provides a comprehensive portrayal of the tribal predicament, encompassing several aspects such as their socio-economic state, land-related concerns, displacement from their ancestral lands, as well as efforts towards relocation and rehabilitation. The literature examines the rehabilitation efforts implemented following the relocation of tribal populations and various resettlement models that can be employed to enhance the implementation of rehabilitation efforts following displacement. Additionally, it explores the execution of rehabilitation projects aimed at the advancement of landless tribal communities who were previously subjected to bonded labour. However, the existing body of literature provides limited analysis on the extent to which rehabilitation contribute to the enhancement of capabilities among their recipients. The existing research provides limited insights into the comprehensive examination of whether rehabilitation projects have been successful or unsuccessful in the human capability formation through the provision of fundamental necessities and the augmentation of capabilities. The primary objective of this study is to examine the impact of rehabilitation initiatives on the development of human capability formation among scheduled tribes. This study specifically focuses on the Pookot Dairy Project, which was a rehabilitation project carried out for the upliftment of enfranchised bonded labourers of Wayanad district.



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## *Chapter III*

### *An Introduction to Tribal Communities in Kerala: Exploring Land Relations, Alienation, Bondage and Rehabilitation*

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- **Introduction**
- **Tribes in India**
- **Tribes in Kerala**
  - Socio-Economic Condition of Scheduled Tribes in Kerala
  - Alienation of Tribal Land in Kerala
  - Tribal Land and Land Laws in Kerala
- **Wayand's Adivasis**
  - Adivasi Communities in Wayanad
  - Land Alienation
- **History of Bonded Labourers**
- **Rehabilitation of Bonded labourers**
- **Rehabilitation Projects for Enfranchised Bonded Labourers in Kerala**
- **Conclusion**

# **AN INTRODUCTION TO TRIBAL COMMUNITIES IN KERALA: EXPLORING LAND RELATIONS, ALIENATION, BONDAGE AND REHABILITATION**

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## **3.1 Introduction**

India possesses the most significant aggregation of indigenous populations globally, with the exception of the African continent. The indigenous communities are inherently connected to the natural world, and their way of life is influenced by the surrounding environment. The Indian society exhibits a wide range of diversity and heterogeneity across various dimensions, including social, cultural, economic, linguistic, and ethnic aspects. The Indian community's diversity is further enriched by the inclusion of the indigenous population of the country, commonly referred to as "tribals," "jungle people," adivasis, vanvasis, girijans, or the Scheduled Tribes (STs). As per the provisions outlined in the Constitution of India, Scheduled Tribes refer to specific groups or tribes that have been officially recognised and categorised under Article 342. The official declaration of these groups is made by the President of India. According to the 2011 Census, India is home to a total of 705 tribal communities, with a significant concentration residing in the central and north-eastern regions.

This chapter provides a comprehensive description of the indigenous communities residing in India. The text explores the concept of a "tribe" and the attributes found within tribal societies. The chapter provides an analysis of the prominent tribal populations in India, including an examination of their geographic distribution and classification. Additionally, it explores the challenges encountered by these tribal societies. Following a concise examination of the tribal situation in India, the subsequent chapter delves into an elaborate analysis of the circumstances surrounding the tribal population in Kerala, encompassing their land tenure, servitude, and rehabilitation. The chapter also provides a comprehensive historical analysis of the phenomenon of land alienation that has been encountered by the indigenous tribes in Kerala.

## **3.2 Tribes in India**

The indigenous population of India forms an integral component of the Indian society. The tribal people, considered to be the first occupants of the land, are frequently mentioned in historical documents and ancient books like as the Vedas, Puranas, The Ramayana, and The

Mahabharata. The aforementioned books commonly designate these groups by various Sanskrit names, including "nishadas, sabararas, kiratas, dasas, and dravidas" (Sen, 2012). Furthermore, their contribution to the historical narrative of India has been of great significance. For example, according to Verma (1995), Maharana Prathap successfully employed the Bhil tribes as a strategic tool in his resistance against the Mughal kingdom. The Santhal, Gond, Kurichiya, and Kuruma tribes were actively engaged in the resistance movement against the British colonial rule (Bijoy, 1999). Over time, due to various factors, tribes have become marginalised within societal structures, resulting in their voluntary exclusion from mainstream society and subsequent adoption of solitary lifestyles.

The tribal communities in India exhibit significant heterogeneity in various aspects, including demography, historical background, culture, language, social and political life, and economic conditions. Taking into consideration these distinctions, several anthropologists, social scientists, intellectuals, and ethnographers have endeavoured to categorise Indian tribes into different classifications utilising diverse criteria.

The classification of tribes in India has frequently been based on their geographical location and dispersion. The initial endeavour to classify this phenomenon was undertaken by the anthropologist Guha (1944). Consequently, he classified the tribes in India into three distinct categories based on their geographical locations: (a) tribes inhabiting the northern and northeastern regions, (b) tribes residing in the central and middle zones, and (c) tribes situated in the southern zone. Subsequent scholars, such as Dube (1960), also established comparable categorizations predicated upon the geographical dispersion. In addition to the aforementioned factors, the tribes in India have also been categorised based on other criteria, including language or linguistic affiliation, such as Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic, and Tibeto-Burman linguistic families. Furthermore, physical features have been taken into account, such as Negrito, Proto-Australoid, Mongoloid, and Caucasoid classifications. Lastly, ecological situation has been considered, distinguishing tribes as Hill, Forest, or Plain tribes (Sen, 2012).

### **3.2.1 Distribution of Tribal Population in India**

According to the provisions outlined in Article 342 of the Constitution of India, a total of 705 tribes have been officially recognised. The distribution of these tribes is observed across several states and Union Territories inside the country, with the highest concentration of tribes (62) found in Orissa. India is home to the highest concentration of Scheduled Tribes

population globally, residing in approximately 15 percentage of the country's total area (Verma, 1995). The Constitution of India has designated several communities as "Scheduled Tribes" based on their distinct characteristics.

**Table 3.1 Trends in proportion of Scheduled Tribe Population**

<b>Census Year</b>	<b>Total Population (in millions)</b>	<b>ST Population (in millions)</b>	<b>Proportion of ST Population</b>
1961	439.2	30.1	6.9
1971	547.9	38.0	6.9
1981	665.3	51.6	7.8
1991	838.6	67.8	8.1
2001	1028.6	84.3	8.2
2011	1210.5	104.3	8.6

Source: Census 1961-2011

The proportion of tribal individuals within the overall population has witnessed a rise from 6.9 percent in 1961 to 8.6 percent in 2011. According to the Census Report of 2011, the majority of tribal communities, accounting for 86% of the total, are concentrated in Central India. Notably, the state of Madhya Pradesh exhibits the biggest tribal population in the country. According to the Census 2011 data, it was observed that the states of Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Meghalaya, and Mizoram have a tribal population over 40 percentage in relation to the overall population. According to the Statistical Profile of Scheduled Tribes in India (2013), the states of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, and Gujarat have the most significant concentration of tribal population within the nation. The Bhils, Santhals, Gonds, Minas, Mundas, and Oraons are prominent indigenous tribes of India, collectively accounting for a population over 2.5 million individuals.

**Table 3.2 State-wise Demographic Status of Total population & ST population,  
Proportion of STs to the State & to the Country's Total Population**

<b>India / State</b>	<b>Total Population</b>	<b>ST Population</b>	<b>Percentage of STs in the State to Total State Population</b>	<b>Percentage of STs in the State to Total ST Population</b>
India	1210569573	104281034	-	-
Andhra Pradesh	84580777	5918073	7.00	5.68
Arunachal Pradesh	1383727	951821	68.79	0.91
Assam	31205576	3884371	12.45	3.72
Bihar	104099452	1336573	1.28	1.28
Chattisgarh	25545198	7822902	30.62	7.50
Goa	1458545	149275	10.23	0.14
Gujarat	60439692	8917174	14.75	8.55
Haryana	25351462	-	0.00	0.00
Himachal Pradesh	6864602	392126	5.71	0.38
Jammu & Kashmir	12541302	1493299	11.91	1.43
Jharkand	32988134	8645042	26.21	8.29
Karnataka	61095297	4248987	6.95	4.07
Kerala	33406061	484839	1.45	0.46
Madhya Pradesh	72626809	15316784	21.09	14.69
Maharashtra	112374333	10510213	9.35	10.08
Manipur	2570390	902740	35.12	0.87
Meghalaya	2966889	2555861	86.15	2.45
Mizoram	1097206	1036115	94.43	0.99
Nagaland	1978502	1710973	86.48	1.64
Odisha	41974218	9590756	22.85	9.20
Punjab	27743338	-	0.00	0.00
Rajasthan	68548437	9238534	13.48	8.86
Sikkim	610577	206360	33.80	0.20
Tamil Nadu	72147030	794697	1.10	0.76
Tripura	3673917	1166813	31.76	1.12
Uttarkhand	10086292	291903	2.89	0.28
Uttar Pradesh	199812341	1134273	0.57	1.09
West Bengal	91276115	5296953	5.80	5.08
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	380581	28530	7.50	0.03
Chandigarh	1055450	-	-	-
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	343709	178564	51.95	0.17
Daman & Diu	243247	15363	6.32	0.01
Delhi	16787941	-	-	-
Lakshadweep	60650	61120	94.80	0.06
Puducherry	974345	-	-	-

Source: Census 2011

According to Sinha (1967), the tribal communities exhibit distinct characteristics in terms of their ecological, demographic, economic, political, and other social behaviours, which set

them apart from other ethnic groups. The aforementioned historical depiction serves to distinguish tribal communities from castes and establish a distinct tribal identity.

Several indigenous tribal populations, such as the Andamanese, Onges, and Shompens, inhabit the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in a state of utter isolation. These communities mostly rely on hunting and food gathering for sustenance. Additionally, there exist communities such as the Birhor and Chhota Nagpurs, who primarily partake in food gathering activities. However, these communities maintain a symbiotic connection with traders and sustain themselves through the exchange of commodities. Shifting agriculture is mostly undertaken by indigenous communities residing in Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura, Meghalaya, Orissa, and Madhya Pradesh as a means of sustaining their livelihoods. The practice of shifting cultivation as a supplementary means of living is more prevalent. Additionally, this phenomenon is observed within certain tribal populations residing in the states of West Bengal, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, and Kerala. In the majority of instances, indigenous communities engaging in shifting cultivation also possess alternative means of sustenance. The individuals augment their earnings through engaging in shifting cultivation and participating in agricultural labour. The majority of individuals rely on settled agriculture as a fundamental means of sustenance.

The Scheduled Tribes exhibit variations in ethnic characteristics, linguistic diversity, social structures, economic practices, religious beliefs, cultural traditions, and demographic dynamics. However, it is worth noting that there are also certain similarities present. The tribal population tends to exhibit lower levels of economic development, educational attainment, and technological advancement.

**Table 3.3 Comparative Literacy Rate of STs and Total Population(in Percentage)**

Census Year	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Total Population	28.3	34.45	43.57	52.21	64.84	72.99
ST Population	8.53	11.30	16.35	29.60	47.10	58.96
Gap	19.77	18.15	19.88	22.61	18.28	14.03

Source: Census 1961-2011



**Table 3.4 Status of Tribes and non Tribes in India in terms of Sex Ratio, Child Sex Ratio, Infant Mortality and Literacy rates**

Indicators	Categories	
	Scheduled Tribes	General Population
Sex Ratio	980	940
Child Sex Ratio	957	914
Neonatal Mortality	39.9	34.5
Post-Neonatal Mortality	22.3	14.5
Infant Mortality	62.1	48.9
Child Mortality	35.8	10.8
Under five mortality	95.7	59.2

Source: Census 2011

The tribal communities are the most disadvantaged group of population in the country. They are in the lowest strata of development, not only in economic terms but also in terms of social development. Though India's education system over the past few decades has made significant progress, the literacy of the scheduled tribes and other marginalized groups has been a matter of concern even after so many years of independence. This is despite the fact that the largest proportion of Centrally Sponsored Programmes for Tribal development are related to the single sector of education. The health status of Scheduled Tribes in India is also unsatisfactory except in terms of sex ratio. Poor livelihood has led to poor health conditions.

### **3.3 Tribes in Kerala**

Adivasi communities officially classified as Scheduled Tribes numbering 484839 form 1.45 percent of the total population of the state as per 2011 census of India. Thirty six communities have been enlisted in the Scheduled Tribes list of the state according to census 2011. They include:

- |                             |                                  |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Adiyar                   | 10. Koraga                       |
| 2. Arandan, Aranadan        | 11. Kudiya, Melakudi             |
| 3. Eravallan                | 12. Kurichiyan, Kurichchan       |
| 4. Hill Pulaya, Mala Pulaya | 13. Kurumans, Mala Kuruman,      |
| 5. Irular, Irulan           | Mulla Kuruman, Mullu Kuruman     |
| 6. Kadar, Wayanad Kadar     | 14. Kurumbas, Kurumbar, Kurumban |
| 7. Kanikaran, Kanikkar      | 15. Maha Malasar                 |
| 8. Kattunayakan             | 16. Malai Arayan, Mala Arayan    |
| 9. Kochuvelan               | 17. Malai Pandaram               |
|                             | 18. Malai Vendan, Malavedan      |

- |  |                                     |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 19. Malakkuravan                             | 28. Uraly                           |
| 20. Malasar                                  | 29. Mala Vettuvan                   |
| 21. Malayan, Nattu Malayan,<br>Konga Malayan | 30. Ten Kurumban, Jenu Kurumban     |
| 22. Malayarayar                              | 31. Thachanadan, Thachanadan Moopan |
| 23. Mannan                                   | 32. Cholanaickan                    |
| 24. Muthuvan, Mudugar, Muduvan               | 33. Mavilan                         |
| 25. Palliyan, Palleyan, Palliyar,<br>Paliyan | 34. Karimpalan                      |
| 26. Paniyan                                  | 35. Vetta Kuruman                   |
| 27. Ulladan, Ullatan                         | 36. Mala Panickar                   |

The highest proportion of the scheduled tribes has been found in Wayanad (18.53%) and the lowest in Alappuzha and Thrissur (0.30%). There is no Scheduled area in Kerala as there are no blocks or taluks having more than 50 percentage of tribal population. Tribes in Kerala live in the scattered geographical area. Among the 36 tribal communities, Paniya is most populous community with a population of 88,450 forming 18.24 percent of the total tribal population of the State, followed by Kurichyas having a number of 35,171 constituting 7.25 percent of the total ST population. Mala Arayans, Kurumans, Muthuvan, Mavilan, Irular and Kanikkaran, are other major communities in terms of population. Tribes having below 500 populations are six in number. Among them, Ten Kurumban and Kochu Velan are the small groups each having less than 50 population. The overall sex ratio of the total ST population at 1,035 shows preponderance of females and is significantly higher than that of the national average (990) for the total ST population as per the census 2011.

### **3.3.1 Socio-Economic Condition of Scheduled Tribes in Kerala**

Up until the mid-20th century, the majority of Adivasi communities in the state of Kerala were characterised by a somewhat secluded existence, with few interactions with the caste-based society. Nevertheless, throughout the course of the previous few decades, significant transformations have occurred in their circumstances as a result of the socio-economic shifts experienced by Kerala from the mid-20th century. The communities' traditional way of life has been transformed as a result of their exposure to contemporary schooling, the political process, and media. These changes are effectively manifested in their dietary patterns, attire, religious rituals, linguistic expressions, perspective on life, and social organisation.

The extent of social and economic underdevelopment among the Scheduled Tribes (STs) can be assessed by a variety of indices. However, here we choose limited number of indicators to

demonstrate the lack of amenities within the community and their exclusion from engaging in, contributing to, and reaping the benefits of governmental economic policies.

According to the 2011 census, Kerala asserts that it has achieved a literacy rate of 93.91 percent. However, it is important to note that the literacy rate among Scheduled Tribes (STs) is recorded at 74.44 percent. The number of individuals classified as illiterate within the Scheduled Tribes population is 98,386. The highest proportion of individuals, accounting for 39.99 percent, can be found in Wayanad district. This is followed by 18.03 percent in Palakkad, 11.94 percent in Kasaragod, 8.55 percent in Idukki, and 7.92 percent in Kannur.

In terms of health, tribes are in a disadvantaged state. The inadequate provision of food security, sanitation, and safe drinking water, together with limited access to proper nutrition, high levels of poverty, illiteracy, adherence to belief systems and traditional practices, and the adoption of unhealthy lifestyles and new dietary habits collectively contribute to the exacerbation of the poor health conditions experienced by tribal populations. There is a notable deficiency in the health and nutritional status, particularly among children, adolescent females, and women. The effectiveness of anganwadies in enhancing the nutritional well-being of children and mothers, as well as the provision of mid-day meals by educational institutions is found to be limited and insufficient. Research indicates that in the state of Kerala, individuals belonging to socially disadvantaged and marginalised groups, such as tribes, tend to heavily rely on the public health system. The tribal population exhibit a high prevalence of poor health habits, such as smoking and excessive alcohol consumption.

The prevalence of poverty among tribal people in Kerala is rather high, although it is only half of the national average. This indicates that the implementation of anti-poverty initiatives has demonstrated a certain level of effectiveness among tribal populations in Kerala. Nevertheless, when examining the situation at the state level, the issue continues to be severe. This is supported by the data indicating that 61.68 percent of households belonging to the Scheduled Tribes are classified as deprived.

The Scheduled Tribes have historically experienced socio-economic and political challenges that have placed them at a disadvantage. The tribes' traditional economy is mostly reliant on shifting agriculture practices and the utilisation of forest resources. The imposition of restrictions and subsequent eviction from the forest had a profound impact on their means of subsistence and economic stability. Loss of land, lack of access to natural resources, animal attacks, on crops and habitat, etc. are adversely affecting their agro based activities (Aerthayil, 2008). The Scheduled Tribes encounter a range of prevalent and significant challenges, including land alienation, indebtedness, health and nutritional concerns, migration

and encroachment, inadequate access to education and basic facilities, instances of sexual and physical exploitation, as well as displacements resulting from development initiatives.

### **3.3.2 Alienation of Tribal Land in Kerala**

In the context of tribal communities in India, land is regarded not only as a reliable means of sustenance but also as a fundamental basis for social status. The measurement of social standing within tribal communities is primarily determined by land ownership, with a special emphasis on the possession of ancestral land. Moreover, the association between land and the preservation of tribal communities' autonomy, solidarity, and cohesion has been observed. Land has multiple purposes for individuals, namely as a means of procuring sustenance through food collection and hunting, as well as providing a habitat for living and engaging in productive activities (Mathur, 1977).

There are several causes that lead to the estrangement of indigenous tribes from their original lands. Land alienation was seen throughout both the pre-colonial and post-colonial periods, and experienced a notable escalation subsequent to the attainment of independence. Various legal measures and regulatory frameworks, including land protection legislation, control mechanisms, forest laws, governmental directives, court rulings, and guidelines, were implemented to facilitate the preservation of tribal lands. Nevertheless, the government has failed to effectively execute and administer these laws. The severity of land alienation among tribes has been exacerbated by the consolidation of several factors. The forcible acquisition of land from indigenous tribes for developmental initiatives, such as the construction of dams, encompasses both legally sanctioned and illicit actions, and is a significant contributing factor.

The tribal existence throughout the pre-colonial era can be seen in two distinct periods. The initial phase refers to the period during when each tribal group engaged in a collective existence, according to their inherited customs and traditions. During this period, the ownership of land was nonexistent. In alternative terms, the concept of land ownership was not prevalent, and individuals had the liberty to inhabit any location of their choosing. There existed multiple societal collectives whose survival was entirely reliant upon the forest ecosystem. During the second phase, the local monarchs initiated aggressive actions against the tribes, subsequently taking dominion over them. The acquisition of tribal land resulted in the appointment of individuals from the high caste nairs to positions of authority and control. The land was divided into distinct parcels and the privilege of tax collection was bestowed on the janmis. Furthermore, the entire area was delineated into devaswom and janmana land.

The janmis relinquished possession of the land, which was then leased to private parties. Kanam, kuzhikanam, pettupattam, munpattam, panayam, cherathu, and otti were among the land use policies implemented (Mathew, 2011). Thus the nair community in the society acquired land ownership. Conversely, individuals belonging to the lowest strata of society were relegated to the roles of labourers or tenants.

Approximately 30 percent of the households belonging to tribal communities in the state of Kerala lack land ownership. The region with the lowest incidence of landlessness is observed in the historical territories of Travancore and Cochin, which were formerly princely states. The Kanikkar tribe in Thiruvananthapuram, the Mala Arayan tribe in Idukki and Kottayam, and the Muduvan and Urali tribes in Idukki and Kottayam were the first to become settled agriculturists. The Malabar region exhibits the highest prevalence of landless tribal households, with Wayanad and Palakkad districts emerging as the most prominent examples. Historically, the Paniya and Adiya communities have been characterised by their status as slaves, devoid of land ownership throughout the preceding centuries. Due to a significant inflow of non-Adivasis, primarily from the old Travancore state, a substantial portion of cultivable land previously utilised by the Adivasis for shifting cultivation has been encroached upon, so robbing them of their sole source of sustenance. The migration to the Malabar region was significantly influenced by the government's post-World War II initiative aimed at increasing food production (Bijoy and Raman, 2003). The acquisition or usurpation of significant portions of tribal territory by cultivators who migrated from the plains resulted in the Adivasis being relegated to the status of landless serfs under the control of Hindu, Christian, and Muslim exploiters. The Paniya and Adiya communities have historically experienced significant levels of misery.

### **3.3.3 Tribal Land and Land Laws in Kerala**

According to Karunakaran (2007), Centuries ago, the major part of the state was covered under forest area. Significant deforestation began with British domination. The British empire was then maintained by their fleet. In those periods, the teak needed for the Bombay dockyard came from Kerala. As the availability of teak in the natural forests was reduced due to over exploitation, the then Malabar collector in 1840s, Kannoli was instructed by the British Government to plant teak plantation artificially. This initiative later led to the conversion of a good percentage of natural forests into plantations. Due to human migration, deforestation and the expansion of upland plantations such as tea, coffee and cardamom, the

forest cover in the early eighteenth century was reduced by about one third to one fourth and also the hill farming system has converted many virgin forests into secondary forests. Realizing the consequences of this trend, the then rulers took some steps to protect the forest and the important step was to pass the forest laws and protect the areas declared as reserve forests one by one. In 1893, in the old Travancore, the forest Act came into force under Regulation 11/1068. Prior to this, the Madras Forest Act 1882 came into force and naturally, this also applied to British Malabar, then part of the Madras province. To fulfil the British vested interest in maintain feudalism, there were loopholes in the Madras Forest act and the majority forest remained privately owned. As a result, private forest have been subjected to over exploitation and clearing. In old Cochin, Cochin Forest Act was passed in 1905.

### **1911-Hillmen Rules**

Since a large number of Adivasis were then forest dwellers and in view of the fact that they could play an important role in protection of forests and considering their welfare, hill men rules were published in 1911 December 14<sup>th</sup>. Some of them are listed below

1. Girijans living in government forests and reserves will be under the control of the forest Department.
2. Girijans living in forest have to register it with forest division. For this purpose, the head of the settlement should inform the range officer once a year about the name of the settlement, the total number of women and women, adults, and children under the age of three.
3. Without the permission of the head of the settlement, no Girijan should move from one settlement to another. The appeal against the decision of the head will be vested in Divisional Forest officer and the decision made by the divisional officer will be final.
4. The boundaries of each settlement will be fixed on a regular basis and unnecessary alternate residence will not be allowed. However, in case of water scarcity and contagious diseases like small pox, temporary stay with the written permission of the Divisional Forest Officer will be allowed.
5. They can cultivate for free in any part of the forest in which they are living and for which they can use  $\frac{1}{4}$  hectre of land for each person above the age of three.
6. Each settlement will be given seven times the land required for a year. This step is to cultivate one part every seven years under the shifting cultivation system. The head of the settlement is required to allot land for cultivation to different families. The appeal for this also is vested with the Divisional Forest officer.

7. Title deed will not be provided for forest land. But for cardamom cultivation title deed will be given to the land set aside for it. The transfer of land should only be between Girijans.
8. Except for royal trees and reserved trees, they can be cut down and used for free for their cultivation and household purposes.
9. Animals that are not banned by the government from time to time can be hunted during the rainy season. Can catch fish but should not poison the water. For hunting and for the protection of the settlement, the head can keep a gun. Only those who possess license are permitted to market in the settlement. But lending money or things are not permitted.
10. Healthy adult men will be allowed to work in the Forest Department and will be paid at the rate fixed by the Divisional Forest officer with the prior permission of the conservator.
11. Girijans should not set fire in the forest. They should take appropriate precautions to prevent fire in the forest and should help the forest officials to put out the wildfires. Similarly tusk and teeth of elephants should be handed over to the forest department, if they come across any. In addition, small forest resources such as honey, cardamom etc should be collected if necessary. Satisfactory rates will be fixed for each as a reward.

The main link between the forest department and the forest was the adivasis themselves and the head of the settlement was in constant touch with the officials of the department. The tribals were always vigilant in forest conservation activities. They realized that the forest was their refuge and that its very existence was a problem for them as well. The girijans living in the forest were an asset to the forest department. They provided assistance to the Forest Department in all matters relating to the forest, including forest management and collection of forest resources.

The situation changed rapidly after independence. As a temporary solution to the food shortage, the government has indefinitely released forest swamps and large areas to individuals, organizations and institutions for cultivation. With this, the march of illegal encroachments became a sequel. In short, tribal settlements in the forest have become relatively small in area compared to indigenous settlements. In addition, the relationship between the forest department and the girijans began to falter (Karunakaran, 2007).

### **Kerala Forest Act, 1961**

After the formation of Kerala state, Kerala Forest Act came into force in 1961. In the Schedule 76(A), the government was empowered to make rules for the protection and advancement of the girijans, in accordance with which Kerala Hillmen Rules 1964 were published.

### **Kerala Hillmen Rules, 1964**

Kerala Government set up a rule for the protection, advancement, treatment and management of the Hill Adivasis under Section 76 of the Kerala Forest Act 1961. This rule aims to preserve the forests for the protection and advancement of the Hillmen. This rule was not different from the Travancore Hillmen Rules, 1911. According to the hill men settlement rule, headman selection was considered as a main step. On the one hand, it gives protection against land alienation, indebtedness and encroachment of tribal land etc. On the other hand, it restricts the mobility of Hillmen from their own settlements. Even though Hillmen was granted the licenses for cultivation, they were granted no power to claim the land. According to this rule, the forest department had the authority on both the resources and the Adivasis. This has also been a unique rule which gave power to Hillmen to use timber for domestic and agricultural purposes and usage of bamboo and cane with government permission. Besides this, it allowed the Hillmen hunting rights for about six months in a year except some animals prohibited explicitly. The Hillmen's fishing rights were also recognized under these rules. It was also allowed to keep guns in the custody of the headman for protection. Some conditions were also set with the traders/middlemen for the protection of the Hillmen. Other minor produces were supposed to be delivered to the department, but the Kerala Hillmen Rules 1964 was struck down and declared void and illegal by the High Court of Kerala against a petition filed by Eacheran Ittiathi, a Malay Araya Adivasi, challenging the constitutional competence of the state legislature in framing such rules at the state level. In the writ filed by the petitioner, it is argued that, 'rules are beyond the competence of the state legislature and the state Government as the rules deal with a subject which is not included either in the state List or in the Concurrent List of Schedule VII of the Constitution'. He also contends that 'the subject falls within the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution'. Referring to article 244, article 338, 339, 342 in the judgement, the court concluded that legislation regarding the welfare, protection, advancement, etc. of scheduled tribes is specially provided for and power is vested in the president and in the parliament to deal with those matters on which state legislature has no power to legislate (Karunakaran, 2007).

Uncontrolled Exploitation-



It was a time when forest encroachment was taking place in various parts of the state. The entry of the natives brought many new experiences to girijans. The natives used many conspiracies to exploit the adivasis. Some married Adivasi girls to encroach forest land near their settlement in the name of adivasis. The natives took advantage of the weakness of the adivasis for alcohol and other things. The Adivasis were persuaded to accept liquor and other necessities from the natives by leasing out agricultural crops and parts of their own habitat. Unable to repay their debts and interest, many went into debt and lost everything they owned. Thus the natives invaded many of the settlements and took possession of the tribal lands. At that time this bad trend was exacerbated in the old Travancore area (Karunakaran, 2007).

#### Suggestion to Evacuate-

The encroachment of the natives caused some problems and objections, hence the government directed to evacuate the encroachers from the settlement and also demanded disciplinary action against the forest officials who did not implement this.

Steps were taken to evacuate from the Kottayam Division first. While the established interests were in panic, the Kottayam District collector stayed the eviction proceedings on the ground that it was to prevent violence and breach of peace. The stay was subject to ministerial intervention.

Soon after, the Forest minister convened a meeting at the secretariat. After the meeting, a very immature opinion was expressed by the minister that the people living the tribal settlements should be given land titles irrespective of community. However this was issued as an order by the government in 1973. But no action was taken by the concerned government departments to implement this order and this accelerates the encroachment into the settlement (Karunakaran, 2007).

#### **Forest Land Assignment**

##### A. The Arable Forest Land assignment Rules 1970

In order to acquire cultivable land from the forest and to transfer such land, The Arable Forest Land Scheme was introduced. One third of the land to be allotted in each district should be reserved for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people.

##### B. Kerala Private Forests ( Vesting and assignment) Act, 1971

In Kerala, especially in the Malabar region, landlords owned a lot of private forest land. The Kerala Land Reforms Act of 1963 had excluded these private forests. The private forest law

was passed in 1971 to take over such private forests and make them reserved for the government. There were provisions in the act for allotment of reserved forest and priority was given to Scheduled Tribes. These taken over private forests was used for the purpose of rehabilitation of scheduled Tribes.

### **The Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Restriction on Transfer of Lands and Restoration of Alienated Lands) act, 1975**

An Act to provide for restricting the transfer of lands by members of Scheduled Tribes in the State of Kerala and for the restoration of possession of lands alienated by such members and for matters connected therewith. The following are some important sections of this Act

- I. After the enactment of this Act, it will be void if a Scheduled tribe person transfers immovable property to a non-Scheduled tribe without the prior written permission of the competent authority.
- II. It is null and void if a Scheduled Tribe has transferred the immovable property he enjoys to a non-Scheduled Tribe after 1-1-1960 and until this Act came into force.
- III. In both the above mentioned circumstances the property of tribal person is eligible for redemption. For this he should submit an application to the Revenue Divisional Officer and the Revenue Divisional officer will conduct a proper enquiry and issue appropriate orders.

Usually when a common law is passed, it is to be added in its first section that it shall come into force immediately. But strangely enough, it was added that it shall come into force, on the day of the notification in the Government Gazette. After a long gap of 11 years, that is in 1986 only, that The Gazette notification came that the Act will come into force from 1982 onwards. The rules were passed but no action was taken accordingly and the delay did freeze the sense of the law. In addition established interests put political pressure on it not to implement its provisions. Ten more years passed in such a state of stagnation (Karunakaran, 2007).

### **Amendment Bill 1996**

An amendment bill to the Scheduled tribes Act, 1975 was introduced and passed in the Assembly. Section 5 of the 1975 Act was amended in favour of the encroachers. Section 5 of the original law stipulates that from 1-1-1960 to until the act came into force, if a tribal person has transferred the immovable property he owned to a non tribe, it will be void.

However, the amendment to the 1996 Bill is that the tribal person who has transferred the immovable property, after 1-1-1960 and until the enactment of Scheduled Tribes Act, is eligible for

- A. Land equivalent to the transferred land, not more than one Acre
- B. Twenty five thousand rupees financial assistance from the government.

In order to get these benefits, the application should be made to the Revenue divisional Officer within one year from the day of publication of the law.

The amendment bill passed by the Legislature was sent to the president of India for approval. But was returned without the approval of the president.

### **The Kerala Restriction on Transfer By and Restoration of Land to Scheduled Tribes Bill 1999**

An Act to provide for restricting the transfer of lands by members of Scheduled Tribes in the State of Kerala and for the Restoration of Possession of lands alienated by such members and for matters connected therewith. In 1999, the State government took a complete u-turn and came up with the more restrictive Kerala Restriction on Transfer by and Restoration of Lands to the Scheduled Tribes Act, admittedly to avert a conflict between the tribal people and the non-tribals. Under this Act, which repealed the 1975 statute, a settler or non-ethnic person needs to part with land he/she got from a Scheduled Tribe person only if it exceeds 2 hectares.

### **The Kerala Assignment of Government lands to Scheduled Tribes, rules, 2001**

In December 2001, specific regulations were established to oversee the allocation of government-owned land to individuals belonging to the Scheduled Tribes. Based on the provided information, it is stipulated that a minimum of one acre and a maximum of five acres of land will be allocated to landless scheduled tribes with holdings of less than one acre. The allocated land is designated for the purposes of residential building and agricultural activities. The land allocated by the government possesses the right of inheritance, although it does not possess the right of transfer (Karunakaran, 2007).

## **The Forest Rights Act (FRA) 2006**

The Forest Rights Act of 2006, which holds significant importance in the realm of forest legislation in India, was enacted by the United Progressive Alliance government with the aim of reinstating the rights of indigenous communities residing in forests, commonly referred to as "forest-dwelling scheduled tribes" and "other traditional forest dwellers," to exercise authority over and utilise natural resources. The primary objective of the FRA is to acknowledge and uphold individuals' and communities' rights pertaining to land ownership and land use. Simultaneously, the FRA seeks to incorporate conservation efforts within its framework (Munster & Vishnudas, 2012). The implementation process of the FRA in Kerala was begun by the state government through the establishment of a committee at the state level. The committee established a predetermined time period in order to successfully accomplish a range of operations. The Kerala government has established Gramme Sabhas at the tribal hamlet level with the aim of effectively administering the FRA in order to prioritise the welfare of the tribal population. The efficacy of the FRA is contingent upon the efficient implementation of the Act and the extent to which tribal communities have derived benefits from it. The implementation process of the FRA in Kerala was begun by the state government through the establishment of a committee at the state level soon after the Act was passed. The Forest Rights Act remains largely unknown to the majority of indigenous people residing in forested areas.

### **3.4 Wayand's Adivasis**

Wayanad District came into existence on 1st November, 1980 as the 12th District of Kerala consisting of Mananthavady, Sulthanbathery and Vythiri Taluks. Wayanad is situated inside the topographically elevated region of the Western Ghats, renowned for its abundant biodiversity. The presence of human civilization in Wayanad can be traced back to the Stone Age. The Edakkal caves in Wayanad are widely regarded by archaeologists as one of the earliest sites of human habitation. The name Wayanad is derived from "Vayal Nadu" which means the land of paddy fields. This nomenclature suggests that the region has a longstanding association with agricultural practices dating back several centuries. According to historical accounts, it is widely believed that the Vedar tribe held dominion over Wayanad throughout ancient times. Subsequently, the region of Wayanad fell under the governance of the Pazhassi Rajahs, who belonged to the Kottayam Royal Dynasty. The modern history of Wayanad began with the invasion of the province by Mysore kings in

late 18th century followed by the loss of the hegemony of Kottayam rulers over the region. During the early 19th century, the region of Wayanad was subjected to British governance, which persisted for duration of about two centuries. The British facilitated the development of the plateau for the purpose of cultivating tea and other commercially viable crops. During the 1940s, Wayanad experienced a significant influx of rural inhabitants from southern Kerala, leading to notable alterations in crop pattern, land utilisation, and economic practices. The multitude of settlers transformed valyal-nadu, a region historically recognised for its cultivation of rice fields, into an area renowned for the production of lucrative cash crops requiring substantial investments. Wayanad is a picturesque plateau situated at a height between 700 metres and 2100 metres above the mean sea level nested among the mountains of the Western Ghats on the Eastern portion of North Kerala and on the sides of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka States. The District was carved out from the then Kozhikode and Kannur Districts. About 787.87 sq.km.of area is under protected forest. The culture of Wayanad is mainly tribal oriented. Though considered as backward, this District is perhaps one of the biggest foreign exchange earners of the State, with its production of cash crops like pepper, cardamom, coffee, tea and spices (District Census Handbook, 2011).

### **3.4.1 Adivasi Communities in Wayanad**

The Adivasi communities, comprising 151,443 individuals, which accounts for 18.53% of the overall population in Wayanad, are not a homogeneous group. The district is home to several significant communities, including Paniya (43.62%), Kurichya (16.56%), Mullu Kuruma (15.57%), Kattunaika (9.61%), Adiya (7.26%), and Urali Kuruma (2.41%). They can broadly be categorized into three namely agricultural labourers, marginal farmers, and forest dependents. The Paniya and Adiya populations, historically associated with bonded labour, as well as the Urali Kuruma, traditionally known for their artisan skills, comprise a significant proportion of the agricultural labour force. They constitute around 53% of the overall tribal population within the district. The Kattunaika communities, designated as “Primitive Tribal Groups” by the Government, primarily rely on the forest for their sustenance, either through engaging in forest labour or by gathering Non Timber Forest Produces. The aforementioned group comprises around 10% of the overall adivasi population residing in Wayanad. Kurichya and Mullu Kuruma, which are traditionally agrarian groups, constitute approximately 32% of the overall tribal population and are predominantly engaged in small-scale farming activities. The remaining individuals

constitute 5 percentage of the overall tribal population.

The most vulnerable segments of the tribal communities of Wayanad include those that have historically been engaged in bonded labour, such as the Adiya and Paniya tribes, as well as the forest-dependent community known as Kattunaicka and the artisan community known as Urali Kuruma. Historically, tribes such as Mullu Kuruma and Kurichya have exhibited a significantly higher socioeconomic status compared to other tribal populations within the district. This can be attributed to their possession of a valuable resource base, namely agricultural land (Indian Institute of Management, 2006).

### **Paniya**

The Paniyas represent the predominant tribal community in Wayanad, comprising 43.62% of the overall tribal population within the district. The community is distributed in all three blocks of the district as well as the surrounding territories of Kozhikode and Malappuram districts. Historically, they were individuals who were subjected to bonded labour and were tied to the patronage of nearby landowners. There were references within this society that suggest their historical association as bonded labourers, even to prominent landholding families of the Mullu Kuruma and Kurichya tribes residing in Wayanad. Historically, these group of individuals engaged in the cultivation of paddy crops and resided in elevated terrains and paddy fields that were in close proximity to the properties owned by the landowners. According to historical accounts, it has been said that local landlords would engage in the practice of selling individuals as part of land purchases. Despite the eradication of bonded labour, many continued to rely on their previous landlords for sustenance and job opportunities. The establishment of coffee plantations in Wayanad throughout the 19th century led to the utilisation of local labourers for the purposes of forest clearance and land development. Nevertheless, despite their status as the most populous tribal population, they do not constitute a significant proportion of the labour force in the district's plantation industry at now. Their primary engagement was around the cultivation of paddy, although the transformation of paddy fields for alternative crops has resulted in a decline in employment prospects within their community. The aforementioned group represents a very susceptible segment of the tribal populations residing in Wayanad. The detribalization of this community has undergone significant changes, resulting in a decline of the conventional community organisation. The younger demographic within the society has a propensity for assimilation and displays a favourable response towards the welfare initiatives implemented by governmental bodies and other organisations. Although

the community of Adivasi is the most populous in the State/District community, there exists a lack of sufficient representation in local bodies, leadership positions within local political parties, and government service. The Government's tribal rehabilitation efforts, mostly aimed at assisting former bonded labourers, have yielded few advantages for the Paniya community. The livelihood of this Adivasi community is predominantly reliant on agricultural labour. Paniya community is present in all geographical divisions within the region of Wayanad. The Adivasi community in Kerala holds the distinction of being the largest in the region. The community is located within the districts of Malappuram, Kannur, and Kozhikode in the State. Additionally, they can be observed in Gudallur Taluk, which is located inside the Nilgiri District.

### **Kuruma/Mullu Kuruma**

The Mullu Kuruma community, predominantly located in the Sultan Bathery Block of the district, constitutes around 15.57% of the overall tribal population in Wayanad. The Malayalam-speaking group in question is widely regarded as the progeny of the Vedas, the ancient kings of Wayanad. Historically, they were a community mostly engaged in agricultural pursuits. Currently, a significant proportion of individuals within this demographic are engaged in marginal farming, with agriculture serving as their primary economic pursuit. The Mullu Kuruma community is an indigenous group within the state that has had significant advantages as a result of the social welfare initiatives implemented by the government. A significant portion of the local populace in Wayanad actively engages in the public affairs of the region, with some individuals even holding positions in the Legislative Assembly of Kerala. The community has embraced modernity to a significant degree and has undergone a considerable process of detribalization. In contrast to other Adivasi communities in Wayanad, they exhibit a higher degree of representation in local political party leadership, elected bodies, and government services. The community is also present in the adjacent regions of Gudallur Taluk within the Nilgiri District of Tamil Nadu.

### **Kurichya**

Similar to the Mullu Kuruma, the Kurichya likewise established themselves as a community of settled agriculturists. The community primarily residing in the Mananthavady and Kalpetta Taluks of the district constitutes 16.56% of the overall tribal population in the area. The community continues to possess land holdings, frequently in a

communal manner, with agriculture serving as their primary economic pursuit. Until recently, the Kurichians adhered to a joint family system in which community leaders held significant influence over the members. The concept of traditional authority has undergone transformations in recent years. However it continues to hold a significant position within the ceremonial dimension of Kurichian society. The community is renowned for its martial heritage. The Pazhassi Raja of the Kottayam Dynasty, hailing from the Malabar region, played a prominent role in leading the anti-British resistance throughout the 18th century. The village asserts its superior social standing in comparison to other settlements in the Wayanad region. Similar to the Mullu Kurumas, the Kurichyas also possess a considerable level of representation within local governance structures. A significant portion of the community members actively engage in party politics and have pronounced political affiliations.

### **Kattunaika**

The Kattunaika comprise around 9.61% of the overall tribal population residing in Wayanad. They are primarily concentrated in the Sultan Bathery Block within the district. The Government of India has designated them as a "Primitive Tribal Group" due to their significant isolation from other populations. The community, commonly referred to as Thenu Kurumba, has historically engaged in hunting and gathering activities. Until the onset of the previous century, the community predominantly maintained a self-sufficient existence, relying heavily on the use of forest resources. Presently, the primary economic activity of the community continues to revolve around the gathering and utilisation of Non-Timber Forest Products. The community primarily resides in forested areas or on the outskirts. A small number of individuals possess land holdings of limited size. The individuals residing within the forest engage in cultivation activities within the designated areas assigned to them by the forest authorities. In addition to their primary sources of income, individuals also derive financial support through intermittent forest labour and wage labour within the agricultural sector. The depletion of forest resources and the decline in agricultural opportunities have had a significant impact on the group, rendering them one of the most vulnerable segments of the Adivasi people in the State. Due to the community's relative seclusion, the tribal organisation remains mostly intact, exhibiting minimal external impact. The local populace employs a variant of the Kannada language as their primary means of communication, while the younger cohort exhibits proficiency in conversing in Malayalam. When comparing with the other Adivasi communities in



Wayanad, this particular community exhibits the lowest level of exposure to modernity. The efficacy of government welfare programmes targeting this particular community has not yielded the desired outcomes.

### **Adiya**

The Adiya group constitutes 7.26% of the overall tribal population in Wayanad and is primarily concentrated in the Mananthavady Block of the district. Ethnographic literature pertaining to the Adiya community elucidates their historical role as slaves to local landowners, followed by their subsequent transition into bound labourers who were economically tied to these households. During the 1970s, remnants of bonded labour persisted inside this group, as community members maintained a "patron-client" dynamic with their former landowners. Similar to the majority of Adivasi communities in Kerala, the Adiyas are also experiencing detribalization as a result of the socio-economic changes occurring in the region. Community members, particularly the youth demographic, are subject to exposure to contemporary educational systems, political procedures, and other forms of media, among other influences. The community members engage in unrestricted interactions with individuals who do not belong to their tribal group within the local area, displaying openness towards their dietary preferences, clothing choices, customs, religious observances, language usage, and other related aspects. Until the mid-20th century, the Adiya people relied heavily on traditional community leadership as a significant component of their societal structure. In recent years, there has been a notable transformation in the role and functions of traditional authorities. While they continue to hold symbolic significance in the realm of ritual and ceremonial practices, their impact on community members has diminished considerably. The political leadership of the parties that are actively involved in the community has assumed a significant portion of the responsibilities that were formerly carried out by the conventional authorities. Several traditional leaders have transitioned into active participants within political parties that hold significant influence within their respective communities. Additionally, these leaders engage in community issues in their own capacities as political figures. Community members actively participate in the local leadership of several national and state political parties. The majority of community members own political affiliations and actively participate in both local and national elections. The Adiyas were afforded representation in the Legislative Assembly of Kerala, as well as in local elected entities such as Panchayat Ward members and Block Panchayat Presidents. Despite exhibiting somewhat higher

levels of representation in comparison to other tribal tribes in Kerala, excluding the traditionally land-holding community, the Adiyas nevertheless face certain challenges. Insufficient representation is observed in governmental services. The aforementioned group constitutes one of the most economically disadvantaged segments within the Adivasi community residing in Wayanad, Kerala. The majority of individuals in question lack land ownership.

### **Urali Kuruma**

The Urali Kurumas constitute around 2.41% of the overall Adivasi population of Wayanad. They are primarily concentrated in the Sultan Bathery and Mananthavady Blocks within the district. Historically, these individuals were skilled craftsmen engaged in the skills of basket weaving and pottery making. Nevertheless, in the present day, the majority of individuals within the town are engaged in agricultural labour. Only a small proportion of them possess any form of land ownership. The individuals in question are alternatively referred to as Betta Kuruman and communicate using a variant of the Kannada language. Although they are commonly referred to as Kurumas in the surrounding area, they do not share any ethnic affiliation with the Mullu Kurumas, a tribal people residing in Wayanad.

### **Other Tribal Communities**

According to Census 2011, the other tribal communities found in Wayanad with a total population of more than thousand is Thachanadan Moopan. Wayanad Kadar, Karimpalan, kurumbas, Malai Arayan and Malai Vedan are other tribal communities whose total population is more than hundred in Wayanad. The majority of those in question can be classified as marginal peasants or agricultural labourers.

### **3.4.2 Land Alienation**

The historical account of land alienation among the adivasis in Wayanad can be traced back to the period spanning the late 14th to early 15th century. During this time, the tribal kingdom, ruled by the Vedar Kings (Mullu Kurumar), was dismantled by the rajas of Kottayam, an adjacent chiefdom. The extension of the administrative structure of Kottayam to Wayanad led to a significant transformation of land relations. The transition from tribal self-governance to temple economics and village division of labour occurred. Gradually, there was a transfer of property and power to the high caste Nairs, who were designated by the raja to serve as custodians of the temples and administrators of the area (Kjosavik et al., 2007). Paniyas and Adiyas were subjected to a system of slave labour by landlords of

higher castes, including Chettis, Nairs, Nambiyar, and Jains, in the region of Wayanad (Munster & Vishnudas, 2012).

The Adivasis of Wayanad experienced substantial dispossession on a large scale during the colonial era. This occurred as a result of the British imperial government's implementation of land titles and the introduction of novel notions of ownership and property in the utilisation of resources (Kurup, 2010). The establishment of scientific forest management on a nationwide scale was facilitated by the enactment of the Indian Forest Act of 1882. The land underwent a process of surveying and subsequent division into administrative blocks, resulting in the complete transfer of forest ownership rights to the government. Forests with timber of high economic value were classified as "reserved forests," while areas devoid of forest cover that did not qualify as "private forests" were designated as "revenue land." In the pursuit of scientific endeavours, governmental forests were administered with a commercial approach, aiming to generate revenue for the state. Consequently, the customary community rights of the adivasis to the forest were withheld, and their traditional utilisation of the forest was limited solely to the gathering of minor forest produce (Bijoy and Raman, 2003). Following India's independence, the Government assumed ownership and administration of forests, maintaining a coercive authority over forest resources in the guise of conservation through the implementation of the Wildlife Protection Act of 1972 and the Forest Conservation Act of 1980. Nonetheless, the Forest Department employed the traditional understanding of local populations, namely the Kattunaikar and Urali Kurumar, in the management of the forest. The Urali Kurumas were predominantly employed by the British and Indian Forest Department until the 1970s for the purpose of training elephants and capturing and domesticating wild elephants. However, they continued to reside within the forest as unauthorised inhabitants, subject to the discretion of the Forest Department. According to Munster and Vishnudas (2012), individuals were relocated to different locations based on the operational needs of the department. These needs included tasks such as constructing elephant pits, tree felling, planting teak seedlings, and other activities associated with the administration and maintenance of teak and other timber plantations within forested areas.

During the period spanning from the 1930s to the 1970s, there occurred an additional surge of forceful alienation of Wayanad's indigenous population, known as adivasis, from their ancestral lands. This phenomenon was primarily instigated by the significant influx of Christian immigrants from the region of Travancore into Wayanad (Prasad, 2003). The

encroachments and illicit transfers of adivasiland, particularly agricultural land that is traditionally leased by the Kurumas and Kuruchiyas, have once again resulted in significant dispossession of the adivasi communities. Consequently, the aforementioned traditional farming groups transitioned into agricultural labourers of the migrants (Prasad, 2003). Consequently, the tribal communities in Wayanad currently consist primarily of landless labourers who reside in densely populated colonies. Among these communities, namely Adiya, Paniya, Kattunaika, and Urali Kuruma, the poorest segment of Wayanad's tribal population is most vulnerable to exploitation and structural violence (Indian Institute of Management, 2006).

### **3.5 History of Bonded Labourers**

According to Mathur (1977) The “Bonded Labour System” consists in the payment of cash called Vallurkavu panam or nilpu panam or by whatever name it may locally be known or the payment in kind, by one person (creditor) to a person belonging to a Scheduled Tribe (debtor), whether evidenced by writing or otherwise, on any one or both of the following terms namely:

- (a) “That in consideration of the payment of cash or the payment in kind made by the creditor to the debtor, the debtor shall, by himself or through members of his family, render labour or personal service to the creditor for a specified period, either without wages or on payment of nominal wages”.
- (b) “That on failure to render the labour or personal service referred to in clause(a) , the debtor shall be bound to repay the cash or the value of the thing received by him and vacate the hut, if any, occupied by him and situated in the land belonging to the creditor”.

Writing on slavery, Thurston (1907) observes “In the middle of the last century, when planters first began to settle in Wynad (in Malabar), they purchased the land with the Paniyans living on it, who were practically slaves of the land owners. In some localities, where the janmis have sold the bulk of the land, and have consequently ceased to find regular employment for them, the Paniyans have taken kindly to working on coffee estates under European control”.

The bonded labour (Kundal Pani) existed mainly among the four tribal communities of

Wayanad, viz., Paniyas, Adiyas, Wayanad Pulayas and Kattunaikas. It is also reported that even among the Kuruchians of Tirunelli, the bonded labour system existed (Mathur, 1977). There were twenty 'devaswoms'(trusts) in Wayanad and majority of them were owned by Nair and Varrier communities. However, the Gowdas were also the owners of few deveswoms. Most of the tribals in Wayanad were attached to one or other landlords, particularly Nairs, Varriers and Muslims. They were traditionally attached to their landlords as Kundal Panikkar because they did not need anything more than a homestead and an assured source of food supply. The Kattunaikas must have adopted bond-labour for their subsistence when they gave up their food gathering and hunting, whereas the Kurichians became bonded labourers probably on account of excommunication and the resultant forfeiture of property (Mathur, 1977). The traditional manner of recruiting the tribals as bond-labourer was by advancing loans at the Valliyur Kavuv festival in the last week of March. The most significant feature of the system was that a tribe pledges not only himself but the members of his family as well against loan and until the debt was discharged, all of them were bound to work for the creditor for which they get only daily meals and a pittance in kind. The relationship between the Paniyan and his patron lasted for years and sometimes for the whole life. Eventually the venue of recruiting the tribals was in the houses of landlords instead of the Valliyur Kavuv precincts. Besides, the Valliyur Kavuv, the tribals were also recruited as bonded labourers on the Ponkuzhi temple festival day at Muthanga village.

As already mentioned, the tribes attached to the landlords were given daily meals (paik) and a pittance in kind. They were also given fringe benefits particularly on festive occasions like Onam, Vishu and Uchar. In olden times a small patch of the paddy field was kept inharvested for the apportionment of the bond-labourers as Kundal. But later, instead the Kundal Panikkar (bonded labourers) got a fixed measure of paddy every year in lieu of their share. For instance, a male bonded labourer got 4 potis of paddy and his female counterpart got 2 potis (1 poti = 5 paras) as Kundal (Mathur, 1977).

When the bonded labour system was abolished by law in 1976, the immediate effect was a great deal of distress among the tribal families who had been dependent on it for subsistence. The erstwhile masters reacted strongly to the law by refusing employment to the tribal workers and shopkeepers refused them supplies on credit, hoping to depress agricultural wages in the process.

### **3.6 Rehabilitation of Bonded labourers**

The Government of India, in 1975, issued Bonded Labour (Abolition) ordinance which included not only freeing of bonded labour but also their rehabilitation under special programmes. This ordinance subsequently became Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act 1976. The practice of bonded labour has been made a socio-economic offence under the Bonded labour Act 1976. The basic ingredients of the offence are

- Denial of freedom to participate in the labour market,
- Denial of freedom of movement to any part of the country, and
- Exploitation of the innocent labourer and his family members under customary and debt conditions.

The Act not only defines the practice of bonded labour but also provides for extinguishment of liability to pay bonded debt, formation of vigilance committees and punishment for following the system of bonded labour.

Rehabilitation of bonded labourers is one of the items in the twenty point programme of Government of India. The task of simultaneous identification, release and rehabilitation of these labourers is enormous and has been engaging the constant attention of central and state governments concerned ever since the enactment of the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976. For the rehabilitation of the enfranchised Bonded Labour after the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act 1976, Government utilized large areas of private forests which had vested in the Government under the provisions of the Kerala Private Forests (Vesting and Assignment) Act 1971 to establish colonies for them.

### **3.7 Rehabilitation Projects for Enfranchised Bonded Labourers in Kerala**

In the following discussions of the chapter, a brief description about tribal development projects carried out in the state of Kerala has been provided. The projects discussed here was the ones aimed at rehabilitation of freed bonded labourers by forming cooperative societies.

#### **Chingeri Tribal Development Project**

One of the most ambitious projects was at chingeri in Wayanad during 1957 with over 600 acres. The lands were held co-operatively, but a few of the paniya settlers preferred to hold

their allotments individually. Houses were built for those who had transferred their land titles to the co-operative society. The Government financed for the establishment of a coffee plantation. Infrastructural supports in the form of schools, etc., and a full complement of administrative staff from the welfare as well as co-operation Departments were provided. Unfortunately, political instability and the general indiscipline among government staff led to poor administration of the colony. Several acres were encroached upon by settlers with or without the knowledge of the Government servants. The coffee plantation saw several vicissitudes. Some of the paniya members who had retained their holdings had alienated them to the settlers and had reverted to agricultural labour, though a very few consolidated their holdings and did themselves well. The effort of then Director of Tribal Welfare of the state, to use the disciplinary leverage of the Emergency Period of the 1970s to reorganize the colony and its management, also went in vain (The International School of Dravidian Linguistics, 1996).

### **Sugandhagiri Cardamom Project**

One of the biggest cardamom estates was established over 1500 hectares in the Sugandhagiri Estate started in 1976. 750 families belonging to the Paniya, Adiya, Kattunaika, etc., communities, with a sprinkling of members from more advanced tribal communities like Kurichiya, were inducted as members of the cooperative society formed for this purpose. Initially, there were a number of desertions, but gradually, the contrast between the conditions in Sugandhagiri and elsewhere brought them back. This had the consequence of causing a marginal but critical shortage of agricultural labour in Wayand, exactly at the height of the season. The land holders and estate owners had to raise the wages and improve the conditions of the tribal workers. Thus, even those tribal families who were not members of Sugandhagiri benefited by its establishment.

At Sugandhagiri, the management in the beginning showed a great deal of dynamism in planting cardamom simultaneously rather after the provision of infrastructure. Training was imparted to the tribal members in skills like tractor and motor driving, operating and maintenance of pump-sets etc. Tribal girls were trained in typewriting and appointed as the office staff. However, after the Emergency, the tight discipline was relaxed as there were several and frequent changes of top personnel resulting in laxity in the execution of works. Tribal families had each at least two members employed during 100 to 200 days every year at the minimum wages fixed by the law for plantation workers in the area, and during off work

days, were paid an allowance; ration shops had been opened and every one ensured of a ration card; all the children of school going age went to schools; neat houses had been provided in good lay outs with water supply and electricity. The overflow of these benefits was seen in the large number of petty stores, eating shops, liquor shops, money lenders, etc., which have come up on the outskirts of Sugandhagiri.

The enterprise never made a profit. On the other hand, it depends heavily on Government assistance for working capital funds which are generally sanctioned too little, too late. The productivity of the cardamom areas was considerably below the average for the area and the management had been far from professional. Against the original target of 750 tribal families there were only 521 families in 1999-2000. The society was closed in 2003 and the land was distributed among tribes (Planning and Economic Affairs, 1984).

### **Pookot Dairy Project**

The Pookot Dairy Project was established in the Wayanad district in 1979 as part of the Western Ghats Development Programme. The project aimed to facilitate the resettlement and rehabilitation of a group of 110 tribals who had been liberated from bonded servitude. Another aim of the programme was to maximise the utilisation of the existing land resources. The primary constituents of the project encompass dairy farming, the cultivation of cardamom, coffee, and various other minor crops. The occurrence of an unexpected brucellosis outbreak, along with inadequate farm management practices, led to the accumulation of debt and the failure to achieve the project's objectives (Planning and Economic Affairs, 1984).

### **Attappady Co-operative Farming society**

The Attappady Farming Co-operative Society was started in 1975 with the intention of settling 420 tribal families. More than 1000 hectares of forest land was assigned to the project. The society had settled 420 families forming 4 farms. Chindakki, Karuvara, Pothuppady, Varadimala. The management of the Society is vested in Board of Directors consisting of District level Officers and 4 elected ST members (non-official) representing 4 farms. The Agricultural crops produced by the Society are mainly Coffee (Arabica & Robusta), Cardamom, Pepper and to a Smaller extent Orange, Clove, Nutmeg. The Infrastructure facilities in the farms are very pathetic. Since all the farms are in the vested forest lands all development activities have to be done without disturbing the flora and fauna.



As the Society is in a dire financial state it cannot afford to construct new Quarters or houses for the members which results in their deserting the farms for greener pastures. – The infrastructure whatever developed by the Society became obsolete and out dated and it now require huge investment to update them.

The unforeseen and unfavourable climatic changes coupled with unstable and fluctuating prices of cash crops (often downslide) leads to sizable downfall in the income of the Society. The timely activities such as Maturing, shade regulation, irrigation etc had also suffered heavily due to paucity of funds which adversely effects the production (The International School of Dravidian Linguistics, 1996).

### **Chokkad Girijan Colony Project**

It has comparatively a success story to share. At Chokkad near Nilambur in the malappuram district, a colony was formed for a miscellany of tribal communities, viz., Paniya, Malamuthan, Kattunaikkan, etc. It was established in 1976 for rehabilitating 60 families of different tribal communities. Except for the paniya, the rest had no knowledge of agriculture, being traditionally collectors of minor forest produce. The co-operative society realised that it had to pull itself up by the bootstraps; it subsisted on the collection, processing and sale of minor forest produce during the first, very difficult years of its existence. The surplus went to pay the wages of the paniya who formed the plantations, made the roads and houses, dug wells and formed the fields. Members of the other tribes had also the opportunity of learning these skills in the process. Gradually, the society established a varied resource base providing its members with a level of living comparable with the local population belonging to the national mainstream of life.

As part of the general schemes of the tribal welfare, several members of the tribal families at the chokkad colony had also been the beneficiaries of the distribution of milch animals. They were also enrolled as members of the Milk Producers' co-operative society of the locality. The tribal milk producers were taught with two handed technique for milking by demonstrating it. As a result, not merely did the quality improve, but even quantitatively, more milk could be obtained. It was the transfer of a no-cost technology, which introduced an immediate and permanent improvement in the earnings of the tribal farmers (The International School of Dravidian Linguistics, 1996).

### **Priyadarshini Tea Estate Project**

Priyadarshini Tea Estate was established in 534.26 acres of land in 1984 for rehabilitation of 109 freed bonded labourers through a co-operative tea project. It has undertaken several programmes such as plantation of tea, pepper, coffee, construction of houses, roads etc, for the benefit of the rehabilitated families. A tea factory has been set up at the tea estate and it started production in July 1993. The tea factory is functioning well and it has already crossed its production more than double that of the installed capacity. The project ensures employment to nearly 250 tribals on a regular basis (Karunakaran, 2007).

### **3.8 Conclusion**

This chapter endeavours to present an overview of the indigenous population in the nation by elucidating the characteristics and socio-economic aspects of tribal communities. It aims to define tribes and provide insights into their demographic composition. The chapter additionally presents comprehensive insights into the tribal communities residing in Kerala, with particular emphasis on the Wayanad district. The historical process of land alienation and exploitation has emerged as a significant focal point in this chapter, shedding light on the intricate relationship between indigenous communities and their land, as well as the implementation of forest regulations. The indigenous communities have experienced exploitation and dispossession from their land, resulting in their heightened vulnerability and subsequent emergence of bonded labour. The prevalence of the bonded labour system in Kerala was particularly notable in the Wayanad district. Following the abolition of bonded labourers in 1976, many rehabilitation initiatives were implemented to facilitate the socio-economic advancement of emancipated bonded labourers. The current chapter eventually concludes by examining a range of rehabilitation projects.



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## **CHAPTER IV**

### ***Demographic Profile and the Pre- Post Migration Experiences of the Tribal Communities in Pookot Dairy Project***

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- **Introduction**
- **The Story of Pookot Dairy Project**
- **Demographic Profile of the Tribal Communities in Pookot Dairy Project**
  - Community-wise Distribution
  - Gender Composition
  - Household Family Size
  - Age-Wise Classification
  - Dependency Ratio
- **Tribal Lives Prior Rehabilitation**
- **Post–Migration Experiences of the Tribals**
- **Conclusion**

## **DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE AND THE PRE- POST MIGRATION EXPERIENCES OF THE TRIBAL COMMUNITIES IN POOKOT DAIRY PROJECT**

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### **4.1 Introduction**

Rehabilitation is perceived as a development programme by the State for the betterment of Adivasis who become landless. An intensive enquiry has been done to explore the life experience of rehabilitated tribes in Pookot settlement in terms of landlessness and associated problems, the journey to rehabilitation and life after that. The people rehabilitated in the Pookot settlement are from different economic, social and cultural backgrounds and the only identical factor they carry is their tribal identity and backwardness. Everyone had their own stories which could reveal the path of transition happened in their life. This chapter deals with the prior rehabilitation experience of the respondents in relation to landlessness and associated repercussions, the post rehabilitation experiences in relation with adaptation and the demographic profile of the rehabilitated tribal communities in Pookot settlement. The pre and post migration experiences are traced by the method of focus group discussion (FGD) and personal interviews.

### **4.2 The Story of Pookot Dairy Project**

Wayanad was predominately inhabited by tribal people until the large-scale migration of settler farmers from the plains. Before the arrival of settlers, a significant portion of the Adivasi communities of Wayanad, in particular the Paniya and Adiya communities were serving as bonded labourers for local landlords who were among the first people to settle in the region. In general, members of these communities worked as agricultural laborers, much like members of Dalit communities such as Pulayans and Cherumans did in the plains. They were primarily responsible for paddy cultivation and received their compensation in paddy. They had a patron-client relationship with the local landlords, who were known as Janmis, and the landlords even traded or sold them during the Valliyoor Kavu temple festivals. An indication of the nature of their relationship with the local janmis is provided by the ethnonyms "Paniyan" (worker) and "Adiyan" (slaves). These communities filled the role of the agricultural community because others, such as Pulayan and Cheruman, who traditionally provided agricultural labour were not around. Kundalpani was the name given to the system of labour relations that was in place in Wayanad during the latter part of the 19th century and the early part of the 20th century. During this time period, annual contracts were made between Janmis and the bonded labourers. The communities that were a part of Kundalpani did not possess any agricultural land of their own; instead, they inhabited the plot that was

given to them by the janmis. Even though the land reforms of the 1960s had a significant impact on the feudal land relations, the communities that were involved with Kundalpani in Wayanad did not see a significant increase in their wealth as a result. Even after the land reforms, the communities maintained a patron-client relationship with their former landlords. This relationship persisted until 1975, when the government finally put an end to the practice of using bonded labour. The tribes got pitiful income received as paddy from the Janmis. This income was their only source of support. They became paid agricultural labourers after the abolition of bonded labour but received wages that were lower than those of non-tribal agricultural labourers despite the fact that they did the same work. Paddy continued to be Wayanad's most important crop well into the 1970s, and a sizeable portion of the population in both the Paniya and Adiya communities was engaged in the cultivation of paddy. Even though plantations were sprouting up in the District on a massive scale, Paniyas and Adiyas were not much preferred by the large plantations because they lacked the necessary skills in cash crop production. This was due to the fact that Paniyas and Adiyas lacked sufficient skills in cash crop production. However, small and medium farmers in Wayanad, a significant portion of which formerly served as landlords, hired them as labourers in sectors that did not require higher levels of skill. Even children were used in various agriculturally related jobs performed by the region's smaller and medium-sized farmers. The formerly enslaved people who, by the middle of the 1970s, had almost entirely transitioned into wage labour were forced to purchase all of their food, clothing, and other necessities for their households from the market. Due to the fact that these communities had to compete with much more skilled non-tribal labourers in the labour market, the complete transition of these communities from bonded to waged labourers and market economy resulted in the extreme poverty that was experienced by these communities.

In this backdrop, as a part of Western Ghats Development Programme, Girijan Collective Cooperative Society otherwise known as Pookot Dairy Project was initiated. As an initiative of making Adivasi bonded labourers free, 420 hectares of vested forest land under vythiri Panchayat was transferred to Tribal Development Department and Pookot Dairy Project was started in 1979 (TRDM, 2003). Initially it was a private land owned by a landlord named M.K. Kumar. Later it was transferred as vested forest land. Pookot Dairy Project was one of the ambitious initiatives of the state, for the rehabilitation of the enfranchised bonded labourers.

The aim of the project was to rehabilitate 110 tribal families who were freed bonded labourers. The enfranchised bonded labourers were identified with the help of information gathered from the landlords of the locality and the list was submitted in the collectorate. The tribal people in the list were intimated to be a part of Pookot Dairy Project directly and through newspaper advertisements. Even though the project was meant for 110 tribal families, there were only 85 people at the time of starting of the project. In 1979, cooperative society was formed. The chairman of the board was the district collector and officials from Cooperative Society, ITDP, Animal husbandry, Revenue Department and Agriculture Department. Also there were 5 members from the tribal communities.

It was said that the formation of society is for five years and after five years, each member will be provided with 5 Acres of land and 4 cows. Since the tribals were not efficient in the management of cattles, the members were sent to indo-swiss farm at Mattupetty for training. The training was provided in two batches, each batch consisting of 10 members. Initially 20 cows were bought to the farm and later the number increased. Along with dairy farm, the Pookot Dairy project also consisted agricultural practice. Coffee, Pepper, Cardamom and Cocoa were cultivated. Some tribals were working in farm and other in agricultural land. The settlement in the project was planned to be in clusters. Each cluster had 10 quarters and 40 cowsheds. Three clusters were successfully formed but due to lack of fund, the fourth cluster could not get completed and the plan for making clusters didn't work. The main Labourers in the project was called ML and the beneficiaries of the ML members were called Beneficiary labour (BL). Both the ML and BL members were provided wages but only ML members possessed the power to caste vote in the referendums of the society. The labourers working in Pookot dairy Project was categorized mainly as main Labour and beneficiary labour. Initially, the beneficiaries of the ML members who were also the workers in the Pookot Dairy Project were known as BL members. But later when other tribal communities joined the project due to lack of labourers in the project, they were also categorized as BL members. In 9.5 percent of the households, the labour category of the main worker from the family in the project was as Casual labourers (CL). The sub family of the ML member who worked in the Dairy project in last year's was given the status of CL. Also those tribes who came to the Dairy Project as casual labourers in the last years were included in the CL category. Approximately the ML members of 12 percent of households were the inhabitants inside the land of Pookot Dairy Project even before its initiation. 66 percent of households having ML members were part of the Pookot Dairy Project from its initiation period itself and the remaining 22 percentage of

households having ML members joined the Dairy Project within 1980-81. The households having BL and CL members who settled in the dairy project in 1979 and even before that were the beneficiaries of ML members in those period. The elected ML members among the tribes were also included in the Director Board of the cooperative society. As already mentioned, the Pookot Dairy Project was functioning as a cooperative society and the major decisions of the society were made by the board members.

Among the 84 households, 15 households did have a ML member who was elected to the Director Board. 36.5 percent of total ML members did get a chance to be a board member of the society.

In 1993, 21 cows were tested positive with brucellosis disease and later it started to spread to more number of cows. In fear to more spread and infecting humans, effected ones were put to mercy killing and others were transferred to Mannuthy. After disinfecting in 1997 the society restarted dairy farm. Due to lack of employment and improper wages, many tribal people left the project. In 1997, 100 Acres of land assigned to Pookot Tribal Society was sanctioned to transfer to Agricultural University for starting, Kerala Veterinary and Animal Sciences University with a condition of providing employment to at least one person from each family.

In 2003, when there was Muthanga agitation headed by CK Jaanu, it also did spread to other tribal settlements demanding land. As a result many tribals at Pookot Dairy Project also demanded for distribution of land. As part of this a referendum was conducted among members and majority demanded for demolition of the Pookot Dairy Project and distribution of 5 Acres of land to its members. On 13<sup>th</sup> May 2003, the society decided to demolish the dairy project and to distribute land to its members. Between the time period of 2003 and 2005, all the moveable items including, cattle, tractor etc were transferred to Attapady farm. In 2004, 5 Acres each were distributed to Main Labourers and 1.5 to 2 Acres were distributed to Beneficiary labourers excluding spouse of main labourers.

### **4.3 Demographic Profile of the Tribal Communities in Pookot Dairy Project**

In this section, we analysed the role of demographic indicators of tribal households in the socio-economic backwardness of the tribal population. The data about the tribal identity, gender composition, family size, dependency ratio etc reveals the factors influencing the socio-economic capabilities of tribal communities.



### 4.3.1 Community-wise Distribution

The tribal identity is an important factor while analysing the demographic profile of the population. Each tribal community has its own characteristics with respect to culture and even in socio economic status.

**Table 4.1 Community-wise Distribution of Tribal Households in the Rehabilitated Area**

Community	Frequency	Percent
Paniya	53	61.9
Kuruma	20	25
Kuruchiya	2	2.4
Kattunaika	6	7.1
Urali Kuruma	3	3.6
Total	84	100

Source: Primary Data

Tribals belonging to Paniya, Kuruma, Kuruchiya, Kattunaika and Urali Kuruma communities reside in the settlement area provided by Pookot Dairy Project. Among the five communities only Paniya community belongs to the bonded labour category. From the primary survey and discussions with the key informants, it was understood that the officials who were in charge of locating 110 enfranchised bonded labourers, failed to identify them. They could only locate and bring paniyas to the project. Along with Paniyas, Kurumas were also brought to the project who was said to be landless. The tribals belonging to Kattunaika community was already residing inside the vested forest even before the state decided to initiate Pookot Dairy Project. Hence the officials also included them to the project. During 1990s due to irregular wages and difficulty in continuing to reside in the settlement, many tribals quit from the project and went for other jobs. The reductions in the supply of labourers lead to increase in demand for labourers belonging to tribal community from outside the Pookot Dairy Project. During this time more number of Kurumans, Kuruchiyans and Urali Kurumans came to the project as casual labourers. Later during land distribution, they were categorized into beneficiary labour and were provided land. At present, 84 tribal households belonging to different tribal communities have received land as part of Pookot Dairy Project.

### 4.3.2 Gender Composition

Table 4.2 explains the gender composition of tribal households across communities. The sex ratio is an important indicator of the status of the economic-development. But as far as the tribal communities are considered, whether the sex can be considered as an indicator of socio-economic development is doubtful.

**Table 4.2 Gender Composition across Communities**

Community	Gender		Total
	Female	Male	
Paniya	109	100	209
Kuruma	31	33	64
Kuruchiya	5	3	8
Kattunaika	16	16	32
Urali Kuruma	4	7	11
Total	165(51)	159(49)	324(100)

*Note:* Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

Source: Primary Data

Sex ratio of the settlement is 1037, that is the number of females per thousand males. Generally, the sex ratio is favourable for females in Kerala and it also favourable in case of Scheduled Tribes. According to 2011 census, the sex ratio of Tribal population in Kerala is 1035 and it is 1033 in Wayanad district and 1039 in Vythiri taluk. 36.9 percent of households in the Pookot settlement are female headed households. In the female-led households, women are the primary providers for their families. In greater number of women led households, the women are forced to take up the responsibility of the family since they do not have any support mechanisms. In some household, men are voluntarily unemployed. They do not prefer to go for any job. Most of the men who are voluntarily unemployed are alcoholic too. In some other women headed households, women are the only income earner due to the health issues faced by others in the family. Some of the female household heads are Government employees where as for some thozhilurappu is the only source of income. According to World Bank, the working age population is between 15-64 years. As the table portrays, 80 percent of the population in the Pookot settlement are under the working age population.

### **4.3.3 Household Family Size**

The number of family member in a household helps in analyzing how many people depends on the income earner of the household. There might be Government employee in a family but he might be the only source of income in a family having large number of members. This might increase the consumption expenditure and zero savings.

**Table 4.3 Family Size of the Tribal Households**

<b>Number of Family members</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Single	3	3.6
Two	16	19
3-4	39	46.4
5-6	23	27.4
7-8	2	2.4
9-10	1	1.2
Total	84	100

Source: Primary Data

The average family size of the tribal households in the Pookot settlement is 3.8571. The household having only a single member are all women. Widowed, abandoned, children living separately are factors that left them as single member. As evident from the table, one household is having 9 – 10 members in a family and belongs to Kattunaika community.

#### **4.3.4 Age-Wise Classification**

The age wise classification of the total population helps in analyzing the dependency ratio among the tribal population.

**Table 4.4 Age-Wise Classification of Total Population**

<b>Age</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
0-5 years	14	4.3
6-14 years	43	13.3
15- 24 years	53	16.4
25-34 years	53	16.4
35-44 years	53	16.4
45-54 years	42	13
55-64 years	49	15.1
65 years and above	17	5.2
Total	324	100

Source: Primary Data

As per census, the age between less than 14 years and greater than 64 years are considered to be in the unproductive age group. 22.8 percent of the total population in the Pookot settlement are in the unproductive age group.

#### 4.3.4a Dependency Ratio

The Total Dependency Ratio (TDR) is a sum of the Aged Dependency Ratio (ADR) and the Child Dependency Ratio (CDR). The higher ADR indicates the better life expectancy, and at the same time, the financial dependency of family members. Also, the lower CDR points out the fertility control and educational attainment of the family members. However, the higher Total Dependency Ratio (TDR) of a society indicates the poverty and financial insecurities of its households. Also, it will impose more financial burdens on the earning members in families (Scheduled Tribes Development Department, 2013).

**Table 4.5 Dependency Ratio**

Community	Total Population	No. of Productive Group ( 15-64)	No. of Children Between 0-14	No. of adults age 65 & above	CDR	ADR	TDR
Paniya	209	162	37	10	22.83	6.17	29
Kuruma	64	53	7	4	13.2	7.54	20.74
Kuruchiya	8	7	1	0	14.28	0	14.28
Kattunaika	32	20	10	2	50	10	60
Urali Kuruma	11	8	2	1	25	12.5	37.5
Total	324	250	57	17	$\bar{X}=25.06$	$\bar{X}=7.24$	$\bar{X}=32.30$

Source: Primary Data

$$CDR = \frac{\text{Number of Children between 0-14 Age group}}{\text{Number of Population in Productive Age Group}} * 100$$

$$ADR = \frac{\text{Number of Adults in 65 & Above Age group}}{\text{Number of Population in Productive Age Group}} * 100$$

$$TDR = CDR + ADR$$

As table 5.5 shows, the average CDR, ADR and TDR among the tribal population of Pookot settlement is 25.06, 7.24 and 32.30 respectively. The Total Dependency Ratio is highest among Kattunaika community followed by Urali Kuruma and Paniya community.

#### **4.4 Tribal Lives Prior Rehabilitation**

The tribals of Kerala was divided into four categories on the basis of their economic activities as (1) Shifting cultivators, food gatherers and hunters, (2) Agriculturists, (3) Plantation and farm labourers and (4) Bond-labourers. The majority of the Paniyans, Adiyans, Uralikurumans and Kattunaykans were unable to make a living by their manual labour. Consequently they were forced to borrow and transfer their lands to the non-tribals, particularly the Christians, Muslims, Nairs and Iravas (Mathur, 1977). The tribals particularly the Paniyans, Adiyans, Kattunaykans and Uralikurumans of Wayanad were steeped in debt and had no independent economic existence. They depended upon their patrons, petty traders and immigrants for their subsistence. Poverty was the greatest problem of the tribals.

The rehabilitation programme implemented by the state is viewed as a developmental initiative aimed at improving the conditions of Adivasis who have lost their land. A comprehensive study has been conducted to examine the lived experiences of the rehabilitated tribes residing in the Pookot settlement, focusing on issues related to landlessness and its associated challenges, the process of rehabilitation, and life subsequent to that. The individuals resettled in the Pookot settlement represent diverse economic, social, and cultural backgrounds, with the only commonality being their tribal identity and disadvantaged status. Each individual possesses unique narratives that shed light on the transformative journey they have undergone in their lives.

The chapter discusses the pre and post-migration experiences of the tribals, specifically focusing on their encounters with land alienation, bondage, and poverty both prior to and following their arrival at the Pookot settlement. The next section of this chapter deals with the prior rehabilitation experience of the respondents in relation to landlessness and associated repercussions. The narratives are presented here.

*“The indigenous people have historically been exploited and marginalised from their own territory. When immigrants entered Wayanad, it was the land of the Adivasi people. But, the invaders took advantage of the Adivasi people by catering to their religious beliefs and supplying them with alcohol. This resulted in the Adivasi people being evicted from their own territory. Prior they were relocated to the Pookot rehabilitation project, the indigenous people of the Paniya, Kattunaika, and Urali Kuruma communities did not have any land holdings and did not have a permanent dwelling. They were at the discretion of the landlords. The Paniya were primarily agricultural labourers who worked in the paddy fields owned by landlords who were members of the Chetties, Nairs, Christians, or Muslim communities. They*

*laboured in the rice paddy fields from daylight till dusk in exchange for a single cup of rice. Back then, they did not receive monetary compensation but rather goods as payment. Some Paniyas owned land, but other people encroached on it since the Paniyas held numerous superstitious beliefs and made use of them. As a result, the land was lost. The non-tribal people attacked the tribal dwellings at night by hurling stones and mud at them, which led the tribal people to believe that there was an evil spirit on their land and caused them to flee it. The Kattunaikas were forest-dwelling people who only occasionally ventured out of the woods, so they didn't have a lot of experience with the wider world. Even with other indigenous societies, the Kattunaika were hesitant to interact. They ate whatever was available in the forest, where they resided, and as animal conflicts increased, they moved to a new location. Urali Kuruma people in the settlement, were also living in the forest. However, both the Kurumas and the Kuruchiyas were considered to be landowning communities and paddy cultivation was the main crop. Even though they consumed some of the rice and other products of the farm themselves, they also sold it on the open market. During those periods, the majority of the market's ownership belonged to Muslim groups. However, in spite of the fact that they possessed property and revenue in comparison to other backward tribal societies, this was not sufficient for them to maintain a good standard of living because they lived in joint families. The lack of access to land, the high rate of poverty, and the high rate of unemployment were the primary motivating factors for the migration of the tribal groups to the Pookot Dairy Project. Even if the primary causes are the same, the extent to which the reasons exist varies greatly from community to community”.*

- FGD

*“When our elder generations were asked about the challenges they faced during the time of British rule and landlords, they would often tell stories. The movement that took place throughout the 1960s from the south of Kerala to the north of the state had a significant impact on our lack of access to land. People were able to take advantage of our lack of authority, political disorganisation, and general ignorance because of how easy it was for them to do so. We have ultimately gotten ourselves into this predicament as a result of small debts as well as our loyalty to landlords and those who have assisted us. It is the history of the majority of the indigenous communities that have been reestablished in this area. The enactment of forest laws resulted in unintended consequences. In addition to that, we were forced to give up our land as a result of these regulations. Identity as a tribe is also a reason for exploitation”.*

- FGD

*“Ambalavayal is the place where I was born and lived until we were relocated to Pookot. I belong to Paniya community. We did not possess any parcel of property at that time. We were forced into servitude as bonded labour by communities that owned the land, such as the Chetties, Christians, Muslims, Kurumas, and Kuruchiyas. After being on our feet from morning till evening, we were finally rewarded with some rice at the day's end. In those difficult times, that very tiny quantity of rice meant a great deal to us because it was all that could be used to feed our entire family. On celebrations such as Onam, our landlord would also give us pieces of fabric as gifts.”*

- Respondent N.13, 68 year old Paniya man

*“Sulthan Bathery is where I was born and raised. I am a Paniyan and my family didn't own any land. There were certain tribes in the region who possessed a small amount of land and dwelling. We were granted permission to construct a shed next to their home, and we subsequently lived there for a number of years. Then, when some Christian landowners bought land and required labourers for their land, we worked on their land and slept in a tent that was set up in a secluded part of the agricultural area where we worked”.*

- Respondent N.9, 66 year old Paniya man

*“I belong to Paniya community. Karapuzha is my native place. There was some land in Karapuzha that belonged to my family. In order to provide for ourselves, we worked as farm labourers for various landlords. But even that little bit of land had to be sacrificed for the Karapuzha dam. The majority of us do not own any land and do not have suitable housing. My father has told me that the majority of the adivasi land has been encroached upon by non-tribal people in order to establish large plantations. Not just landlords but also the government is complicit in the process of dispossessing us of our property”.*

- Respondent N.70 year old Paniya man

*“I belong to paniya community. My father used to say that we had neither land holdings nor a proper dwelling and were forced to work under landlords for sustenance. Later a group of tribals including my father encroached forest land which was once the property of tribes. He was a rebel and questioned about the land rights of adivasis. I still remember one time when my father went absconding and police came home in search of him and my mother would take*

*me and my sibblings to relatives during this time. He was imprisoned for many times for questioning land alienation and taking over forest land forcefully. Our childhood in my hometown was always scary since we never knew when the cops might arrive and take our parents away”.*

- Respondent N.12, 45 year old Paniya woman

*“I belong to Kattunaika community. We are a part of this very location itself. I have no idea when we arrived here, but as far as I can recall, it was well before the government began the Pookot dairy Project that we were already living here. We made our home within the forest and taro mixed with termite mound soil was our main food.. Every one of the Kattunaikan families currently residing in the settlemnt had been in this location prior to the government took over the forest property for the rehabilitation project”.*

- Respondent N.40, 60 year old Kattunaika woman

*“My family belongs to Urali community. We lived in forest land near Kattikulam. We did not own any land and did not have a home that was permanent. For our means of subsistence, we relied on products of the forest. Because our hamlet was located in the middle of the jungle, elephants frequently passed by it. Yet it won't be dangerous for us. We had to work hard just to have something to eat once a day, which made life miserable. In 1981, my family and I relocated to Pookot in search of employment and land”.*

- Respondent N.44, 65 year old Urali Kuruma man

*Since I was a child, my family has owned the land that ii adjacent to the hut and within close proximity to the forest. We lived there for a number of years with our own people while we worked various agricultural occupations. We used to cultivate food for us; it was not enough, even though we managed to have food two times a day. Gradually, I do not recall the exact year, but the individuals working for the government informed us that we encroached on forest land, and we are staying here illegally. Forecefully we were moved out of our land and nobody was there to help us”.*

- Respondent N.45, 65 year old Urali Kuruma woman



*“I belong to Kuruchiya family and my native place is in Panamaram. My family owned agricultural land and our family were engaged as agriculturists. In our agriculture land, mainly family labour was used and also some Paniyans and Adiyans were also there for work. Ours was joint family and there were many people in my house. Mine was a love marriage and I left my home when my family was against the marriage. At that time I heard Pookot Dairy requires labourers and hence came here in 1984”.*

- Respondent N.57, 55 year old Kuruchiya man

*“Before moving to Pookot, we resided in Muttill. Our family had agricultural land, and our primary crop was paddy. During harvest, my father, mother, my siblings and I all worked in the field. Our homes were built of mud and palm leaves back then. We had close association with the then tribal officers in the Pookot. So when there were shortage of labourers belonging to Paniya and Adiya community in the Pookot Dairy Project, the tribal officers informed us and we went to Pookot to work”.*

- Respondent N.52, 65 year old Kuruchiya man

*“We arrived in Pookot in 1995. We had previously lived in Kaniyampetta. My father-in-law had land where paddy was grown. Even though our family owned land and agriculture, it was insufficient to meet the demands of the entire family because we were a joint family. There were numerous members, and we all shared a little dwelling. The family's only source of income was paddy cultivation on less than an acre. During this time, we heard that the Pookot Dairy Project needed casual labourers, so my husband and I relocated to Pookot”.*

- Respondent N.31, 50 year old Kuruma woman

**Table 4.6 Community - Wise Analysis of Possession of Ancestral Land**

Ancestral Land Holdings	Name of the Community					Total
	Paniya	Kuruma	Kuruchiya	Kattunaika	Urali Kuruma	
< 20 Cents	1	-	-	1	-	<b>2 (2.38)</b>
20-39 Cents	3	5	-	-	-	<b>8 (9.52)</b>
40-59 Cents	-	4	1	-	-	<b>5 (5.95)</b>
60-79 Cents	-	3	-	-	-	<b>3 (3.57)</b>
80-99 Cents	-	-	1	-	-	<b>1 (1.19)</b>
>100 Cents	-	2	-	-	-	<b>2(2.38)</b>
Nil	49	6	-	5	3	<b>63 (75)</b>
Total	53	20	2	6	3	<b>84 (100)</b>

Note: Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

Source: Primary Data

It is clearly obvious from the narratives that the individuals who belonged to the various tribes had lost their land decades before, during the time of colonisation and in the years that followed. Strong non-dalit and non-tribe communities from various regions of Kerala gained an upper hold on the land that was traditionally held by the tribal people. Indebtedness, fraudulent actions by encroachers, social marginalisation of tribal people due to their lack of education, political disorganization, ignorance, and innocence all lead to landlessness for tribal people. From their perspective, the enactment of forest laws and the completion of other development projects are both contributing factors to the loss of land. The lack of vigilance shown by the government and other connected authorities was a significant contributor to the issue of landlessness. There is no exemption from landlessness for having a tribal identity such as Paniya, Kattunaika, or Urali Kuruma. In one way or another, everyone has been a victim of land alienation. They are conscious of the oppression and exploitation that their forefathers were subjected to in the past. Yet, the pre-migration experiences of the communities of Paniya, Kattunaika, and Urali Kuruma are not the same as those of the Kuruma and Kuruchiya. A large portion of the Kuruchiya and Kuruma people was engaged in agriculture and had land holdings. Both the Kattunaika and the Urali Kuruma people who lived in the settlement were extremely reliant on the forest for their way of life. Paniyas, on the other hand, were bonded labours who were forced to work for their landlords in exchange for food and shelter. During that time period, earnings were typically paid out in kind rather than cash. As a token of appreciation for their hard work, each of the workers was given a bowl of rice.

#### **4.5 Post–Migration Experiences of the Tribals**

The preceding section focused on the analysis of the pre-migration experiences of the tribes. Building upon this analysis, the subsequent section delves into the examination of the post-migration experiences of the rehabilitated tribes. Rehabilitation is regarded as a remedial measure aimed at improving the quality of life for tribal people affected by the loss of land and the other challenges they faced prior to resettlement. The section discusses the post-migration experiences of the tribals, specifically focusing on the situations they endured prior to the distribution of land.

The process of migration is not an easy one for any group, but it is particularly difficult for tribal societies because of their reluctance to mingle with outside civilization and their strong

connection to both their land and their way of life in the community. It's possible that the migration had an effect on the basic essence of the tribal identity.

*“I came from pozhuthana, which is not far from the Pookot settlement. Thus, while relocating to Pookot, I thought it would be simpler for me to accept a new place, and the only thing I had in mind was that we would finally be free of poverty and have land and a safe place to live. Yet, when I first arrived in Pookot, it was tough for us to adjust to this new environment. It wasn't simply our relatives and known people; there were also many unknown people, unknown places, and a whole unknown environment. However, in any case, we stayed because we wanted to build a better life for our children, hoping that at the very least they would have land. Yet today, we have land, but it is not fit for human habitation. Landslides have caused damage on the area”.*

*- RespondentN.47, 65 years old Paniya man*

*“Many people, particularly Paniyans, Kattunaikans, and some Adiyans who came in the early days, left the Pookot Dairy because they couldn't adapt to the new environment. I had only lived in close contact with paniyas before coming here, but there were Kurumas, kattunaikas, and Adiyans as well. I came here alone at first and worked here, but after we acquired housing, I brought my family with me. It was challenging in the beginning. I was working on a farm, looking after the cattle, and it was difficult for me at first because I had no previous experience with cattle management. This place was crawling with leeches, and my legs were coated with them. It wasn't easy, but when I considered going back to where we didn't have land or a place to live, I decided to stay. At the very least, we were given work and paid for it”.*

*- RespondentN.24, 65 years old Paniya man*

*“I originally hail from Kaniyambetta and moved to Pookot in 1996. There was a labour shortage after many families left the Pookot Dairy in the interim, and my relative, who is already a member of the Pookot Dairy Project, informed me of the need for labour. I arrived as a casual worker before becoming a BL member. I was taking care of cattle and working in my father's paddy fields. My father, however, wanted me to finish school, but I preferred to work and make money rather than study. So I came to Pookot. When I first arrived, pay was not provided on a regular basis*

*because of loss in the Dairy Project. Still, I stayed because I wanted my own land, and I did receive some income, albeit not on a regular basis. Leeches were the main issue I had to deal with here. It took some time for me to become used to the leeches rather than the new environment”.*

*- RespondentN.24, 40 years old Kuruma man*

*“Together with my husband, we were one of the first people to join Pookot when it was still in its infancy. We were residing in Kalpetta prior to making the move to Pookot. We migrated to this location after receiving notification from the Tribal Department that we needed to participate in the Pookot Dairy Project. Here is where we are because of the poverty that we've been living in. At the beginning, it was difficult for us to get used to living in this new location. During our time in Kalpetta, we huddled together in communities with our extended family and close friends. We were accustomed to living in a community in Kalpetta, but after moving here, we found ourselves cut off from others and felt isolated. Yet here we had job and earning potential, and we were assured that after five years we would be supplied with five acres of land and four cattle; so, we decided to remain here”.*

*- RespondentN.2, 58 years old Paniya woman*

*“We moved to Pookot after being notified that 5 Acres of land would be handed to landless tribes. After coming here, we were informed that land will not be granted until five years and that we must first work for the Pookot Dairy Project and join the cooperative society that has been established. When we started working here we were again like bonded labour. In our native region, we were under the landlords whereas in this location, supervisors and officials were in control. We were obligated to comply with the supervisors' directions. We were not permitted to engage in even minimal agriculture in the area surrounding our dwelling. Because I frequently argued with the supervisors about our rights, I was required to perform additional labour. Prior to acquiring our land, we had suffered under supervisors”.*

*- RespondentN.9, 65 years old Paniya man*

Migration to the Pookot Dairy Project took place in stages, beginning in 1979 and continuing until the late 1990s, from various locations around Wayanad. Communities such as Urali Kuruma, Kuruma, and Kuruchiya have become a part in the rehabilitation project, despite the fact that the Paniyas, Adiyas, and Kattunaikas were the group that the project was primarily meant to benefit. Much of the Paniya and Adiya inhabitants abandoned the project when it was still in its early phases because of the difficulties associated with relocating to a new location. The post-migration experiences of the tribal people who joined at different times and in different phases are distinct from one another and also vary considerably amongst communities. When compared to the Kuruma and Kuruchiya communities, the Paniya group had a more difficult time adapting to their new surroundings. As Kattunaika community were already living in Pookot, the challenge for them consisted of integrating themselves with the surrounding communities and cooperating with other people on a project. Because members of the Kuruma and Kuruchiya communities had more contact with the outside world and because relocation was voluntarily undertaken by them, they found it simpler to adjust to their new environment. whereas the Paniya were forced to relocate to a different location due to economic hardship and loss of land ownership. Among the tribal families, who came in the initial stages of rehabilitation project (1979), 89.7 percent belongs to paniya community and 10.3 percent belongs to kuruma Community. The tribes belonging to kattunaika community were already residing inside the reserve forest land even before the initiation of the rehabilitation project. Hence in 1979 when the project started functioning, Paniyas, Kurumas and Kattunaikas were the only tribal communities in the project. 43 percent of Kurumas in the settlement joined the Pookot Dairy project in between 1995-2000. Landlessness, poverty, employment and forced migration were the factors that led the tribes to migrate to pookot. Employment and land was the major attraction for the tribals in different parts of Wayanad to migrate to Pookot. Some got intimation from the collectorate regarding the rehabilitation through Pookode Dairy Project while others came to know about the rehabilitation project from newspapers. The households belonging to Kattunaika tribal community migrated to Pookot even before the initiation of rehabilitation project. The kattunaikas were traditionally hunters and gatherers and they have the history of migrating from one place another in search of food and shelter. Likewise they came to Pookot many years prior to rehabilitation and landlessness is the major factor that led to the migration of Kattunaikas.

#### **4.6 Conclusion**

This Chapter attempts to portray the Pre and Post migration experiences of the rehabilitated tribals in the Pookot settlement as well as the demographic profile of the population. Eventhough the Pookot Dairy Project initially aimed at the upliftment of the enfranchised bonded labourers, the land owning communities like Kuruma and Kuruchiya have also been a beneficiary of the rehabilitation project. The migration to Pookot Dairy Project took place in different phases between 1979 and late 1990s. The pre-migration experiences of the communities like Paniya, Kattunaika and Urali Kuruma were similar in terms of poverty, landlessness and poor dwelling. Whereas the pre- migration experiences of Kuruma and Kuruchiya community are not that worseoff compared to other three communities. Generally, Poverty, Land Alienation and Unemployment were the major drive factor for migration. In the post-migration period, the tribal people faced the problem of adaptation and isolation and many people left the Pookot Dairy project due to the same. At present, there are 84 households residing inside the Pookot settlement who have being part of land distribution. The total population in the settlement is 324 and the average family size in the settlement is 3.8571. 22.8 percent of the total population belongs to the non-productive age group which is between 0-14 and 65 and above.

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## *Chapter V*

### *Rehabilitation Aftermath on the Human Capability Formation of Tribal Communities in Pookot Settlement*

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- **Introduction**
- **Income, Saving and Indebtedness**
- **Employment Status**
- **Land Holding**
- **Ownership of Farm Animals**
- **Housing and Infrastructural Facilities**
- **Educational Status of the Rehabilitated Tribal Communities**
- **Health Status**
- **Social Network and Participation**
- **Democratic Participation**
- **Computing Capability Index**
- **Conclusion**

# **REHABILITATION AFTERMATH ON THE HUMAN CAPABILITY FORMATION OF TRIBAL COMMUNITIES IN POOKOT SETTLEMENT**

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## **5.1 Introduction**

Human development is the process of expanding a person's functioning and functional capabilities. Functioning is a person's achievement that reflects a portion of that person's state. Capability, as a derived concept, reflects various combinations of functionings. It takes a particular view of living as a synthesis of various "doings and beings." Capability reflects a person's ability to choose between various ways of living. The concept of functionings reflects the various things that an individual may value doing or being. A person's "capability" refers to the various combinations of functionings that she is capable of achieving. Thus, capability is a type of freedom: the substantive freedom to achieve different functional combinations. This framework proposes that the quality of life be conceived of and measured directly in terms of functionings and capabilities rather than resources or utility (Sen, 1999).

Human capability focuses on the substantive freedom of people to lead lives they have reason to value and to enhance the real choices they have. (Sen, 1999). The income, employment, entitlements, education, health, social networks, political participation and basic infrastructure can influence the individual's substantive freedom to live better. These means of freedoms directly enhance the capabilities of people and also supplement one another and can furthermore reinforce one another.

This chapter aims to assess the extent of human capabilities attained by the Scheduled Tribes who were resettled in the Pookot settlement as a result of a rehabilitation initiative. The analysis focuses on various factors including income, education, health, basic infrastructure, social network, and political involvement. Also an attempt is made to compute the Capability Index for the tribal households of Pookot Dairy Project. The inter and intra community differences among the tribal communities in achieving capability is analyzed using Fisher's Least Significant Difference (LSD) Post-hoc Test of ANOVA.

## **5.2 Income, Saving and Indebtedness**

Financial assets refer to a variety of economic resources and sources that enable families and individuals to build wealth, make investments, and create a plan for their future. Similar to



physical assets, financial assets include transferable stocks like cash and deposits, liquid assets like livestock, and income or cash flow from regular sources of income, farm and off-farm activities, transfers, and remittances that enhance livelihoods and give access to other assets for generating income. A financial asset is defined as a conduit to economic resources, such as bank assets and savings, deposits and credit in monetary terms, and productive infrastructure that improves the potential and outcomes of livelihoods, which in turn affects the well-being of households.

The economic standard of a household is measured by the Government based on its ration card status. Contrary to the general financial status of the scheduled tribes, 54.7 percentage of rehabilitated tribal households were in the APL category and the reason for this is the employment in Kerala Veterinary and Animal Sciences University.

**Table 5.1 Ration Card Category of Tribal Households**

Name of the Community	Ration Card Category		Total
	AAY	APL	
Paniya	29 (34.5)	24 (28.5)	53 (63.09)
Kuruma	-	20 (23.8)	20 (23.8)
Kuruchiya	-	2 (2.38)	2 (2.38)
Kattunaika	4 (4.76)	2 (2.38)	6 (7.14)
Urali Kuruma	2 (2.38)	1 (1.19)	3 (3.57)
Total	38 (45.2)	46 (54.7)	84 (100)

Note: Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

Source: Primary Data

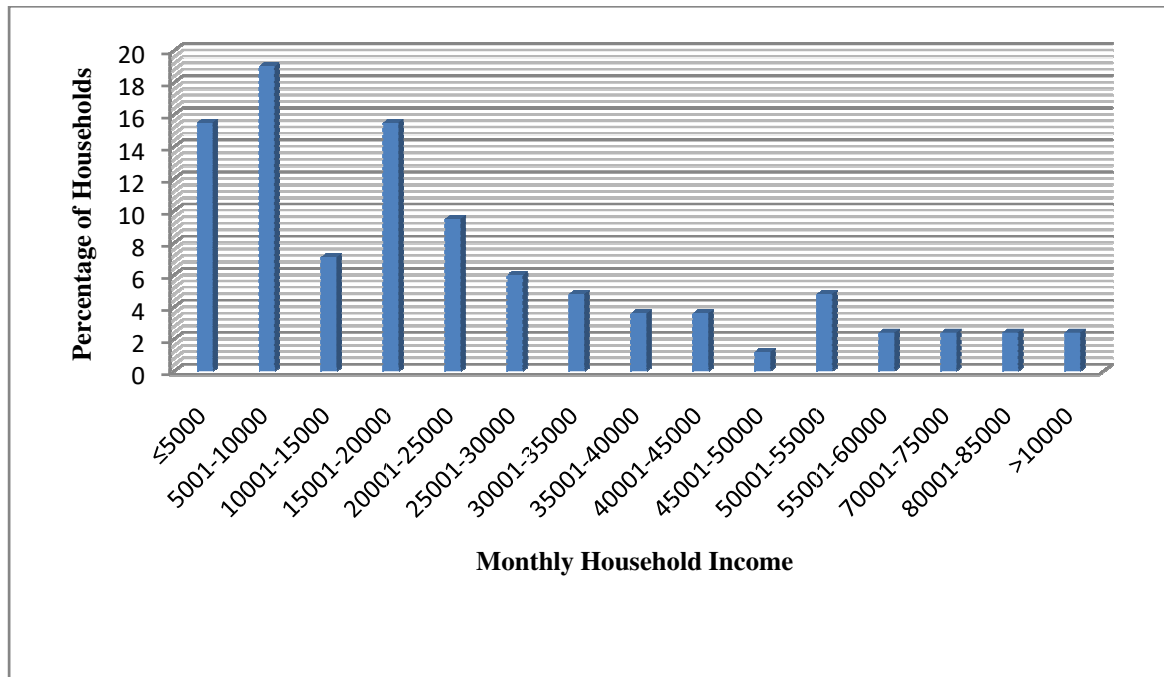
The BPL families in the settlement are provided with AAY (Antyodaya Anna Yojana) ration cards. AAY ration cards are given to impoverished families identified by the state government. According to the table, there is also evidence of intercommunity disparity, which suggests that tribal households from the Kuruma and Kuruchiya communities are more likely to be in better financial status than those from the Paniya, Kattunaika, and Urali communities. This is because more members of the Kuruma and Kuruchiya communities work in the public sector than those from other communities.

Some of the respondents were unaware their ration card category. The investigator had to provide them information regarding the colour of the ration card as a means of identification.

### 5.2.1 Household Income

Generally, a family's standard of living is mostly determined by their income. Other development-related factors can be attained automatically if there is sufficient income.

**Figure 5.1 Estimated Household Monthly Income**



Source: Primary Data

$$\bar{X} = 25437$$

$$SD = 25248$$

$$CV = 99.25\%$$

The higher the coefficient of variation, the greater the level of dispersion around the mean. In this particular population 19 percent of households fall into the ₹ 5001–10,000 income range, and 2.4% of homes have a monthly income of more than one lakh. As already mentioned, The income differences across households are incredibly wide. Both households with monthly incomes under ₹ 5,000 and those with monthly incomes over ₹1 lakh exist. This discrepancy results from disparities in employment status. Less than 5000 rupees per month would go to households whose primary source of income is MGNREGA. MGNREGA employees receive a daily wage of rupees 296 and are only required to work a maximum of 14 days per month. The maximum number of paid days of labour available to employees in the unorganised sector is 10 to 15 per month. Contrarily, casual workers in the organised sector will receive pay based on the number of working days they have, which may or may not correspond to calendar working days. One of the two houses with a monthly income of

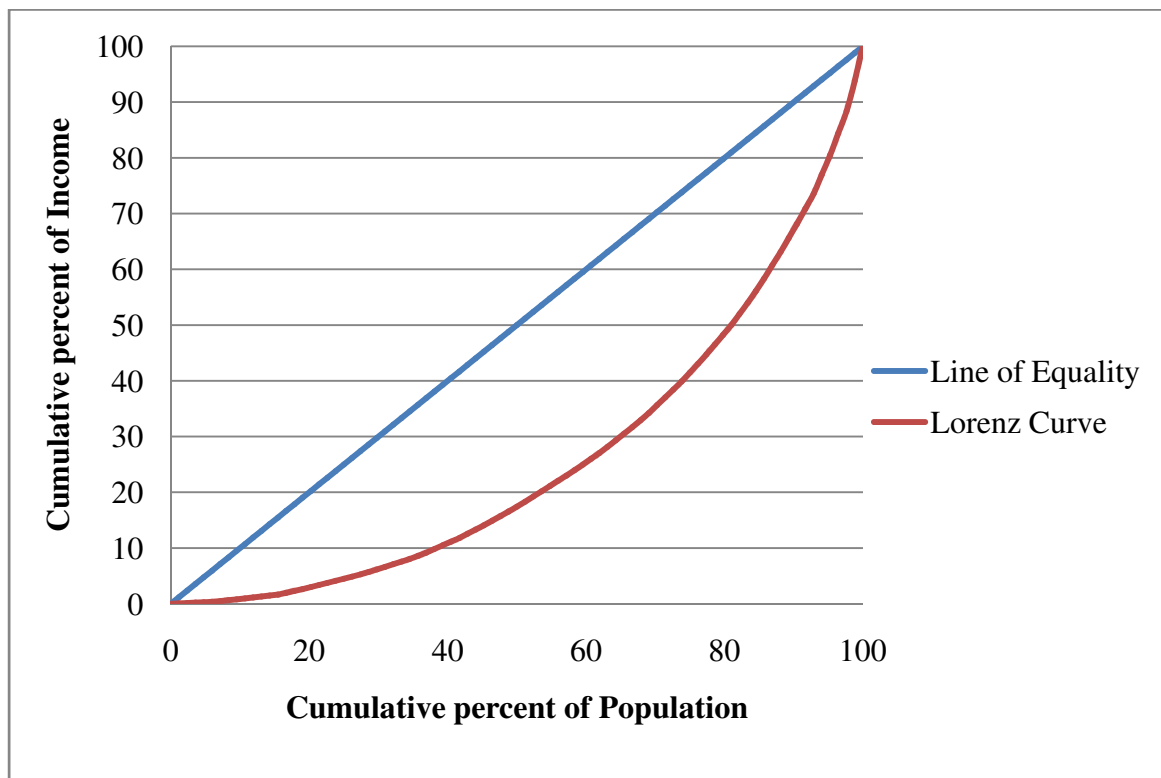
more than one lakh rupees has four individuals who were employed in KVASU as part of the programme to provide employment for the tribal households that underwent rehabilitation. The Kuruchiya and Kuruma community comprises the households with a monthly income of more than one lakh.

To probe more into the intra-tribal differences in the income, we have drawn the Lorenz curve, the measure of inequality and estimated the Gini coefficient using Kendall and Stuart method. Kendall and Stuart define the Gini coefficient as one-half the relative mean difference, that is one-half the average value of absolute differences between all pairs of incomes divided by the mean income.

$$G = \frac{1}{2n^2\mu} \sum_{i=1}^n \sum_{j=1}^n |h_i - h_j|$$

Gini Index = 0.4793

**Figure 5.2 Lorenz Curve of Income**



Source: Primary Data

The Lorenz curve is the graphical representation of the distribution of income. Basically, the farther curve moves from the baseline, represented by the straight diagonal line, the higher the level of inequality. The Gini index or Gini co-efficient, measures income distribution across a population. The co-efficient ranges from 0 (Or 0%) to 1 (or 100%), with 0

representing perfect equality and 1 representing perfect inequality. A higher Gini index indicates greater inequality, with high-income individuals receiving much larger percentages of the populations's total income. The prevalence of income inequality among the tribal communities is obvious from the estimated value of Gini coefficient ( $0 \leq G \leq 1$ ).

### 5.2.2 Source of Income

The socioeconomic level of a household is mostly determined by the employment status of its members. However, employment status is determined by educational credentials, the geography of dwelling lands, the availability of infrastructure amenities, and other factors. In the case of indigenous groups, they largely focus on the state's high-range areas. Due to the geography and geographical isolation of the districts, high-profile work prospects are limited in these places. As a result of the availability of large amounts of agri-lands in the hilly areas, the majority of households are involved in agriculture and allied activities. (Nishamol 2020).

**Table 5.2 Primary Source of Income of the Tribal Households**

Source of Family Income	Name of the Community					Total
	Paniya	Kuruma	Kuruchiya	Kattunaika	Urals Kuruma	
Government Employment	23	14	2	2	1	<b>44</b> <b>(52.4)</b>
Casual Labourers-Organised Sector	8	3	-	1	-	<b>12</b> <b>(14.3)</b>
MGNREGA	11	2	-	2	-	<b>14</b> <b>(16.6)</b>
Agriculture/ Non-agriculture/Plantation Worker	5	-	-	1	1	<b>6</b> <b>(7.1)</b>
Agriculture	-	1	-	-	-	<b>1</b> <b>(1.2)</b>
Animal Husbandry	2	-	-	-	1	<b>3</b> <b>(3.6)</b>
Relative/Social Welfare Pensions	4	-	-	-	-	<b>4</b> <b>(4.8)</b>
Total	<b>53</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	84 (100)

Note: Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

Source: Primary Data

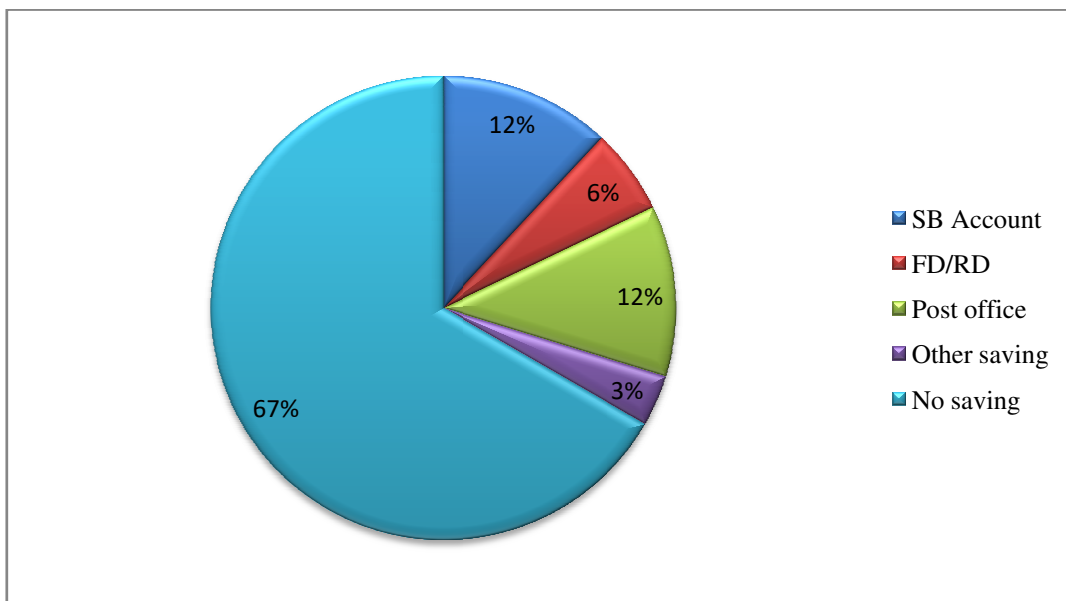
The primary source of income includes only that source which is the higher contributor of total household income. In the case of tribal households of the Pookot Dairy Project, for a

notable number of households, Government job are the main source of income. Unlike said earlier, in case of the tribal population under this study, neither education, nor infrastructural facilities has been the reason for higher number of government employees. When the forest land under the Pookot dairy Project was granted to the, Kerala Veterinary and Animal Sciences University, there was a bi-law which had a condition that the at least one member of each family under Pookot Dairy Project will be provided employment in KVASU. This bi-law is the reason why Government job is the source of income for 52.4 percent of the tribal households. Casual labourers in the organised sector include the temporary workers employed in KVASU. In 16.6 percent of tribal households, the main source of income is working in MGNREGA and majority of households that depend on MGNREGA for their livelihood are women headed families. 4.8 percent of household do not have any source of income from employment. They depend on different social service schemes and on their relatives for survival. Agriculture and animal husbandry has been the primary source of income for 1.3 and 3.6 percent of households respectively.

### 5.2.3 Household Saving

The extensive adoption of the banking system can be attributed to the exclusive allocation of government subsidies through banks. The fact that bank accounts primarily serve as a means to access government subsidies raises concerns over the existence of actual savings within households.

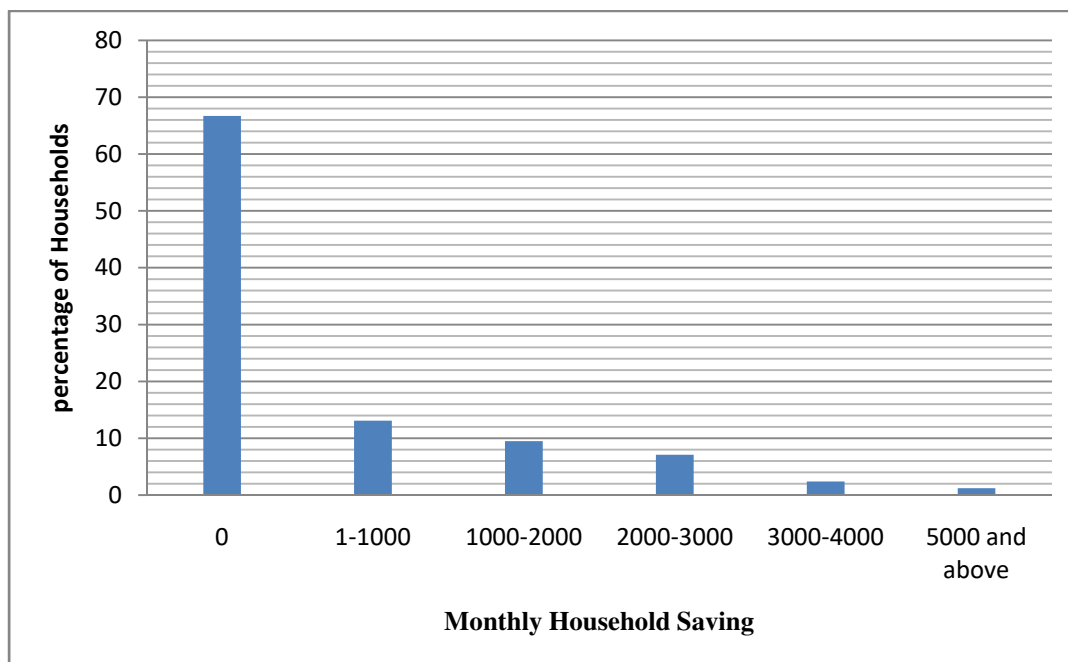
**Figure 5.3 Type of Monthly Household Saving**



Source: Primary Data

66.7 percent of households have zero savings. Their earnings are spent to meet household expenditure and repayment of debt. Savings account, FD/RD, post office and savings in jewellery are the means of saving adopted by the households in the settlement. For 93 percentage of the households having saving, government employment are the primary source of income and for the 7 percent of household, their primary source of income is daily wage work in the organised sector.

**Figure 5.4 Monthly Household Saving**



Source: Primary Data

At the Pookot settlement, 66.7 percent of tribal households does not practise saving. A monthly saving of less than ₹1,000, ₹1,000 to ₹2,000, ₹2,000 to ₹3,000, ₹3,000 to ₹4,000, and ₹5,000 is accomplished by 13.1, 9.5, 7.1, 2.4 and 1.2 percent of households, respectively. The households with multiple employees in the organised sector save more than 1000 rupees per year. The maximum monthly amount that is saved is ₹5,000. Two permanent employees in the public sector work save 5000 rupees a month, one of them is a nurse employed in the central government. Employment status, Current Income, present economic status of the family, debt repayment, ill health behaviour and also awareness about financial management attributes to the amount of savings held by the tribal communities.

**Table 5.3 Inter-Community Analysis of Household Savings**

Name of the Community	Savings						Total
	Nil	1-1000	1000-2000	2000-3000	3000-4000	5000 and above	
Paniya	40	9	3	0	1	-	53
Kuruma	7	2	5	5	1	-	20
Kuruchiya	-	-	-	1	-	1	2
Kattunaika	6	-	-	-	-	-	6
Urali Kuruma	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
Total	56 (66.6)	11 (13.09)	8 (9.52)	6 (7.14)	2 (2.38)	1 (1.19)	84 (100)

Note: Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

Source: Primary Data

Even though the monthly income of a household depends on the employment status of its member rather than the community to which it belongs to, the saving habit is more in Kuruma and Kuruchiya community. Even though for 62 percent of Paniya households, the source of income is employment in organised sector (including casual labourers), majority don't have any saving.

#### 5.2.4 Household Indebtedness

When a family/individual faces severe financial insecurity and poverty, they naturally depend on other financial sources like banks, private money lenders etc. In the case of tribal families, they primarily depended on the financial sources available locally, such as private money lenders, Kudumbashree etc.

**Table 5.4 Household Indebtedness**

Name of the Community	Household Indebtedness		Total
	Indebted	Not indebted	
Paniya	28 (33.33)	25 (29.76)	53 (63.09)
Kuruma	2 (2.38)	18 (21.42)	20 (23.8)
Kuruchiya	1 (1.19)	1 (1.19)	2 (2.38)
Kattunaika	5 (5.95)	1 (1.19)	6 (7.14)
Urali Kuruma	1 (1.19)	2 (2.38)	3 (3.57)
Total	37 (44)	47 (56)	84 (100)

Note: Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

Source: Primary Data

44 percentages of the households are indebted. They borrow money from Kudumbasree, relative/friends, money lenders, private banks and commercial banks. Even some of the Kudumbasree units were withdrawn since members failed to repay loan. Approximately 76 percent of indebted households belong to paniya community. Repayment of money with higher interest rate led the families from indebtedness to intensive indebtedness.

*“Debt is the only capital we have. What we earn is required for debt repayment. There are 4 members in my family. I am a widow and the only member having a permanent employment in the family. I don’t get full salary as I take a lot of loss of pays since I have to look after my mother who is sick and take her to hospital. We require a good amount of travel expense to reach hospital. If we get into auto rickshaw, minimum 100 rupees is gone. The day to day expenses of all members have to be met and how is it possible without borrowing. To meet day to day needs, we borrow from grocery shops and when we get salary, a good amount is required to repay the amount. Also there will be previous debts taken for various purposes including my daughter’s marriage”.*

- Respondent N.6, 45 years old Paniya women

### 5.2.5 Income Index

The financial capability of the rehabilitated tribal communities in the Pookot settlement is measured in terms of income index. The value of Income Index lies between 0 and 1. As the score move towards one, the financial capability of the households is better. To measure the Income Index Monthly Percapita Household Income is taken as the variable. The Income Index of each household is calculated as

$$Income\ Index_Y = \frac{Y_i - Y_{min}}{Y_{max} - Y_{min}}$$

**Table 5.5 Income Index across Communties**

Community	Descriptives (Income Index)					
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	Min.	Max.
Paniya	53	.12698	.128575	.017661	0	.630
Kuruma	20	.28170	.194718	.043540	.110	.912
Kuruchiya	2	.67841	.454792	.321586	.357	1
Kattunaika	6	.06015	.055111	.022499	.017	.154
Urali Kuruma	3	.06652	.042008	.024253	.033	.114
Total	84	.17002	.182838	.019949	0	1

Source: Primary Data



The average Income Index score of the tribal households are 0.17002 i.e. the average financial capability of the households is very low. The highest mean Income Index is reported among Kuruchiya community, M=.67841. The Income Index of Kuruma, Paniya, Urali Kuruma and Kattunaika are M=.28170, M=.12698, M=.06652 and M=.06015 respectively.

**Table 5.6 Results of ANOVA**

	<b>Sum of Squares</b>	<b>Degress of Freedom</b>	<b>Mean Square</b>	<b>F Statistic</b>	<b>P Value</b>
Between Groups	.969	4	.242	10.600	.000
Within Groups	1.806	79	.023		
<b>Total</b>	<b>2.775</b>	<b>83</b>			

Source: Primary Data

One Way ANOVA was run with Communities as the independent variable and Income Index as the dependent variable. Results of ANOVA showed a significant difference between communities (Paniya, Kuruma, Kuruchiya, Nattunaika & Urali kuruma) in achieving Income Index score;  $F(4,79) = 10.600$ ,  $P < .001$ .

To investigate into the communities in which the difference exists we have used the Post-hoc Test of Fisher's Least Significant Difference (LSD). The results of LSD are summarised below.

**Table 5.7 Multiple Comparison of Capability Index (LSD Post-hoc Test)**

<b>Multiple Comparisons</b>						
Dependent Variable: income index						
LSD						
<b>(I) Community</b>	<b>(J) Community</b>	<b>Mean Difference (I-J)</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>	<b>Sig.</b>	<b>95% Confidence Interval</b>	
					<b>Lower Bound</b>	<b>Upper Bound</b>
Paniya	Kuruma	-.154713*	.039674	.000	-.23368	-.07574
	Kuruchiya	-.551432*	.108899	.000	-.76819	-.33467
	Kattunaika	.066833	.065119	.308	-.06278	.19645
	Urali Kuruma	.060463	.089720	.502	-.11812	.23905
Kuruma	Paniya	.154713*	.039674	.000	.07574	.23368
	Kuruchiya	-.396718*	.112118	.001	-.61988	-.17355
	Kattunaika	.221547*	.070371	.002	.08148	.36162
	Urali Kuruma	.215176*	.093602	.024	.02887	.40149
Kuruchiya	Paniya	.551432*	.108899	.000	.33467	.76819
	Kuruma	.396718*	.112118	.001	.17355	.61988
	Kattunaika	.618265*	.123438	.000	.37257	.86396

	Urali Kuruma	.611895*	.138008	.000	.33720	.88659
Kattunaika	Paniya	-.066833	.065119	.308	-.19645	.06278
	Kuruma	-.221547*	.070371	.002	-.36162	-.08148
	Kuruchiya	-.618265*	.123438	.000	-.86396	-.37257
	Urali Kuruma	-.006370	.106901	.953	-.21915	.20641
Urali Kuruma	Paniya	-.060463	.089720	.502	-.23905	.11812
	Kuruma	-.215176*	.093602	.024	-.40149	-.02887
	Kuruchiya	-.611895*	.138008	.000	-.88659	-.33720
	Kattunaika	.006370	.106901	.953	-.20641	.21915
*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.						

Source: Primary Data

The table reveals that there is significant relation between Paniya and Kuruma (P=.000), Paniya and kuruchiya (P=.000), Kuruma and Kuruchiya (P=.001), Kuruma and Kattunaika (P=.002), Kuruma and Urali Kuruma (P=.024), Kuruchiya and Urali Kuruma(P=.000), Kuruchiya and Kattunaika (P=.000) in achieving Income Index. Whereas there is no significant differences between Paniya and Urali Kuruma (P = .502), Paniya and kattunaika (P=.308) and kattunaika and Urali kuruma (P = .953) in the Income Index score.

### 5.3 Employment Status

For sustenance, every person needs to work for a living in order to survive, and tribal people are no different. The indigenous people have always been connected to many economic endeavours. The term "economic activity" refers to a man's participation in any endeavour that enables him to support himself. The tribal population engages in economic activities that are directly tied to the environment. The primary forms of economic activity with which the tribal people are associated include hunting, food collecting, shifting cultivation, pastoralism, and settled cultivation. Later, when industry grew, people began to work in many industries as unskilled labourers. While they have gradually expanded into other areas of the economy, the majority still relies on agriculture.

The tribal economy does not exhibit specialisation in economic activity. Instead, the tribal people participate in a variety of economic endeavours to support their way of life because a single endeavour cannot provide all of their demands. The tribes obviously participate in a variety of occupations including hunting, gathering forest products, farming, animal husbandry, etc. to make ends meet. The tribal economy is hence referred to as a "mixed economy". Every tribe, however, has a distinctive primary occupation that provides them a sense of occupational identity.

The primary occupation of the tribal workforce prior to the inland movement of non-tribes to the tribal lands was farming. The share of tribal cultivators decreased as a result of immigrants gradually encroaching on their agricultural fields, and their social status transformed from cultivators to agricultural labourers (Kunhaman 1989). Paniyas, Urali Kurumas, Kattunaikas, Mullu Kurumas and Kurichiyas can be broadly categorized into three viz., agricultural labourers, forest dependants and marginal farmers. Traditionally, Paniya and Urali Kuruma community are agriculture labourers and Kattunaika community are forest dependants. Whereas, the Kuruma and Kuruchiya communities are traditionally marginal farmers (CSSEIP, 2009). The knowledge of traditional occupation of the tribal communities helps to understand what changes have been occurred in their present economic activities. The following discussion will represent more clearly the present situation of tribal economy as well as their economic condition.

### 5.3.1 Nature of Employment and Number of Working Members

The employment status of the people is typically determined by their family's educational background, financial concerns, and level of deprivation. In the case of the Pookot Dairy Project's rehabilitated tribes, many individuals are employed in the public sector, either permanently or on a temporary basis. This is not due to their financial security or level of education, but rather because a requirement for transferring reserve forest land for non-tribal purposes was that one member of each family within the Pookot Dairy Project receives employment at the Kerala Veterinary and Animal Sciences University.

**Table 5.8 Individual Employment Status**

<b>Employment Status</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Government Employment	55	17.0
Worker - Organised Sector	22	6.8
Worker – MGNREGA	26	8.0
Worker-Agriculture/Non Agriculture/Plantation	27	8.3
Agriculture	4	1.2
Animal Husbandry	5	1.5
Nil( Voluntarily unemployed/ Ill Health and Above 65 years)	108	33.3
Student	63	19.4
0-5 years	14	4.3
Total	324	100.0

Source: Primary Data

29 percent of the 33.3 percent of the population who are unemployed have either health problems or are elderly. The remaining 71% of persons are voluntarily jobless. Approximately 40% of the workforce is employed as permanent workers in government sector. 16% of government employees work in divisions other than KVASU such as civil police officer, forest guard, lab technician and nurse. Contrary to popular belief, there are people who work while being in the unproductive age group (65 years and above).

**Table 5.9 Number of Working Members and Size of the Family**

Family Size	Number of Working Members Per Household					Total
	Nil	One	Two	Three	Four	
Single Member	2	1	-	-	-	3
Two Members	2	9	5	-	-	16
Three Members	1	9	6	-	-	16
Four Members	-	8	10	4	1	23
Five Members	-	4	4	5	-	13
Six Members	-	4	4	2	-	10
Seven Members	-	-	1	-	-	1
Eight Members	-	-	-	1	-	1
Nine Members	-	-	-	1	-	1
Total	5 (5.95)	35 (41.66)	30 (35.7)	13 (15.47)	1 (1.19)	84 (100)

Note: Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

Source: Primary Data

The table makes it abundantly clear that in most of the cases, the percentage of working members per family is low in relation to the size of the family. In 8 households, there is only one wage earner, and the average family size is 5 and 6 members. In the households where there are no earning members, depends on welfare pensions and on relatives for sustenance.

#### **5.4 Land Holding**

The land holding can be considered as an indicator of wealth. Land is seen as the only path towards a long-term survival of the community (Sreerexha 2010). The Kerala Development Report 2008 states that between 1962 and 1982, tribal tribes in the state lost control of 4,219.85 acres of land. In addition, there were 17,971.12 acres of encroached tribal lands in Kerala as of 30.6.1996 that were the subject of a dispute. The Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Commission, presided over by UN Dhebar, was established by the Central

Ministry in 1961 in accordance with Article 339 of the Indian Constitution. The Commission advocated for giving the original landowners their property back after it was taken from tribal households after January 20, 1950. The Kerala government, however, decided against implementing this advice. Under the leadership of Indira Gandhi, the Central Government resolved in 1975 to return the country's alienated tribal people' lands due to the effects of Naxalism, particularly in the tribal belts. Based on this, the Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Restriction of Transfer of Lands and Restoration of Alienated Lands) Act was passed by the state's government in 1975. Due to pressure from several stakeholders, the state ministries chose to disregard this Act. The Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Restriction of Transfer of Lands and Restoration of Alienated Lands) Act 1975 was ordered to be put into effect by the State government in 1993 by the Kerala High Court. Finally, the Government of Kerala introduced a new bill on 25th September 1996 regarding the Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Restriction of Transfer of Lands and Restoration of Alienated Lands) Act. In 1999, the President approved that Bill, which legitimised all illegal transactions of tribal lands between the period 1.1.1960 and 24.1.1986 (Kunhaman, 1989; SEEDS, 2007). This choice destroyed the foundation of tribal economies and the livelihoods of tribes, particularly the most defenseless tribal communities.

The population in the study are beneficiaries of rehabilitation project and hence they all possess land. But they don't have any title deed for the land instead they have possession right. As mentioned in the previous chapter, even though the population considered in the study possess land, the size of land distributed is different among the households. The main labours of the dairy project received 5 acres and the beneficiary labours received 1.5 to 2 acres. The land they possess in Pookot settlement is the core part of the rehabilitation project and the population included in the study have land by default. Hence this section of the chapter focus on land holding for which they have title deed and sale deed, utilization of the land for which they have possession deed and the quality of land.

#### **5.4.1 Additional Purchased Land Holdings**

Most of the indigenous people of Wayanad's land holdings were either distributed to them as part of government land distribution programmes or were passed down from ancestors. Some of the indigenous communities in the settlement were able to invest in buying their own land.

**Table 5.10 Community –Wise Analysis of Purchased Land holdings**

Community	Additional Land		Total
	Yes	No	
Paniya	-	53 (63)	53
Kuruma	3 (3.6)	17 (20.23)	20
Kuruchiya	2 (2.4)	-	2
Kattunaika	-	6 (7.14)	6
Urali Kuruma	-	3 (3.57)	3
Total	5 (6)	79 (94)	84 (100)

Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

Source: Primary Data

6 % of households in the Pookot settlement made further land purchases. The land was bought from non-tribals. The Kuruchiya and Kuruma communities comprise the 6 percent of the additional purchased land-owning households. The common factor across all the new land-owning households is that at least one family member holds a job in the public sector.

#### 5.4.2 Land Cultivation & Cropping pattern

For the indigenous groups, the land distributed as part of the Pookot Dairy Project is distributed with possession deeds rather than title documents. Because the native tribes only receive possession deeds, they are not permitted to sell the property or clear forests. Both housing and agriculture are options for them. Therefore, cultivating the land is a productive approach to use the land.

**Table 5.11 Community –Wise Analysis of the Cultivation of land Received under land Distribution**

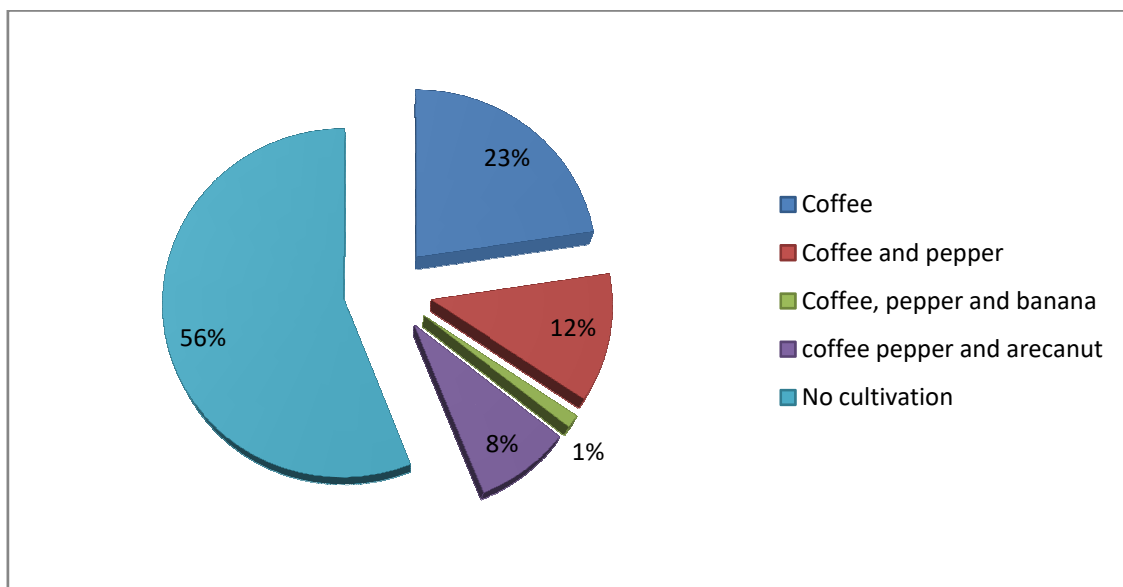
Community	Land Cultivation		Total
	Yes	No	
Paniya	17 (20.23)	36 (42.85)	53
Kuruma	15 (17.85)	5 (5.95)	20
Kuruchiya	2 (2.38)	-	2
Kattunaika	1 (1.19)	5 (5.95)	6
Urali Kuruma	2 (2.38)	1 (1.19)	3
Total	37 (44)	47 (56)	84 (100)

Note: Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

Source: Primary Data

56 percent of the Pookot Dairy Project's dispersed land is still unproductive and underutilised. Instead of only providing beneficiaries with homes, the primary goal of land distribution under the Pookot Dairy Project was to give them a long-term source of subsistence. Though not entirely, only 44% of the land is being used productively.

**Figure 5.5 Crops Cultivated**



Source: Primary Data

There are numerous reasons why coffee production accounts for a larger portion of all crop production. Coffee may be grown in Wayanad due to its favourable climate and landscape. Coffee is a profitable crop that needs little maintenance. Even the smallest amount of care will cause it to grow, and in areas where there is animal conflict, cash crops like coffee, pepper, areca nuts, etc. are the ideal ones to produce. The fact that coffee was already planted when the project was in operation contributes to the preference for coffee growing in another way.

### 5.4.3 Challenges in Agriculture

Lack of capital, animal conflict, natural disasters, and poor land quality are the main obstacles that the households in the Pookot settlement confront when trying to cultivate their lands. Investment is needed to turn any land into a productive asset and investment requires capital. The tribes lack the resources necessary to make land investments. Just having land is not sufficient for farming. The labour and transportation costs required to make agriculture profitable are beyond the capacity of the tribes. Another significant issue keeping the tribes

away from agriculture is animal conflict. Elephants, pigs, and deer trample on their crops. Natural disasters have also contributed to the land becoming idle. The land of 16 tribal households in the settlement was destroyed by the landslide. Agriculture takes into account the quality of the land as well. It is not profitable to cultivate land that is not suitable for agriculture.

### 5.5 Ownership of Farm Animals

Owning farm animals is an asset that enables a way of life. There are families whose main source of income comes from animal husbandry.

**Table 5.12 Ownership of farm Animals**

Community	Farm Animals				
	Cattle	Goat	Rabbit	Poultry	Pig
Panniya	5	2	1	10	-
Kuruma	-	2	1	8	1
Kuruchiya	2	-	-	1	-
Kattunaika	-	-	-	2	-
Urali Kuruma	1	-	-	1	-
Total	8 (9.52)	4 (4.76)	2 (2.38)	22 (26.19)	1 (1.19)

Note: Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

Source: Primary Data

As poultry is less expensive than other farm animals, more households have chickens. Also because the fact that the KVASU offered free coops to houses interested in starting a flock of chickens contributed to the rise in the number of poultry-owning households. Because of the lack of land, water, labour and capital as well as the poor health many households did not keep any farm animals. The Paniya family, who were living in the temporary shed after losing their land and dwellings due to landslide, cited lack of land as a cause for not owning any farm animals.

### 5.6 Housing and Infrastructural Facilities

In a developing nation like India, the socioeconomic development of society is largely dependent on the accessibility of the fundamental infrastructure services that are operating under the government's welfare programmes. The results of past research demonstrated that the country's infrastructural facilities, particularly in rural areas' isolated locations, were of an abnormally low quality. It indicates that the advantages of welfare programmes did not trickle down to the country's poorest classes of citizens. As a result, it had a negative impact on the



socioeconomic sustainability of marginalised groups living in distant or isolated locations. It was revealed that there was a significant correlation between the wellbeing of the family members and the availability of infrastructural facilities, notably in the formation human capabilities. According to numerous studies, the health of an individual or a society is a reflection of how effectively and consistently people use their abilities. The capacity of individuals will be enhanced by the availability of sufficient physical resources to meet households' infrastructural needs and basic necessities. To some extent, the inadequate supply of infrastructure facilities in tribal communities, a deprived society, is the main cause of their backwardness.

### **5.6.1 Housing Status**

A person's social and economic foundations are intricately linked to their home. Additionally, it plays a crucial part in the development of social security and welfare programmes. The purpose of this section is to analyse how housing facilities contribute to the socioeconomic advancement of indigenous groups.

According to the study, pucca houses are those that have a concrete roof, a tiled floor, and are in good shape. Semi-pucca homes are ones that have a fixed wall and roof but do not have tiled floors or otherwise maintain the same level of quality as pucca homes. The houses that have concrete roofs and walls but unfinished interior construction are known as semi-finished houses. Kutcha homes are ones that have walls constructed of mud or bamboos with a roof made of asbetos or hay, and are in better shape than their decaying counterparts. The livable houses are those with concrete walls and tile roofs, but they need upkeep because of leaks and other issues. The worst-maintained homes are ones that are dilapidated which lack a proper wall or roof. Sheets of tarpaulin and asbestos are used to construct the homes. The tribal people have a propensity to use housing assistance for other purposes besides housing, as buying food or paying for medical expenditures. Moreover, intermediaries like contractors and agents profited indirectly from the housing assistance by utilising subpar building materials or stopping work in the middle of it when they received the whole sum from the government. The ward members and neighbourhood social organisers contributed to the rise in the number of unfinished or subpar homes. By obtaining commissions from contractors or agencies, they introduced private contractors to indigenous homes for the construction of houses. The majority of the time, these private contractors scammed tribal members by stopping the construction in the middle of it.

**Table 5.13 Status of Dwelling**

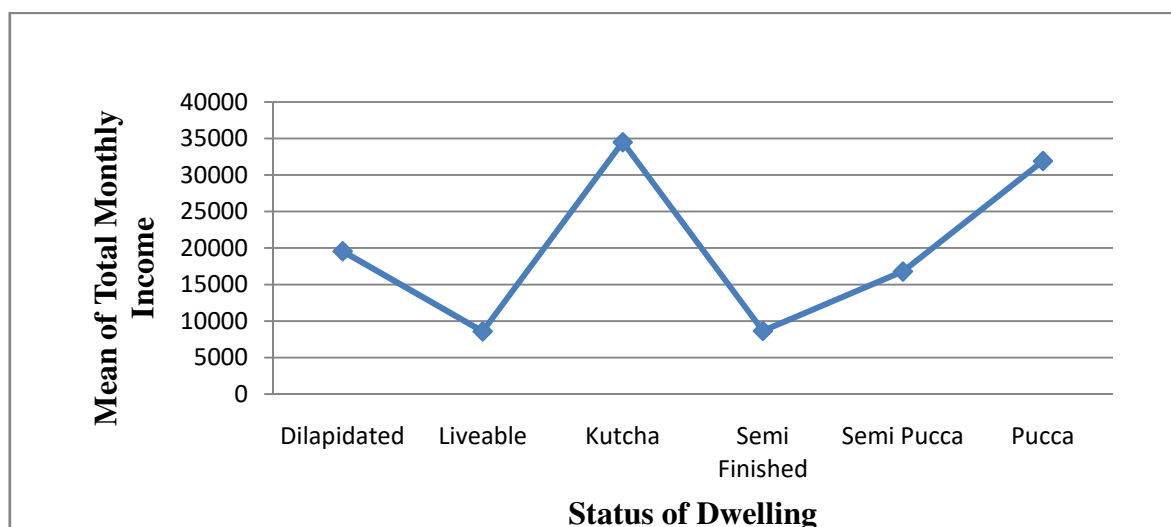
Housing Status	Name of the Community					Total
	Paniya	Kuruma	Kuruchiya	Kattunaika	Urals Kuruma	
Pucca	15	19	2	2	2	<b>41 (48.8)</b>
Semi Pucca	14	1	-	2	1	<b>17 (20.2)</b>
Semi Finished	2	-	-	-	-	<b>2 (2.4)</b>
Kutchra	2	-	-	-	-	<b>2 (2.4)</b>
Liveable	2	-	-	2	-	<b>4 (4.8)</b>
Dilapidated	18	-	-	-	-	<b>18 (21.4)</b>
Total	53	20	2	6	3	84 (100)

Note: Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

Source: Primary Data

Households still occupying dilapidated homes make about 21% of total households. Those who lost their initial home and land as a result of the land slide in 2018 make up the majority of those, 21 percent, of the population. As they wait for the government's charity to provide them with adequate housing, they are lodging in a temporary shed built by the government. All the households with deteriorated housing facilities belongs to Paniya community. While the majority of people were impacted by landslides, other people are still waiting to receive adequate housing.

**Figure 5.6 Distribution of Average Income and Status of Dwelling**



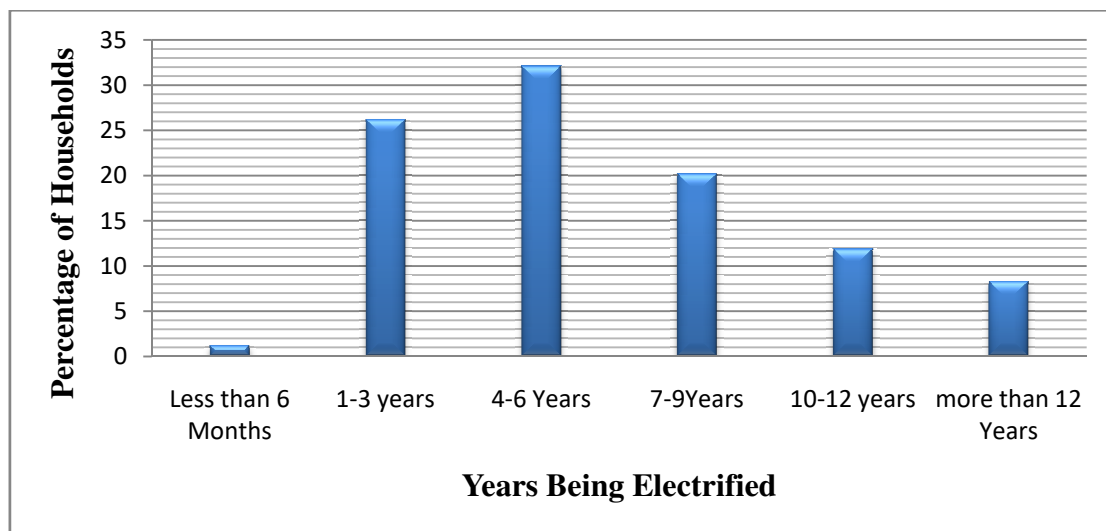
Source: Primary Data

Generally speaking, the monthly income and housing standard can be related. The housing standard is anticipated to be better if monthly income is higher. The tribal communities in the pookot settlement, however, are an exception to this rule. The kutcha house's average monthly income is higher than the average monthly income of the households with pucca houses. This is because the housing of the indigenous communities is a component of the government's welfare programme. Even with a respectable income, the majority of households lack the resources to build homes or take care of any necessary home maintenance. Debt, a high dependency ratio, expensive health care costs, addiction to substance use, lack of interest and even a free rider issues that may have played a role.

### 5.6.2 Infrastructural Facilities in Tribal Houses

The infrastructural facilities perform a pivotal role in the assessment of the development of a household. Since the households in the pookot settlement have access to electricity and sanitation, the years of being electrified and the nature of the toilet facilities are taken into consideration.

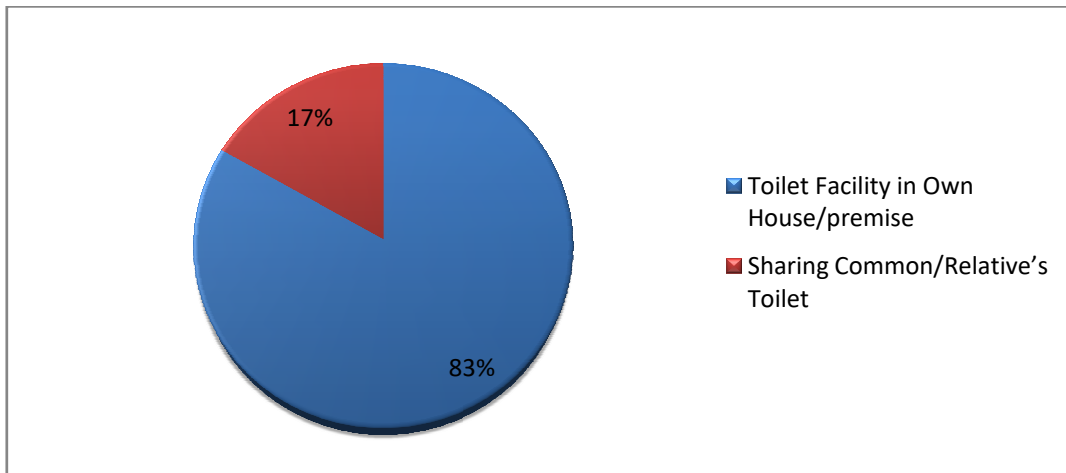
**Figure 5.7 Availability of Electricity**



Source: Primary Data

Except for 8.3% of families, every other household has only had access to electricity over the past 12 years. In a rehabilitation project that began in 1979, families with the exception of 8.3 percent have only had access to power for the past 12 years. A household's response indicated that they had only been electrified for a little over six months.

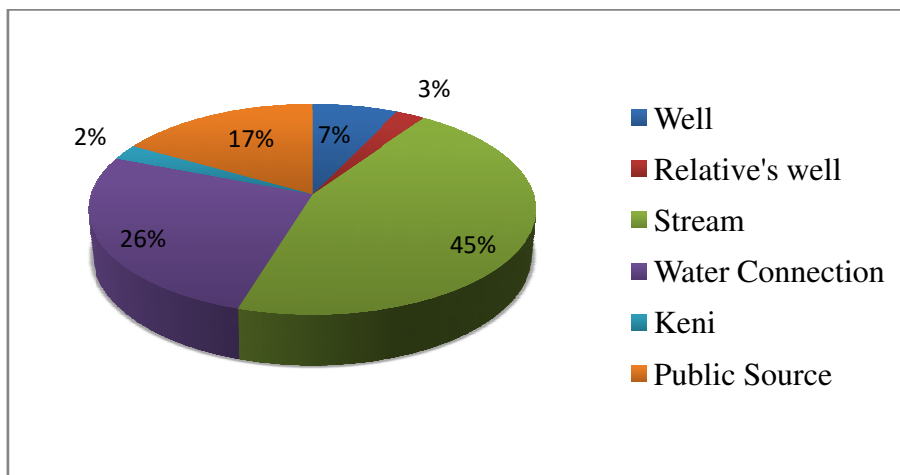
**Figure 5.8 Nature of Sanitation Facility Available**



Source: Primary Data

16.7% of households do not have access to private toilets. Living in the temporary house constructed by government where they must share toilets are 13 families who lost their land and home due to landslide. One family makes use of their relative's toilet because they don't have a toilet of their own. They are housed in a ramshackle structure made of tarpaulin sheets. They utilise the toilets at their nearby relative's home.

**Figure 5.9 Sources of Drinking water**



Source: Primary Data

Drinking water is a big problem for the people living in the Pookot settlement. The source of drinking water for 45% of the homes is a stream. They installed the pipe from the stream on their own dime. Only 26% of the homes had access to government pipes within their premises. The households affected by the land slide, which are residing in temporary sheds built by the government, rely on public resources. Own wells are hardly present in 6% of households.

**Table 5.14 Cooking Fuel**

Community	Availability of LPG Connection		Total
	LPG & Firewood	Firewood	
Paniya	28 (33.3)	25 (29.7)	53
Kuruma	20 (23.8)	-	20
Kuruchiya	2 (2.4)	-	2
Kattunaika	1 (1.2)	5 (5.9)	6
Urali Kuruma	2 (2.4)	1 (1.2)	3
Total	53 (63)	31 (37)	84 (100)

Note: Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

Source: Primary Data

37 percent of rehabilitated tribal households use firewood as the only cooking fuel. The rest of the households said they use both LPG and firewood. From the primary survey, it would be analysed that the utilisation of LPG is not solely contingent upon the income levels of households, but also influenced by their educational attainment and degree of engagement with contemporary society. In households where female members have limited access to education and exposure to modern culture, there is a noticeable reluctance to utilise liquefied petroleum gas, accompanied by a sense of apprehension regarding its utilisation.

*“How can individuals in our situation afford a gas cylinder? Although we have a gas connection, we won't buy because we can't. I must receive pay from MGNREGA before we can cover our daily expenses. Additionally, it is insufficient. Occasionally need to borrow money to cover a monthly expense. Utilizing LPG in this situation is a misty dream.”*

-Respondent N.31, 62 years old paniya women

*“My wife is not familiar with the usage of gas stove. We never had it before. She has no idea about how to use it. So now she is feared of using it. I and children also don't compel her to use it. There is no problem when I'm at home, but because she will be by herself when I leave for work during the day, why take a chance?”*

-Respondent N.24, 65 years old paniya man

**Table 5.15 Ownership of Household Durables**

Community	Items							
	Car	Motorcycle	Jeep	Auto rickshaw	Television	Refrigerator	Telephone	Computer
Paniya	1	14	-	-	49	1	53	2
Kuruma	3	15	2	2	20	9	20	1
Kuruchiya	1	2	-	-	2	2	2	-
Kattunaika	-	1	-	-	5	-	5	-
Urali Kuruma	-	2	-	-	3	-	3	-
Total	5 (5.9)	34 (40.4)	2 (2.3)	2 (2.3)	79 (94)	12 (14.2)	83 (98.8)	3 (3.5)

Note: Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

Source: Primary Data

The ownership of household durables and monthly household income are positively associated. The growth in the number of households with various household durables has been mostly attributed to the population's increased employment in the public sector. It was observed that television and mobile phones are the household durables that are owned by majority of the households. Approximately 40 percent of the population owns a motorcycle.

### **5.7 Educational Status of the Rehabilitated Tribal Communities**

Education is among the major indicators in any discussion on the development. We can see the developed nations exemplifying the decisiveness of education in boosting economic development (and thereby furthering social development).

The Scheduled tribes are the most backward communities in the state with regard to both literacy and education. There are numerous hurdles in the road to achieve full literacy among the tribal communities. This section deals in bring out the educational status of rehabilitated tribes in Pookot Dairy Project.

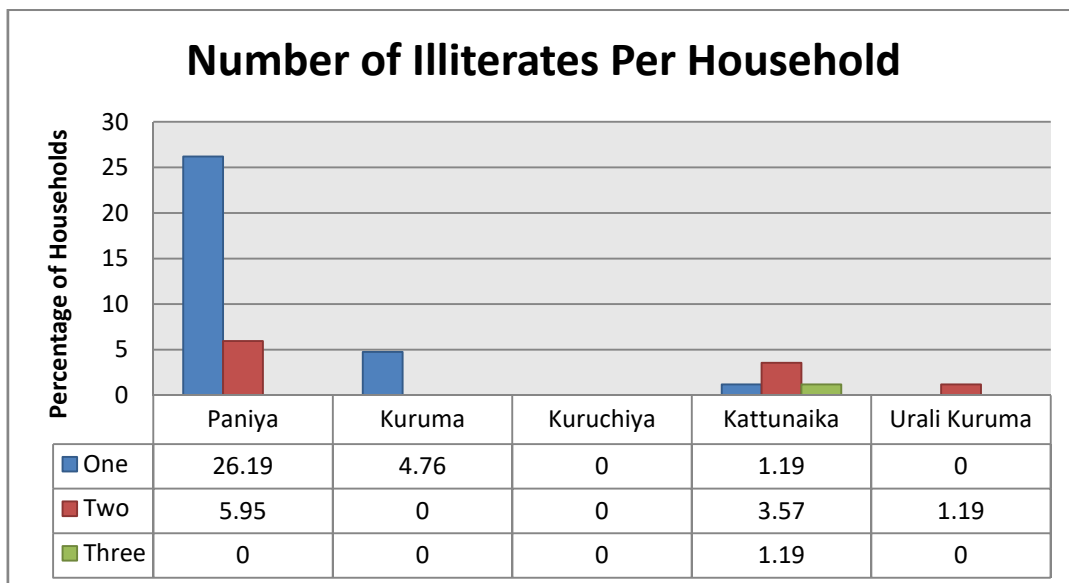
**Table 5.16 Individual Educational Qualification**

Educational Qualification	Frequency	Percent
Illiterate	48	14.8
Lower primary	59	18.2
Upper primary	74	22.8
High school	80	24.7
Higher Secondary	24	7.4
ITI, Certificate Course, Diploma	2	0.6
Graduation	17	5.2
Professional degree	4	1.2
Post Graduation	1	0.3
Doctoral Fellow	1	0.3
Between Age group of 0-5 Years	14	4.0
Total	324	100.0

Source: Primary Data

15.5 percent of the total population (excluding children between the age group of 0-5) are illiterates. The highest educational qualification of the majority of the population is high school education which indicates to the fact that the people prefer to stop education after high school. When compared to the overall tribal population of Wayanad, the percentage of tribes in the Pookot settlement that have higher education is relatively high. Higher education has been attained by 8% of the total population. The population that holds professional degrees belongs to Kuruma and Kuruchiya community. The professional degrees held by the residents of the settlement include MBBS, paramedicine, nursing, and radiology. The Post Graduate and Doctoral Fellow of the settlement also belong to the Kuruma community.

**Figure 5.10 Percentage of Illiterate Population Across Communities**



Source: Primary Data

The illiterate person referred to is those who haven't went to school and are incapable to read to write. In 44 percent of households, there is at least one illiterate member. The maximum number of illiterate member in a household is 3. Long years of suppression, isolation and marginalization have an impact on their educational status. The percentage of households having illiterate members is highest among Kattunaikas. 83.3 percent of Kattunaika households are having either one, two or three illiterate member. The second highest is among Paniyas. 51 percent of Paniya households do have either one or two illiterate persons. It is 33.3 percent among Urali kurumas and 20 percent among Kurumas. Among the Kurichiyas, no single households are having illiterate persons.

**Table 5.17 Descriptive Statistics of Mean Years of Schooling**

Community	Mean (in years)	Standard Deviation	95 percent Confidence Interval	
			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Paniya	5.87	3.09	5.02	6.72
Kuruma	8.13	3.11	6.67	9.58
Kuruchiya	10	1.41	-2.70	22.7
Kattunaika	1.98	1.15	.77	3.19
Urali Kuruma	6.33	5.50	-7.34	20.01
Scheduled Tribe (combined)	6.24	3.41	5.50	6.98

Source: Primary Data

The above table shows the descriptive statistics of the household mean years of schooling<sup>1</sup>. The average household means years of schooling are highest among the Kuruchiya community and lowest among the Kattunaika community. The average mean years of schooling of the tribal communities in the settlement are 6.24 years.

### 5.7.1 Dropout Syndrome

The dropout or discontinuance of studies by the students is a major concern in the education of Scheduled Tribe communities. Financial constraints, failure/detention, family problems, inaccessibility to institutions, sense of alienation etc are the major reasons attributed for the huge dropout of tribal students (Gouda and Sekhar, 2014).

As far as the tribal communities of the rehabilitated settlement in the Pookot is concerned, poverty and financial constraints, lack of self interest and laziness to go educational institutions, family problems (requirement in household work, requirement in looking after younger ones and lack of botheration from parents and marriage), Health issues, social

<sup>1</sup> The household means years of schooling is calculated as the average of the mean years of schooling of the individuals of age 25 and above in each household.



barriers (culture and customs and sense of alienation), Issues in accessibility (distance to educational institutions and lack of transportation facilities), language and subject barrier (uneasiness to follow the syllabus) are the major reasons for dropouts.

**Table 5.18 Dropout of Tribal Students at the age below 20 years**

Community	Number of Dropouts	Total
Paniya	12 (15.4)	50
Kuruma	-	13
Kuruchiya	-	
Kattunaika	3 (3.8)	11
Urali Kuruma	0	4
Total	15 (19.2)	78 (100)

Note: Figures in the parentheses are percentages

Source: Primary Data

The interview with the ST promoter revealed that even now in some cases, the teachers and other staffs are struggling to bring the children back to school. The language barrier and the discrimination from the side of teachers and classmates also prevent the tribal students from higher education possibilities.

*“I was being to Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya, a CBSE school for the first time. A few days after I joined, a class test was conducted and I comparatively scored less marks in the class test. While the distribution of answer sheets, one of my teachers said to me that unlike other students, it is a waste to keep expectations on you guys”.*

- Respondent N.26, 17 years old paniya girl

*“We were afraid to go to schools. When teachers from schools come to house in search of absent students we use to run away and hide. Poverty, health issues also were other factors that stopped us from going to schools. I had health issues while I was a kid. My whole body was itchy and cracked and also when our parents go out in search of employment, we were required to look after our younger ones and sometimes we also help our parents to collect firewood etc”.*

- Respondent N.68, 60 years old kattunaika woman

### 5.7.2 Education Index

The educational status of the rehabilitated tribal communities in the Pookot settlement is measured in terms of Education index. The value of Education Index lies between 0 and 1. As

the score move towards one, the educational capability of the households is better. To measure the Education Index Mean Years of Schooling is taken as the variable. The Education Index of each household is calculated as

$$Education\ Index_E = \frac{E_i - E_{min}}{E_{max} - E_{min}}$$

**Table 5.19 Education Index Across Communities**

Community	Descriptives (Education Index)					
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	Min.	Max.
Paniya	53	.47001	.247435	.033988	0	1
Kuruma	20	.65056	.248855	.055646	.080	1
Kuruchiya	2	.80000	.113137	.080000	.720	.880
Kattunaika	6	.15880	.092446	.037741	0	.260
Urali Kuruma	3	.50667	.440606	.254384	0	.800
Total	84	.49993	.272953	.029782	0	1

Source: Primary Data

The average Education Index score of the tribal households are 0.49993 i.e. the average educational capability of the households is low. The highest mean Education Index is reported among Kuruchiya community, M=.80000. The Education Index of Kuruma, Urali Kuruma, Paniya and Kattunaika are M=.65056, M, M=.50667and M=.47001 and M=.15880 respectively.

**Table 5.20 Results of ANOVA**

	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F Statistic	P value
Between Groups	1.380	4	.345	5.672	.000
Within Groups	4.804	79	.061		
Total	6.184	83			

Source: Primary Data

One Way ANOVA was run with Communities as the independent variable and Education Index as the dependent variable. Results of ANOVA showed a significant difference between communities (Paniya, Kuruma, Kuruchiya, Nattunaika & Urali kuruma) in achieving Education Index score; F(4,79) = 5.672, P<.001.

To investigate into the communities in which the difference exists we have used the Post-hoc Test of Fisher's Least Significant Difference (LSD). The results of LSD are summarised below.

**Table 5.21 Multiple Comparison of Education Index (LSD Post-hoc Test)**

Multiple Comparisons						
Dependent Variable: Education index						
LSD						
(I) Community	(J) Community	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Paniya	Kuruma	-.180552*	.064714	.007	-.30936	-.05174
	Kuruchiya	-.329992	.177632	.067	-.68356	.02357
	Kattunaika	.311208*	.106220	.004	.09978	.52263
	Urali Kuruma	-.036659	.146348	.803	-.32796	.25464
Kuruma	Paniya	.180552*	.064714	.007	.05174	.30936
	Kuruchiya	-.149440	.182883	.416	-.51346	.21458
	Kattunaika	.491760*	.114786	.000	.26328	.72024
	Urali Kuruma	.143893	.152679	.349	-.16001	.44779
Kuruchiya	Paniya	.329992	.177632	.067	-.02357	.68356
	Kuruma	.149440	.182883	.416	-.21458	.51346
	Kattunaika	.641200*	.201348	.002	.24043	1.04197
	Urali Kuruma	.293333	.225113	.196	-.15474	.74141
Kattunaika	Paniya	-.311208*	.106220	.004	-.52263	-.09978
	Kuruma	-.491760*	.114786	.000	-.72024	-.26328
	Kuruchiya	-.641200*	.201348	.002	-1.04197	-.24043
	Urali Kuruma	-.347867*	.174372	.049	-.69495	-.00079
Urali Kuruma	Paniya	.036659	.146348	.803	-.25464	.32796
	Kuruma	-.143893	.152679	.349	-.44779	.16001
	Kuruchiya	-.293333	.225113	.196	-.74141	.15474
	Kattunaika	.347867*	.174372	.049	.00079	.69495

\*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Primary Data

The table reveals that there is significant relation between Paniya and Kuruma (P=.007), Paniya and Kattunaika (P=.004), Kuruma and Paniya (P=.007), Kuruma and Kattunaika (P=.000), Kuruchiya and Kattunaika (P=.002), Kattunaika and Paniya(P=.004), Kattunaika and Kuruma (P=.000), Kattunaika and Kuruchiya (P=.002) in achieving Education Index. Whereas there is no significant differences between Paniya and Kuruchiya (P=.067), Paniya and Urali Kuruma (P=.803), Kuruma and Kuruchiya (P=.416), Kuruma and Urali Kuruma (P=.349), Kuruchiya and Paniya(P=.067), Kuruchiya and Kuruma(P=.416), Kuruchiya and

Urali Kuruma (P=.196), Urali Kuruma and Paniya (P=.803), Urali Kuruma and Kuruma(P=.349), Urali Kuruma and Kuruchiya(P=.196)

## **5.8 Health Status**

Health care is a major problem in far-flung and isolated tribal areas. Lack of food security, sanitation and safe drinking water, poor supply of nutrition, high poverty levels, illiteracy, belief systems and cultural practices and unhealthy life style and new food habits aggravate the poor health status of tribal people. There are wide variations among different tribal communities and regions in health status and access to health services. In general, the health and nutritional status of the tribal communities in Kerala, especially among children, adolescent girls and women are deficient. The impact achieved by the anganwadies in promoting the nutritional status of children and mothers and the mid day meal provided by the educational institutions is minimal and low (Scheduled Tribes Development Department, 2013).

By examining the incidence of chronic disease, incidence of stillbirth, mortality, substance use, dietary intake, and access to healthcare, the health state of the tribal community in the settlement is examined.

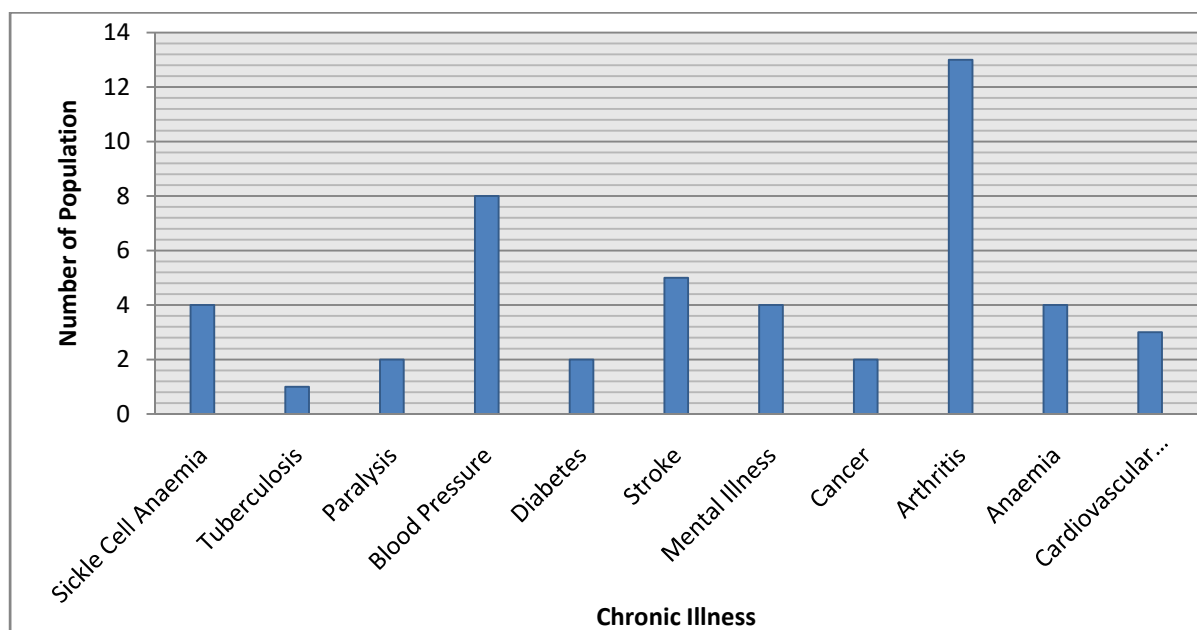
### **5.8.1 Chronic Illness**

In the study, chronic illness is a term used to describe a long-lasting disease that requires ongoing medication. Living with a chronic disease is challenging, as it interferes with physical, mental and social functions and thus greatly affects a person's quality of life. Apart from increasing mortality, the prevalence of chronic illness has led to indebtedness, unemployment and educational dropout among the tribal population of the Pookot settlement. The chronic diseases not only impact the person who is suffering from the illness but also their family members.

*“I used to be a permanent employee of KVASU, but I cannot work for a while because my mother is currently suffering from cancer and I must take care for my mother and accompany her to the hospital. I haven't reported for work in a while, so I'm not getting paid, and I'm not sure whether I'll still have a job when I can go to work”.*

- Respondent N.6, 45 years old paniya woman

**Figure 5.11 Prevalence of Chronic Illness Among the Tribal Communities**



Source: Primary Data

Arthritis, blood pressure, stroke, sickle cell anaemia, mental illness, anaemia, paralysis, cancer, diabetes and tuberculosis are major chronic illness reported among the inhabitants of the settlement. 14.8 percentage of the total population of the Pookot settlement are suffering from chronic illness. The lack of knowledge about the illness and the non-willingness to accept a physical/mental difficulty might have also led to unreported prevalence of illness.

### 5.8.2 Incidence of Stillbirth

Another indication of health status is the incidence of stillbirths. The prevalence of stillbirths among tribal households can be ascribed to inadequate maternal and prenatal care, inappropriate medical care, and other health problems.

**Table 5.22 Incidence of Stillbirths**

Community	Incidence of Stillbirth		Total
	Yes	No	
Paniya	2 (2.4)	51 (60.7)	53
Kuruma	-	20 (23.8)	20
Kuruchiya	-	2 (2.4)	2
Kattunaika	1 (1.2)	5 (5.9)	6
Urali Kuruma	-	3 (3.6)	3
Total	3 (3.6)	81 (96.4)	84 (100)

Note: Figures in the parentheses are percentages

Source: Primary Data

Three stillbirth cases have been reported among the 84 households under study. One of the three mothers, who gave birth to a stillborn child, has sickle cell anaemia.

### 5.8.3 Mortality

The present study assessed the mortality record among the tribal population to draw further inferences about the health status. We used the reference period of one year prior to the survey. A total of 15 events of death were reported by the tribal households. The descriptive statistics of age at death is provided in the given table.

**Table 5.23 Descriptive Statistics of Age at Death**

Descriptive Statistic		Statistic	Std. Error
Mean		52.7333	3.82905
95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	44.5208	
	Upper Bound	60.9458	
Median		56.0000	
Variance		219.924	
Std. Deviation		14.82983	
Minimum		25.00	
Maximum		68.00	
Inter quartile Range		27.00	
Skewness		-.849	.580
Kurtosis		-.776	1.121

Source: Primary Data

**Table 5.24 Reasons for Death**

Cause of Death	Frequency	Percentage
Blood Pressure	2	13.3
Cancer	2	13.3
Heart attack	5	33.3
Stroke	3	20
Suicide	1	6.6
Accident	2	13.3
Total	15	100

Source: Primary Data

The average age at death is low at 52.7 years. With the 95 percent confidence interval, lower bound and upper bound are 44.5 and 60.9 respectively. All the reported deaths within the reference period are due to heart attack, stroke, cancer, blood pressure, accidental death and suicide.

### 5.8.4 Ill Health Behaviours

High rate of morbidity and mortality among the tribal population is to a large extent attributed by the ill health behaviours among them (Rajasenan et al., 2013). The use of alcohol and tobacco tends to have severe consequences on the health status of the population.

**Table 5.25 Prevalence of Ill Health Behaviours (Alcohol) among Tribal Communities**

Community	Use of Alcohol				Total
	Regularly	Often	Occasional	Never	
Paniya	1 (1.1)	14 (16.6)	22 (26.1)	16 (19)	53
Kuruma	2 (2.3)	-	11 (13)	7 (8.3)	20
Kuruchiya	-	-	1 (1.1)	1 (1.1)	2
Kattunaika	2 (2.3)	2 (2.3)	2 (2.3)	-	6
Urali Kuruma	1 (1.1)	1 (1.1)	-	1 (1.1)	3
Total	6 (7.1)	17(20.2)	36(42.9)	25(29.8)	84 (100)

Note: Figures in the parentheses are percentages

Source: Primary Data

Insanely high percentages of the tribal population engage in the unhealthy behaviours. In 70.2 percent of tribal households, at least one person uses alcohol. 7.1% of them routinely use alcohol. Addiction to alcohol not only affects one's health but also the socioeconomic stability of the family. Several households have become indebted as a result of drinking. Many borrow money from others or use their entire earnings to buy alcohol, which makes it hard for the family to cover everyday expenses.

*“Myself, my husband, and my two sons all work as permanent farm labourers at Kerala Veterinary and Animal Sciences University. But, my income is the only source of revenue to cover household expenses. They all three have an alcohol addiction and drink continuously. Their salary is to drink”.*

- Respondent N.61, 50 years old Kuruma woman

*“The couples that live next to my house are both alcoholics and are from the Kattunaika community. They brew alcohol at home. They fight with us and other neighbours after drinking and use foul language. Family members are all inebriated. After drinking, they lose consciousness, and one of their sons is currently imprisoned for raping his own daughter”.*

- Respondent N.49, 58 years old Kuruma woman

**Table 5.26 Prevalence of Ill Health Behaviours (Tobacco) among Tribal Communities**

Community	Use of Tobacco		Total
	Regularly	Never	
Paniya	51 (60.7)	2 (2.3)	53
Kuruma	12 (14.2)	8 (9.5)	20
Kuruchiya	2 (2.3)	-	2
Kattunaika	6 (7.14)	-	6
Urali Kuruma	3 (3.5)	-	3
Total	74 (88)	10 (12)	84(100)

Note: Figures in the parentheses are percentages

Source: Primary Data

88 percent of the tribal households in the settlement chew tobacco on a regular basis. Just 12% of households have no tobacco users. Comparatively the Paniya, Kattunaika, and Urali Kuruma communities exhibit more unhealthy behaviour. Even among women, tobacco use is fairly prevalent.

*“Many of us have been using tobacco since our childhood. It has become a daily routine and now the non usage causes tooth ache”.*

- Respondent N.4, 67 years old Paniya woman

*“This place has lots of leeches. While working in Pookot Dairy Project, our lower leg was bitten and covered with leeches. Chewing of tobacco gave strength to work”.*

- Respondent N.81, 55 years old Kurichiya Man

*“We are farm labourers. Chewing tobacco helps to withstand the smell and suffocation in pig farm”.*

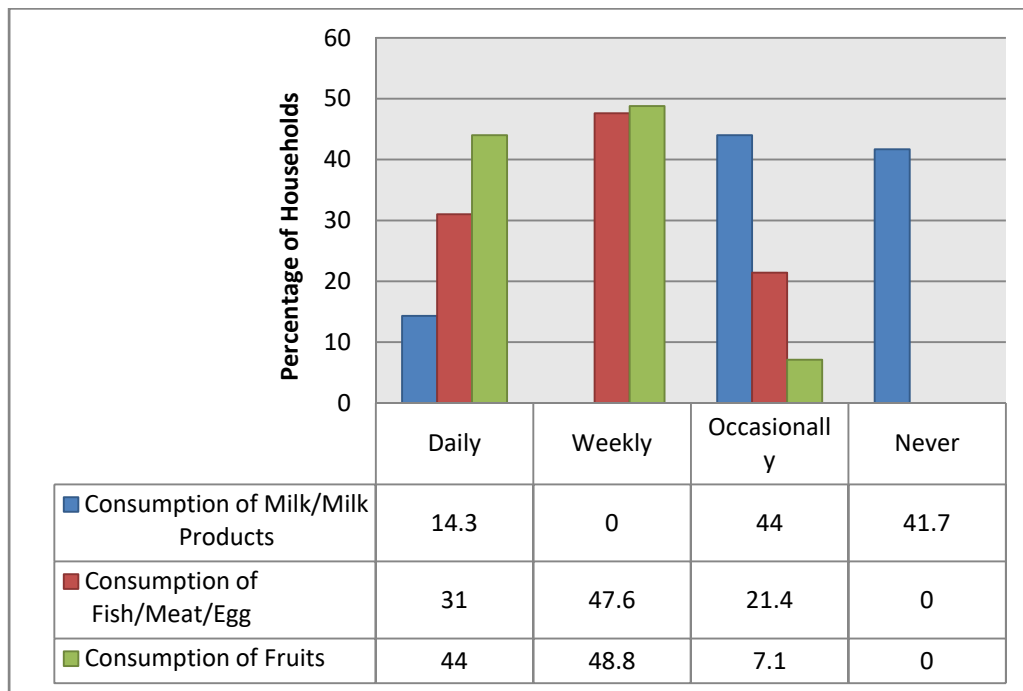
- Respondent N.55, 40 years old Kuruma Man

### **5.8.5 Dietary Intake**

In the earlier day’s fruits, tubers, roots and leaves in forest contributed to maintain the food requirement and nutritional status of the tribes. The eating habits of the tribal communities have altered over the years. The lack of previously available tubers, roots, leaves, and other food sources has forced tribal populations to change their eating habits and rely more on the market than the forest, which can often result in undernourishment owing to the issue of affordability.



**Figure 5.12 Food Intake Among Tribal Households**



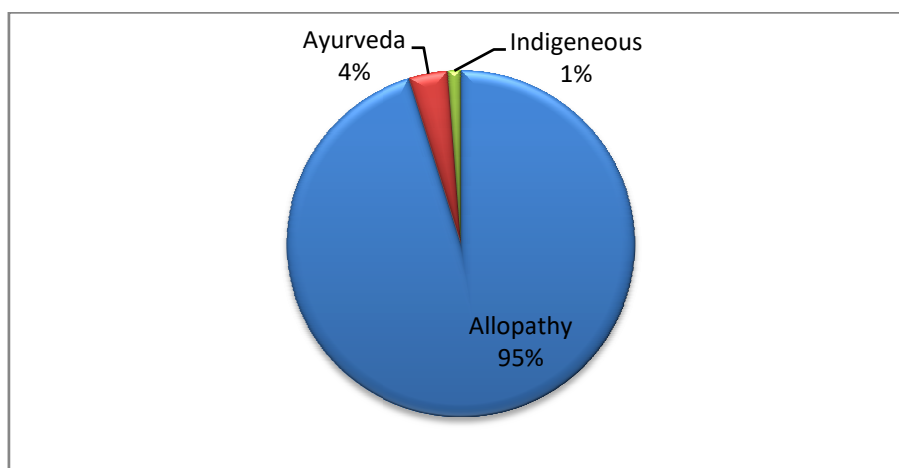
Source: Primary Data

Cereals, Pulses, Vegetables, Fruits, Milk/Milk products, Fish/Meat/Egg are essential for maintaining nutritional status. Cereals like rice and wheat, pulses and vegetables are used in every household. Rice and wheat are available in free through fair price shops for AAY or BPL ration card holders. 14.3, 31 and 44 percent of households in the settlement consumes milk/ milk products, fish/egg/meat and fruits respectively on a daily basis. 21.4 percent of households consume fish/egg/meat occasionally. There are 7.1 percent of households who consumes fruits also occasionally. Surprisingly, 42.9 percent of households in the settlement never use milk or milk products in their houses.

### 5.8.6 Preference of System of Medicine

The indigenous health care system that prevailed among the tribal communities helped in providing health care to them. They had their own medicinal system based on herbs collected from nature and processed locally. They had also their own system of diagnosis. But the source base of the ethnic medicines is being depleted.

**Figure 5.13 Preference of System of Medicine**



Source: Primary Data

The indigenous type of medical treatment mentioned is a kind of self treatment by making use of herbs collected from nature. Among the rehabilitated tribals of the settlement, most popular system of medicine is allopathy. 3.6 percent of households depend on ayurveda. The people depending on ayurveda are for either joint pains or arthritis. The reasons for high dependency on allopathy system is quick remedy easy to access and free of cost

*“I have joint pains in my knee. Iam taking allopathy treatment for a while but there is no use. In between I switched to ayurveda treatment, but couldn’t continue since the ayurvedic treatment is expensive. How can the poor people like us afford any treatment other than what Government provides for free?”*

-Respondent N.14, 62 years old paniya man

### 5.8.7 Preference for Health Care Provider

Government as well as private system are the most important and popular providers of health care. At times, charitable hospitals also plays important role in providing health care.

**Table 5.27 Preference for Health Care Providers**

Service Provider	Frequency	Percent
Public Health Care facilities	61	72.6
Private Health Care facilities	21	25
Private Charitable Health care Facilities	2	2.4
Total	84	100

Source: Primary Data

The main reason to choose Government hospitals are free cost of treatment and medicine. Private hospitals are not affordable for a good number of tribal households in the settlement. In contrary of general notion that private hospitals are not affordable, 25 percent of

households depend on private hospital for health care. It is due to the lack of proper care and attention, lack of proper facilities, non- availability of drugs has influenced decisions of not opting public providers by the tribal households. Inaccessibility, unavailability and unaffordability are major hurdles in health care.

### 5.8.8 Health Index

The Health Status of the rehabilitated tribal communities in the Pookot settlement is measured in terms Health Index. The value of Health Index lies between 0 and 1. As the score move towards one, the Health status of the households is better. To measure the Health Index, life expectancy is taken as the variable. The life expectancy of a household is calculated as the average age of death in the household within the reference period of one year.<sup>2</sup> The Health Index of each household is calculated as

$$Health\ Index_H = \frac{H_i - H_{min}}{H_{max} - H_{min}}$$

**Table 5.28 Health Index Across Communities**

Community	Descriptives (Health Index)					
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	Min.	Max.
Paniya	53	.44173	.117433	.016131	0	.647
Kuruma	20	.63088	.146741	.032812	.353	1
Kuruchiya	2	.62853	.026205	.018529	.610	.647
Kattunaika	6	.42647	.036022	.014706	.412	.500
Urali Kuruma	3	.41176	.117647	.067924	.294	.529
Total	84	.48905	.145719	.015899	0	1

Source: Primary Data

The average Health Index score of the tribal households are .48905 i.e. the average health status of the households is low. The highest mean Health Index is reported among Kuruma community, M=.63088. The Health Index of Kuruchiya, Paniya, Kattunaika and Urali Kuruma are M=.62853, M, M=.44173, M= .42647 and M= .41176 respectively.

**Table 5.29 Results of ANOVA**

	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F Statistic	P value
Between Groups	.601	4	.150	10.228	.000
Within Groups	1.161	79	.015		
Total	1.762	83			

Source: Primary Data

<sup>2</sup> In households, where no death has occurred within the reference period, the age of death of the last died person is taken into consideration.

One Way ANOVA was run with Communities as the independent variable and Health Index as the dependent variable. Results of ANOVA showed a significant difference between communities (Paniya, Kuruma, Kuruchiya, Nattunaika & Urali kuruma) in achieving Education Index score;  $F(4,79) = 10.228, P < .001$ .

To investigate into the communities in which the difference exists we have used the Post-hoc Test of Fisher's Least Significant Difference (LSD). The results of LSD are summarised below.

**Table 5.30 Table Multiple Comparison of Health Index (LSD Post-hoc Test)**

Multiple Comparisons						
Dependent Variable: Health Index						
LSD						
(I) Community	(J) Community	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Paniya	Kuruma	-.189151*	.031815	.000	-.25248	-.12583
	Kuruchiya	-.186798*	.087327	.036	-.36062	-.01298
	Kattunaika	.015261	.052219	.771	-.08868	.11920
	Urali Kuruma	.029967	.071947	.678	-.11324	.17317
Kuruma	Paniya	.189151*	.031815	.000	.12583	.25248
	Kuruchiya	.002353	.089909	.979	-.17661	.18131
	Kattunaika	.204412*	.056431	.001	.09209	.31673
	Urali Kuruma	.219118*	.075060	.005	.06971	.36852
Kuruchiya	Paniya	.186798*	.087327	.036	.01298	.36062
	Kuruma	-.002353	.089909	.979	-.18131	.17661
	Kattunaika	.202059*	.098986	.045	.00503	.39909
	Urali Kuruma	.216765	.110670	.054	-.00352	.43705
Kattunaika	Paniya	-.015261	.052219	.771	-.11920	.08868
	Kuruma	-.204412*	.056431	.001	-.31673	-.09209
	Kuruchiya	-.202059*	.098986	.045	-.39909	-.00503
	Urali Kuruma	.014706	.085725	.864	-.15592	.18534
Urali Kuruma	Paniya	-.029967	.071947	.678	-.17317	.11324
	Kuruma	-.219118*	.075060	.005	-.36852	-.06971
	Kuruchiya	-.216765	.110670	.054	-.43705	.00352
	Kattunaika	-.014706	.085725	.864	-.18534	.15592

\*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Primary Data

The table reveals that there is significant relation between Paniya and Kuruma ( $P=.000$ ), Paniya and Kuruchiya ( $P=.036$ ), Kuruma and Paniya ( $P=.000$ ), Kuruma and Kattunaika ( $P=.001$ ), Kuruma and Urali Kuruma ( $P=.005$ ), Kuruchiya and Paniya ( $P=.036$ ), Kuruchiya and Kattunaika ( $P=.045$ ), Kattunaika and Kuruma ( $P=.001$ ), Kattunaika and Kuruchiya ( $P=.045$ ), Urali Kuruma and Kuruma ( $P=.005$ ), in achieving Health Index. Whereas there is

no significant differences between Paniya and Kattunaika (P=.771), Paniya and Urali Kuruma (P=.678), Kurma and Kuruchiya (P=.979), Kuruchiya and Kuruma(P=.979), Kuruchiya and Urali Kuruma (P=.054), Kattunaika and Paniya(P=.771), Kattunaika and Urali kuruma (p=.864), Urali Kuruma and Paniya (P=.678), Urali Kuruma and Kuruchiya(P=.054), Urali Kuruma and Kattunaika(P=.864) in Health Index score.

## 5.9 Social Network and Participation

The social network and relationships between people make up the bulk of the social capital. Social capital refers to a condition where people have a sense of identity, share values, are trustworthy of one another, and reciprocally help one another out. The quality of internal-external connections, reciprocity, trust, as well as shared values and standards, are just a few of the factors that affect how social capital is formed. Social assets include, network and reciprocity that exists between individuals, households, within communities, caste groups and neighborhood etc. The social assets of the settlement is assessed through a combination of its bonding, within the members of the colony, inter colony ties, relations with formal institutions.

### 5.9.1 Social Relations

There are changes between the pre-rehabilitation and post-rehabilitation eras with regard to the social networks of tribes. They lived in hamlets and colonies prior to rehabilitation. Their sense of community was stronger before rehabilitation; however it was separated households after.

**Table 5.31 Relationship with Neighbours, Other Tribal Communities and Non-Tribes**

Community	Maintains close Relation with Neighbours		Maintains Close Relation with other Tribal Communities		Maintains Close Relation with Non- Tribal Communities	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Paniya	50 (59.5)	3 (3.6)	45 (53.6)	8 (9.5)	12 (14.3)	41 (48.8)
Kuruma	16 (19)	4 (4.8)	20 (23.8)	-	15 (17.8)	5 (5.9)
Kuruchiya	2 (2.4)	-	2 (2.4)	-	2 (2.4)	-
Kattunaika	5 (6.0)	1 (1.2)	5 (6)	1 (1.2)	1 (1.2)	5 (6.0)
Urali Kuruma	2 (2.4)	1 (1.2)	3 (3.6)	-	2 (2.4)	1 (1.2)
<b>Total</b>	<b>75 (89.3)</b>	<b>9 (10.7)</b>	<b>75 (89.3)</b>	<b>9 (10.7)</b>	<b>32 (38)</b>	<b>52 (62)</b>

Note: Figures in the parentheses are percentages

Source: Primary Data

For a higher quality of life in a community, establishing strong social bonds is crucial. Nearly nine out of ten households (89.3%) maintain positive relationships with their neighbours. When they need assistance, they immediately get in touch with their neighbourhood since they maintain constant contact and conversation with them. 10.7% of people, however, said they don't interact with their neighbours very often. In a similar manner, 89.3 percent of

households are in close contact with other tribal communities. 5 different indigenous communities are residing in Pookot settlement. Every community has an own culture and set of characteristics. As a part of the rehabilitation, they are amalgamated into a single settlement. This has facilitated the growth of positive relationships among communities. 38 percent of households are closely allied with non-tribal populations. Opportunities to interact with non-tribal persons have been made available via the workplace. Nonetheless, 62 percent of households had little exposure to and social contact with persons outside of their community.

### 5.9.2 Membership in Social Organizations

Social organization is the network of relationships in a group and how they interconnect. This network of relationships helps members of a group to stay connected to one another in order to maintain a sense of community within a group. The only social organization that is active among the rehabilitated tribal communities of Pookot is Kudumbashree. Kudumbashree are taking bigger part in resolving the problems of underprivileged people, especially in tribal areas. Interactions and social interventions of Ayalkootam among the tribal people have altered their perspectives and strengthened their sense of interdependence. Conflicts and alienation among the members were eliminated by the increased cooperation brought about by Kudumbashree. They have managed to realise their objectives for a livelihood and income generation through the mechanisms of thrift and credit. With the help of their own initiatives and efforts, Kudumbashree had made an example on how to feed their own society (Kuttencherry and Arunachalam, 2017).

**Table 5.32 Membership in Social Organization**

Community	Membership in Kudumbashree		Total
	Yes	No	
Paniya	32 (38.1)	21 (25)	53
Kuruma	14 (16.7)	6 (7.1)	20
Kuruchiya	1 (1.2)	1 (1.2)	2
Kattunaika	2 (2.4)	4 (4.8)	6
Urali Kuruma	2 (2.4)	1 (1.2)	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>51 (60.7)</b>	<b>33 (39.3)</b>	<b>84 (100)</b>

Note: Figures in the parentheses are percentages

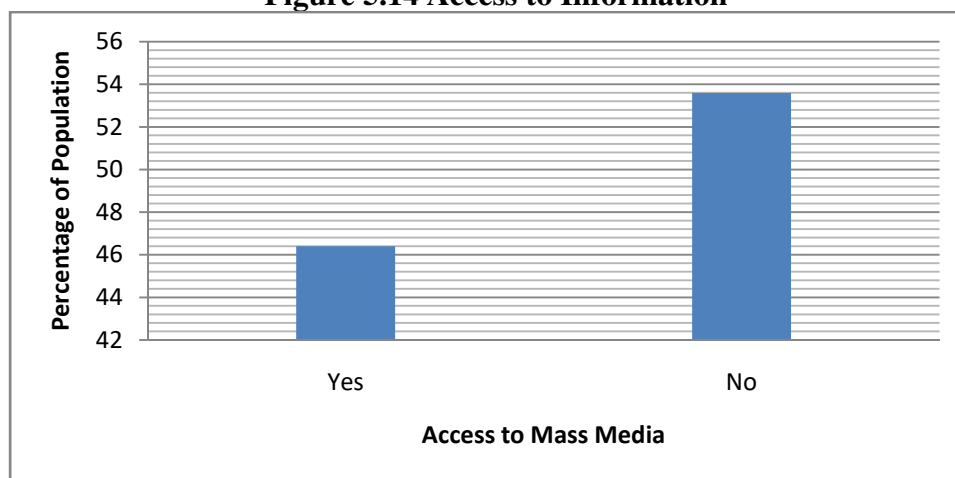
Source: Primary Data

60.7% of the households have membership in Kudumbashree unit. Conflict between the members is the primary cause for the 39.3 percent for not being a part of Kudumbashree. A few of the group's members borrow money from Kudumbashree and refuse to pay it back. Many Kudumbashree members have left as a result of this habit.

### 5.9.3 Access to Information

In this study, access to information is the access and usage of mass media such as newspaper, radio, television and social media through which they get access to information. Mass media is playing a significant role in informing the public about the government policies. It is also being used as a tool to build the public opinion on important issues. The media plays a prominent role in equipping the people with latest trends in various spheres of life and accordingly help to mould the behaviour of the people. It also equips the people with required information and skills.

**Figure 5.14 Access to Information**



Source: Primary Data

The population that is 18 years of age and older is taken into consideration in order to examine the access to information among the tribal communities of the Pookot settlement. There are 250 people in the Pookot settlement who are 18 years of age or older. Of the 250 individuals, 46.4% have access to mainstream media, compared to 53.6% of the population who do not.

### 5.9.4 Social Network Index

The social network among the rehabilitated tribal communities in the Pookot settlement is measured in terms Social Network Index. The value of Social Network Index lies between 0 and 1. As the score move towards one, the social network among the households is better. To measure the Social Network Index, access to information, membership in social organization, relations with neighbours, other tribal community and non-tribes are taken as the variables. The Social Network Index of each household is calculated as

$$\sum SN / n$$

Where, SN= Sub components of Social Network

**Table 5.33 Social Network Index Across Communities**

Descriptives (Social Network Index)						
Community	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	Min.	Max.
Paniya	53	.59283	.211045	.028989	0	1
Kuruma	20	.79850	.038962	.038962	.400	1
Kuruchiya	2	.83500	.115000	.115000	.720	.950
Kattunaika	6	.45833	.122758	.122758	0	.900
Urali Kuruma	3	.70000	.152753	.152753	.400	.900
Total	84	.64179	.230673	.25168	0	1

Source: Primary Data

The average Social Network Index score of the tribal households are .64179 i.e. the average social network among the households is moderate. The highest mean Social Network Index is reported among Kuruchiya community, M=.83500. The Social Network Index of Kuruma, Urali Kuruma, Paniya and Kattunaika are M=.79850, M, M= .70000 M= .59283 and M= .45833 respectively.

**Table 5.34 Results of ANOVA**

	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F Statistic	P value
Between Groups	.905	4	.226	5.090	.001
Within Groups	3.511	79	.044		
Total	4.416	83			

Source: Primary Data

One Way ANOVA was run with Communities as the independent variable and Social Network Index as the dependent variable. Results of ANOVA showed a significant difference between communities (Paniya, Kuruma, Kuruchiya, Nattunaika & Urali kuruma) in achieving Social Network Index score;  $F(4,79) = 5.090, P=.001$ .

To investigate into the communities in which the difference exists we have used the Post-hoc Test of Fisher's Least Significant Difference (LSD). The results of LSD are summarised below.



**Table 5.35 Multiple Comparison of Social Network Index (LSD Post-hoc Test)**

Multiple Comparisons						
Dependent Variable: social network index						
LSD						
(I) Community	(J) Community	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Paniya	Kuruma	-.205670*	.055327	.000	-.31580	-.09554
	Kuruchiya	-.242170	.151865	.115	-.54445	.06011
	Kattunaika	.134497	.090812	.143	-.04626	.31525
	Urali Kuruma	-.107170	.125120	.394	-.35621	.14187
Kuruma	Paniya	.205670*	.055327	.000	.09554	.31580
	Kuruchiya	-.036500	.156355	.816	-.34772	.27472
	Kattunaika	.340167*	.098136	.001	.14483	.53550
	Urali Kuruma	.098500	.130533	.453	-.16132	.35832
Kuruchiya	Paniya	.242170	.151865	.115	-.06011	.54445
	Kuruma	.036500	.156355	.816	-.27472	.34772
	Kattunaika	.376667*	.172141	.032	.03403	.71931
	Urali Kuruma	.135000	.192460	.485	-.24808	.51808
Kattunaika	Paniya	-.134497	.090812	.143	-.31525	.04626
	Kuruma	-.340167*	.098136	.001	-.53550	-.14483
	Kuruchiya	-.376667*	.172141	.032	-.71931	-.03403
	Urali Kuruma	-.241667	.149079	.109	-.53840	.05507
Urali Kuruma	Paniya	.107170	.125120	.394	-.14187	.35621
	Kuruma	-.098500	.130533	.453	-.35832	.16132
	Kuruchiya	-.135000	.192460	.485	-.51808	.24808
	Kattunaika	.241667	.149079	.109	-.05507	.53840

\*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Primary Data

The table reveals that there is significant relation between Paniya and Kuruma (P=.000), Kuruma and Paniya (P=.000), Kuruma and Kattunaika (P=.001), Kuruchiya and Kattunaika (P=.032), Kattunaika and Kuruma (P=.001), Kattunaika and Kuruchiya (P=.032), in achieving Social Network Index. Whereas there is no significant differences between Paniya and Kuruchiya (P=.115), Paniya and Kattunaika (P=.143), Paniya and Urali Kuruma (P=.394), Kuruma and Kuruchiya (P=.816), Kuruma and Urali Kuruma (P=.453), Kuruchiya and Paniya (P=.115), Kuruchiya and Kuruma (P=.816), Kuruchiya and Urali Kuruma (P=.485), Kattunaika and Paniya (P=.143), Kattunaika and Urali kuruma (P=.109), Urali Kuruma and Paniya (P=.394), Urali Kuruma and Kuruma (P=.453), Urali Kuruma and Kuruchiya (P=.485), Urali Kuruma and Kattunaika (P=.109) in Social Network Index score.

## **5.10 Democratic Participation**

In contrast to mainstream culture, tribal communities have limited bargaining capabilities in their pursuit of government support to meet their needs and expectations. The occurrence can be attributed to the presence of traditional tribal characteristics, the existence of asymmetric information regarding the programmes, and a general lack of awareness of government procedures, among other factors. Furthermore, it has a detrimental effect on the accessibility of support services provided by different governmental agencies. Due to weak bargaining capacities and structural hesitations, tribal households receive relatively minimal benefits from the government, despite the availability of numerous schemes under the Tribal Sub Plan. Hence, the sources of information play a crucial role in enhancing the knowledge and understanding of tribal community members regarding the diverse developmental and welfare initiatives undertaken by the government in tribal regions. The primary sources of information in the tribal territories include Oorukoottam, which refers to hamlet meetings, as well as Tribal Promoters and Ward Members. They serve as middlemen between tribal households and government institutional networks at the local level. This section pertains to the involvement of indigenous community members in the Oorukoottam meeting, details pertaining to the execution of decisions made during Oorukoottam, and visits made by facilitators and local representatives to the tribal hamlets.

### **5.10.1 Participation and Efficiency of Oorukootams**

Starting from the 10th five-year plan, the government of Kerala initiated the implementation of Oorukoottam, a tribal governance programme aimed at providing a democratic platform for tribal communities (Baiju, 2011). This programme can be likened to the Grama Sabha, which serves as a democratic forum for the general population. According to governmental regulations, it is mandated that the authorities organise Oorukoottam sessions two to three times annually, contingent upon the ward in question. These sessions are to be attended by the TEO, LSGI President, Ward Member, and other high-ranking officials from various departments. Additionally, it is imperative for the tribal organisers to furnish the tribal communities with advance notice, no less than two weeks in advance, regarding the forthcoming Oorukoottam gathering.

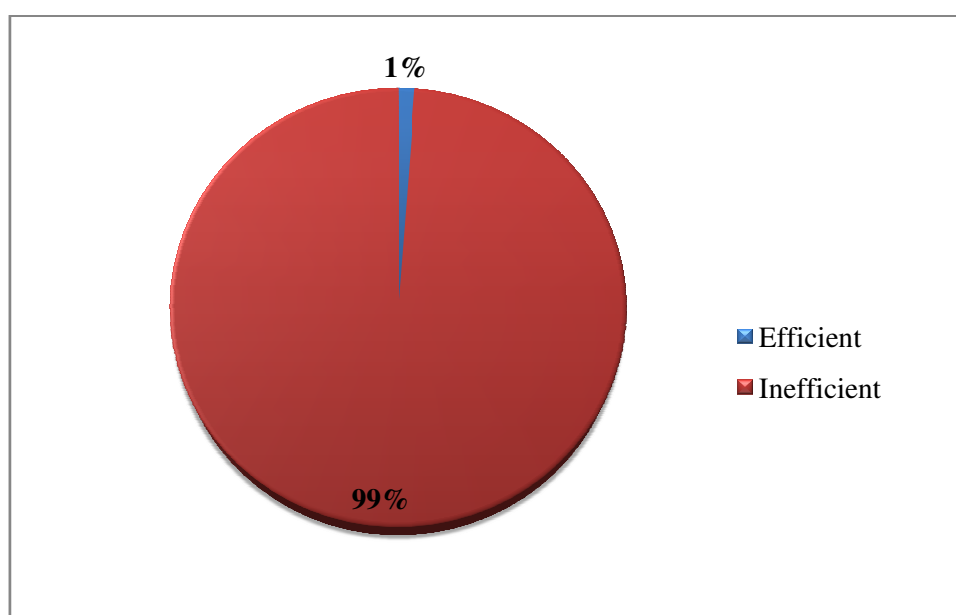
**Table 5.36 Oorukootam participation Among Tribal communities**

Community	Participation in Oorukootams				Total
	Regularly	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	
Paniya	7 (8.3)	16 (19)	17 (20.2)	13 (15.5)	53
Kuruma	2 (2.4)	10 (11.9)	4 (4.8)	4 (4.8)	20
Kuruchiya	-	2 (2.4)	-	-	2
Kattunaika	-	2 (2.4)	1 (1.2)	3 (3.6)	6
Urali Kuruma	-	1 (1.2)	2 (2.4)	-	3
Total	9 (10.7%)	31 (36.9)	24 (28.6)	20 (23.8)	84(100)

Note: Figures in the parentheses are percentages  
Source: Primary Data

Just 10.7 percent of households in the Pookot settlement do participate in the oorukootams regularly. Due to the violation of the oorukootam decisions at the time of the distribution of funds, especially in the beneficiary selection of schemes under the LSGIs, most of the tribal families were not interested in participating in the Oorukootam meeting.

**Figure 5.15 Perception on the Efficiency of Oorukootams**



Source: Primary Data

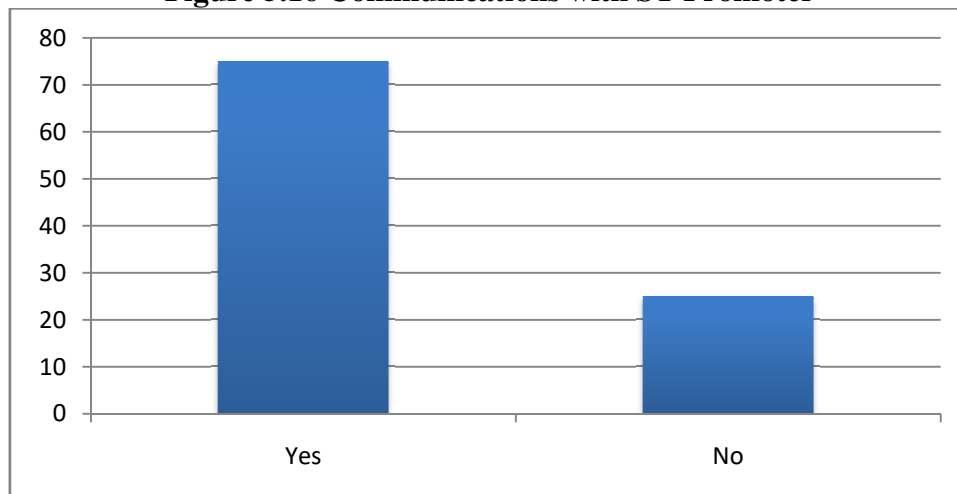
Ninety nine percent of tribal households believe oorukootams are ineffective. The tribal families point out that oorukootam decisions are not carried out properly. During oorukootam meetings, the promoters or ward members of various schemes prepare a list of beneficiaries in compliance with oorukootam rules based on the scheme guidelines.

However, the names of recipients on the oorukoottam's official list are constantly changed. These fraudulent actions are only discovered prior to the execution of schemes or the display of the final beneficiary list. The main reason for this is political influence and favouritism for family and friends.

### 5.10.2 Role of ST Promoters

Since the implementation of the Ninth five-year plan, the Tribal Development Department has been diligently recruiting individuals from tribal communities who possess a formal education as Tribal Promoters on a contractual basis. The primary objective of this initiative is to provide support for livelihoods and foster the development of their skills and abilities. The tribal promoters are the staff at the lower echelons of the implementation divisions under the Tribal Development Department. They serve as middlemen between tribal households and various local government organisations, such as the Tribal Development Department, Local Governments, and the Health Department, among others. Undoubtedly, they play a crucial role in the process of beneficiary selection and the efficient execution of diverse initiatives within the framework of the Tribal Sub Plan. The tribal promoters bear the task of ensuring the timely delivery of various tribal development programmes to the intended beneficiaries, hence ensuring their benefit. (Nishamol, 2020).

**Figure 5.16 Communications with ST Promoter**



Source: Primary Data

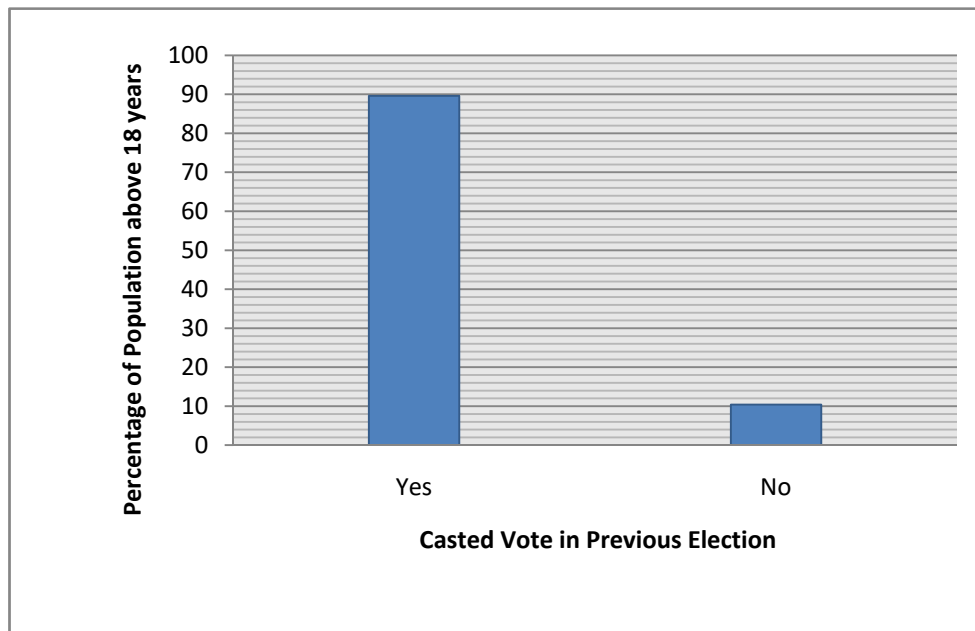
Tribal Promoters play an important part in the state's tribal development institutional network. The true goal of appointing tribal promoters was to develop transformation agents from tribal societies by providing job possibilities. Furthermore, it sought to ensure the effective delivery of government services to tribal households. They sometimes failed to

become a good service-delivery mechanism as well as a bridge-mechanism between indigenous families and various government offices. It emphasises the importance of selecting and educating tribal promoters to become transformative agents in society.

### 5.10.3 Voting Habit

Voting is one of the most commonly used terms in contemporary age of democratic politics. Voting is a means for expressing approval or disapproval of governmental decisions, policies and programmers of various political parties and the qualities of the candidates who are engaged in the struggle to get the status of being the representatives of the people. Voting habit is a basic indicator in analyzing the democratic participation.

**Figure 5.17 Voting Habit among the Tribal Population**



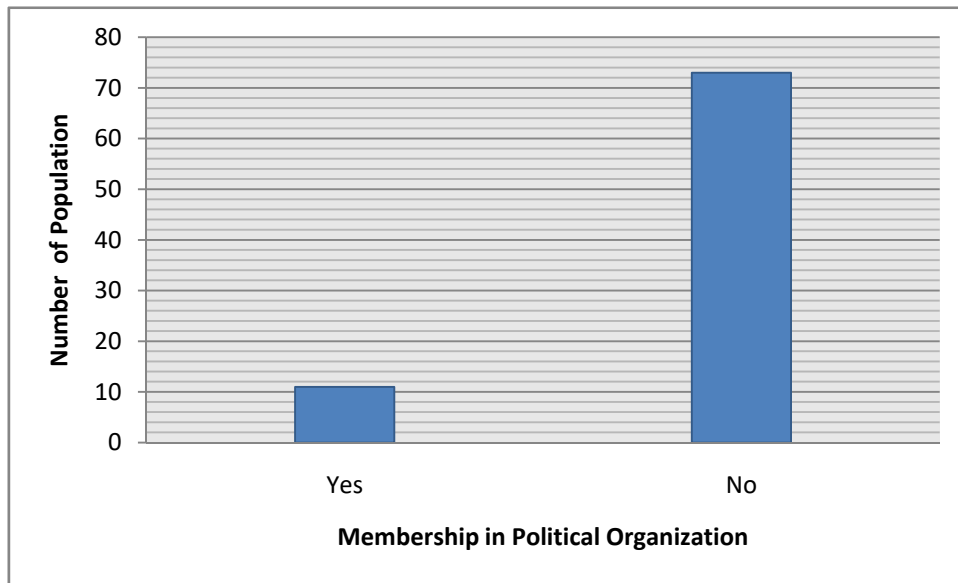
Source: Primary Data

Among the 250 individuals who are eligible to cast vote, 89.6 had cast vote in previous elections whereas 10.4 percent did not cast vote. Lack of interest and health issues in travelling to election booth are the major reason attributed to not having voting habit.

### 5.10.4 Membership in Political Organization

Political organization is fundamental in promoting political participation. Membership in political organizations strengthens social ties and develops knowledge which in turn enhances capabilities. Among the total Tribal population of Pookot settlement, 11 people are part of a political organization.

**Figure 5.18 Membership in Political Organization**

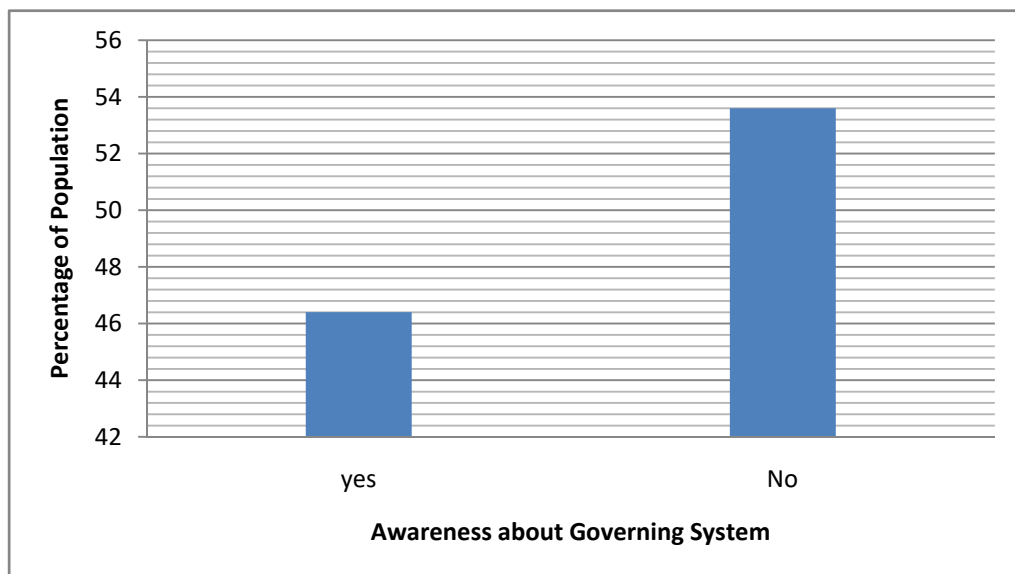


Source: Primary Data

### 5.10.5 Awareness about the Governing System

The awareness about the governing institutions is needed to attain political freedom. In order to analyze the awareness of the individuals in Pookot settlement, knowledge about the governing institutions and agencies like Intergrated Tribal Development Programme Office, Tribal Extension Office, LSGIs, ST promoter and Ward member were examined.

**Figure 5.19 Awareness about the Governing System**



Source: Primary Data

Out of the 250 population who are above the age group 18 years, 53.6 percent aren't aware about the governing system prevailing. Even some of the people are working as permanent farm labour in KVASU and despite being employed in Government sector, they are not aware about the governing institutions.

When speaking of the rehabilitated indigenous communities in Pookot, the factors like health, education, income, employment, social networks, political participation, asset holding, and housing can be considered to be the agencies that can lead to the formation of human capabilities. As was covered in earlier sections, the primary goal of the rehabilitation project was to improve the level of self-sufficiency and capability possessed by the most disadvantaged segment of the population. In this study, an attempt has been made to compute capability index for the tribal households that are envisaged to benefit from the rehabilitation project.

### 5.10.6 Political Participation Index

The political participation among the rehabilitated tribal communities in the Pookot settlement is measured in terms of Political Participation Index. The value of Political Participation Index lies between 0 and 1. As the score move towards one, the democratic participation among the households is better. To measure the Political Participation Index, Oorukoottam Participation, Voting Habit, Membership in Political Organization and Awareness about Governing Institutions are taken as the variables. The Political Participation Index of each household is calculated as

$$\text{Political Partiticipation Index}_p = \sum SP / n$$

Where, SP= Sub components of Political participation

**Table 5.37 Political Participation Index Across Communities**

Community	Descriptives (Political Participation Index)					
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	Min.	Max.
Paniya	53	.42311	.235549	.032355	0	.875
Kuruma	20	.66375	.212322	.047477	.400	1
Kuruchiya	2	.82500	.247487	.175000	.650	1
Kattunaika	6	.27500	.222907	.091001	0	.563
Urali Kuruma	3	.46667	.375278	.216667	.250	.900
Total	84	.48095	.261379	.028519	0	1

Source: Primary Data

The average Political Participation Index score of the tribal households are .48095 i.e. the average political participation among the households is low. The highest mean Political

participation Index is reported among Kuruchiya community, M=.82500. The Political Participation Index of Kuruma, Urali Kuruma, Paniya and Kattunaika are M=.66375, M=.46667, M= .42311 and M= .27500 respectively.

**Table 5.38 Results of ANOVA**

	<b>Sum of Squares</b>	<b>Degrees of Freedom</b>	<b>Mean Square</b>	<b>F Statistic</b>	<b>P value</b>
Between Groups	1.337	4	.334	6.096	.000
Within Groups	4.333	79	.055		
Total	5.670	83			

Source: Primary Data

One Way ANOVA was run with Communities as the independent variable and Political participation Index as the dependent variable. Results of ANOVA showed a significant difference between communities (Paniya, Kuruma, Kuruchiya, Nattunaika & Urali kuruma) in achieving Social Network Index score;  $F(4,79) = 6.096, P<.001$ .

To investigate into the communities in which the difference exists we have used the Post-hoc Test of Fisher's Least Significant Difference (LSD). The results of LSD are summarised below.

**Table 5.39 Multiple Comparison of Political Participation Index (LSD Post-hoc Test)**

<b>Multiple Comparisons</b>						
Dependent Variable: Political Participation Index						
LSD						
<b>(I) Community</b>	<b>(J) Community</b>	<b>Mean Difference (I-J)</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>	<b>Sig.</b>	<b>95% Confidence Interval</b>	
					<b>Lower Bound</b>	<b>Upper Bound</b>
Paniya	Kuruma	-.240637*	.061460	.000	-.36297	-.11830
	Kuruchiya	-.401887*	.168698	.020	-.73767	-.06610
	Kattunaika	.148113	.100877	.146	-.05268	.34890
	Urali Kuruma	-.043553	.138988	.755	-.32020	.23309
Kuruma	Paniya	.240637*	.061460	.000	.11830	.36297
	Kuruchiya	-.161250	.173685	.356	-.50696	.18446
	Kattunaika	.388750*	.109013	.001	.17177	.60573
	Urali Kuruma	.197083	.145001	.178	-.09153	.48570



Kuruchiya	Paniya	.401887*	.168698	.020	.06610	.73767
	Kuruma	.161250	.173685	.356	-.18446	.50696
	Kattunaika	.550000*	.191221	.005	.16938	.93062
	Urali Kuruma	.358333	.213792	.098	-.06721	.78387
Kattunaika	Paniya	-.148113	.100877	.146	-.34890	.05268
	Kuruma	-.388750*	.109013	.001	-.60573	-.17177
	Kuruchiya	-.550000*	.191221	.005	-.93062	-.16938
	Urali Kuruma	-.191667	.165602	.251	-.52129	.13796
Urali Kuruma	Paniya	.043553	.138988	.755	-.23309	.32020
	Kuruma	-.197083	.145001	.178	-.48570	.09153
	Kuruchiya	-.358333	.213792	.098	-.78387	.06721
	Kattunaika	.191667	.165602	.251	-.13796	.52129
*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.						

Source: Primary Data

The table reveals that there is significant relation between Paniya and Kuruma (P=.000), Paniya and Kuruchiya (P=.020), Kuruma and Paniya (P=.000), Kuruma and Kattunaika (P=.001), Kuruchiya and Paniya (P=.020), Kuruchiya and Kattunaika (P=.005), Kattunaika and Kuruma (P=.001), Kattunaika and Kuruchiya (P=.005), in achieving Political participation Index. Whereas there is no significant differences between Paniya and Kattunaika (P=.146), Paniya and Urali Kuruma (P=.755), Kurma and Kuruchiya (P=.356), Kuruma and Urali Kuruma (P=.178), Kuruchiya and Kuruma (P=.356), Kuruchiya and Urali Kuruma (P=.098), Kattunaika and Paniya (P=.146), Kattunaika and Urali kuruma (P=.251), Urali Kuruma and Paniya (P=.755), Urali Kuruma and Kuruma (P=.178), Urali Kuruma and Kuruchiya (P=.098), Urali Kuruma and Kattunaika (P=.251) in Political Participation Index score.

### 5.11 Computing Capability Index

A person's "capability" refers to the alternative combinations of functionings that are feasible for her/him to achieve alternative functioning combinations. According to this framework, the quality of life should be conceived and measured directly in terms of functionings and capabilities. Capabilities are the 'substantive freedoms' he or she enjoys to lead the kind of life he or she has reason to value (Sen, 1999). Health, education, income, social network and political freedom contribute directly or indirectly to the overall freedom.

Although each household characteristic can convey various aspects of the capabilities, computing a Capability Index (CI) can make comparisons much easier. With this in mind, a Capability Index has been constructed for the rehabilitated tribal communities with the help of five constituent variables- Health, Education, Income, Political Freedom and Social Network. The capability index of the tribal population of the Pookot settlement is calculated as the Geometric Mean of the household capability index. Household Capability Index is a composite index of health index, education index, income index, social network index and political participation index. The Capability Index sets a minimum and a maximum for each dimension. This is expressed as a value between 0 and 1. The higher the household's capability, the higher its CI value.

Household Capability Index is calculated as:

$$CI = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n w_i X_i}{\sum_{i=1}^n w_i}$$

CI = Capability Index

n = Number of terms to be averaged

$w_i$  = Weights applied to X values

$X_i$  = Data values to be averaged

#### Components of CI

Dimensions	Sub-Components
Health Index	Life Expectancy
Income Index	Monthly Per capita Income
Education Index	Mean Years of Schooling
Social Network Index	Access to Information
	Membership in Social Organization
	Relation with Neighbours
	Relation with other Tribal Communities
Political Participation Index	Relation with Non-Tribes
	Oorukoottam Participation
	Voting Habit
Capability Index	Awareness about Governing System
	Membership in Political organization
	Less than 0.550 = Low Capability
	0.550 – 0.699 = Medium Capability
	0.700 – 0.799 = High Capability
	0.800 or Greater = Very High Capability

Since the sub-components are measures on different scales, they are initially standardized into an index. The indexing process allows for aggregation at the spatial level, and uses the following formula for each sub-component:

$$Index_{si} = \frac{S_i - S_{min}}{S_{max} - S_{min}}$$

Where,

$S_i$  is the sub-component or indicator value for  $i^{th}$  household.

$S_{max}$  and  $S_{min}$  are the maximum and minimum values of the sub-component.

Post-standardization, each major component was computed using the following formula:

$$X_i = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n Index_{siv}}{n}$$

Where,

$X_i$  is a major component of the CI.

$Index_{siv}$  is the  $v^{th}$  sub-component value, belonging to the major component  $X_i$  for the  $i^{th}$  household.

$n$  is the number of sub-components in the major component.

The dichotomous variables example; Oorukoottam participation is attributed as presence or absence which is given as 0 and 1. These dichotomous variables need not be standardized, instead can be represented as 0 and 1 itself. The level of capability achieved by the households are categorised as low, medium, high and very high capability by adopting the method of UNDP in ranking the Human Development Index.

CI of the Tribal Population in Pookot Settlement is calculated as

$CI = 0.3(\text{Health Index}) + 0.3(\text{Income Index}) + 0.2(\text{Education Index}) + 0.1(\text{Social Network Index}) + 0.1(\text{Political Participation Index}) \div 1$
--

A greater amount of importance is placed on the Health Index and the Income Index. Owing to the fact that in a person's life and particularly in the case of indigenous communities, one's income and health plays the most significant roles. If one's health and financial situation are improved, there is a greater possibility of obtaining a higher level of education. If advances are made in health, education, and income, there is a greater chance of achieving social networks and political freedom.

**Table 5.40 Capability Index across Communities**

Name of the Community	Capability Index			Total
	< 0.550	0.550-0.699	0.700-0.799	
Paniya	49 ( 58.3)	4 (4.8)	-	53
Kuruma	9 (10.7)	11 (13.1)	-	20
Kuruchiya	-	1 (1.2)	1 (1.2)	2
Kattunaika	6 (7.1)	-	-	6
Urali Kuruma	3 (3.6)	-	-	3
Total	67 (79.8)	16 (19)	1 (1.2)	84 (100)

Note: Figures in the parentheses are percentages

Source: Primary Data

The low capability category includes 79.8 percent of tribal households, whereas the medium capability category includes 18.1 percent of tribal households. Just 1.2% of the population falls into the high capability category. 92.4 percent of the households that are part of the paniya community have a capability score that is low, while 7.6 percent fall into the category of having medium capability. The households in the Paniya community that have members who are government-employed and completed higher levels of education are considered to have medium capability. All of the households that are part of the communities of Kattunaika and Urali kuruma have a capability index that is quite low. The capability index of 55 percent of households in Kuruma is considered to be medium, while 45 percent of households are considered to have a low capability index. One of the two households that make up the Kuruchiya community is classified as having a high capability index, while the other is classified as having a medium capability index.

**Table 5.41 Descriptive Statistics of the Capability Index Across Communities**

Communities	Descriptives						
	N	Mean	S.D	Std. Error	C.V	Min.	Max .
Paniya	53	.36621	.109727	.015072	0.299629	.158	.641
Kuruma	20	.55325	.081101	.018135	0.14659	.397	.676
Kuruchiya	2	.71923	.111814	.079064	0.155463	.640	.798
Kattunaika	6	.25108	.066450	.027128	0.445332	.129	.307
Urali Kuruma	3	.36149	.162246	.093673	0.448826	.198	.523
Total	84	.41076	.143120	.015616	0.348427	.129	.798

Source: Primary Data

The average Capability Index score of tribal households in Pookot settlement is 0.41076, indicating low capability. The lowest and highest capability index scores obtained are 0.129 and 0.798, respectively. The highest capability index score falls into the high capability category.

The Paniya community's average capability score is 0.36621, placing it in the low capability category. The lowest possible score is 0.158, and the highest possible score is 0.641. The paniya community's maximum capability score is in the medium capability category. The Kuruma community has a mean capability score of 0.55325, which falls into the medium capability category. The Kuruma community's minimum and maximum capability scores are 0.397 and 0.676 respectively. Kuruchiya community has the highest average capability index, with a mean score of 0.71923, falling into the category of high capability. The Kattunaika community has the lowest average capability index score of 0.25108. The Kattunaika have a maximum score of 0.307. Urali Kuruma's mean capability score is 0.36149, with a minimum and maximum of 0.198 and 0.523.

In order to understand whether there is statistically significant differences in the capability index across communities; we have used the tool One Way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). The results are presented in the table.

**Table 5.42 Results of One Way ANOVA**

	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F Statistic	P Value
Between Groups	.862	4	.215	20.305	.000
Within Groups	.838	79	.011		
Total	1.700	83			

Source: Primary Data

One Way ANOVA was with Communities as the independent variable and Capability Index as the dependent variable. Results of ANOVA showed a significant difference between communities (Paniya, Kuruma, Kuruchiya, Nattunaika & Urali kuruma) in achieving Capability Index score;  $F(4,79) = 20.305$ ,  $P < .001$ . To investigate into the communities in which the difference exists we have used the Post-hoc Test of Fisher's Least Significant Difference (LSD), which does assume equality of variances. In the test of Homogeneity of Variances the null hypothesis is accepted that there is equality of variances. LSD is used for Multiple Comparisons. The results of LSD are summarised below.

**Table 5.43 Multiple Comparison of Capability Index (LSD Post-hoc Test)**

Multiple Comparisons						
Dependent Variable: Capability Index						
LSD						
(I) Community	(J) Community	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Paniya	Kuruma	-.187039*	.027033	.000	-.24085	-.13323
	Kuruchiya	-.353020*	.074201	.000	-.50071	-.20533
	Kattunaika	.115131*	.044370	.011	.02681	.20345
	Urali Kuruma	.004725	.061133	.939	-.11696	.12641
Kuruma	Paniya	.187039*	.027033	.000	.13323	.24085
	Kuruchiya	-.165981*	.076394	.033	-.31804	-.01392
	Kattunaika	.302170*	.047949	.000	.20673	.39761
	Urali Kuruma	.191764*	.063778	.004	.06482	.31871
Kuruchiya	Paniya	.353020*	.074201	.000	.20533	.50071
	Kuruma	.165981*	.076394	.033	.01392	.31804
	Kattunaika	.468151*	.084107	.000	.30074	.63556
	Urali Kuruma	.357745*	.094035	.000	.17057	.54492
Kattunaika	Paniya	-.115131*	.044370	.011	-.20345	-.02681
	Kuruma	-.302170*	.047949	.000	-.39761	-.20673
	Kuruchiya	-.468151*	.084107	.000	-.63556	-.30074
	Urali Kuruma	-.110406	.072839	.134	-.25539	.03458
Urali Kuruma	Paniya	-.004725	.061133	.939	-.12641	.11696
	Kuruma	-.191764*	.063778	.004	-.31871	-.06482
	Kuruchiya	-.357745*	.094035	.000	-.54492	-.17057
	Kattunaika	.110406	.072839	.134	-.03458	.25539

\*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Primary Data

The above table explains the multiple comparisons of the LSD Post-hoc test. The test applied multiple comparisons analysis for identifying the pair-wise differences between the tribal communities in achieving capability.

LSD post-hoc analysis revealed that Kuruchiya (n=2, M=.71923, SD=.111814) has significantly greater Capability Index than Kuruma (n=20, M=.55325, SD=.081101), Paniya (n=53, M=.36621, SD=.109727), Urali Kuruma (n=3, M=.36149, SD=.162246) and Kattunaika (n=6, M=.25108, SD=.066450). The table also reveals that there is significant relation between Paniya and Kuruma (P=.000), Paniya and kuruchiya (P=.000), Paniya and kattunaika (P=.011), Kuruma and Kuruchiya (P=.033), Kuruma and Kattunaika (P=.000), Kuruma and Urali Kuruma (P=.004), Kuruchiya and Urali Kuruma (P=.000), Kuruchiya and

Kattunaika ( $P=.000$ ) in achieving Capability Index. Whereas there is no significant differences between Paniya and Urali Kuruma ( $P = .939$ ) and kattunaika and Urali kuruma ( $P = .134$ ) in the Capability Index score.

## **5.12 Conclusion**

The Human Capability Formation among the rehabilitated tribal communities has been discussed in this chapter. The Human Capability Formation is studied by analysing the Economic, Physical, Human, Social and Political Capital of the Indigenous communities. The economic stability of the Pookot tribal households that have been rehabilitated are assessed based on their income, savings, debt, source of income, and land holdings. The average monthly household income of the tribal communities in the settlement is rupees 25457, which is higher than the average for the state's tribal population. The lower and upper bounds are 1500 and 140000, respectively, despite the fact that the mean income is 25,457. Unequal distribution of employment possibilities is the cause of this substantial income disparity. A bi-law that was part of the rehabilitation process stipulated that one member of each tribal household in the settlement would be given a job at Kerala Veterinary and Animal Sciences University. So, for 52.4 percent of households, employment in the government constituted their primary source of income. As opposed to 16.6 households who depend on MGNREGA for support. A difference in work status has been exacerbated by the government's failure to provide fair employment opportunities as well as the laziness of some indigenous populations, particularly the Kattunaika community. Even though the majority of households had a primary source of income from government employment that paid a respectable wage, the tribal households have relatively poor saving habits. Savings habits are seen in the Kuruma and Kuruchiya population. In contrast, households in Paniya, Kattunaika, and Urali Kuruma had a lower propensity to save. The lack of savings can be ascribed to the prevalence of heavy debt and drug addiction.

Because tribal societies' cult, culture, traditional knowledge, labour skills, etc. are tied to the land, it plays a significant role in the development of their capabilities (Kunhaman, 1989). The rehabilitated tribal tribes in the Pookot settlement have access to 2 or 5 acres of land as part of the land distribution, but the majority of the tribal communities have not been able to use the land productively and turn it into a source of income. The underutilization of land has been exacerbated by a lack of resources, poor quality land, animal conflict, and the perception that tribal tribes are merely holders of land possession deeds and that the land

belongs to the government. The housing status of the indigenous groups in the Pookot settlement is unsatisfactory even 19 years after land allocation. Even without a suitable toilet facility, a sizable portion of households live in run-down homes. Another issue with the settlement is the accessibility of clean drinking water. Even now, the fundamental needs of tribal households are a source of concern, which points to the government's incapacity and negligence.

The educational status of the tribal population in the Pookot settlement is relatively better when compared to the educational status of the tribal communities in wayanad. The average household mean years of schooling of the tribal communities in Pookot settlement is 6.24 years with high standard deviation. The highest mean years of schooling are 13.5 years and the lowest is 0 years. 14.8 percent of the total population (excluding the age group of 0-5 Years) are illiterate and 8 percent have attained higher education. After rehabilitation the mean years of schooling has increase but the rise is only up to High school education. In terms of education index, Kattunaikas are the most backward. The indigenous people who live in the Pookot settlement have an expected average lifespan of 62.6 years. In the context of the tribal population, risky health behaviours have a significant impact on the current state of the health of the scheduled tribes. A good number of tribal population in the Pookot settlement is addicted to the usage Tobacco and alcohol. Tobacco usage is very common among the tribes irrespective of gender and community. The Paniya and Katunaika communities have the highest rates of alcoholism and tobacco usage.

The democratic participation among the tribal communities are analysed from the oorukoottam participation, voting habit, association with political organisations and awareness about the governing institutions. More than 50 percent of the tribal population do not have proper awareness about the governing system that is responsible for implementation of tribal welfare programmes. Majority of the population have least interest in oorukoottam participation. The reason for this is attributed to the inefficiency of oorukoottams. Rehabilitation has its most impact on the social network among the tribal communities. Migration to the Pookot Dairy Project has increased the exposure of tribal communities into the outside society. The communication among different tribal communities and relation with non -tribes have being enhanced. Eventhough the social network has increased the community life has decreased than it was in colony.



The average capability index of the tribal population of Pookot settlement is low with a mean of 0.41076 and the inter community disparities in achieving capability is evident. The Kuruchiya and Kuruma have high and moderate capability index respectively. Whereas the Paniya, Urali Kuruma and Kattunaika are having low capability index.

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## *Chapter VI*

### *Institutional Schemes for Enhancing The Livelihood of Tribal Communities*

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- **Introduction**
- **Phases of Tribal Development in Kerala**
- **Tribal Welfare Schemes and Programmes of Scheduled Tribes Development Department (STDD)**
- **Role of Local Self Government Institutions (LSGIs)**
- **Schemes and Programmes Executed in Pookot Dairy Project**
- **Role of External Institutions**
- **Conclusion**

## **INSTITUTIONAL SCHEMES FOR ENHANCING THE LIVELIHOOD OF TRIBAL COMMUNITIES**

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### **6.1 Introduction**

According to Sen (1999), even if an economic system functions effectively, certain individuals may remain susceptible to vulnerability and may experience significant deprivation due to material alterations that negatively impact their livelihoods. The implementation of protective security measures is necessary to establish a social safety net that can prevent the impacted populace from experiencing extreme destitution. The scope of protective security encompasses both permanent institutional structures such as unemployment benefits and legal income supplements for those in need, as well as temporary arrangements.

This chapter endeavours to examine the institutional frameworks that have been established to uplift the rehabilitated tribal community in Pookot, while considering the significance of state interventions. The institutional schemes in the chapter refer to the interventions made by the state government and the Panchayati Raj Institutions for the welfare of the rehabilitated tribal communities. The chapter also looks into the role of other external institutions that had also intervened in the development discourse. The chapter initially presents an overview of the tribal welfare programmes implemented by the state for the indigenous communities residing in Kerala. Subsequently, the chapter delves into the institutional interventions implemented in Pookot settlement to ensure the efficacious implementation of rehabilitation.

### **6.2 Phases of Tribal Development in Kerala**

Three phases, each consisting of four Five Year Plan periods, make up the principal tribal development programs in Kerala. Phase-I is from First Five Year Plan(1951–1956) to Fourth Five Year Plan(1969–1974), Phase II covers the Fifth Five Year Plan (1974–1979) through the Eighth Five Year Plan (1992–1997) and Phase III includes the Ninth Five Year Plan (1997-2002) through the Twelfth Five Year Plan (2001-2017).

Through the Harijan Welfare Department, the Kerala government developed and carried out a number of programs and plans for the underprivileged communities in the First Phase of the Five-Year Plan. For the purpose of empowering tribal children via education, it initially established a number of schools in the tribal areas, primarily residential schools. Additionally, the department started operating Industrial training centers and production-cum-training

centers, among other important interventions, in tribal areas. These interventions included the establishment of mobile medical units, the building of homes, the founding of colonies or towns, and the beginning of residences. The State government established the Tribal Research and Training Institute in Kozhikkode and the Pre-Examination Training Centre in Ernakulam in 1972. The establishment of the Harijan Development Corporation for the upliftment of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Kerala was a significant turning point in the development activities of backward people (Kerala Economic Review, 1963-1974).

The Tribal Sub Plan for the Tribal Development Programmes was introduced by the Union Ministry in the second phase for the general development of the tribal communities. The Directorate of Tribal Welfare was established by the Kerala government in 1975 to advance the welfare of the state's tribal communities. In order to have direct supervision over the tribal development efforts, the Union Ministry also chose Attappady for the opening of the ITDP in Kerala. In the same manner as ITDP Attappady, the Kerala government launched seven ITDPs around the state between 1975 and 1980. A socioeconomic assessment about tribal tribes was also carried out by the state government in 1979. In addition, the State government established the Girijan Service Co-operative Society in a number of tribal areas to safeguard the tribal people from being taken advantage of by contractors or intermediaries engaged in the gathering and marketing of forest products. Additionally, the government established midwife centers, mobile medical units, and Ayurvedic and Allopathic shops in the tribal areas to advance the tribal health sector. In addition, Kerala's Scheduled Tribe Development Department launched a Special Tribal Literacy Programme for the benefit of the tribal groups in order to lower the rate of illiteracy in those communities (Kerala Economic Review, 1975-1997).

The Democratic Decentralization program was implemented by the Kerala government during the third phase, revolutionizing the state's history of tribal developments. The government has since been distributing a portion of the TSP funds towards the LSGIs. Like Gramasabha, Oorukoottam has also been working in tribal areas to disseminate information and develop and implement various tribal development plans (Kerala Economic Review, 1998-2018).

### **6.3 Tribal Welfare Schemes and Programmes of Scheduled Tribes Development Department (STDD)**

Since the first five-year plan, India's post-independence government has been carrying out a number of welfare and development programmes for the tribal community, which was rendered inert by the British rulers' inadequate policies. The Kerala government has been collaborating with the tribal development department by implementing different welfare and development programmes in the tribal areas under the Tribal Sub Plan. For tribal development projects, the LSGIs and the Tribal Development Department use different plan policies. The Local Governments implement the transferred projects, while the Tribal Development Department carries out the state-wide programmes in accordance with instructions from the Government of India. TSP fund allocations of LSGIs and Tribal Department are so different. In Kerala, the Tribal Department conducts tribal development operations using a top-to-bottom or vertical method. There are two parts to it, the administrative wing and the implementation wing. Principal Secretaries, Additional Secretaries, Directors, Assistant Directors, Deputy Directors, etc. make up the administration section. Promoters, District Tribal Development Officers, and Tribal Extension Officers make up the implementation section. In addition, the Tribal Development Department runs its official operations using a weighted official system. As a result, they separated tribal areas into several blocks based on the concentration of tribes within a district and appointed tribal officials to effectively manage the tribal regions within the district. The Local Self-Governing Institutions use a horizontal or parallel organisational structure to carry out different schemes (Nishamol, 2020). Typically, the members of the working group formulate a variety of schemes or projects for tribe development initiatives. It makes preparations depending on the ratio of tribal population in the Grama Panchayath and the proportion of funds allocated.

The implementation of scheduled tribe schemes was originally integrated into the initiatives of the Scheduled Caste Development Department. Given that tribal communities are a distinct group of individuals who reside within a unique social and cultural milieu, it is imperative that their environment and living conditions are carefully considered when formulating plans. It is imperative to devise and execute plans for each tribal region that align with the area's physical and economic growth, as well as its cultural values. The year 1975 marked the establishment of the Scheduled Tribes Development Department, which was tasked with the coordination and implementation of activities aimed at promoting the development of tribal communities. The Scheduled Tribes Development Department is

currently overseeing the operations of Seven Integrated Tribal Development Project Offices and 10 Tribal Development offices. In addition, there are currently 53 Tribal Extension Offices operating in different districts. 1182 promoters are employed under the Tribal Extension Officers to serve as intermediaries in disseminating information regarding ST development schemes to the tribal populace. The following discourse pertains to the strategies aimed at ameliorating underdevelopment in diverse domains.

### **6.3.1 Education**

According to the Human Development and Capability Approaches, education can play three different roles: empowering, redistributive, and instrumental. By giving people the required skills, it aids in the formulation of capabilities (Elanine, 2009). As a result, the government has been actively interfering in the marginalised population's capability formation through the effective implementation of numerous schemes in the tribal education sector.

#### **6.3.1a Schemes**

##### ***1. Pre-Matric Education***

Tribal students enrolled in classes up to the 10th grade receive a lump sum grant and a monthly stipend at the commencement of the academic year to cover their expenses.

**Table 6.1 Stipend for Pre-Matric Students**

<b>Section</b>	<b>Lump sum Grant (In Rupees)</b>	<b>Monthly Stipend (In Rupees)</b>
Lower Primary	750	200
Upper Primary	900	200
High School	1000	200

Source: Scheduled Tribes Development Department, 2022

Half of the yearly grant is allocated to students who have failed in a class and are repeating it.

##### ***2. Post-Matric Education***

ST students pursuing various courses after completing their 10th standard are provided with a lump sum grant for the entire academic year as well as a monthly stipend, in addition to the full fee. This benefit is universally accessible for all courses offered by recognised institutions. A lump sum grant is disbursed at varying rates depending on the course of study.

**Table 6.2 Stipend for Post-Matric Students**

<b>Course</b>	<b>Lumpsum Grant (In Rupees)</b>	<b>Monthly Stipend (Residing within 8 Kilometres) (In Rupees)</b>	<b>Monthly Stipend (Residing Beyond 8 Kilometres) (In Rupees)</b>
12 <sup>th</sup> / Vocational H.S	1400	800	900
BA/B.Sc/B.com/B.ed	1400	800	900
MA/M.Sc/M.com	1900	800	900
Engineering/Veterinary/agriculture etc	2700	800	900
MBBS/MS/MD	3800	800	900

Source: Scheduled Tribes Development Department, 2018-2019

Instead of receiving a monthly stipend, students residing in college and other recognised hostels will be provided with hostel fees and a designated amount of pocket money. Medical engineering students and also students enrolled in other courses receive a monthly allowance of rupees 200.

### ***3. Gothrasaradhi***

According to the Constitution, children are entitled to receive free education until they reach the age of 14. The majority of the settlements belonging to scheduled tribes are situated in remote regions that have limited accessibility to transportation infrastructure. The Gothrasaradhi initiative aims to offer transport services to students in need. The cost of transportation from the tribal settlement to the school will be covered by the ST Development Department.

### ***4. Ayyankali Memorial Talent Search and Development***

The programme aims to identify academically brilliant students belonging to scheduled tribes and offer comprehensive support for their educational pursuits starting from the fifth grade. The aforementioned programme employs a competitive examination to identify academically gifted students in fourth grade within government-aided schools, subsequently providing them with scholarships until the completion of tenth grade. Scholarships in the amounts of ₹5900 and ₹4900 are awarded to students in grades 5 and in 6 to 10 respectively. A total of 200 students are annually chosen.

### ***5. Tutorial Grant***

This component is intended to provide special coaching to students of high school and plus one and plus two classes to increase pass percentage. The monthly tuition fee would be

directly given to parents (through DBT) for providing tuition through nearby tutorials. The target of the scheme is to cover 1600 ST students. The activities included are as follows,

- Tuition for school going ST students of high school and plus one and plus two
- Tuition for failed ST students in SSLC, plus two and degree courses
- One month crash programme before the SSLC and plus two examinations under the supervision of Project Officers/Tribal Development Officers with food, accommodation, teaching aids, study materials, honorarium to teachers etc.
- Tuition for students in Pre-Matric hostels
- Assistance for online or distance education.

#### ***6. Special Incentive to Brilliant Students***

With this programme, students who excel in academics, sports, and cultural pursuits will receive a special incentive. For SSLC, plus one and plus two students who perform exceptionally well will receive rupees 3000, and graduation and postgraduate students, as well as those pursuing doctoral and professional degrees, would receive rupees 4500 and 6000, respectively. The top five students from Wayanad, Palakkad, and Malapuram districts, as well as the top two students from districts in UG courses, would each receive an incentive of 3000 rupees.

#### ***7. Bharat Darshan (PVTG), Study tour to School and College going Students***

The Bharat Darshan programme gives 30 intelligent girls and boys from Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTG) the chance to travel to historically significant locations in India. Apart from this, financial assistance to ST students of plus two, degree, post graduation degree, professional and diploma courses for participating in excursions and study tours conducted through the educational institutions where they are studying.

#### ***8. Grant to Parents***

A payment of rupees fifty per month, or rupees five hundred for ten months, will be given to parents whose primary school-age children are consistently attending schools. The reward is given to parents whose children have a 75 percent attendance rate up until December in the academic year.



### ***9. Peripatetic Institutions***

Peripatetic centres and single teacher schools have been setup in tribal dominated inaccessible areas of the state. This scheme is based on a single teacher programme, and the teacher is expected to visit the identified settlements and provide education. It is expected that the students will get interest in education without being uprooted from their isolated settlements. 2 peripatetic centres and 19 single teacher schools and 3 balavadies are included in the peripatetic education programme.

### ***10. Supply of Laptop to Students***

The scheme intends to address the issue of digital divide among ST students by providing laptop to ST students of higher education courses above 12<sup>th</sup> standard in approved universities/institutes. The courses covered for the facility are MBA, M.sc Computer Science, MCA, MBBS, BDS, BAMS, BHMS, BVSc.& AH, B.Tech and M.Tech and other Post Graduation Degrees. The laptops will be provided only once to an individual beneficiary in the entire course period.

### ***11. Financial Assistance to Study Abroad***

A sum of up to 25 lakhs would be allocated to indigenous students who possess permanent residency in the state, with the purpose of pursuing further education at reputed international universities.

### ***12. School Uniform Distribution***

Tribal kids enrolled in lower elementary courses in tribal schools and welfare schools are provided with two sets of uniforms.

## **6.3.1b Institutions**

### ***1. Nursery Schools***

There are currently 13 nursery schools operating under the Scheduled Tribes Department, with the purpose of providing pre-primary education. In 1995-96, the responsibility of managing these nursery schools was transferred to the grama panchayats. However, the scheduled tribes department continues to bear the expenses related to the remuneration and other allowances of the nursery school teachers, as well as the mid-day meal programme. The

lump sum grant allocated for children is rupees five hundred and the per-child expense of the mid-day meal per day is 40.

## ***2. Pre-Matric Hostels***

The tribal population's settlements are often situated in remote regions where educational facilities are not readily available. To address this issue, the ST development department has established 108 pre-matric hostels, consisting of 55 hostels for boys, 49 for girls, and 4 mixed-gender hostels. The hostel residents are exempt from paying for educational expenses such as lodging, meals, and academic resources. The monthly allowance allocated for food expenses of hostel residents is Rs. 3000 for students in grades 1 to 10, and Rs. 3450 for students in grades 11 and 12.

## ***3. Post-Matric Hostels***

Currently, there exist a total of ten post-matriculation hostels located in the districts of Thiruvananthapuram, Ernakulam, Palakkad, Kozhikode, Wayanad, and Kasaragod. These hostels are specifically designed to meet the accommodation requirements of students who are engaged in educational pursuits beyond the plus two level.

## ***4. Model Residential Schools (MRS)***

To ensure the provision of high-quality education to students belonging to Scheduled Tribes (ST), the ST department has established a total of 22 Model Residential Schools/Ashramam Schools. Among these schools, two adhere to the syllabus prescribed by the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE). In addition to their core offerings, these institutions also provide supplementary academic resources. These include specialised remedial lessons tailored for 5th standard students, spoken English classes available to all students, tutoring for medical and engineering admission exams in the 7 MRSs with science batches, and motivational sessions accessible to all students. Students that are enrolled in MRSs will receive no cost accommodation, food, and all educational expenditures.

## ***5. Vocational Training Institute***

At present there are two vocational training institutes for scheduled tribe students functioning at Thiruvananthapuram and Idukki for imparting training in 5 trades approved by the National Council for Vocational Training. The scheme is intended for meeting the running

expenses (uniform, food, study materials, stationary items) of these two Vocational Training Institutes.

### 6. Training Centres for Self –Employment and Skill Development

Training is provided in tailoring, weaving, and other relevant skills to foster the development of technical expertise and encourage self-employment opportunities for tribal students. The Tribal Development Department now operates a total of 12 training centres.

The plan outlay and expenditure under education sector of ST Development Department during 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> plan are depicted in the table below.

**Table 6.3 Budgeted Outlay and Expenditure under Education Sector of ST Development**

(Rs. In Lakh)

12 <sup>th</sup> Five Year Plan				13 <sup>th</sup> Five Year Plan			
Year	Budgeted Outlay	Expenditure	% of Expenditure	Year	Budgeted Outlay	Expenditure	% of Expenditure
2012-13	8071.00	8071.00	100	2017-18	17090.01	14333.17	83.87
2013-14	9798.70	9798.70	100	2018-19	19606.00	15903.43	81.12
2014-15	12877.65	12877.65	100	2019-20	17939.50	10006.00	55.78
2015-16	13480.01	13480.01	100	2020-21	16270.50	12569.70	77.25
2016-17	15530.01	12140.4	78.17	2021-22	15924.50	4691.71	29.46
<b>Total</b>	<b>59757.38</b>	<b>56367.77</b>	<b>94.32</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>86830.51</b>	<b>57504.01</b>	<b>66.22</b>

Source: Scheduled Tribes Development Department

Approximately 27% of the gross plan outlay of STDD is allocated specifically for educational programmes. During the year 2021-22, a budget of ₹ 159.24 crore has been allocated for educational programmes by STDD. 26.61% of the Gross plan outlay ₹ 598.26 crore was allocated during the year. During the initial four years of the 12th Plan, the STDD successfully utilised the entire allocated budget for educational programmes. During the 12th Plan, an allocation of ₹ 597.57 crore was made, and the expenditure achieved a rate of 94.32 percent. During the period of 2017-2022, a total of ₹86,830.51 lakh was allocated specifically for the purpose of promoting education among students belonging to Scheduled Tribes (ST). 66.22% of the total expenditure was incurred.

In addition to utilising plan funds, the STDD is allocating a significant portion of their non-plan funds towards educational programmes. The disbursement of pre-matriculation and post-matriculation scholarships, as well as the running and maintenance of pre-matric/post-matric hostels and ITCs, are significant educational programmes that are funded through non-plan funds. From 2016 to 2021, a total of ₹98.73 crore was allocated for educational programmes of the STDD under the non-plan funds.

### **6.3.2 Health**

The allocation of resources to the tribal health sector necessitates greater emphasis in comparison to other programmes. The Tribal Development Department and Health Department worked closely to deliver healthcare services to the tribal regions through a range of government schemes.

#### ***1. Comprehensive Health Care for Scheduled Tribes***

Since 2007-08, the health department has implemented the programme aimed at providing complimentary medical care to all scheduled tribes residing within the state. The implementation of the scheme is underway across all government hospitals. A sum of up to 10,000 rupees will be allocated for the purpose of covering expenses related to services that are not available in government hospitals, including medical tests and medications. This allocation will be made without regard to the beneficiary's BPL/APL category.

#### ***2. Assistance to Sickle Cell Anemia Patients***

Sickle Cell Anaemia is a genetic disorder that is prevalent among indigenous communities. A financial aid of ₹2500 per month is offered through the bank account to provide relief to patients and cover necessary expenses such as essential medication and living costs.

#### ***3. Janani-JanmaRaksha***

The issue of maternal and child nutrition poses a significant health concern within the scheduled tribes population. Provided that financial aid is accessible when required, individuals will receive sufficient prenatal and postnatal healthcare. The Janani JanmaRaksha programme is a targeted initiative aimed at providing maternal and child nutrition support. Under this scheme, a monthly sum of 1000 rupees is allocated for a duration of 18 months, commencing from three months after conception and continuing until the child reaches one year of age.

#### ***4. Tribal Relief Fund***

The scheme is intended to provide financial assistance to the ST population affected by various diseases and natural calamity. Financial assistance will be given to the Scheduled Tribes who are below poverty line and who suffer from various diseases including major diseases like cancer, heart/kidney/brain ailments etc. They will also be granted assistance as per the Government Orders issued as Relief Fund of Hon'ble Minister up to rupees one lakh per person.

Approximately 20% of families belonging to the Scheduled Tribes in the state are currently living in remote and inaccessible regions, primarily located within forested areas. As a result, individuals are unable to fully access the healthcare services offered by the Health Service Department. The Health Service Department operates 63 primary health centres in tribal areas. In addition to the aforementioned initiatives, the STDD has established four midwifery centres, seventeen Ayurveda dispensaries, five allopathic dispensaries/OP clinics, one Ayurveda hospital, and two mobile medical units in tribal areas. The implementation of these units has significantly improved the accessibility of medical care for families belonging to the Scheduled Tribes (ST), ensuring that they receive prompt attention when in need.

During the 9th and 10th Five Year Plan (FYP) periods, the STDD, successfully established two specialty hospitals specifically catering to tribal communities. These hospitals were located in Mananthavady and Kottathara, both situated in Attapady. The hospitals were transferred to the Health Services Department for operational convenience. Between 2016 and 2018, the department implemented a total of 14 new mobile medical clinics equipped with GPS technology. These clinics were established with the aim of delivering healthcare services directly to the tribes, ensuring accessibility and convenience. The clinics have a staff of doctors and paramedics, as well as modern medical amenities. Mobile clinics play a crucial role in providing essential healthcare services to remote tribal communities.

During the 12th FYP period, the STDD allocated a total of ₹ 6,530.36 lakh. Out of this allocation, they spent ₹ 6,367.89 lakh, which accounts for 97.51% of the allocated budget. During the 13th Five Year Plan (FYP), a total of ₹ 21,076.50 lakh has been allocated for health programmes. Out of this allocation, ₹ 17,350.95 lakh has been expended, which accounts for approximately 82.32% of the total allocated amount. The following data presents the year-wise allocation and spending on healthcare during the 12th and 13th Five-Year Plans.

**Table 6.4 Outlay and Expenditure under Health Sector of ST Development**

(Rs. In Lakh)

12 <sup>th</sup> Five Year Plan				13 <sup>th</sup> Five Year Plan			
Year	Outlay	Expenditure	% of Expenditure	Year	Outlay	Expenditure	% of Expenditure
2012-13	220.36	214.76	97.46	2017-18	3675.00	3957.62	107.69
2013-14	1230.00	1167.29	94.90	2018-19	4281.00	4239.36	99.03
2014-15	1120.00	1075.49	96.03	2019-20	4373.50	3281.18	75.02
2015-16	1310.00	1309.96	99.99	2020-21	4373.50	4246.37	97.09
2016-17	2650.00	2600.39	98.13	2021-22	4373.50	1626.42	37.19
<b>Total</b>	<b>6530.36</b>	<b>6367.89</b>	<b>97.51</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>21076.50</b>	<b>17350.95</b>	<b>82.32</b>

Source: Scheduled Tribes Development Department

In addition to the TSP, the STDD has been allocating non-plan funds to support the operations of the medical units and mobile medical units within the department. In the 2021-22 budget, ₹4,373.50 lakh has been allocated to the Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) of the Scheduled Tribes Development Department (STDD). Out of this amount, ₹2,500 lakh has been designated for the operation of healthcare institutions and the provision of medical assistance through different hospitals. Out of the remaining provision, ₹1650.00 lakh has been allocated specifically for the scheme "JananiJanmaRaksha," which aims to provide pre-natal and post-natal care to tribal mothers and their infants. A budget of ₹ 223.50 lakh has been allocated to address the issue of sickle cell anaemia.

### 6.3.3 Housing

The State Government's policy aims to ensure the provision of housing for all Scheduled Tribes residing within the State, with the objective of eliminating homelessness among Scheduled Tribe families. According to the survey done by the ST Development Department in 2018, an estimated 16,070 tribal people who own land are without a permanent residence, while 7,930 families do not possess any land. The implementation of the housing programme has been carried out through the LIFE Mission since the year 2017-18. In addition to the financial aid offered through the State Plan, Kerala Urban and Rural Development Finance Corporation Ltd. (KURDFC) also provides housing assistance. The Local Governments allocate cash from their Tribal Sub-Plan fund and Prime Ministers Awaas Yojana for the purpose of constructing houses for Scheduled Tribes (STs).

Of the total 6,709 dwellings approved by the ST Department through several housing schemes in the year 2016-17, a total of 1,583 houses have been successfully constructed as of 2021-22. During the phase I of the LIFE Mission, the objective was to finalise the construction of 12,054 incomplete dwellings. As of now, a total of 11,377 houses have been successfully completed. Phase II of the LIFE Mission has resulted in the sanctioning of 3,380 residences, out of which 2,748 houses have been successfully finished. During Phase III, a total of 487 dwellings were approved for construction, of which 265 have been successfully finished.

**Table 6.5 Outlay and Expenditure of Various Tribal Housing Programmes of STDD**

(Rs. In Lakh)

12 <sup>th</sup> Five Year Plan				13 <sup>th</sup> Five Year Plan			
Year	Outlay	Expenditure	% of Expenditure	Year	Outlay	Expenditure	% of Expenditure
2012-13	2500.00	499.90	99.99	2017-18	11508.00	11482.35	99.78
2013-14	2750.00	2749.87	99.99	2018-19	127.00	13784.85	108.54
2014-15	3300.00	3271.15	99.13	2019-20	5720.00	8720.00	152.45
2015-16	4873.00	4813.57	98.78	2020-21	5720.00	6163.54	96.05
2016-17	5047.3	4629.36	91.72	2021-22	5720.00	3786.70	66.20
<b>Total</b>	<b>18470.3</b>	<b>17963.85</b>	<b>97.25</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>41368</b>	<b>43937.44</b>	<b>106.21</b>

Source: Scheduled Tribes Development Department

During the 12th Five Year Plan (2012-13 to 2016-17), the STDD budgeted a total of ₹18,470.30 lakh. However, they only expended ₹17,963.85 lakh, which accounts for 97.25% of the budgeted amount. According to the 13th Five-Year Plan (as of October 5th, 2021), a total of ₹ 41,368.00 lakh was allocated for the housing sector. It is worth noting that the expenditure in this sector exceeded 100 percent.

Upon analysing the physical targets and achievements in tribal housing, it becomes evident that the number of sanctioned houses from previous years exhibits year-to-year variations. The reason for this is the addition of spill-over houses, for which revised approval has been granted in the current year. The number of houses constructed in a specific year can surpass the number of houses officially approved due to the completion of additional houses from previous years. The presence of significant spill over commitments serves as a clear

indication of the inadequate performance in tribal housing. The State Share of Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY) is provided by the STDD for the purpose of implementing the 60% centrally sponsored housing scheme through the Block Panchayats. In the year 2021-22, a budget of ₹ 20.00 crore has been allocated as the state's contribution for the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY) housing under the Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP).

Similar to the STDD, PMAY housing progress under TSP is similarly subpar. 28,354 homes were targeted over a five-year period, from 2011–12 to 2015–16. But only 10,391 of the 18,299 that were sanctioned really finished (56.78%). In 2014–15 and 2015–16, the progress is concerning. Delays in beneficiary selection, receiving central funding from the Indian government, and the distribution of Grama and District Panchayat shares to Block Panchayat (each worth 25%) to cover the supplemental funding required to bring the PMAY unit cost into line with the State's rate for tribal housing, among other things, are some of the causes of the delays. 105 dwellings were approved and finished in the final three years of the 13th FYP. In addition to providing TSP shares for PMAY housing, the Grama and District Panchayats are carrying out their own tribal housing initiatives in the tribal areas under their control. A few NGOs are also mildly involved with tribal housing in the State.

#### **6.3.4 Rehabilitation of Landless Scheduled Tribes**

The Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission (TRDM) was established in the State during 2001 as a result of the agreement that the government reached in order to put an end to the Adivasi Gothra Mahasabha's land dispute in October 2001. Except for a few hiccups, the TRDM is operating effectively under STDD in the state. According to a master plan, the Mission seeks to provide at least one acre of land per tribal household, with a cap of five acres. Project-based resettlement will be carried out, with a focus on Oorukuttams for planning and execution. So far, 14,230 ST families without land have been identified by the TRDM. 9161.49 acres of their land have so far been distributed to 7,033 people. For the rehabilitation activities during the 11th Plan, a budget of 8,008.25 lakh was set up, and it was fully utilised. With 7956 lakh used (97.37%) of the projected 8171 lakh during the first four years of the 12th Plan, there was also notable financial progress. 4200 lakh rupees have been set out for the programme in 2016–17.



**Table 6.6 Land Distributed among ST families by TRDM (without purchase)**

Year	No. of Families	Land Distributed (Acres)
2017-18	667	558
2018-19	1030	801
2019-20	679	298.19
2020-21	310	363.76
20121-22	-	-
Total	2686	2020.95

Source: Scheduled Tribes Development Department

2686 ST families benefited from the TRDM programme during the 13th FYP, and 2020.95 acres of land were distributed.

The information about the land that was bought and delivered to ST families during the 12th FYP is provided below. Through the land purchase scheme, 701 ST families benefited. 280.315 acres of land worth 5,807.17 lakh were purchased. With the exception of Kannur and Thiruvananthapuram, land was purchased in every district.

**Table 6.7 Land Purchased Distributed among ST families by TRDM**

Year	Land Purchased (Acres)	No. of Families	Amount (Rs. In Lakh)
2012-13	-	-	-
2013-14	23.889	61	534.41
2014-15	127.386	376	2279.90
2015-16	103.272	208	1644.56
2016-17	25.768	56	1348.30
Total	280.315	701	5807.17

Source: Scheduled Tribes Development Department

According to the estimations provided by the ST Department, the number of landless Scheduled Tribes (STs) in the State for the year 2020-21 is 7930. The land allocation under TRDM is facilitated through the implementation of the land bank scheme, the distribution of vested forest land, and the Forest Rights Act.

**Table 6.8 Land Distribution from 2017-18 to 2021-22**

Year	No. of Beneficiaries	Land Distributed including FRA, Land Bank Scheme & Vested Forests (Acres)
2017-18	1027	819.61
2018-19	1920	1753.15
2019-20	1037	674.85
2020-21	691	568.47
20121-22	182	74.61

Source: Scheduled Tribes Development Department

During the year 2020-21, which marked the fourth year of the 13th Plan, a total of 568.47 acres of land were allocated to 691 individuals belonging to tribal communities through different government schemes.

#### **6.3.4 Other Socio –Economic Development Schemes**

##### ***1. Special Programme for Adiya, Paniyas, Primitive Tribal Groups and Tribes living in Forest***

Need based and location specific package programmes for the development of Adiyas, Paniyas and the Primitive Tribal Groups are envisaged under this scheme. Special emphasis will be given for projects on rehabilitation packages, health, food support and economic development for these special groups.

Providing gainful employment to ST population living in/near the forest areas is a must for improving their living standards. Providing alternative source of income, protection from wild animals, providing health care facilities, development of infrastructure and prevention of degradation of local habitat for the ST people living in the forest areas are also included in the scheme. The cost for the running of three destitute homes functioning under the Scheduled Tribes Department at attappady, Mananthavady and Sugandhagiri is met under this scheme.

##### ***2. Food Support/Security Programme***

The monsoon season poses a challenge for schedule tribes as they encounter difficulties in carrying out their regular work, leading to a rise in hunger and suffering. The present initiative is primarily executed via the oorukootams during the period spanning from June to September, with the aim of guaranteeing employment and sustenance for the indigenous population throughout this timeframe.

##### ***3. Kayithangu ( Assistance to Orphans)***

This scheme is intended to provide special assistance to the scheduled tribe children who have no parents to look after. They will be provided assistance for education and living till they become adult/wage earners. The fund will also be utilized for the purpose of survey/identification of such children, for rehabilitating them and for providing assistance for their upbringing.

#### ***4. Ambedkar Settlement Development Scheme***

It is a scheme for the socio- economic betterment of tribal population living in the tribal hamlets in the state. It is proposed for meeting the immediate requirements of infrastructure facilities (such as providing houses to houseless tribals in the hamlets, water supply, sanitation facilities), economic activities and basic minimum needs of women and children.

#### ***5. Assistance to Marriage of ST girls***

It is intended to reduce the burden of marriage expenses of daughters of parents belonging to Scheduled Tribe population. The department provides assistance to parents as marriage grant. The rate of assistance is ₹ 50000 per family/adult girl. Priority is given to the daughters of widows, unwed mothers and incapacitated parents.

#### ***6. Critical Gap Filling Scheme***

This scheme is intended to fund projects received from the districts and the directorate for projects for self employment and skill development, providing water supply, sanitation electricity and community facilitation centres like community hall, library etc, to tribal people, improving connectivity to inaccessible areas including construction of roads, bridges, culverts, foot paths etc, technology transfer and projects for information, communication and education, improvement of health and sanitation, development of education including soft skills/ vocational training in various activities and centres for scheduled tribes with facility of internet, DTP, Photostat etc.

#### ***7. Financial Assistance to Scheduled Tribe Welfare Institutions***

This scheme aims to provide financial assistance to Scheduled Tribes Welfare Institutions. Under this scheme, financial assistance to Priyadarshini Tea Plantation in Mananthavadi, financial assistance to provide vocational training in Ambedkar Memorial Rural Institute for Development, financial assistance to Attapadi Cooperative Farming Society are provided.

#### ***8. Schemes Implemented with Grant-in-Aid under Article 271(1)***

Activities under this scheme include strengthening the infrastructure in the sectors critical to enhancement of Human Development Indices such as income generation, health, education, agriculture, animal husbandry, human resource development in technical and vocational

spheres, sports promotion, maintenance of schools and hostels. The scheme is implemented as per the guidelines of Government of India.

#### ***9. Information, Education and Communication Project***

The objective is to promote arts and festivals of tribals. It is proposed to conduct regional tribals festivals of arts and exhibition cum sale of products manufactured by the tribal groups. Completion of digital documentation including video documentation of scheduled tribe's life style, culture and their day to day activities, providing incentive to ST youths talented in Arts and Sports.

#### ***10. Kerala State Development Corporation for SC/ST***

The corporation provide finance to employment oriented schemes covering diverse areas of economic activities. The corporation has focused their efforts for identification of eligible ST families and motivating them to undertake suitable economic development schemes, sponsoring these schemes to financial institutions for credit support, providing financial assistance in the form of margin money on low rate of interest and subsidy in order to reduce their repayment liability and providing necessary link/tie-up with other poverty alleviation programmes.

#### ***11. Grant-in-aid to the Kerala State Federation of SCs and STs Development Cooperative***

Grant-in-aid is provided for Minor Forest Produce Operations. The grant includes share capital investment, procurement of MFP and construction of godowns/ware houses.

The aforementioned interventions constitute the primary measures implemented by the state via the Scheduled Tribes Development Department to promote the well-being of indigenous communities in Kerala. These initiatives are not implemented as a component of any rehabilitation endeavour.

### **6.4 Role of Local Self Government Institutions (LSGIs)**

In response to the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments, the establishment of three-tier Panchayats and Urban bodies occurred in the State during the period of 1996-97. The three-tier system played a significant role in facilitating the socio-economic transformation of several marginalised communities, particularly the Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled

Tribes (STs). In accordance with the recommendation of the State Finance Commission, a decision was made to allocate 30 percent of the State Plan funding to the Local Governments (LGs) for the purpose of implementing need-based and location-specific schemes or projects. This allocation aims to ensure the active involvement of the public in the development, execution, and monitoring of these initiatives. The Peoples Plan Campaign was implemented, resulting in the allocation of devolved funding to Local Governments (LGs) in the form of grants-in-aid starting from the fiscal year 1997-98.

There were three types in the plan grant given to LGs: general, Special Component Plan (SCP), and Tribal Sub Plan (TSP). So, a significant portion of the plan funding distributed to the LGs comes from the TSP. As previously mentioned, the LGs received 67% of the TSP allocation during the first years of decentralisation. The progress of TSP has always lagged behind that of the general plan since the inception of decentralised planning. This gave the appearance that LGs were not enthusiastic about implementing TSP, despite the fact that many LGs, particularly the Grama Panchayats, were. The LGs were required to make compensating allocations for balancing TSP spending with general spending during the 10th and 11th FYP. The remaining amount of TSP funds (applicable to SCP and general as well) may then be carried over to the subsequent financial year for use. Even so, nothing has changed; TSP spending continues to lag behind the general plan. As a result, starting in 2004–05, the TSP flow provided to the LGs has been steadily decreasing until it reached its lowest point in 2016–17, the final year of the 12th FYP, at 22.85%. According to the recommendations periodically given by the Local Self Government Department, the LGs develop and carry out their TSP programmes. Through their *oorukuttams*, tribal families are involved in the creation of the projects. For project formulation, recipient selection, and monitoring, the *oorukuttams* typically convene. The *oorukuttams* are where the project proposals are created and prioritised. Priorities cannot be changed by LGs. The sectors of housing, clean drinking water, sanitation, education, health care, nutrition, agriculture, skill development training, animal husbandry, link roads and connectivity, pathways, footbridges, electrification, job creation, soil and water conservation, etc. are all areas in which LGs consistently develop TSP projects. Prior to the implementation of the TSP projects there, the District Planning Committees must approve the LGs' Annual TSP Proposals.

## **6.5 Schemes and Programmes Executed in Pookot Dairy Project**

Pookot Dairy Project was a rehabilitation project to enhance the livelihood and thereby increasing the capability and self reliance of tribal communities who are enfranchised bonded labourers. Thus rehabilitation itself is a protective security measure to uplift a certain group of people, who are on the verge of vulnerability. The institutional interventions to enhance the livelihood of rehabilitated tribal communities of Pookot settlement is analyzed in two phases.

- (i) Period of the functioning of Pookot Dairy Project (1979-2004)
- (ii) Post demolition of the Dairy Project and Land Distribution (After 2004)

### **6.5.1 Functioning Period of Pookot Dairy Project**

The Pookot Dairy Project was a micro-level project. For the formulation of such micro-level projects, the methodology was formulated;

- Know the area: In view of the wide variation of conditions within the region, a thorough and intimate study of the specific location in which a micro-level project is proposed, should precede its formulation. This study should encompass not merely the physical features but also the ethnological and socio-economic conditions of the beneficiaries.
- Identify prospects and problems: The ecological sensitivity and fragility of the area intimately combines prospects with problems. Maximisation of any specific benefit is severely constrained by undesirable consequences in other directions. Thus care should be taken to harmonise all factors
- Provide for multiple objectives: A micro-project should attempt to tackle as many of the felt needs of the beneficiaries as possible and thus should comprise multiple objectives and activities. This will assure success at least in some of them and create credibility in developmental activity.
- Learn while training: It is as essential to learn more of the circumstances and consequences of any activity as to train the beneficiaries in needed new skills. One of the greatest assets for developmental innovation in the region is the wealth of experience and traditional wisdom accumulated by the people, particularly tribal, in the centuries of their survival in hostile environments.

- Provide continuous and progressive training: Training in new skills, while integral to such projects, should be continuous. As each new skill is acquired, the need for more new skills will emerge and has to be met. It is also necessary to follow up on the utilisation of new skills.
- Ensure linkage with other developmental programmes: Let micro projects lose their relevance, it is necessary to be aware of ensure their linkage to sectoral programmes. This may pose some problems because the micro project may relate to activities falling among several sectors. Co-ordination has to be ensured.
- Plan for monitoring and expansion: Micro projects require closer and more frequent monitoring in order to implement midterm correction which often becomes necessary as well as to recognise potential for progression or expansion to greater coverage either in terms of items of activity of larger numbers of beneficiaries.

The primary goal, as already noted in prior chapters of the study, was the upliftment of the indigenous tribes who were formerly bonded labourers. To enhance the livelihood of the people, the planners had a very expert project report prepared using all the techniques of Discounted Cash Flows and Social-Cost Benefit Analysis (The International School of Dravidian Linguistics, 1996). The objective was to start a dairy farm because this was a grassland area and to best utilise the resources available. Later, the production of coffee, pepper, cocoa, cardamom, ginger, etc. began alongside dairy farming. The Pookot Dairy Project was initially successfully implemented using a Gandhian strategy. Later, the development strategy was centralised for ease of management and it differed from what the Gandhian strategy suggested. The project was started in May 1979 with two main objectives viz. Putting the available land resources to optimum use and uplifting the tribal families living. The total outlay of the project was Rs 111.61 lakhs of which Rs 57.08 lakhs was Government contribution and Rs54.53 laks was institutional finance. An amount of 59.70 lakhs has been released from Western Ghat Development Project Funds.

The primary initiative of the Pookot Dairy project for enhancing the livelihood of the rehabilitated tribal communities was the formation Cooperative Society. The functioning of Cooperative Society included the elected tribal people into the board of members and also the main labourers were the part of society and had voting rights. This had influence the social network of the tribal population and also has positively impacted their negotiation power.

As a measure of enhancing the skills of the rehabilitated tribal community, training was provided for the management of cattles and to improve milking skill. 20 rehabilitated tribes received training. This was the only programme conducted between the period of 1979 and 2004 for the skill development of the Scheduled Tribes. Rather than providing trainings and opportunities for the tribal communities to uplift their capability and self reliance , the management of the cooperative society kept them as farm labourers who were working according to the instructions of their supervisors.

### **6.5.2 Post Demolition of Dairy Project**

The key components of rehabilitation plan for Scheduled Tribes are;

- Distribution of Land
- Development of minimum needs infrastructure such as housing, drinking water, electricity, road.
- Construction of compound wall along the forest boundary to protect the life and property of rehabilitated families
- Projects for agriculture, animal husbandry, dairy development etc.
- Self-employment programme
- Provision of health care
- Intervention on education sector

In 2004, following the dismantling of the Pookot Dairy Project and the allocation of land, the Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission took over responsibility for the general development of the Scheduled Tribes in the region that had been rehabilitated.

#### **6.5.2a Land Distribution**

As was discussed in earlier chapters, the distribution of land was not actually a plan that was intended to be carried out after the suspension of the society. The distribution of vested forest land to landless enfranchised bonded labourers among the tribal people was the primary objective of the rehabilitation project. Since it was believed that the indigenous communities could not successfully adapt to the newly rehabilitated area, manage the land, and cultivate crops without any state intervention. As a consequence of this, the Pookot Dairy Project was operating as a cooperative society for five years. It was anticipated that within the five years, the scheduled tribes will be able to become self-sufficient and will be able to distribute land.



However, the fundamental aim for the rehabilitation project was not successful because after 5 years the society had not been suspended and the land had not been distributed. Over a period of 24 years, the cooperative society was eventually dissolved, and the land was distributed. This decision wasn't made because the tribal communities had become self-sufficient and capable; rather, it was made because the dairy project was under severe loss due to mismanagement and there wasn't enough money to pay the workers' wages. Additionally, it was made because of the pressure from the tribal population and activists following the Muthanga problem to distribute land to the tribal people who were without it.

**Table 6.9 Distribution of Land Across Communities**

Community	Area of Land Received			Total
	5 Acres	2 Acres	1.5 Acres	
Paniya	29 (34.5)	17 (20.2)	7 (8.3)	53
Kuruma	6 (7.1)	11 (13.1)	3 (3.6)	20
Kuruchiya	-	2 (2.4)	-	2
Kattunaika	5 (6)	1 (1.2)	-	6
Urali Kuruma	-	2 (2.4)	1 (1.2)	3
Total	40 (47.6)	33 (39.3)	11 (13.1)	84 (100)

Note: Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

Source: Primary Data

The land was distributed among 88<sup>1</sup> tribal families who were part of Pookot Dairy Project. 47.6 percent of tribal households received 5 Acres of land and the remaining 52.4 percent received 2 Acres or 1.5 Acres of Land. The criterion for the selecting the size of land was the category of labour. The main labourers received 5 Acres where as the Beneficiary labourers received 2 or 1.5 Acres of land. The findings of the field survey made it clear to us that there were gaps in the distribution of the land. Two households were living in the Puramboke Bhoomi, which is located within the Pookot settlement. These households were participants in the project; however, they did not receive land when it was distributed because they were not present in Pookot during the time that lots were being taken for land distribution.

### **Efficiency in Land Distribution**

The quality of the land that is distributed can be used to evaluate how effectively land is allocated. If the recipients of a land distribution programme are given land that is of sufficient quality to support human habitation and agricultural activity, then the programme can be considered a success.

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<sup>1</sup> The population of the study is constrained to 84 households because, of the 4 households that were excluded, four did not reside inside the Pookot settlement and could not be reached, and in one household, the inhabitants had passed away.

**Table 6.10 Quality of Land Distributed**

Community	Quality of Land			Total
	Poor	Moderate	Good	
Paniya	18 (21.4)	6 (7.1)	29 (34.5)	53
Kuruma	-	-	20 (23.8)	20
Kuruchiya	-	-	2 (2.4)	2
Kattunaika	-	-	6 (7.1)	6
Urali Kuruma	-	-	3 (3.6)	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>18 (21.4)</b>	<b>6 (7.1)</b>	<b>60 (71.4)</b>	<b>84 (100)</b>

Note: Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

Source: Primary Data

Only 71.4% of the land that was given distributed met the criteria for good quality. The quality of the land that was allocated was so bad that 21.4 percent of it was uninhabitable and had been seriously damaged by landslides. 7.1% of the land was considered to be of moderate quality, which meant that it was suitable for human habitation but not for agricultural use.

### **6.5.2b Basic Infrastructure**

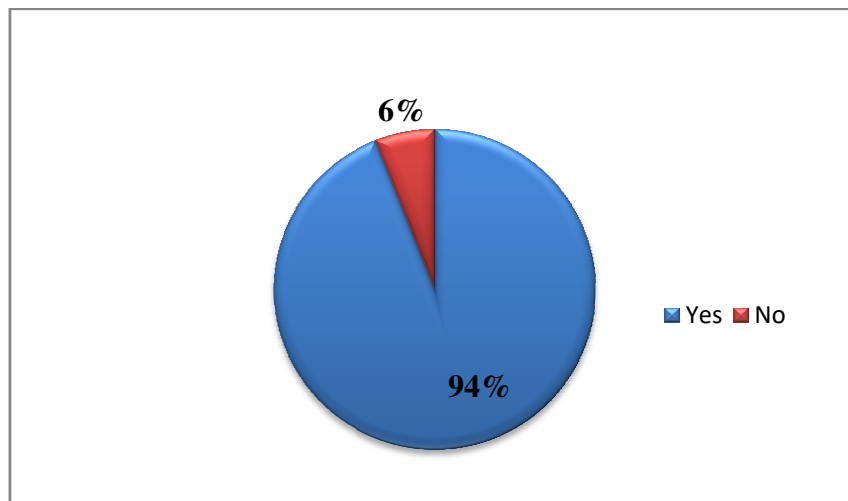
When determining how far a society has come in terms of its overall development, the infrastructure amenities play a crucial part. It relates to the outcomes obtained as a result of the welfare activities that were carried out by the government in accordance with a variety of programmes. The fundamental purpose of a rehabilitation project is to put in place essential infrastructure, which may include housing, potable water supplies, electrical power, and paved roadways. LSGIs and Tribal Development Department are two major institutions that provide infrastructure facilities in tribal settlement. The interventions of LSGIs are through Block Panchayats and Grama Panchayats.

### **6.5.2c Housing**

Eventhough the land was distributed in 2004, the initiation for providing proper dwelling facilities was taken up in 2008. Intially when land was distributed, the tribal communities in Pookot settlement were given with small financial assistance to construct temporary dwelling

until a proper housing is being initiated. In 2008, the housing programme started. The Tribal Department along with block and panchayat were the incharge of providing housing. From 2011 onwards the housing programme was carried under Tribal resettlement and Development Mission (TRDM). Since 2017, the housing for tribal communities in Pookot has been carried under Life Mission. The maximum financial assistance provided under life mission is upto rupees 6 Lakhs, which is provided in different terms. In first term 15 percent will be provided, in second term, 20 percent of the 6 Lakh will be provided, in third term, 30 percent will be provided, then 20 percent and last 15 percent. The housing facilities of the tribal communities in Pookot settlement has been done through TRDM, Block Panchayat, Jilla Panchayat, Indira Awas Yojana (IAY), EMS Housing Scheme and Life Mission.

**Figure 6.1 Financial Support for Housing**



Source: Primary Data

Even after 19 years since the inception of the housing projects for the rehabilitated tribes, there are still a 6 percentage of tribal households in the Pookot settlement who have not gotten any financial support from the government. This is the case despite the fact that these housing programmes have been in place for the rehabilitated tribes. The earliest years of the housing project could not be guaranteed since there were no road facilities. However, in subsequent years, when road facilities were established, the financial help was barred with the justification that households in which members worked in government jobs would not be eligible for any assistance of any kind.

The amount of aid that the remaining 94% received varies on both the housing programme into which they fits and the year in which they were accepted. The initial group of households

to receive aid received a total of ₹125,000. Housing assistance funding eventually rose from ₹200,000 to ₹2,500,000 to ₹3,000,000 before being rolled into Life Mission. 21.5 percent of the 94 percent of households that have received financial assistance live in a dilapidated dwelling. This is because they lost their homes in a landslide and are now living in decrepit temporary housing.

#### **6.5.2d Drinking Water Supplies**

Sufficient and safe drinking water is a basic requirement of human life. The first responsibility in a resettlement region is to provide safe drinking water. As described in previous chapters, land distribution and settlement in the Pookot has been done in five different areas: Anamala, MRS Kunnu, Appadukunnu, Narikodemukku, and Cocomoola. The 84 households in the study are distributed across these five areas. MRS Kunnu, Cocomoola, and a portion of Appadukunnu are among the five localities affected by acute water scarcity. The settlement has three well-executed drinking water schemes. Two are initiated by the Block Panchayat and one by the TRDM. These three drinking water schemes solely serve the settlements of Narikodemukku, Appadukunnu, and Anamala.

#### **6.5.2e Road Facilities**

Under the TRDM programme, the road facilities connecting to the settlements in Pookot have been constructed. The construction of roads has cost a total of 3,310,0000 rupees. Up until the year 2019, certain parts of the settlement lacked the necessary road facilities. People who lived in those places had an extremely tough time getting around because transportation was poor. Because of the difficulties with transportation in these places, it was also impossible to build houses.

#### **6.5.2f Education**

The tribal population of the Pookot settlement are the beneficiaries of the plans for educational development that are provided to tribal communities in Kerala by the Scheduled Tribes Development Department. These schemes are intended to benefit the students of tribal communities in Kerala. There is no unique educational programme of this kind that is intended to be implemented as a component of the rehabilitation project.

All the tribal students in the settlement who have enrolled in classes up to the 10th grade receive a lump sum grant and a monthly stipend at the commencement of the academic year

to cover their expenses. ST students pursuing various courses after completing their 10th standard are provided with a lump sum grant for the entire academic year as well as a monthly stipend, in addition to the full fee. This benefit is universally accessible for all courses offered by recognised institutions. A lump sum grant is disbursed at varying rates depending on the course of study. Instead of receiving a monthly stipend, students residing in college and other recognised hostels will be provided with hostel fees and a designated amount of pocket money.

Gothrasaradhi initiative aims to offer transport services to students in need. The cost of transportation from the tribal settlement to the school will be covered by the ST Development Department. The school going children in Pookot settlement are beneficiaries of the Gothrasaradhi initiative. For the students in the Pookot settlement, buses are arranged to reach school.

The Ayyankali Memorial Talent Search and Development aims to identify academically brilliant students belonging to scheduled tribes and offer comprehensive support for their educational pursuits starting from the fifth grade. One student from the Pookot settlement has been the beneficiary of the scheme. During the time of COVID pandemic, the students of Pookot settlement studying in Vythiri school were distributed laptops temporarily for the successful implementation of online classes. Two students have received laptop as a scheme of laptop distribution to the second year professional course students in recognised institutions.

### **6.5.2g Health**

As assistance to Sickle Cell Anemia Patients, financial aid of ₹2500 per month is offered through the bank account to provide relief to patients and cover necessary expenses such as essential medication and living costs. Financial assistance is being provided to all patients afflicted with sickle cell anaemia in the Pookot settlement.

Another health initiative that is being implemented is the Janani Janma-Raksha programme is a targeted initiative aimed at providing maternal and child nutrition support. Under this scheme, a monthly sum of 1000 rupees is allocated for duration of 18 months, commencing from three months after conception and continuing until the child reaches one year of age.

Under the Tribal Relief Fund, financial assistance is being given to the Scheduled Tribes who are below poverty line and who suffer from various diseases including major diseases

like cancer, heart/kidney/brain ailments etc. They will also be granted assistance as per the Government Orders issued as Relief Fund of Hon'ble Minister up to rupees one lakh per person. . The study area has a total of four beneficiaries who have received funds through the scheme, with the highest amount disbursed being 80000. While the majority of recipients have received either ₹15000 or 20000 .

#### **6.5.2h Income Generating Activities – Agriculture/Animal Husbandry, Self-Employment**

The households belonging to the tribal community under study possess land parcels of either 5 or 2 acres, as they were included in a rehabilitation initiative aimed at distributing land to landless tribes. However, they do not possess the land's title deed. They only possess a possession deed. In other words, individuals possess the ability to erect dwellings and engage in agricultural activities on the land; however, they are precluded from selling or mortgaging the land. In this scenario, agriculture assumes a pivotal role. Agriculture is a method of utilising land in a productive manner. The government has introduced several schemes aimed at promoting agricultural development and generating income for tribal households. Animal husbandry is a traditional and subsidiary occupation of many tribal families.

The implementation of agricultural development and income generation schemes in the Pookot settlement was carried out through the utilisation of funds from SCA to TSP. The Ministry of Tribal Affairs provides the Special Central Assistance (SCA) to state governments as a supplementary component to their Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP). The SCA programme is designed to primarily support income-generating initiatives that are family-oriented and focused on sectors such as agriculture, horticulture, sericulture, and animal husbandry cooperation. The schemes initiated in the Pookot settlement for agriculture, animal husbandry and self- employment are;

1. Supply of Coffee seedlings and Pepper Seedlings
2. Supply of Vegetable seedlings and Grow Bag
3. Support for Cattle Farming
4. Support for Poultry Farming
5. Supply of Tailoring Machine
6. Supply of Tool Kit- Electrical/Plumbing
7. Supply of Tool Kit- Carpentry
8. Supply of Street Stalls

**Table 6.11 Schemes and Number of Beneficiaries**

<b>Schemes</b>	<b>Beneficiaries Identified in Oorukoottams</b>	<b>Actual Beneficiaries</b>
Coffee seedlings and Pepper Seedlings	56 Households	56 Households
Vegetable seedlings and Grow Bag	24 Households	24 Households
Cattles	26 Households	10 Households
Poultry	65 Households	Nil
Tailoring Machine	9 Households	9 Households
Tool Kit- Electrical/Plumbing	3 Household	3 Household
Tool Kit- Carpentry	1 household	1 household
Street Stall	1 Household	1 Household

Source: Reports of Tribal Extension Office

The distribution scheme of coffee and pepper seedlings was intended for a total of 56 households. Despite the fact that seedlings were distributed to all 56 households, only 12 households engaged in their cultivation. The remaining households failed to utilise it for cultivation purposes. All the recipients utilised vegetable seedlings and grow bags. Despite the absence of current vegetable cultivation, the yield from their initial cultivation was obtained. Despite Oorukoottam's decision to provide cows to 26 households, only 10 households received the cows. Furthermore, only three out of the 10 households that received the cows still possess them. Prior to the distribution of cows, financial resources were allocated for the construction of a bovine housing facility. Cows were only given to individuals who utilised the fund for constructing cowsheds. Funds were allocated within the framework of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Component for poultry farming. However, none of the members of the household were provided with chickens for the purpose of poultry farming. The distribution of tailoring machines, tool kits, and street stalls was carried out as per the decision made in the oorukoottam.

### **6. 5.3 Role of External Institutions**

LSGIs and state government holds major responsibility for providing support mechanisms aimed at improving the quality of life for tribal communities. At times, the involvement of external institutions is crucial for the advancement of the most marginalised communities. External institutions such as NABARD and Kerala Veterinary and Animal Sciences University have provided support mechanisms to improve the livelihoods of the rehabilitated tribal communities in the Pookot settlement.

The National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (NABARD) has been supporting various welfare projects for Scheduled Tribes in the country under its Tribal Development Fund. The Wadi project is one such integrated tribal development initiative of NABARD. The main features of a Wadi model are economic upliftment of the farmers through sustainable agriculture, social empowerment, improvement in quality of life including health and women empowerment in tribal dominated areas of the country. Within the scope of the Wadi initiative, NABARD implemented various programmes in the Pookot settlement. NABARD's intervention occurred in two distinct phases, the first in 2012 and the second in 2014. Each group consisted of 10 individuals. The selection of members was based on the interests of the individuals involved. The participants were provided with coffee and pepper seedlings, as well as agricultural tools such as spades and sickles. NABARD facilitated the provision of goats to members who expressed interest.

The Kerala Veterinary and Animal Sciences University has extended support to the tribal communities residing in the Pookot settlement. This support has been provided in the form of distributing cattle and facilitating poultry farming by providing coops and chickens. The distribution of cattle benefited a total of 5 individuals, while the distribution of chickens benefited a total of 25 individuals.

## **6.6 Conclusion**

This chapter makes an effort to investigate the institutional interventions that were carried out as a support mechanism for the purpose of improving the rehabilitated tribal communities that are a part of the Pookot Dairy Project. To begin, this chapter offers an introduction to the tribal welfare initiatives that have been developed in Kerala for the purpose of elevating the status of the scheduled tribes. The chapter then discusses the programmes that were established for the tribal groups during the time that the Pookot Dairy Project was in operation, as well as the programmes that were established after land was distributed.

Even the very first step in the rehabilitation project did not go off without a hitch in terms of its execution. The distribution of land did not achieve its intended goals of distributing land to all those who deserved it and providing land that was of sufficient quality. The existing schemes aimed at ensuring fundamental infrastructure are deemed inadequate as a significant portion of the population still lacks access to adequate housing and potable water. The efficacy of the income-generating schemes offered to the tribal population has been limited, as they have not significantly improved the livelihoods of these individuals.



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## *Chapter VII*

### *Findings, Conclusion and Policy Suggestions*

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➤ **Introduction**

➤ **Summary of Findings**

- View from the Literature
- Summarising the Demographic profile of the Population under Study
- Pre -Migration and Post- Migration experiences
- Human Development of the Rehabilitated Scheduled Tribes
- Institutional Interventions

➤ **Conclusion**

➤ **Policy Suggestions**

➤ **Contribution of the Researcher**

➤ **Areas for Future Research**

## **FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND POLICY SUGGESTIONS**

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### **7.1 Introduction**

The study explores the effects of a rehabilitation initiative on the development of human capabilities among scheduled tribes. In order to examine the impact of the rehabilitation project on the beneficiaries, the study initially seeks to investigate the experiences of the rehabilitated tribal communities before and after migration. The pre- and post-migration experiences illustrate the living conditions of individuals both before and after undergoing rehabilitation. Secondly, the study seeks to analyse the human development indicators such as income, health, education, social network and democratic participation of the tribal groups in the project. A capability index is being constructed based on these indicators. In addition, the research analyses the institutional frameworks implemented to improve the socio-economic well-being of the indigenous community. The last chapter of the present study aims to provide a comprehensive overview of the findings elucidated in the preceding five chapters. The chapter also includes a set of policy suggestions and area for future research.

### **7.2 Summary of Findings**

The primary findings from the study are divided into five sub-sections. The major findings presented encompass the results obtained from the literature review and thereafter accompanied by the primary findings derived from the field survey conducted on 84 tribal households, as well as the qualitative data acquired through in-depth interviews and focus group discussions.

#### **7.2.1 View from the Literature**

- The Scheduled Tribes in India are widely regarded as the most vulnerable segments of the population, mostly due to their socio-economic and demographic disparities. These communities have experienced geographical and social isolation, resulting in differences in ethnic traits, linguistic diversity, social organisation, economic behaviours, religious convictions, cultural customs, and demographic patterns. The post-colonial era has witnessed an exacerbation of the marginalisation of tribal communities due to increased encroachment onto Adivasi areas by non-tribal populations.

- Until the mid-20th century, the Adivasi communities in Kerala were predominantly known for their somewhat isolated way of life. Nevertheless, their conditions have undergone substantial changes as a result of socio-economic transitions since the mid-20th century. The traditional way of life of these communities has undergone a significant transformation as a result of their exposure to modern educational systems, political structures, and media influences.
- The problem of land alienation poses a substantial challenge to the development of tribal communities in Kerala, since agricultural settlers take advantage of the tribes' lack of knowledge and vulnerability. Approximately 30% of tribal households lack land ownership, with the Malabar area exhibiting the most pronounced occurrence of landless tribal households.
- Historically, the Paniya and Adiya communities were bonded labourers who lack ownership of land. The abolition of the bonded labour system in 1976 resulted in considerable grief among tribal families who had relied on it for their sustenance. In order to tackle this issue, the government employed rehabilitation projects, wherein extensive portions of privately-owned forests were allocated and utilised for the purpose of establishing settlements, as per the provisions outlined in the Kerala Private Forests (Vesting and Assignment) Act of 1971.

### **7.2.2 Summarising the Demographic profile of the Population under Study**

- The rehabilitation project in Pookot Dairy Project includes tribals from the Paniya, Kuruma, Kuruchiya, Kattunaika, and Urali Kuruma communities.
- The sex ratio of the settlement is 1037, indicating the number of females per 1000 males. Additionally, 36.9 percent of households in the Pookot settlement are headed by females. In a significant proportion of households led by women, women often find themselves compelled to assume the role of primary caretaker and provider due to the lack of support systems available to them.
- The average family size of tribal households in the Pookot settlement is calculated to be 3.8571.
- In the Pookot settlement, 22.8 percent of the total population falls within the unproductive age group. The Child Dependency Ratio, Adult Dependency Ratio, and Total Dependency Ratio among the tribal population of Pookot settlement are 25.06, 7.24, and 32.30, respectively. The data indicates that the Total Dependency Ratio is

highest among the Kattunaika community, followed by the Urali Kuruma and Paniya communities.

### **7.2.3 Pre -Migration and Post- Migration experiences**

- Tribal communities in Kerala have faced significant land alienation, which can be attributed to various factors. These include issues such as debt, fraudulent actions by encroachers, social marginalisation, lack of education, political disorganisation, and a combination of ignorance and innocence. The loss of land can be attributed to both the enactment of forest laws and development projects. The government and other connected authorities' lack of vigilance is a key factor in the issue of landlessness.
- The pre-migration experiences of tribal communities such as Paniya, Kattunaika, and Urali Kuruma exhibit variations when compared to the experiences of Kuruma and Kuruchiya communities. The Kuruchiya and Kuruma people were involved in agricultural activities and possessed land holdings. On the other hand, the Kattunaika and Urali Kuruma people heavily depended on the forest for their livelihood. Paniyas were subjected to a system of bonded labour, wherein they were compelled to work for landlords in return for basic necessities such as food and shelter.
- The process of migration to the Pookot Dairy Project commenced in 1979 and extended until the late 1990s. A significant number of Paniya and Adiyas left the project in very early stage because they faced challenges with the process of relocating. The experiences after migration differ among different communities. The Paniya and Kattunaika community faced challenges in adapting to their new surroundings, whereas the Kuruma and Kuruchiya communities experienced relatively smoother transitions in adjusting to their new environment.
- The migration of tribes to Pookot was driven by factors such as landlessness, poverty, lack of employment opportunities, and forced migration. The primary factors that drew tribals to various regions of Wayanad were employment opportunities and access to land. The Kattunaika tribal community's migration to Pookot predates the initiation of the project. This migration can be attributed to their traditional lifestyle as hunters and gatherers, which necessitated moving from one location to another in search of sustenance and shelter.

#### **7.2.4 Human Development of the Rehabilitated Scheduled Tribes**

- The average monthly household income in the settlement is higher than the state's tribal population, with lower and upper bounds of 1500 and 140000 respectively. This income disparity is due to unequal employment opportunities, with 52.4% of households relying on government employment, compared to 16.6% relying on MGNREGA. Despite a majority having primary source of income from government employment, tribal households have poor saving habits. Comparatively the Kuruma and Kuruchiya population is having better saving habits. This lack of savings is attributed to heavy debt and drug addiction.
- It is observed that a significant portion of the tribal communities face challenges in utilising the land productively to generate income. The issue of underutilised land is influenced by several factors, including limited resources, low land quality, animal, and the perception that tribes are only caretakers of the land with government ownership.
- The housing situation of the tribal communities in the Pookot settlement remains inadequate, despite the passage of 19 years since land allocation. A significant number of households reside in dilapidated homes, with the absence of proper toilet facilities. The accessibility of clean drinking water is another concern regarding the settlement.
- The educational status of the tribal population in the Pookot settlement is relatively better when compared to the educational status of the tribal communities in wayanad. The average household mean years of schooling of the tribal communities in Pookot settlement is 6.24 years with high standard deviation. The highest mean years of schooling are 13.5 years and the lowest is 0 years. 14.8 percent of the total population (excluding the age group of 0-5 Years) are illiterate and 8 percent have attained higher education. After rehabilitation the mean years of schooling has increase but the rise is only up to High school education. In terms of education index, Kattunaikas are the most backward.
- The expected average lifespan of tribal communities in the settlement is 62.6 years. Ill health behaviours have a significant impact on the current state of the health of the scheduled tribes. Huge number of tribal populations in the Pookot settlement is addicted to the usage Tobacco and alcohol. Tobacco usage is very common among the

tribes irrespective of gender and community. The Paniya and Katunaika communities have the highest rates of alcoholism and tobacco usage.

- The democratic participation among the tribal communities are analysed from the oorukoottam participation, voting habit, association with political organisations and awareness about the governing institutions. More than 50 percent of the tribal population do not have proper awareness about the governing system that is responsible for implementation of tribal welfare programmes. Majority of the population have least interest in oorukoottam participation. The reason for this is attributed to the inefficiency of oorukoottams.
- Rehabilitation has its most impact on the social network among the tribal communities. Migration to the Pookot Dairy Project has increased the exposure of tribal communities into the outside society. The communication among different tribal communities and relation with non -tribes have being enhanced. Even though the social network has increased the community life has decreased than it was in colony.
- The average capability index of the tribal population of Pookot settlement is low with a mean of 0.41076 and the inter community disparities in achieving capability is evident. The Kuruchiya and Kuruma have high and moderate capability index respectively. Whereas the Paniya, Urali Kuruma and Kattunaika are having low capability.

### **7.2.5 Institutional Interventions**

- The institutional interventions for the tribal development have been done in different sectors like education, health, housing, land distribution and for other socio-economic development. Approximately 27% of the gross plan outlay of STDD is allocated specifically for educational programmes. During the year 2021-22, a budget of ₹ 159.24 crore has been allocated for educational programmes by STDD.
- In health sector, during the 12th FYP period, the STDD allocated a total of ₹ 6,530.36 lakh. Out of this allocation, they spent ₹ 6,367.89 lakh, which accounts for 97.51% of the allocated budget. During the 13th Five Year Plan (FYP), a total of ₹ 21,076.50 lakh has been allocated for health programmes. Out of this allocation, ₹ 17,350.95 lakh has been expended, which accounts for approximately 82.32% of the total allocated amount.

- During the 12th Five Year Plan (2012-13 to 2016-17), the STDD budgeted a total of ₹18,470.30 lakh for housing. However, they only expended ₹17,963.85 lakh, which accounts for 97.25% of the budgeted amount. According to the 13th Five-Year Plan, a total of ₹ 41,368.00 lakh was allocated for the housing sector and the expenditure in this sector exceeded 100 percent.
- The number of landless Scheduled Tribes (STs) in the State for the year 2020-21 is 7930. The land allocation under TRDM is facilitated through the implementation of the land bank scheme, the distribution of vested forest land, and the Forest Rights Act. During the year 2020-21, a total of 568.47 acres of land were allocated to 691 individuals belonging to tribal communities.
- As a measure of enhancing the skills of the rehabilitated tribal community in the Pookot Dairy Project before its demolition, training was provided for the management of cattles and to improve milking skill. 20 rehabilitated tribes received training. This was the only programme conducted between the period of 1979 and 2004 for the skill development of the Scheduled Tribes.
- Land distribution was the first scheme undertaken after the demolition of the Dairy Project. The land was distributed among 88 tribal families who were part of Pookot Dairy Project. 47.6 percent of tribal households received 5 Acres of land and the remaining 52.4 percent received 2 Acres or 1.5 Acres of Land. Regarding the quality of land, only 71.4% of the land that was given distributed met the criteria for good quality. The quality of the land that was allocated was so bad that 21.4 percent of it was uninhabitable and had been seriously damaged by landslides. 7.1% of the land was considered to be of moderate quality, which meant that it was suitable for human habitation but not for agricultural use.
- Even though the land was distributed in 2004, the initiation for providing proper dwelling facilities was taken up in 2008. Even after 19 years since the inception of the housing projects for the rehabilitated tribes, there are still a 6 percentage of tribal households in the Pookot settlement who have not gotten any financial support from the government.
- MRS Kunnu, Cocomoola, and a portion of Appadukunnu localities of Pookot settlement are still affected by acute water scarcity. The settlement has three well-executed drinking water schemes. Two are initiated by the Block Panchayat and one by the TRDM.

- Under the TRDM programme, the road facilities connecting to the settlements in Pookot have been constructed. The construction of roads has cost a total of 3, 310, 0000 rupees. Up until the year 2019, certain parts of the settlement lacked the necessary road facilities.
- All the tribal students in the settlement who have enrolled in classes up to the 10th grade receive a lump sum grant and a monthly stipend at the commencement of the academic year to cover their expenses. The school going children in Pookot settlement are beneficiaries of the Gothrasaradhi initiative. One student from the Pookot settlement has been the beneficiary of the Ayyankali Memorial Talent Search and Development.
- The schemes initiated in the Pookot settlement for agriculture, animal husbandry and self- employment are; supply of coffee seedlings and pepper seedlings, supply of vegetable seedlings and grow bag, support for cattle farming, support for poultry farming, supply of tailoring Machine, supply of tool kit- electrical/plumbing, supply of tool kit- carpentry and supply of Street Stalls.
- External institutions such as NABARD and Kerala Veterinary and Animal Sciences University have provided support mechanisms to improve the livelihoods of the rehabilitated tribal communities in the Pookot settlement. Within the scope of the Wadi initiative, NABARD implemented various programmes in the Pookot settlement. The Kerala Veterinary and Animal Sciences University has extended support to the tribal communities residing in the Pookot settlement. This support has been provided in the form of distributing cattle and facilitating poultry farming by providing coops and chickens.

### **7.3 Conclusion**

Despite the abolition of the bonded labour system in 1976, tribal labourers continued to face challenges due to the non-availability of cultivable land and few alternative employment options. Consequently, they were constrained to rely once again on non-tribal employers for their livelihood. The landlords (employers) capitalised on the circumstances by further exploiting the tribal populations. In order to facilitate the socio-economic development of emancipated bonded labourers, various rehabilitation initiatives were implemented in the state. The Pookot Dairy Project sought to rehabilitate 110 freed bonded labourers from Wayanad district. Despite the purported objective of rehabilitating tribal communities to enhance their self-sufficiency and competence, the rehabilitation efforts merely resulted in a



transition of the tribes from being agricultural labourers for landlords to becoming labourers for supervisors and managers within the Dairy Project. This is reflected in the transition of the tribal communities from agricultural labourers to land owners. Numerous tribal studies emphasise the critical role of land in ensuring the long-term survival of the community. Regarding the Pookot Dairy Project, it is noteworthy that a significant portion of the tribal population has chosen to keep their land unused, without utilising it for productive purposes, despite acquiring ownership rights. The statement suggests a potential connection between the fact that they were treated as labourers under supervisors without receiving adequate training and skills. The communities such as Kuruma and Kuruchiya have a long-standing tradition of land ownership and agricultural practises. It is easier for them to maintain that. Regarding the Kattunaikas, Paniyas, and Urali Kurumas, it is important to note that historically they have primarily worked as agricultural labourers rather than landowners. Merely granting land alone does not guarantee development; it is essential to also equip the tribal communities with capital and skills to effectively utilise the land for productive purposes.

The rehabilitation efforts have undeniably resulted in significant improvements in the infrastructure facilities, employment opportunities, income levels, education, health, social networks, and political participation of tribal people when compared to the era prior to rehabilitation. However, it is apparent that there are differences across different communities. The employment opportunities offered by KVASU have led to an enhancement in the employment status and income of specific households belonging to marginalised communities such as Paniyas, Kattunaikas, and Urali Kurumas. However, these improvements have not been evident in their educational attainment, health outcomes, and levels of democratic participation. This is mostly due to the policies predominant emphasis on addressing fundamental necessities, with the state assuming a role similar to a "nanny state" while neglecting to prioritise the development of human capabilities among marginalised populations. The government initiatives have proven ineffective even in sufficiently fulfilling the basic necessities of the settlement. The Pookot rehabilitation project is the ideal illustration of Amartya Sen's claim that raising income levels alone does not contribute to the development of human capability. Although their income has increased as a result of working in the public sector, their social abilities have not. As Sen pointed out, the development paradigms of affluent and impoverished societies are different.

## 7.4 Policy Suggestions

The present analysis proposes some suggestions for the policy framework.

- It is imperative for the government to establish a comprehensive rehabilitation strategy prior to initiating any rehabilitation project. The rehabilitation model should have a comprehensive and well-structured framework outlining the specific steps and procedures for implementing the various schemes. To optimise outcomes, the Rehabilitation model might be structured according to the hierarchy of needs. For instance, the implementation of projects and programmes can commence by prioritising the most essential ones.

The following is an illustration of a rehabilitation model;

1. Identifying the Beneficiaries-The initial and primary step in a rehabilitation programme is the identification of beneficiaries. The recipients of a rehabilitation initiative should consist of tribal communities who meet the criteria for deservingness. For instance, in the context of rehabilitating bonded labourers, it is imperative for the state to identify the tribal communities who have been subjected to bonded labour and lacking land ownership throughout the years.
2. Land Distribution - The allocation of land to tribal people lacking land ownership is a crucial component of the rehabilitation process. The equitable allocation of land should also encompass the assurance of land quality. The land must provide the necessary qualities to support human settlement and agricultural activities. It is imperative for the government to adopt an egalitarian approach when allocating land resources. Furthermore, it is essential to ensure that tribes are granted property ownership through the issuance of title deeds. Merely providing individuals with possession deeds will solely engender a sense of passive involvement in government-owned land. The establishment of property rights can foster a sense of entitlement, potentially resulting in increased productivity. The policies should also include provisions that offer protection against exploitation.
3. Basic Infrastructural Facilities-The rehabilitation project should prioritise the provision of essential amenities, including housing, access to clean drinking water, sanitation facilities, and improved road infrastructure in the settlement.
4. Livelihood Enhancement Schemes – Once the initial basic infrastructural facilities have been formed, it is important for policies to prioritise the livelihood enhancement

of the tribal communities. Determine their traditional skills and means of subsistence first. Policy formation should take their areas of strength into account. They shouldn't be taken out of their natural habitat and forced to work as labourers. It is recommended that the government should implement skill development training programmes, as well as give self-employment training opportunities and establish support systems for individuals pursuing self-employment endeavours. The government schemes should also provide capital for land investments, thereby enabling indigenous communities to effectively utilise their land resources. The provision of support can manifest through several means, such as the engagement of workers from the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS) for land-related activities, the installation of fence to mitigate conflicts with animals, and the distribution of saplings, plants and fertilisers.

- Government initiatives should adopt specialised approaches rather than relying on general strategies. Each tribal community exhibits unique characteristics in relation to their socio-economic, cultural, and geographic contexts. Therefore, adopting a universal approach to policy formation may not yield equitable outcomes for all segments of society.
- Rather than persistently prioritising the provision of basic necessities, it is advisable for policy to shift towards fostering the development of human capabilities within tribal groups. Enhancing capabilities will primarily rely on the provision of education, health facilities, basic infrastructure, income and assets, as well as the expansion of social networks and political participation. A rehabilitation project that primarily focuses on fulfilling the fundamental requirements of tribal communities over an extended period of time may inadvertently foster a greater reliance on the state. Therefore, the primary focus of the policy should be centred around fostering self-sufficiency and empowerment within tribal groups. In order to address this issue, it is imperative that the government places greater emphasis on education and skill development.
- The implementation of schemes and programmes aimed at facilitating collective farming practices inside the settlement is recommended. This approach would effectively optimise land utilisation and foster a sense of community cohesion among the various tribes in the settlement.

- The government need to prioritise enhancing the political participation of tribal communities by implementing a participatory planning process. This approach will empower these people to effectively express their perspectives and ensure that their needs and priorities are adequately represented in the oorumkottams.
- A methodology may be employed to evaluate the disparity between the needs and the provisions for tribal communities.

### **7.5 Contribution of the Researcher**

This study aims to present a comprehensive analysis of a specific rehabilitation project by examining the promises made and contrasting them with the actual outcomes observed through an extensive field survey. This case study examines a single rehabilitation project, with the intention of drawing broader implications that may assist in the development of future rehabilitation initiatives. The study examines the impact of a rehabilitation project that was performed without adequate emphasis on participatory planning processes and without due consideration of the skills and abilities of indigenous communities. The study also examines unintentional benefits that tribal communities have gained as a result of developing their survival strategies, and explores how these unintended benefits have contributed to the improvement of their livelihoods. Therefore, this study offers insights into potential modifications that should be implemented within the policy framework and outlines a strategic approach for developing a rehabilitation model.

### **7.6 Areas for Future Research**

As indicated within the constraints, this study constitutes a single case study that centres its attention on a solitary rehabilitation project. Hence, there exists a scope to conduct a comparative analysis of various rehabilitation initiatives implemented within the state. Additionally, future study has possibility to expand the scope of the capability index. The inclusion of additional variables can enhance the measurement of capability.

## APPENDICES

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### APPENDIX – I SURVEY PHOTOGRAPHS

Photograph-I



Photograph-I portrays the tribal land post landslide in 2018. Massive landslide in the region resulted in the formation of a new stream channel.



Photograph-II



Photograph-II shows an illustration of land distributed in the Aanamala settlement Area. The undulating terrain and high slope of the land distributed in the Aanamala area make farming or house construction challenging, which is furthermore fuelled by wild animal conflict. The land is predominantly occupied by the Paniya community.



Photograph-III



Photograph-III portrays the temporary dwelling setup for Landslide affected tribal households. Temporary housing arrangements for the landslide – affected families, originally designed for two years, exceeded five years without providing permanent housing facilities.



Photograph-IV



Photograph-V





Photograph-VI



Photograph-VII



Photographs- IV, V, VI & VII portray dilapidated housing conditions. Families in inhospitable living conditions can still be seen in the rehabilitation project even after 19<sup>th</sup> year of land distribution.

## APPENDIX - II

### INTERVIEW SCHEDULE – HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

Dear Respondent: This interview Schedule intends to collect data on the study on “Rehabilitation and Human Capability Fomation of Scheduled Tribes in Kerala: A Study on Pookot Dairy Project”. Please answer all the questions according to the instructions. I hereby state that the collected data will be used only for the purpose of the study and your details will be kept confidential.

Athira K  
Department of Economics  
Dr John Matthai Centre  
University of Calicut  
Thrissur

Date of Visit:

#### General Information

1. Name of the head of the household:

2a. Ward No:

2b. House No:

2c. Block No:

2d. Plot No:

3. Name of the Community:

4. Family Composition

SL No.	Name	Relation with the head of the family	Age	Sex	Marital Status	Education	Occupation

## Land Holdings

5. In whose name is the title deed of this land registered?

1. Husband
2. 2. Wife
3. 3. Children
4. 4. Parents

6. Area of land you possess here?

7. Place of your Origin, District and State which it belongs to?

8. Did your family own any land before resettlement?

1. Yes
2. No

8a. If yes, area of land owned?

8b. Current status of the land owned?

1. Sold
2. Was encroached by individuals/ private companies
3. Was encroached by the Government
4. Still possess that land

8c. If sold/ encroached explain :

8d. If no, where were your family living?

9. How many years have you been staying here?

10. What made you/your forefathers to shift to this resettlement area?

1. Landlessness
2. Poverty
3. Education of Children
4. Employment Opportunities
5. Forced by the authorities
6. Any Other

11. Did any of your family members worked in Pookode Dairy Project?

1. Yes
2. No

11a. If Yes, who was working in the Dairy Project?

1. Myself
2. Father

- 3. Mother
- 4. Husband
- 5. Wife
- 6. Others

12. Did the person employed in the Dairy Project become a board member of the society?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

13. After how many years of withdrawing dairy project, did your family got the land?

14. Does the family own any other land?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

14a. If yes, the total area of land owned by the family?

### Housing

15. Housing Facilities

		Resettlement	
		Before	After
Ownership	1.Own 2. Rented 3.Lease 4.Temporary settlement 6. Any other (specify)		
Type of House	1.Hut 2. Thatched 3. Roofing Tile 4. Asbestos 5. Concrete 6. Any other (specify)		
Number of Rooms(including kitchen)			

16. Do you have access to electricity?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

16a. If there is access to electricity, from how many years your house is electrified?

16b. If there is no access to electricity, what other source do you use?

17. Did Government provide any help for building your house?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

17a. If yes, what are they?

### Sanitation & Drinking Water Facilities

18. Do you have latrine facilities?

1. Yes          2. No

18a. If yes, Permanent or Temporary?

19. Did your family use toilets before resettlement?

1. Yes          2. No

20. What are the sources of your Drinking Water?

Public Tap	Own Well	Other's Well	Pond	Streams	River	Bore Well	Canal	Check Dam	Any other

21. Before resettlement what was the sources of drinking water?

### Ownership of Durables

22. Do you own any vehicle?

Bicycle	Scooter	Auto rickshaw	Jeep	Car	Any other

22a. Before resettlement did you own any of these Vehicle?

23. What kind of electric equipments you own?

Television	Radio	Land Line	Mobile	Computer	Mixi/Gri nder	Inductio n Cooker	Washing Machine	Refrige rator	Any Other

23a. Before resettlement did you own any of these?

24. What type of fuel is used for cooking?

Fire wood	Kerosene Stove	Bio-gas	LPG	Electric Induction	Any other

24a. Before resettlement what type of fuel were used for cooking?

## **Food Availability & Security**

25. Do you have a ration card?

1. Yes
2. No

26. How distant is the ration shop?

28. Generally, what items do you get from a ration shop?

1. Rice
2. Raw Rice
3. Kerosene
4. Wheat
5. Others

29. Did you get the kit provided by Government?

1. Yes
2. No

30. How many meals do you consume a day?

1. One
2. Two
3. Three
4. More than three

31. Which of these do you include daily in your meals?

1. Milk/ Milk products
2. Fish/Meat/Egg
3. Rice/Wheat
4. Pulses
5. Vegetables/Fruits

32. Do you think there is a change in your food habits and availability before and after resettlement?

1. Yes
2. No

32a. If yes, explain:

## **Education**

33. What was the reason that you didn't attend school or dropped out

1. Poverty
2. Non availability of schools near
3. Lack of interest
4. Wasn't aware of the importance of education
5. Others

34. Do you send your children to school?

1. Yes
2. No

34a. If No, the reasons for not sending to school?

1. Poverty
2. Non availability of schools in the neighbourhood
3. Not interested in educating
4. Other reasons

35. Which type of School do you prefer to send your children and reasons?

1. Government
2. Aided
3. Un Aided
4. Any other

Reasons:

36. Are there any transportation facilities available for your children by the Government or

School authorities?

1. yes
2. No

37. Are Schools providing Mid- Day meal for your child?

1. Yes
2. No

38. Do you prefer to educate your child?

1. Yes
2. No

39. Why do you want to educate your children?

### **Health**

40. What type of medical treatment do you prefer?

1. Allopathy
2. Ayurveda
3. Homeopathy
4. Indigeneous
5. Naturopathy
6. Any Other

41. which health care provider do you prefer often?

1. Government hospitals
2. Health Centres
3. Cooperative hospitals
4. Private hospitals
5. Any Other

42. How many kilometres do you have to travel to reach nearer hospital or health centre?

43. Are you or any of your family member suffering from any Health issues?  
1. Yes            2. No

43a. If yes, what are the health issues?

43b. Did you consult physician?  
1. Yes            2. No

43c. If no, reasons

44. Are you satisfied with the hospital and healthcare system which is provided by the Government?  
1. Yes            2. No

44a. If No, the reasons?

45. On an average how much money do you spend for hospital cases in a month?

46. Do you use any of the following substances?  
1. Alcohol  
2. Tobacco  
3. Cigarette  
4. Beedi

46a. If yes, how frequently do you use?  
1. Regularly    2. Occasionally

46b. If regularly, what is the source of income to buy these substances?

46c. On an average how much money is spend daily for getting these substances?

46d. Are you aware that using these substances are injurious to health?  
1. Yes            2. No

46e. If yes, Still why are you using?

47. Is there any change in the preference of medical treatment before and after



resettlement explain?

48. Whether you had access to harmful substances before resettlement?

1. Yes          2. No

48a. If Yes, what were they?

48b. Whether the use have increased or decreased after resettlement?

### **Employment & Livelihood Options**

49. How many days do you work in a week?

50. Do you get to work in all seasons?

1. Yes          2. No

50a. If No, which is the off season time and what is your source of income

during off seasons?

51. Is anyone in your family employed in Veterinary University?

- 1.yes          2.No

51a. If yes, is it temporary or permanent posting?

51b. How many members of your family got job at Veterinary university?

51c. In which year was the posting done?

51d. Did you get the job easily or did you had to go for any legal procedure to

get job explain?

52. What influenced you to choose your present work ?

1. Own Choice
2. Family Pressure
3. Hereditary
4. Any other

53. Are you satisfied with your current job?

1. Yes 2. No

53a. If no, the reasons:

54. Do you have any interest to start an entrepreneurship?

1. Yes 2. No

54a. If yes, what kind of entrepreneurship do you want to start?

55. Did you get any training for self employment?

1. Yes 2. No

55a. If Yes, which agency provided the training and what type of training it was?

56. Did you get any support from government for self employment?

1. Yes 2. No

56a. If yes, specify:

57. Do you have any skills mentioned below? If yes, what is the source of learning?

SL No.	Skills	Source of Learning			
		Hereditary	Self Acquire	Co Learning	Attended Course
1.	Construction of house				
2.	Bamboo & Cane products				
3.	Pottery				
4.	Cooking				
5.	Handicrafts				
6.	Technical Skills(specify)				
7.	Carpentry				
8.	Weaving				
9.	Traditional medicinal Practitioner				
10.	Extracting Honey				
11.	Others (Specify)				

57a. From the listed, mention the skills that you or your parents had before resettlement?

58. Has anyone from your family attended any skill development training?

1. Yes 2. No

58a. If yes, specify:

59. Is any of your family members presently working in the Government Sector?

1. Yes 2. No

59a. If yes, 1. Where 2. What post

59b. If no, what do you think is the reason for not getting a government job?

1. Lack of qualification
2. Competition
3. Lack of skills
4. Less percentage of reservation
5. Any other

60. What are the traditional occupations followed by the family/ your tribe?

61. Is anyone in the family still practising the traditional occupation?

1. Yes 2. No

62. what are the Livestock & Poultry you have?

Cow	Goat	Buffalo	Pig	Rabbits	Chicken	Duck	Any Other

62a. Before resettlement did you own any of these livestock/Poultry ?

### **Agriculture**

63. Are you doing any agriculture practices in your land?

1. Yes 2. No

63a. If yes, what are the crops grown in your land presently?

64. What type of labour do you use for cultivation?

1. Family Labour
2. Hired Labour
3. Thozhilruppu
4. Any other

65. What are the main challenges you face while doing agriculture?

1. Animal Conflict
2. Natural calamities (specify)
3. Low quality of land

4. Lack of agricultural equipment

5. Any other

66. Did you get any financial support from Government to buy the agricultural equipment?

1. Yes          2. No

66a. If yes, What?

67. Do you have sufficient water for the agricultural purposes?

1. Yes          2. No

68. Do you sell the products which are produced in your land?

1. Yes          2. No

68a. If yes, to whom do you sell?

1. People Within the settlement

2. Directly to the market

3. Intermediaries

4. Others Specify

68b. Are you satisfied with the rate you get for your agricultural products

explain?

69. Have you adopted any improved agricultural methods for the cultivation?

1. Yes          2. No

70. Have you got any training for doing cultivation?

1. Yes          2. No

70a. If Yes, explain-:

71. Have you left your land uncultivated?

1. Yes          2. No

71a. If yes, what are the reasons for not cultivating?

1. Lack of finance

2. Lack of equipment

3. Threat of wild animals

4. Poor quality of land

5. Natural hazards 6. Others

72. At the time of working in Pookode dairy project, did you had any cultivation?

1. Yes
2. No

72a. If yes what crops?

73. Whether cultivation at those period was or now is easy and profitable?

1. Cultivation at those time was easy and profitable
2. Now cultivation is easier and profitable
3. Cultivation neither those periods nor now is easy and profitable
4. Agriculture in both times are profitable

73a. Reasons?

74. Whether there were any state initiated farming in those periods?

1. Yes
2. No

74a. If yes, what crops were cultivated?

74b. Whether you or any of your family member were employed in the state initiated farming?

1. Yes
2. No

75. Did your family had any agriculture practices before resettlement?

1. Yes
2. No

76. If yes, what kind of labour was used for agriculture then?

1. Family Labour
2. Hired Labour
3. Any other

76a. If hired labour was used, which community does the labour belonged to?

### **Economic/ Income generation**

77. What are the sources of your income?

1. Agriculture
2. Wages
3. Collection of forest produce
4. Pensions (specify)
5. Any other

78. What was the source of income before resettlement?

79. At the time of working in Pookode Dairy Project, how much was your daily income?

80. Whether you had any other source of income other than that from Dairy Project?

- 1.Yes            2.No

80a. If Yes, What?

81. Do you have a bank account?

1. Yes 2.No

82. Do you have any savings?

1. Yes            2. No

82a. If yes, how much do you save in a month?

82b. Where do you deposit your savings?

1. Nationalised Banks
2. Private Banks
3. Cooperative Banks
4. Post office
5. LIC
6. Any other

83. Are you a beneficiary of any social welfare scheme?

1. Yes 2. No

83a. If Yes, what are they?

- 1.Old age pension
2. Widow pension
- 3.Differently abled
4. Any other

84. Were you in support of closing down the Pookode Dairy Project?

1. Yes            2. No

84a.If Yes, reasons?

84b.If No, reasons?

### **Political & Social Awareness/Participation**

85. Do all the adults in your family have an election ID?

1. Yes            2. No

86. Did you cast your vote in the last elections?

1. Yes          2. No

87. Are you a member in any social organizations?

1. Yes          2. No

87a. If Yes, specify

87b. Is the organization registered?

1. Yes          2. No

87c. How is the organization helping in promoting livelihood?

88. Do you participate in Gramasabas?

1. Regularly Participates  
2. Most often participates  
3. Sometimes participates  
4. Never participates

89. In the Gramasabhas do you get platform in placing your needs?

1. Yes          2.No

89a. If yes, then do they take into consideration?

1. Yes          2. No

89b. What was the recent need that you placed in Gramasabha?

90. Do you think that the Gramsabha is working effectively?

1. Yes 2. No

91. Who is your ST promoter ?

91a. Are you satisfied with the efficiency of your ST promoter?

1. Yes          2.No

91b. If Yes /No reasons?

92. Did your family received any financial / Social support from panchayat

explain?

93. Are you satisfied with activities of LSGIs in your settlement area?

1. Yes          2. No

93a If no, reasons?

94. Does any NGOs works here?

1. Yes      2. No

94a. If Yes, details?

94b. Are you satisfied with the activities that NGOs are doing in your settlement?

1. Yes      2. No

Give reasons?

95. Is any cooperative society working here?

1. Yes 2. No

95a. If yes, are you or any of your family member a member of society ?

provide detail:

95b. Is this cooperative society working effectively? Explain:

96. Does any women of your family participates in self-help groups?

1. Yes      2.No

97. Do you mingle with your neighbours?

1. Yes      2. No      3. When needed

98. Which tribal community do they belong to?

99. Do you interact with non tribals?

1. Yes      2. No

99a. If yes, purpose:

100. How do others treat you?

101. Do you get the cooperation of other social categories during wedding/funerals?

1. Yes      2. No

102. Have you ever experienced social discrimination?

1. Yes      2. No

102a. If yes, explain:



## APPENDIX - III

### INTERVIEW SCHEDULE – FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

1. Date of FGD:.....
2. Place:.....
3. Tribal Community.....
4. General educational qualification of the participants
  - a. -----
  - b. -----
  - c. -----
  - d. -----
  - e. -----
5. Position/ designation of participants
  - a. -----
  - b. -----
  - c. -----
  - d. -----
  - e. -----
6. Type of employment
  - a. -----
  - b. -----
  - c. -----
  - d. -----
  - e. -----
- 7 Year of resettlement
  - a. -----
  - b. -----
  - c. -----
  - d. -----
  - e. -----

#### Discussion Points

1. Community Characteristics - History, Family, Tradition, Rituals, Way of living, etc.
2. How bonded labour system prevailed?
3. Describe how important is to have land?

4. Explain how acquiring own land has changed your life and well being?
5. What are the painful experiences/situations you and your forefathers went through before rehabilitation?
6. Explain the process of rehabilitation
7. Benefits of rehabilitation
8. Opportunities in rehabilitation area.
9. Challenges of rehabilitation
10. What is your role and responsibility in your community?  
Duties/obligations/cooperation/participation
11. Women representation and participation in Panchayth, Village institutions, SHG.
12. Safety issues at settlement area.
13. Inter and Intra community variations in development achieved.
14. What are the changes that took place in your life after rehabilitation?
15. Support mechanisms from Panchayati Raj Institutions and Tribal Department.
16. Barriers to invest in agriculture.
17. Do you think that you are independent and can maintain your needs without the help of Govt.?

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